

Financial Transaction Tax campaign

Interim evaluation report
(revised)

July 2012

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

1. This report presents an evaluation of Oxfam's Financial Transaction Tax (FTT) campaign. The evaluation was commissioned by Oxfam Great Britain and aimed to assess the impact and effectiveness of the campaign to date, with a view to offering lessons for the future direction of the campaign. The research methodology included *telephone interviews with 87 Oxfam staff, campaign partners and external stakeholders; a review of relevant background materials and an online survey of Robin Hood Tax UK supporters (552 responses)*.

Background to the Financial Transaction Tax campaign

2. The FTT campaign, as the name suggests, campaigns for the introduction of a small levy on financial transactions that would raise funds for international development, climate change work and tackling domestic poverty and social injustice. The FTT campaign is (loosely) coordinated by Oxfam Great Britain and Oxfam International, but *Oxfam affiliates and national FTT coalitions set their own campaign objectives, strategies and priorities, linked to different national contexts*. For example:
 - Policy objectives varied: French campaigners advocated for 100% of the tax proceeds to go to development; in the UK the coalition opted for a split 50% for domestic issues and 50% for development and climate change;
 - Many countries used the Robin Hood Tax branding developed by Oxfam Great Britain; some opted not to do so;
 - The national contexts for the campaign varied considerably: several countries had a long history of FTT (or Tobin tax) coalitions; a number of countries had already introduced legislation in support of the tax; and the political context varied between countries and over time as a result of election cycles and changes in Government.

Impacts and achievements

3. There was a strong undercurrent of interest in the introduction of an FTT prior to the launch of the FTT campaign and stakeholders and *policy-makers consistently and systematically fed back to the evaluation team that it is this broader underlying interest in taxation and regulation of the financial*

sector, linked to the financial and fiscal crisis, that put and has kept the FTT firmly on the political agenda – rather than the FTT campaign as such. Stakeholders also referred to the political dynamics of having France (and later Germany) in favour of the FTT and credited the pressure by the European Parliament.

4. That being said, there is clear evidence of the FTT campaign impacting on the policy-making process:
 - Officials in the French Government, one of the main champions of the FTT, explicitly acknowledged that the *FTT campaign had been a central component in achieving movement on the FTT in France*;
 - The overall impression is that the *campaign has helped bring the FTT to the attention of the public* and that, indirectly, this facilitated the policy-making process. Evidence supporting this impression includes (i) the systematic and consistent feedback from interviewees that they feel public awareness has increased; (ii) an exponential increase in online media coverage for the FTT as recorded by Google News; and (iii) the fact that (British) Robin Hood Tax supporters feel more informed and, for 17% of them, more supportive of the FTT as a result of the campaign;
 - The FTT campaign's own materials do not appear to have directly swayed people, but the nod of approval from other stakeholders (such as the Gates Foundation and the IMF) appear to have people sit up and notice and the *FTT campaign has directly contributed to this by actively advertising and promoting this approval*;
 - Several Oxfam affiliates can point to convincing in-house evidence suggesting that their *activities directly influenced parliamentary interventions and motions in their countries*.

5. Although difficult to draw firm conclusions, the overall impression is that the *campaign reach (600,000 signatories to FTT petitions)* was average to strong for a campaign of this scale but parts of the campaign clearly punched above their weight, in particular the *Banker 1 video featuring British actor Bill Nighy which secured 650,000 YouTube viewings*. Germany stands out from other FTT countries in terms of the FTT petition signatories it secured.

Added value of Oxfam

6. Campaign partners overall reacted very positively to the role played by Oxfam in national FTT coalitions. The areas of added value quoted most often were *Oxfam's experience in popular mobilisation*, the *strength of Oxfam's media expertise, specifically social media*, and the organisation's

insights in the political dynamics of international negotiation. Partners also appreciated the campaign materials that Oxfam brought to the table.

7. Oxfam affiliates in turn were very positive about the contributions by Oxfam International and Oxfam Great Britain. Several affiliates were happy to acknowledge that they probably would not have campaigned on the FTT if not for Oxfam Great Britain's example. This was however more pronounced in some countries than in others. Affiliates singled out the *political analyses and policy updates; the different templates and branding materials; the Economists letter; and the Bankers videos; as particularly useful* – although, unsurprisingly, not all resources worked in all national contexts. Oxfam affiliates commented positively about the overall campaign management and governance by Oxfam International. Some partners felt that there could have been better coordination with some actions, for example have one petition instead of several. Smaller affiliates found the stream of information and frequent conference calls challenging. Affiliates appreciated the flexibility of the campaign but felt that the South had often been less visible.

8. Assessing value for money in the FTT campaign is difficult, but the campaign was generally considered to have been effective by the Oxfam staff interviewed, in particular given the relatively modest resources available:
 - The *total amount spent on the FTT campaign (finance and human resources) is roughly €1 million*, a little over half of which was spent in the UK. This represents about 2% of the amount of money spent on campaigning by Oxfam International and its affiliates (in 2010-2011);
 - France has introduced FTT legislation and is committed to spending some of the FTT monies on development; the *French ODA budget would not need to increase by much to make Oxfam's investment in France pay off.*
 - Germany appears to have been particularly efficient in terms of signing up signatories to the FTT petition; the UK stands out in terms of the efficiency of the outreach of its FTT Facebook site;
 - Overall, the *campaign invested slightly more human resources in popular mobilisation activities than in advocacy, but the picture is mixed across different countries.*

Lessons learnt

9. The online survey of UK supporters suggests that what will get supporters (more) involved in FTT activities is (i) *ease of access and facilitation of involvement* – having someone else organise things for them and (ii) *a clear sense that they have a role to play and that their involvement makes a difference*. They like the campaign’s use of objective economic arguments – more so than the celebrity involvement and the Robin Hood branding – and actively ask for *more nuanced material to enable them to challenge what they see as valid counterarguments raised by FTT opponents*.
10. Other lessons around what has worked in mobilising public opinion include the international dimension of the campaign; the Robin Hood branding; the reach of coalitions; and the use of media and social media. The letter of 1,000 economists was endorsed as a major public engagement tool: campaigning organisations actively and extensively used the letter to increase the credibility of their message.
11. Feedback from policy-makers suggests that the campaign should do *(even) more to target MPs (and MEPs)*. There was evidence that proactive and intensive work with MPs is worthwhile: several Oxfam affiliates could point to convincing evidence of influencing parliamentary motions and MP interventions (Italy, France, Germany). The message appears to be one of continuing (or where relevant increasing) this engagement with MPs. Policy-makers praised the creativity of the campaign materials and the robustness of the research papers, but saw *clear scope for more careful targeting of messages*: policy-makers complained both that argumentation was too simplistic and unable to answer to reasonable criticisms and that the campaign materials were too technical to be accessible or directly relevant to policy-makers. This appears to offer a paradox – the message is both too simplistic and too technical – but the message is one of insufficient tailoring and targeting. Some policy-makers (and others) raised concerns about the campaign’s focus on taxation and/or – in their view – the lack of focus on development within FTT messaging.

Conclusions

12. Oxfam and its partners have been able to mount an impressive campaign. Oxfam clearly added value to national coalition efforts; all external stakeholders contacted by the evaluation team were familiar with the FTT campaign and most believed that the campaign had played a role in increasing public FTT awareness; and (British) Robin Hood Tax supporters feel more informed and/or more supportive of the tax. There is not yet any evidence of implementation of the FTT, with money directed towards development, as a result of the FTT campaign, but France has agreed legislation that should see implementation later in 2012. All this was achieved with fairly limited resources (an estimated €1 million).

13. By and large, policy-makers were reluctant to credit the FTT campaign with any major impact on policy-making, but there is some evidence of impact: the FTT campaign appears to have contributed to national policy-making in France and to decision-making within the European Commission; several Oxfam affiliates could point to convincing evidence that they had influenced parliamentary motions.

14. The main messages for the future of the campaign centre around the need for continued (increased) engagement with policy-makers; improved targeting of campaign messages; and proactively working with Robin Hood Tax supporters who want to be able to challenge what they see as valid counterarguments raised by opponents of the FTT.

1. INTRODUCTION

- 1.1. Cambridge Policy Consultants were commissioned by Oxfam Great Britain (OGB) to undertake an evaluation of the Financial Transaction Tax (FTT) campaign. The FTT campaign is operating in multiple national contexts, aiming to influence key European and international bodies. Together with allies, Oxfam has worked to try shifting the position of key governments in Europe and the G20 towards favouring a FTT that would raise funds for development and climate change work. The key objectives of the campaign are presented in the box below.

Box 1.1 Key objectives of the FTT campaign

Political objectives:

- Champion governments in Europe, particularly France and Germany, reach a compromise on the FTT and together show international leadership on driving through a deal;
- Key BRICSAM governments on the G20, particularly South Africa and Brazil, express support for a global solidarity levy, in addition to leaders from LDCs;
- Key European and international financial institutions, particularly the European Commission and IMF, endorse the feasibility of the FTT;
- Bill Gates' report on Financing for development, commissioned by President Sarkozy for the G20, is supportive of the FTT;

Campaigning and media objectives:

- Strong and dynamic national campaigns in strategic countries such as Germany and France;
- Effective coordination and collaboration with the wider global civil society movement campaigning for an FTT;
- The level of public support for a Robin Hood Tax is demonstrated around the world, with over 750,000 people to take action; and,
- Media coverage in key target countries to build public support for the popular campaign and convince policy makers that the FTT is fair, feasible and politically attractive.

Source: Terms of Reference for Oxfam GB FTT Evaluation (November 2011)

- 1.2. The main focus of the evaluation was on assessing the effectiveness of the FTT campaign work and the added value of Oxfam in the broader campaign coalition. The aim of the evaluation was to assess the contribution of Oxfam International (OI) affiliates and their partners on both policy and public opinion changes across a number of countries, and the relative effectiveness of the different approaches used. Oxfam Great Britain explicitly asked for internally-focused process feedback which would help set the future direction of the campaign. The FTT campaign was (is) ongoing during the evaluation

and the ‘live’ nature of the campaign inevitably influenced the evaluation process. For example, some affiliates asked the evaluation team not to contact some national policy-makers because they felt this might undermine ongoing campaign efforts.

1.3. The evaluation ran between December 2011 and June 2012. The research methodology consisted of:

- A start-up meeting with key Oxfam staff from a number of different affiliates;
- Telephone interviews with individual Oxfam staff involved in the campaign in 15 countries (31 interviews);
- A review of background information including internal reviews and campaign materials developed by Oxfam International and their affiliates and media and online media monitoring data;
- Telephone interviews with 35 FTT partner organisations in 14 countries;
- Telephone interviews with 21 external stakeholders in 9 countries, including academics and key opinion leaders, policy-makers and journalists. Policy-makers interviewed include decision makers in national governments and at the European level including members of parliament and political advisors; and,
- An online survey of Robin Hood Tax UK supporters in the first half of June 2012 (552 responses, 464 respondents completing the survey). It is important to remain alert of any possible respondent bias when reviewing the survey results: in particular, more committed supporters may have been more likely to participate in the survey.

Table 1.1 Overview of FTT interviews

	Oxfam staff	Partners	External stakeholders	Total
Argentina	0	1	0	1
Australia	1	2	1	4
Belgium	1	2	3	6
Brazil	2	0	0	2
Canada	1	0	0	1
Denmark	0	1	0	1
France	2	2	2	6
Germany	3	6	2	11
Italy	2	5	1	8
Japan	1	1	0	2

Netherlands	2	0	2	4
Norway	0	1	0	1
Poland	0	1	0	1
South Africa	2	3	1	6
Spain	2	0	0	2
United Kingdom	9	5	5	19
United States	0	1	0	1
International/Europe	3	4	4	11
Total	31	35	21	87

Source: CPC evaluation fieldwork (December 2011-June 2012)

1.4. Assessing the impact of an advocacy campaign presents a number of methodological challenges and this has not been any different for the evaluation of the FTT campaign. The main challenges readers are encouraged to be aware of are as follows:

- The total number of interviewees (87), the total number of interviewees outside Oxfam (56) and, in aggregate, the number of interviewees with key opinion leaders and policy-makers (21) are substantial. However, these numbers need to be set against the scale of the FTT campaign: in particular, the 21 interviews with opinion leaders and policy-makers cover 9 different countries which makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions about impacts *at a national level*, especially for countries where the evaluation team only interviewed one key policy-maker;
- The answers by those decision-makers who participated in the evaluation can only ever give an *impression* of the ‘true’ impact of the FTT campaign. Decision-makers may find it difficult to recall FTT interventions, may not even realise that an intervention was part of the FTT campaign or may not consciously be aware – or be willing to admit – that their own views or behaviour was influenced by the FTT campaign. The latter is arguably all the more relevant given that the FTT is an ongoing campaign. The evaluation team tried to counter these challenges by prompting, reminding and politely challenging interviewees as relevant, but it is important to acknowledge that decision-makers’ reactions are ultimately highly subjective views – be it by *informed* stakeholders – about what the FTT campaign did and did not achieve.
- Finally, the confidentiality the evaluation team offered to all interviewees means it has often been impossible to disclose all relevant information about impacts in this report because to do so would have given away the identity of the individual behind a particular statement. Individual interviewees may have commented quite openly about particular impacts on themselves or their organisation, but it has not always been possible to include this detail.

- 1.5. These challenges are unfortunate but present the reality of undertaking impact assessments in a research environment limited by time and resource constraints and by the willingness and ability of decision-makers to genuinely participate in the evaluation process. The evaluation team aimed to mitigate these challenges by undertaking a detailed review and assessment of the impacts and successes the campaign claimed for itself, the (in-house) evidence base behind these claims and the logic chains of events (again, developed in-house by Oxfam) leading up to these successes. National Oxfam affiliates were explicitly invited to submit examples of decision-makers publicly or privately acknowledging the impact of the campaign and these submissions have been included in some detail (section 3.1).
- 1.6. The evaluation report is structured as follows:
- Chapter 2 introduces the FTT campaign, including the overall campaign strategy and the different national FTT strategies and approaches used; it also includes information on the resources spent on the FTT campaign;
 - Chapter 3 presents the main achievements and impacts of the campaign, building on the evidence collected from the telephone interviews, online survey and internal campaign analyses and documents;
 - Chapter 4 discusses the added value offered by Oxfam in the broader FTT coalition – it explores what partners feel Oxfam affiliates and Oxfam International offered to the campaign over and above what would have been possible without Oxfam involvement; it also looks at value for money;
 - Chapter 5 assesses the main lessons learnt to date, with a particular focus on the effectiveness of the campaign – what has ‘worked’ in bringing about the campaign successes?
 - Chapter 6 concludes.

2. BACKGROUND TO THE CAMPAIGN

2.1. The Financial Transaction Tax campaign

2.1.1. The introduction of a financial transaction tax (FTT) is not a new idea. In the 1970s, economist James Tobin proposed a currency transaction tax to manage exchange rate volatility and curb speculation against currencies. In the late 1990s, the Asian financial crisis renewed interest in this ‘Tobin tax’, this time linking the tax more clearly to global justice objectives, suggesting that the proceeds of the tax should (partly) go to worthy causes. The late 1990s also saw the establishment of ATTAC (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens), initially as a single issue organisation focused on the introduction of an FTT. ATTAC still operates across a number of countries today; it is no longer a single issue organisation, but has continued to campaign for an FTT. In addition, in a number of countries, including Germany, Belgium and the UK, wider Financial Transaction Tax coalitions or FTT campaigns by organisations other than ATTAC predate the current Financial Transaction Tax campaign.

2.1.2. Oxfam’s involvement in the FTT campaign came about in different stages. Oxfam staff described the FTT campaign as a “*funny campaign*” in that it was not necessarily planned in the same mould as Oxfam campaigns traditionally are; there was no global campaign strategy or clearly defined campaign objectives. Instead, Oxfam involvement came about when a few Oxfam Great Britain (Oxfam GB) staff spotted the FTT as a useful opportunity to repackage finance for development messaging to the media: the FTT message enabled a continued focus on development finance without having to resort to the same old message about official development aid (ODA) promises being broken. FTT messaging linked in with broader media messaging about the financial crisis, making the development finance message more newsworthy. It is important to credit the critical involvement of filmmaker and activist Richard Curtis in the early stages of the campaign: he was acknowledged as the “*creative brain behind the Robin Hood concept*” and as having been crucial in initiating the FTT campaign in the UK in the first place.

- 2.1.3. Oxfam Great Britain grasped the potential of FTT campaigning and explored the possibility of getting more formally and more actively involved with allies and partners already previously involved in FTT campaigning or similarly interested in taking up this campaigning issue. Oxfam International spotted the potential of the FTT campaign as a global campaign, in particular given the window of opportunity offered by the upcoming G20 in France in November 2011, and started encouraging other Oxfam affiliates to get involved.
- 2.1.4. No global strategy as such was developed for the campaign – which is unusual for an Oxfam International campaign. OGB and OI offered loose coordination of actions for Oxfam affiliates and their allies but national coalitions were able to set their own objectives, strategies and priorities and Oxfam affiliates were able to choose whether or not to join the campaign. There was no robust international coalition structure, but Germany, France and the United Kingdom were identified as focus countries for the campaign.
- 2.1.5. In essence then, the Financial Transaction Tax campaign encompasses a series of loosely coordinated FTT campaigns across a number of different countries, each with their own timeline, their own strategy and approach, their own aims and objectives and their own national campaign coalition. What all campaigns have in common is that they ask for a small tax on financial transactions and that at least some of the proceeds of the tax are spent on development. Other than that, the campaign took “*the path of the least resistance*” embracing difference of opinion as a strength. For example:
- Policy objectives varied: French campaigners advocated for 100% of the tax proceeds to go to development; in the UK the coalition opted for a split 50% for domestic issues and 50% for development and climate change;
 - Many countries used the Robin Hood Tax branding; some opted not to do so;
 - National coalitions varied – most national campaigns operated in a wide coalition including trade unions, faith organisations, health activists, green groups and development NGOs were involved, but this was not mirrored everywhere (for example there was little involvement of health activists in Belgium and little involvement of trade unions in France) and the relative importance of different groups varied among countries;
 - Oxfam was involved in many countries, but not at all or not very much elsewhere – across the different countries where a campaign took place, Oxfam’s role varied from non-existent to facilitator to initiator and driver of

the campaign. In a limited number of countries Robin Hood Tax campaign materials were adopted in countries without Oxfam representation (e.g. Norway, Denmark and Poland) – independently from any Oxfam encouragement in at least one instance;

- The ‘Global Days of Action’ which aimed to encourage supporters across the globe to organise an FTT-inspired advocacy event, were about rallying individuals around the FTT, not about agreeing a policy platform. Coalitions were offered a menu of options from which to pick and choose with the central team providing a broad steer as to who to target.

2.1.6. The main components of the FTT campaign (both internationally and at the national level) included:

- *Development of partnerships and coalitions*, both at the international and national level, including with organisations and key individuals/celebrities;
- *Development of campaign materials*, including social media tools and materials;
- *Steering and coordination work with Oxfam affiliates and allies*, including coordination of an economists letter about the feasibility of the FTT (signed by economists across different countries), development and distribution of regular policy updates, and coordination of lobby actions in particular around the G20 and the ‘Global Days for Action’;
- *Public campaigning*, including stunts and online actions to build public support for the campaign ask;
- *Media work*, including press releases and liaison work with journalists; and,
- *Direct lobby work* with policy makers.


2.1.7. A wide range of campaign materials were developed, much (but not all) of it by Oxfam International and Oxfam Great Britain. A timeline of the FTT campaign is presented in Annex A. Materials include:

- A number of films, including ‘The Banker’ (February 2010) and ‘The Banker 2’ (April 2010) both directed by Richard Curtis and featuring Bill Nighy (The Banker) and Ben Kingsley (The Banker 2) as bankers; the ‘Sizzle’ film template which allowed individual supporters to feature in a film promoting the FTT by uploading a picture of themselves; and a brief educational cartoon explaining the FTT (developed by Oxfam Canada);

Box 2.1 Robin Hood Tax videos: The Banker and The Banker 2



Source: Robin Hood Tax website (robinhoodtax.org)

- Materials for the Global Days of Action (February 17th and June 22nd 2011), including campaign packs and guidance; the wrap-up film and Flickr slide show for the 1st Global Day of Action and map of activities and Flickr slide show for the 2nd Global Day of Action;
- An open letter supporting the FTT signed by 1,000 economists (April 2011);
- Robin Hood Tax branding materials, including Robin Hood hats and masks; a Robin Hood splash screen¹; the Robin Hood Tax logo and the Robin Hood Tax website (robinhood.org); 
- A ‘fake’ Financial Times (for the European Council in October 2011);
- Template op-eds and international op-eds from the likes of Desmond Tutu; and,
- Research and policy briefs (developed by affiliates across different countries), including an Ipsos MORI poll (April 2010).

2.2. National FTT strategies and approaches

Overview

- 2.2.1. The national contexts for the campaign varied considerably – both in terms of the political context; the existence of national FTT coalitions and campaigns prior to Oxfam’s FTT campaign and Oxfam International’s priorities:

¹ A splash screen is an image that appears on the screen while the user is waiting for the website, game or programme to load.

- Several countries had a long history of FTT (or Tobin tax) coalitions, including Italy, Germany, the UK (Stamp Out Poverty) and Belgium;
- A number of countries had already introduced legislation in support of the tax, including Belgium (in 2004) and France – even if the legislation was largely symbolic, stating that the country would introduce the tax as and when the other EU/Eurozone member states would do so;
- The political context varied between countries and over time as a result of election cycles and changes in Government – for example the Netherlands saw a shift from Labour to a conservative government; the UK saw Labour handing over power to a coalition of the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats; Italy saw Silvio Berlusconi hand over to Mario Monti.
- Both France and the UK were able to campaign in the context of an election (2010 in the UK, 2012 in France); the French presidency of the G20 in 2011 offered additional opportunities;
- The UK, France and Germany were priority countries for the campaign;
- Oxfam was a lead partner in the FTT coalitions in the UK, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain and Germany; it was a key partner (if not necessarily leading partner) in Australia and Italy; its involvement was limited in the coalitions in Norway, Denmark, Finland, Poland and the US – either because Oxfam has no presence in the country or because of a decision to limit involvement.

2.2.2. The table below presents an overview of the national FTT campaigns in Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, South Africa, Spain, the United Kingdom and United States.

Table 2.1 Overview of national FTT campaigns

	Campaign history (before Oxfam involvement)	Political context before the campaign	Start date (Oxfam involvement)	Campaign ask/objective	Approach (role of Oxfam)
Australia	No previous campaign	FTT seen as 'a crazy idea'	April 2010	Only asking Australia not to block	Launched by World Vision, Oxfam and Jubilee Australia One dedicated FTT coordinator in Jubilee Australia, key partners contributed to the cost. A loose coalition of 25 member organisations with a smaller steering group of 6.

					<p>Replicated Robin Hood Tax website in the Australian context</p> <p>Public campaigning was about generating a large supporter base (e.g. attracting new Facebook fans) but also about putting pressure on policy makers (e-actions before G20 meetings and federal elections)</p> <p>Direct lobbying to key government officials to support FTT including e-actions directing key policy makers</p> <p>Campaign ongoing</p>
Belgium	Strong history of campaigning (including Oxfam and others) in the run-up to the 2004 legislation	2004 legislation committing Belgium to introduction of FTT if Eurozone agrees	Mid 2010	<p>Make Government more vocal supporter</p> <p>Belgium should introduce FTT if Eurozone does it (as indicated in 2004 legislation)</p>	<p>Strategy was to team up with organisations already working on this (Financial Action Network).</p> <p>Popular campaigning was about supporter engagement rather than putting pressure on policy-makers (e.g. petition signatures not used nationally, but added to international petition)</p> <p>Direct lobbying of key decision-makers to keep issue on agenda (including direct delegation to prime minister) in particular in the context of the Global Days of Action</p>
Brazil	No previous campaign	In 2009 adopted a 2% tax on foreign capital inflow for equities and fixed income	No official launch but several actions during 2011	Unclear	<p>Focus on media work, where a number of opinion articles were published in national economic papers and close to G20 summit in Nice, targeting economic journalists. The aim was to increase visibility of FTT in specialist media.</p> <p>No lobbying as the government already supportive of FTT.</p> <p>Collaboration with key allies in the Brazilian Network for the Integration of People (REBRIP). Activity mainly targeted the (run up to) the June 2012 Rio+20 summit.</p>
Canada	No previous campaign	Government opposing any bank tax	Mid 2010 When Canada hosting G8 and G20	Press government to adopt a tax to control international currency speculation	<p>Strategy was to develop a campaign around existing broad group of organisations from development, human rights, labour sector, local poverty and environment.</p> <p>Focus on building public support (e.g. regular stunts on the financial district and development of a FTT cartoon in the run up to the G20 meeting) and raise awareness (rather than put pressure on policy makers). Only limited lobbying as it was considered that</p>

					<p>success would be difficult.</p> <p>Very much Oxfam's campaign, with a loose network of partner organisations supported the campaign.</p> <p>Used the RHT website template, social media and Bankers video.</p> <p>Regular stunts in the financial district in Toronto</p>
Denmark	No previous campaign	Government opposing FTT	March 2011	<p>Ask current government not to block</p>	<p>Initiated by IBIS, a Danish member-based development organisation – there is no Oxfam affiliate in Denmark. A campaign coalition of 16 development and environmental organisations, Attac and a trade union.</p> <p>Mainly about awareness raising, writing articles and opinion pieces on agenda setter, organised events and social media</p> <p>Adopted a Danish version of the RHT website (used the same RHT templates)</p>
France	Tobin Tax campaigning by some civil society organisations (Attac)	President Sarkozy already suggested earlier (2009) that he might introduce a tax	Oxfam 2011 Others already earlier	<p>Government should introduce FTT now – not necessary to wait for global or even EU agreement</p> <p>All FTT proceeds should go to development</p>	<p>Large coalition of partners, including four main partners (including Oxfam) undertaking the bulk of activities. Unlike many other countries, no active involvement of trade unions.</p> <p>Use of Robin Hood branding</p> <p>Popular campaigning seen as mechanism to put additional pressure on Government (and G20); particular focus on building online community and reaching out beyond the 'usual suspects' (people already familiar with Tobin tax), e.g. also targeting popular media to support the campaign and economic journalists to influence advocacy targets</p> <p>Particular focus on lobbying in the context of the autumn 2011 G20 in France and, in the run-up to this, direct lobbying of policy-makers, including during summer 2011 party conference season – targeting both left and right, encouraging each side not to be 'outdone' on the FTT by the other side.</p> <p>Frequent contact with senior policy-makers including office of president.</p>
Germany	Steuer Gegen Armut (Tax Against Poverty)	2009 no stance on FTT	October 2009 Oxfam	<p>Asking the government to adopt FTT</p>	<p>A broad coalition of 86 organisations.</p> <p>Steering group: Jorg Alt (Jesuit Priest), WEED, Attac Germany,</p>

	launch in October 2009 Previously campaigning by some civil society organisations	At an official hearing in parliament on a FTT in May 2010, the Government committed to introducing a FTT	Germany supported since the launch		<p>Oxfam and DGB Union.</p> <p>Oxfam responsible for media contacts and public campaigning.</p> <p>Campaign has a dedicated website, developed prior to Robin Hood Tax campaign, not using Robin Hood Tax branding.</p> <p>The main strategy has been to lobby parliamentarians (e.g. offer technical expertise) with a strong focus on public mobilisation (supporters asked to sign a petition for the government to introduce FTT which was handed to the finance minister).</p> <p>Popular campaigning and media work aimed to increase public (and media) awareness (e.g. run the German version of the Banker video in local cinemas and published one page advert in a national newspaper).</p>
Italy	A previous campaign in 2003 focused on the Tobin Tax	Government against FTT	<p>March 2010</p> <p>Zero Zero Cinque (0.05) – Italian name for the FTT campaign and coalition</p> <p>Oxfam supported since the launch</p>	Asking government to support FTT at EU level	<p>A broad coalition of around 50 organisations with a smaller number of core organisations including Oxfam.</p> <p>Oxfam responsible for campaign coordination together with a volunteer.</p> <p>Campaign website administered by Social Watch. Did not use RHT template because of difficulties in programming and also because RHT branding would not work in Italy.</p> <p>Strategy of the campaign was to lobby and advocacy work to influence parliamentarians and key opinion leaders (e.g. key actions with the Vatican and around G20) with limited public engagement. The campaign in Italy has been more about interaction between academics and policy makers.</p> <p>Use experts and scholars support (aka economists’ letter) as an effective way to show policy makers that FTT is a credible option.</p>
Japan	Existing civil society organisations work on similar issues in the context of	Government opposed bank levy. Will support FTT if other countries do.	Ad hoc campaigning since 2009	Asking government to progress towards adopting International Solidarity Tax, not just FTT but different kinds of levy (e.g. airline ticket tax, Transnational Transactions Tax)	<p>A loose coalition of civil society organizations</p> <p>Strategy has been to lobby key decision makers on introducing a wider Solidarity Tax. No public campaigning.</p> <p>Demonstrating support at the international level (e.g. participating in the international delegation in key G20, IMF and World Bank</p>

	innovative sources for development finance				meetings).
The Netherlands		Government not opposing FTT	Mid 2011	Campaign to lobby the new government that was opposing FTT	<p>No coalition</p> <p>Public campaigning to demonstrate public support and put pressure on the new government (e.g. twitter e-action, asking supporters to send emails and tweets to parliamentarians).</p> <p>A lot of use of social media: RHT website, you tube channel, twitter and Facebook account</p>
Norway		Currency transaction tax has been on government platform since 2005 but will adopt only if taken on elsewhere	June 2010		<p>A campaign led by Attac Norway (no Oxfam affiliate in Norway) with a coalition of 20</p> <p>Strategy was to generate visibility through Robin Hood stunts; they based their demands and branding on Oxfam GB but also Canada and France</p>
Poland	No previous campaigning	No stance	August 2011	Visible campaign during the Polish EU presidency	<p>No coalition or Oxfam affiliate in Poland. Polska Akcja Humanitarna (PAH, Polish Humanitarian Action) responded to OI request to organise a campaign in Poland.</p> <p>Strategy was to engage local NGOs to join PAC in campaigning for a FTT. Together with OI organised internal workshops and capacity building on how to cooperate with Oxfam.</p> <p>A stunt in September 2011 on front of the presidential palace.</p>
South Africa	No previous campaigning	Government not supporting FTT	Spring 2011	SA Government and African Union to support FTT in Cannes G20 summit	<p>A loose coalition of Oxfam, trade unions, health and development organisations</p> <p>Lobby work close to G20 summit in Cannes (e.g. several meetings with Sherpa), where OGB provided technical expertise and resources (consultant time) to ensure SA would support the FTT in</p>

					G20 (which they did). Popular mobilisation in the context of the COP17 summit in Durban (November-December 2011)
Spain	No previous campaigning	Government against FTT	Formal launch in 2011, building on preliminary campaign activity in 2010 Parallel campaign by Attac and Trade Unions		Strategy of the campaign was to maintain development aid in the national agenda and FTT as one solution to the financial crisis Saw an opportunity to campaign on FTT as a solution for the financial crisis A coalition led by Intermon Oxfam (Spain) Focus of the campaign was to build media support for FTT at the time when the government was drawing up their annual budget and there was a national debate on international aid. FTT highlighted as another way to facilitate development aid.
United Kingdom	War on Want created the Tobin Tax Network in the UK to campaign for a tax on currency transactions in 2002	2010 Labour Government open to discussion on FTT 2010 onwards the Coalition Government opposing FTT	March 2010	Calling for a Financial Transaction Tax (FTT) on all major financial transactions	Strong focus on public awareness-raising through supporter engagement and media work; Some direct policy lobbying, in particular early on (2010 general elections) but resource constraints and consideration that success would be difficult limited investment in this area Supporters encouraged to directly email to their MPs 115 organisations support the UK campaign
United States	No previous campaigning	Government against FTT	Autumn 2010	Asking the government not to block FTT	Oxfam worked through coalitions and organisations working on FTT as a means of influence rather than actively engage in pushing the policy makers to shift their position (e.g. supporting unions on campaigning and providing guidance based on Oxfam's leadership in Europe).

Source: FTT campaign evaluation telephone interviews, in particular interviews with Oxfam staff and partners.

2.2.3. Things to note in the above table in terms of strategic approach are:

- Most FTT campaigns (in Europe) linked directly with the financial crisis and tapped into **public anger with the financial sector**. Outside Europe, where anger towards banks was absent or less visible, affiliates and partners tended to use alternative messaging, along the lines of: “*Our country has done well; this is a way to collectively respond to market volatility and generate additional funding for climate change, health and education*”. That being said, even within Europe levels of anger at the banks varied.
- In many countries the campaign launch and **higher levels of campaigning activity coincided with critical political moments** where NGOs joined together to lobby decision-makers, including for example national elections (UK and France), the EU presidency (Poland) and G8 and G20 summits (Brazil, South Africa, US, Canada).
- A wide range of different campaign mechanisms and approaches were used. Most focused their popular campaigning efforts on **building public support for FTT through awareness-raising** about the tax. Campaigns used different channels for this; some focused on the media (Spain and Brazil) but in most cases public engagement occurred mainly online via the campaign website and social media (Facebook and twitter), which were seen as a relatively resource efficient tools to reach potentially large numbers of supporters.
- Some campaigns (e.g. Netherlands, Germany and UK) ‘passively’ **used the public support base generated online to demonstrate public support** to the media and decision-makers (e.g. by highlighting the number of Facebook fans or number of people who had viewed a campaign video). A smaller number of campaigns (UK, Germany, France, Australia, UK) aimed to also **mobilise the public to actively demonstrate support** (e.g. by asking to sign a petition of support, email their MP, or get involvement in local actions and stunts).
- Most if not all campaigns directly lobbied decision-makers; resources invested in this were more limited than public awareness-raising resources in some cases, not in others. A small number of countries (Brazil, Japan, South Africa), due to very limited resources, were focusing on **direct lobbying of key opinion leaders only** (economist journalist in Brazil, G20 Sherpa in South Africa and key parliamentarians in Japan). In these countries affiliates felt that public campaigning would have required substantial effort and resources because public awareness (and interest) in a FTT was relatively low. There appeared to be less direct lobbying with policy makers in Canada and the US and more recently perhaps also in the UK.
- A number of affiliates participated in a campaign where a **FTT was just one part of a wider campaign call for a ‘solidarity tax’** (Japan, Brazil, Canada) where campaigners felt that focus on a FTT alone would be too narrow.

The paragraphs below highlight the campaign strategies in France, Germany and the UK – the campaigns’ three focus countries – in more detail.

Rationale of the campaign strategy in France

2.2.4. The campaign strategy in France started from the premise that the French presidency of the G20 (in 2011) and the French presidential elections (in 2012) offered a clear campaigning opportunity. President Sarkozy had already made a public commitment (in 2009) that he might be interested in introducing an FTT. The FTT message to the president was to encourage him to introduce the tax sooner rather than later and to introduce it nationally as opposed to waiting for EU agreement. The allocation of the tax to development and climate change was also a central message of the French campaign throughout. The campaign targeted both the right and left of the political spectrum, encouraging each side not to be ‘outdone’ on the FTT by the other side. The campaign focused on the G20 summit. The summer 2011 party conference season and the French budget vote between September and November 2011 were used as two windows of opportunities in the run-up to the summit. Oxfam France commissioned a report on the feasibility of the FTT which was endorsed by 99 French partners and which was extensively used by the French coalition.

2.2.5. A public awareness-raising campaign ran alongside the political lobby work; the aim was to try raising awareness about the tax beyond the usual suspects already aware of the Tobin tax. Priorities here were (i) the development of a large(r) online community and (ii) media work, in particular reaching new audiences and bringing economic journalists on board. The reasoning was that increased public awareness might generate additional pressure, encouraging the president (and the G20) to act.

Rationale of the campaign strategy in Germany

2.2.6. The campaign, ‘Steuer Gegen Armut’ (Tax Against Poverty), was initiated by Jesuit Priest Jorg Alt in 2009 as a response to the public anger towards banks. The wide coalition includes “*church organisations, development NGOs, 7 banks, a few bishops, academic institutions and 3 opposition parties*”.

- 2.2.7. The strategy has been to lobby for a tax against poverty, specifically an FTT. An early petition for FTT in late 2009 (distributed through coalition partners' newsletters, websites and through social media) achieved 55,000 signatories in three weeks resulting an official hearing in the Parliament on a FTT. The campaign has continued to maintain pressure since this early win to maintain German government support for a FTT. The German Parliament has invited campaign partners (not Oxfam), as financial experts to discuss various aspects of a FTT and innovative financing for development on a regular basis. The campaign has strong relationships and has regular contacts with key parliamentarians and officials.
- 2.2.8. Oxfam Germany is one of the five lead partners in Steuer gegen Armut and has provided the backbone to public campaigning and media work. The rationale for public facing work is to reach beyond usual suspects and ensure FTT is kept on the agenda. The overall strategy for Oxfam Germany has been to focus on media work (e.g. organising stunts featuring Robin Hood, taking advantage of any political hooks and purchasing advertising space in a major national newspaper) and public awareness raising (e.g. developed a German version of the Banker video, which was distributed via the campaign and partners websites, and viewed by more than 100,000 cinema goers).

Rationale of the campaign strategy in United Kingdom

- 2.2.9. The origins of the UK campaign centre on a general concern to secure sufficient funds for development in the face of the proposed public austerity measures. Stamp out Poverty and filmmaker and activist Richard Curtis among others was particularly concerned that the problems with the state of public finances would put significant strain on the resources available for development finance.
- 2.2.10. A speech by the then Prime Minister Gordon Brown around the anniversary of the collapse of Lehman Brothers suggested that as the Banks were recovering that it would be appropriate for them to make a greater contribution to public finances. These ideas were put together by Richard Curtis and his team linking the need for more sustainable sources of development finance to the widespread view that having been rescued by the public purse it was time for the bankers to pay something back. At a very

early stage the Robin Hood theme was identified as being very immediate and recognisable – certainly in the UK but initial market testing in a number of other countries suggested that the concept travelled well.

2.2.11. Central to the UK campaign was the integration of popular campaigning and advocacy pressure; the aim was for policy-makers to be fully aware of the appetite for change among the British public. The campaign worked in a time-constrained setting, but involved a large number of partners. The partners worked on the basis of an agreed set of principles, without necessarily consulting on every detail, which allowed them to respond rapidly to issues as they arose. Working on the basis of common principles – rather than a detailed policy consensus – also helped in maintaining the broad-based partnership.

2.2.12. The UK campaign did identify key potential change points. There were initial hopes that direct lobbying of the British Prime Minister’s office might encourage the then Labour administration to introduce an FTT in the final stages of the administration but in early 2010 it became clear that this would not occur. All efforts then went into ensuring that MPs seeking (re-)election in the May 2010 UK General Election were aware of the strength of feeling among voters on this issue. From the outset the campaign recognised that the political opposition to the FTT was always going to be strong in the UK.

Resourcing the FTT campaign

2.2.13. Although Oxfam has been one of the key contributors for most if not all national campaigns, overall resources for both international coordination and national campaigning have been limited. Excluding the UK, annual national FTT budgets range from €50,000-60,000 to €5,000-8,000. Oxfam Great Britain had a significantly higher budget (about €300,000-€400,000) which however is still considerably less than the GROW campaign (about €4-5 million). The table below presents the resources available to national FTT coalitions.

Table 2.2 Overview of resources of national FTT campaigns

Country	Financial resources		Human resources (Oxfam)
	Oxfam	Total	
Australia	€5,500	€6,000	1 FTE (policy/advocacy lead)
Belgium	€4-5,000		> 1 FTE (20% policy/advocacy, 5% popmob)
France	€60,000 (8 months)	€75,000	4-5 FTE in total, including 1 FTE for online campaigning, 1 FTE for policy work
Germany	€8,000*	€50,000	1.5 FTE in total, including 25% head of campaign, 50% popular mobilisation/media, 30% policy
Italy	€	€5,000	1.5 FTE in total, including 30% project coordinator and 30% volunteer time (external)
The Netherlands	€8,000		2 FTE in total, including 1 FTE popular mobilisation, 1 FTE policy
Spain	Unknown	Unknown	1.5 FTE in total including 50% head of popular mobilisation and 60% campaigns coordinator (policy lead)
United Kingdom	€300,000-400,000		7 FTE in total including 1.5 FTE policy, 1 FTE media, 1.5 FTE global campaigns, 2.5 FTE UK campaigns

Source: CPC FTT evaluation – telephone interviews.

Note: The €8,000 figure for Germany includes a €23,000 contribution from Oxfam Great Britain.

2.2.14. The data in the above table are based on broad and quick estimates from individual members of staff in the different Oxfam affiliates or the central FTT team – rather than any detailed calculations. This and the absence of clear benchmarks against which to compare the FTT figures make drawing firm conclusions about resource allocations difficult. That being said, some careful observations can be made:

- The resources available in France, in particular the human resources invested (4-5 FTE) but also the financial resources (€60,000), compare favourably to other countries. Key French partner organisations added another 1 to 2 FTEs to the human resources available to the French campaign. The UK scores even higher, but this is perhaps less surprising given the size of Oxfam Great Britain (several times bigger than the other Oxfam affiliates). Several affiliates explicitly described the resources (both financial and human) available for the FTT campaign as “minimal”: “I spend about 20% of my time on it and this is on top of the normal 100%”.
- The French resource input included strong investment in human resources on the policy side (> 1 FTE in Oxfam France plus additional support from outside partners). There are differences of opinion as to whether or not this heavy investment in advocacy in France is exceptional in the FTT

campaign. Some staff describe the FTT campaign as “*definitely a popmob driven campaign*” but others caution against quick conclusions, seeing clear differences between countries and identifying Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Australia and Belgium in particular as countries that were stronger on the policy side than on popular mobilisation and the UK and Germany as countries that were more balanced or, particularly in the case of the UK, better resourced on the popular mobilisation side.

3. IMPACTS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

3.1. Influencing policy-making

3.1.1. The current state of play is one of support for the introduction of an FTT across a range of stakeholders and organisations. Across stakeholders interviewed for this evaluation, there is a strong consensus that the FTT has moved up the political agenda and is more visible publicly than it was a couple of years ago, even in quarters where this increased profile has not translated into (political) support.

“Policy makers position has changed from FTT being ‘a crazy idea’ to saying it is not appropriate here, it has moved from a loony idea to one worthy of response” (Coalition partner)

3.1.2. The FTT campaign has cleverly and sometimes selectively used statements of support for the FTT by external stakeholders in support of the campaign. However, in the context of an evaluation exercise it is important to note that the support and endorsements by external stakeholders have at times been conditional or partial. The overview of endorsements and support below tries to distinguish as much as possible between different levels of conditionality in support for an FTT.

Box 3.1 Endorsement for the FTT since the start of the FTT campaign

Endorsement for the FTT from national Governments and international organisations

- Since the start of the campaign, *parliamentary resolutions in support of the introduction of an FTT* have been passed in Belgium (June 2011), France (June 2011) and Brazil (June 2011) and by the European Parliament (March 2011).
- The *International Monetary Fund* released two papers relating to the FTT. Its first paper ‘A fair and substantial contribution by the financial sector’ (June 2010) concludes that *an FTT cannot be dismissed on grounds of administrative practicality*, as most G20 countries already tax some financial transactions. However, the report also states that important practical issues are not yet fully resolved and that “*an FTT does not appear well suited to the specific purposes set out in the mandate from G20 leaders*”. The paper prefers the introduction of a tax on financial activities (FAT tax) to an FTT. Its second paper ‘Taxing financial transactions: assessment of administrative feasibility’ (August 2011) concludes that “*in principle, an FTT is no more difficult and in some respects easier to administer than other taxes*” but that “*in practice, an FTT faces a number of administrative challenges*”. This paper also suggests that “*the viability of an FTT would be enhanced by international cooperation*”.
- Following a request by the European Parliament, *the European Commission* launched a

- consultation on the introduction of the FTT (in February 2011) and *an FTT impact assessment* (in September 2011). The impact assessment concluded that both an FTT and FAT (Financial Activities Tax) are technically feasible and that the FTT could potentially raise more revenues but would come with a higher risk of relocation or disappearance of transactions; both FTT and FAT taxes are expected to have “*small but non-trivial effects*” on GDP and employment, with an FTT having a somewhat higher negative effect. The European Commission has since suggested legislation to introduce an FTT at EU level.
- In terms of national Governments, there is support for the introduction of an FTT from key countries such as France, Germany, Spain, Italy and Belgium. Germany announced its support for the introduction of an FTT in the Eurozone in March 2011. In January 2012, the French Government announced the *unilateral introduction of a 0.1% FTT in France*, to be implemented from the summer of 2012 onwards. The new Italian prime minister is reconsidering the country’s position on the FTT, but supportive in principle. There are plans for a core group of 9 countries to go ahead with the introduction of an FTT under the European Union’s enhanced co-operation procedure – a June 2012 press release by the German Government appeared to confirm that progress was being made in this respect.
 - The *November 2011 G20* in Nice put an FTT on the agenda and while the G20 leaders did not go as far as endorsing the tax, they “*acknowledge*” initiatives to tax the financial sector, “*including an FTT*”. This was beyond expectations given opposition from some G20 sections. A ‘coalition of the willing’, including France, Germany, Brazil, Argentina and South Africa backed the Robin Hood Tax.

Endorsement for the FTT from other stakeholders

- The *Gates Foundation report* to the G20, ‘Innovation with Impact: Financing 21st Century Development’, refers to the fact that “*FTTs already exist in many countries*” which suggests that they are “*clearly feasible*”. The report does not include any explicit recommendation to the G20 to adopt an FTT. Instead, tobacco taxes are described as “*especially attractive*” among the different revenue proposals and taxes considered. The report does, however, urge those countries that choose to adopt the FT to use a portion of the money raised for development.
- In October 2011, the Vatican’s *Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace* released a paper ‘Towards reforming the international financial and monetary systems in the context of global public authority’, suggesting that it “*seems advisable to reflect, for example, on taxation measures on financial transactions*” among a range of other financial sector interventions (October 2011). In January 2012, the president of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace described an FTT as “*one way of bringing economics and finance back within the boundaries of their real vocation*”.
- The *Archbishop of Canterbury* discussed the FTT in an article published in the Financial Times in November 2011. Although not explicitly endorsing the FTT, the article points to the “*backing of significant experts who cannot be written off as naïve anti-capitalists*” and suggests that objections to the FTT “*generally seem to rest on exaggerated and sharply challenged projections*”.
- As mentioned in the previous chapter, Oxfam International secured the support of more than 1,000 economists. BBC business editor Robert Preston implicitly supported an FTT in a September 2010 blog, referring to the suggestion by the chairman of the Financial Services Authority, Lord Turner, “*that it might be no bad thing to levy a tiny Tobin tax*”. Robert Preston adds that some might find it odd that “*the chancellor of the exchequer ... does not demand a bit of that*”. In September 2011, he suggested that the Government “*should not be quite so wary of a tax that would squeeze City profits*”.

- 3.1.3. The above box shows the breadth of the support for the introduction of an FTT. In the context of this evaluation, however, a key question is to what extent this support can be (partially) attributed to the FTT campaign. There

are a number of indications suggesting that the campaign has made a difference, including:

- At the most basic level, for some stakeholders, *the timeline ‘fits’* in that they had not formally come out in favour of the FTT prior to the FTT campaign. For example, the evaluation found no evidence of the Vatican coming out in support of an FTT (or previously the Tobin tax). This is not the case for all stakeholders, however (see further).
- Crucially, *the campaign’s terminology – the Robin Hood Tax – has been widely used*, including in the media and official press statements and policy documents. Examples include the Archbishop of Canterbury’s article in the Financial Times (November 2011), the French President Sarkozy in his press conference following the G20 in Nice (November 2011) and a number of references in European Commission and European Parliament documents. This is testimony to the visibility and awareness of the campaign at (senior) policy-maker level. More generally, some policy-makers explicitly reference and acknowledge the importance of NGO campaigning in bringing the FTT closer, including for example the European Commission in its September 2011 press conference on the FTT.
- Oxfam staff and campaigning partners can point to *in-house logic chains and second-hand evidence suggesting that their campaigning has made a difference*. For example, campaigners in France pointed to initial resistance in their early discussions with (some) officials and policy-makers. Partners in Germany made a similar point. The box below presents a number of key examples of in-house logic chains suggested as evidence of impact by Oxfam affiliates, often convincingly so.

“It is obvious that the German finance minister changed his opinion, in his statements in 2008 he said that a FTT makes no sense at all, but now he says that we need it at the European level” (Coalition partner)

Box 3.2 Examples of logic chains suggested as evidence of impact

FRANCE

- More than 15 bills related to the FTT were presented by French MPs. An important number of them were (co-)written by the French FTT coalition. The French lower house, dominated by left parties, voted an FTT law in November 2011, just after the G20: the French coalition met the MPs who signed the bill before the vote and the coalition (co)wrote the bill and the *final text included their arguments and sentences*.
- The French Parliament voted the FTT bill presented by the French Government in February 2012. There is now a French FTT and the collection of the FTT will begin in August 2012. *One of the French MPs called Oxfam France just prior to the vote to hear their impression and arguments; during his oral submission, he repeated some of these arguments*.
- The report on the feasibility of the FTT (endorsed by 99 partners) recommended applying the stamp duty in France and then extending it to derivatives and bonds. Challenged by the President to propose an initiative in less than two weeks, the Ministry of Finance went for French implementation of the stamp duty as suggested in the 99 partner report. The report was also seen as having helped the FTT campaign enlist allies and access decision-makers and specialist journalists who would have

<p>been harder to engage otherwise. Finally, Swedish and German non-papers on alternative FTT designs submitted to the March 2012 Ecofin councils refer to a French-style first-step solution, as referenced in the 99 partners report.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Oxfam France launched a quick email and phone action targeting special advisors of president Sarkozy and Socialist party chairman Hollande. More than 800 emails were sent to the Socialist party in a couple of days. At the same time, Oxfam France published a one page ad in le Monde targeting Sarkozy, for which they received an <i>immediate reaction from his cabinet</i>.
ITALY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ The <i>campaign was referenced in parliamentary motions</i> presented during a plenary session in February 2012 (4 references). Two MPs with whom the campaign had useful contacts in the previous months explicitly quoted the Zero Zero Cinque campaign in their contributions to the debate (4 references in total). The motion presented by the first of these two MPs was basically drafted by the campaign, as evidenced by an exchange of emails with the MP. The second MP is also believed to have been strongly influenced by campaign arguments: for example, a few days prior to the February 2012 debate, <i>one of the MP's assistant contacted the campaign for updates</i>. ◦ Similar parliamentary activity strongly influenced by the campaign occurred in 2010 and 2011.
GERMANY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Oxfam Germany was able to point to <i>23 SPD MPs who have referenced the Steuer gegen Armut campaign</i> at one point, including one MP who wrote about the campaign on his/her homepage. ◦ A campaign partner pointed out how very shortly after the initial petition organised by Steuer Gegen Armut, a <i>motion for FTT was raised in the German parliament by an MP who had been approached by the campaign</i>. ◦ A petition for the introduction of the FTT in Europe (June 2011) by the SPD explicitly references the Steuer gegen Armut campaign.
GREAT BRITAIN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ The campaigning in the run-up to the 2010 general election achieved a situation where all three party leaders felt obliged to support the idea of an FTT (statements released by the three parties prior to the election), followed by a coalition which talked about taxing the banks in their first budget and implemented a bank levy by the end of the year. Other causal factors may have played a role, but the FTT <i>campaign became the 'campaign of choice' for incoming MPs who wanted to make their name in responsible finance</i>; ◦ Just prior to the 2010 election, 47 MPs attended the parliamentary launch of the FTT campaign which is more than the organisers had previously seen at parliamentary events; <i>all MPs were reportedly there because constituents had asked them to go along</i> – the fact that they were exceptionally keen to get their names recorded on the attendance sheet was seen by Oxfam staff as additional evidence for this. MP enthusiasm continued with 20 MPs attending a re-launch event in October 2010 and more than 145 MPs have signed Early Day Motions in favour of the FTT or contacted the campaign to be known as FTT champions. ◦ Oxfam staff were also able to refer to <i>anecdotal evidence that MPs heard more about the tax than any other single issue</i>. The Robin Hood Tax featured as a core ask of the Tea Time for Change mass lobby which was the single biggest mobilisation of development in recent years - reaching 140 MPs who were all lobbied in person.
SOUTH AFRICA
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ From a very low starting point both in terms of civil society campaigning and political interest in the FTT, the South African government was supportive and spoke out in

favour at the G20 Summit in Cannes, and again in the South African press during the COP Summit. This happened *despite the fact that initial reactions from South African officials, when first contacted, were very reluctant* and wary about negative impacts on South Africa.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION

- In the context of the European Commission’s impact assessment, staff were able to refer to *comments by European Commission staff that the advocacy work had made a difference* and to identify the exact wording of a proposed amendment in the final version of the impact assessment.
- Staff also identified *use of Oxfam arguments and sentences in the speeches by Commissioners Barroso and Semeta* at the launch of the impact assessment.
- Finally, *Oxfam staff reported being contacted by the cabinets of Commissioners Barroso and Semeta*, setting out the changes made to the impact assessment – proactively being contacted by two European Commissioners was seen as quite unusual and an indication of the level of engagement.

Source: Telephone interviews with and written contributions from Oxfam staff.

- Oxfam staff saw a potential logic chain of impact in both the statements of support for the FTT by the Vatican and the Archbishop of Canterbury, seeing clear parallels between (i) *the timing of meetings with the Vatican and the Archbishop and the statements of support* and between (ii) the suggestions made by campaigners and the actual wording of the support. Given confidentiality constraints, it is not possible to reflect the views of the Vatican and the Archbishop’s office as to the impacts made. However, it is possible to note that the Archbishop’s text clearly coincides (in terms of timing) and explicitly references the Vatican’s text and position, showing a clear potential logical chain between the Vatican’s endorsement and the Archbishop’s statement.
- *All external stakeholders contacted by this evaluation were aware of the Financial Transaction Tax campaign* (or Robin Hood Tax campaign). To a large extent, this is not surprising, given that many of the contact details had been suggested to the evaluation team by Oxfam or its campaigning partners and were individuals who had explicitly been targeted by the campaign. However, the evaluation team was able, in a limited number of cases, to go beyond the names initially suggested. Policy-makers thus contacted tended to comment that they would not be able to answer all our questions because they had had very little to do with the campaign, but no one came back suggesting that they were not aware of the campaign.
- A limited number of telephone interviews with policy-makers, in particular in France but also in Germany, *explicitly recognised the role played by the campaign in influencing the political debate*. Elsewhere, however, few policy-makers were willing to acknowledge that the campaign has influenced the decision-making process. A number of officials, including for example one in the Netherlands and an EU diplomat felt that the campaign had “*made no difference at all*”. Many felt that the campaign was highly visible and put the issue on the agenda of the wider public, but there is a general sense that *other factors were more influential in the decision-making process*. There is a sense that, even if public opinion may have been in favour of the FTT, the issue was not necessarily important enough

in all FTT countries for people to really pressure their MPs on. Chapter 4 of this report (lessons learnt) will deal with this issue in more detail.

“It is not like supporting a campaign for gay rights where you know someone around the corner you want to support”
(Policy-maker)

- 3.1.4. There are indeed a number of possible alternative explanations for the increased attention and support for the FTT. As Oxfam staff themselves have recognised, there were a number of significant push factors already prior to the FTT campaign; indeed these push factors were part of the rationale behind setting up the FTT in the first place: Oxfam identified this possible trend towards renewed interest for the FTT as a clear campaigning opportunity; Oxfam’s FTT campaign was “*a deliberate attempt to jump on a bandwagon*”.

Box 3.3 FTT push factors other than Oxfam campaign

- The **French Government** was considering the introduction of an FTT as early as 2003² and started working on the tax in earnest during their 2009 presidency of the Leading Group on Innovative Financing for Development. This year also saw an article in *Le Monde* by Bernard Couchner (then minister of Foreign Affairs) and Christine Lagarde (then Minister of Economic Affairs) in support of and FTT. French president Sarkozy called for the introduction of an FTT during his speech at the Millennium Development Summit in New York (2000). In other words, France was championing the idea of a tax long before the FTT campaign got started there.
- A limited number of other Governments had already expressed their support prior to the launch of the FTT campaign. **Belgium** introduced FTT legislation as early as 2004 (providing for the introduction of an FTT as soon as Eurozone agreement was reached on this) and expressed support for the FTT during the 2010 Millennium Development Summit – as did **Spain**. Gordon Brown, then the **UK’s prime minister**, expressed his support for an FTT in an op ed in the *Wall Street Journal* (with Nicolas Sarkozy) in December 2009. The **German finance minister** wrote an op ed in support of the FTT in the *Financial Times* in September 2009. It is important to note here that both the UK and Germany were in the run-up to elections at that point.
- The president of the **European Socialist Party (PES)**, Poul Nyrrup Rasmussen, expressed his support for an FTT in March 2010. The PES called for a ‘European Action Day’ on 24 April to highlight the issue of the FTT. The PES are involved in the broader Europeans for Financial Reform coalition, also including the European Green Party, trade unions and NGOs; Europeans for Financial Reform was launched in September 2009; the introduction of an FTT is one of their demands.
- Within the **Leading Group on Innovative Finance for Development**, an FTT was considered as early as 2006, though “*notably by NGOs*” member of the group. During the Norwegian presidency (2007) the Group commissioned the UK NGO Stamp Out Poverty to provide a study on the introduction of the tax. When Belgium, France and Japan issued a declaration in support of an FTT in September 2010 (Millennium Development Summit), all Leading Group members – including Norway, Spain and Brazil – expressed their support. Importantly, **the Gates Foundation** also officially announced their membership of the Leading Group at that time; in other words, the Gates Foundation was already

² In the Landau report, commissioned by then president Chirac, the FTT is one of the options discussed.

considering innovative finance and willing to be seen as supporting an outfit in favour of an FTT as early as 2010;

- **Stamp Out Poverty** has been calling and campaigning for the introduction of a Currency Transaction Levy (CTL) since 2005; FTT coalitions were also operating in countries such as Belgium and Germany prior to the launch of the campaign; the Trade Union Council and Tax Justice Network commissioned Richard Murphy to write a paper on ‘Taxing Banks’ to present to the IMF (in February 2010) in the run-up to the IMF’s research on the FTT at the request of the G20;
- The **G20** was interested in financial sector taxation as early as September 2009: the Pittsburgh declaration asked the IMF to prepare a report “with regard to the range of options countries have adopted or are considering as to how the financial sector could make a fair and substantial contribution toward paying for any burdens associated with government interventions to repair the banking system”.

3.1.5. In other words, there was a strong undercurrent of interest in the introduction of an FTT prior to the launch of the FTT campaign. This is not necessarily a problem – as stated before, Oxfam themselves identified this undercurrent of interest and recognised its campaigning potential. Oxfam clearly understood the variety of factors pushing in the direction of the FTT which is exactly why they invested in this campaign in the first place. However, what external stakeholders and policy-makers are consistently and systematically feeding back to the evaluation team is that it is ***this broader underlying interest in taxation and regulation of the financial sector, linked to the financial and fiscal crisis, in combination with proactive French championing of the tax, that has kept the FTT firmly on the political agenda*** – rather than the FTT campaign as such. Time and again, stakeholders referred to the fact that Governments across Europe were actively looking for money, meaning that taxation proposals were likely to be on their radar screen.

“There has been a lot of discussion around financial regulation going forward and back over the years, but the financial crisis pushed policy makers to have a serious consideration of the concept” (Policy-maker)

3.1.6. Many stakeholders also referred to the political dynamics of having France (and later Germany) in favour of the FTT. For example, Belgian officials explicitly acknowledged the French drive as a factor in the Belgian (and European) decision-making process; officials elsewhere suggested that it is no coincidence that Greece started talking more positively about an FTT following German support (given Greece’s need for German bail-out monies). EU diplomats saw pressure from the European Parliament and more recently the joint German-French request to the Commission as *the* drivers for European Commission action on the FTT. It is interesting to note in this

respect that even Oxfam’s internal campaign updates comment that “*it is not clear*” what unblocked the impasse in Germany and France in the summer of 2011, when Chancellor Merkel and president Sarkozy jointly wrote to the president of the EU Council expressing their support for an FTT. Oxfam staff themselves acknowledge that support for the FTT from the European Commission must be seen within the wider context of a desire to increase the European Commission’s own resources and growing unease within the European Parliament about what was seen as inertia of the Commission in the face of the financial crisis; Oxfam staff point to the fact that a growing number of MEPs considered a motion against Barroso.

- 3.1.7. It is important to note here that officials and policy-makers were prepared to acknowledge the contribution of other, earlier NGO campaigns (e.g. Stamp Out Poverty in the UK, activity by WEED in Germany and the role of NGOs in the run-up to the FTT legislation in Belgium, for example). This is important because it means that policy-makers’ reluctance to accept an influence of the FTT campaign on the decision-making process is not just a matter of policy-makers being unwilling to credit any NGO action – although it may be easier for policy-makers to credit past campaigns than live ones.
- 3.1.8. It is crucial to stress that the focus on the financial crisis and the role of the French Government (and European Parliament) as drivers does not diminish the value of the FTT campaign:
- To the extent that the FTT campaign has helped in building on and sustaining the momentum in France (and the available evidence clearly suggests that it has), the FTT campaign in France can be seen to have indirectly supported FTT progress elsewhere in Europe: if the FTT campaign influenced the French Government and the French position brought around others in Europe, the FTT campaign can be seen to have contributed. Even when challenged by the evaluation team that voices in the French Government have long championed the FTT and that France may well have moved on this without the FTT campaign, Government officials clearly stated that the *FTT campaign had been a central component in France*. This is no small achievement and should be recognised as such;
 - There is a clear sense among stakeholders that the *campaign has helped bring the FTT to the attention of the public* and this is seen as a big plus. The extent to which this applies varies between countries. The UK (and also Australia) were frequently quoted as examples of significant impacts in

terms of increased public recognition – combined with little or no movement politically;

- Policy-makers may not think the campaign has directly influenced the policy-making process, but they still point out that they have found *meetings with campaign staff “useful”*. Other campaign evaluations have shown that champions feel reassured when someone is confirming that they are doing the right thing and there is no reason to suggest that this would not have been the case in the FTT context;
- The FTT campaign’s own materials do not appear to have directly swayed people, but the nod of approval from other stakeholders (such as the Gates Foundation and the IMF) appear to have people sit up and notice and the *FTT campaign has directly contributed to this by actively advertising and promoting this approval*;
- The European Parliament and in particular the European socialist group (PES) was seen by many as having been of paramount importance in putting pressure on other EU institutions although some questioned their influence on the European Commission. *To the extent that the FTT campaign (and its trade union component) engaged with MEPs*, the FTT campaign may be able to claim some credit for MEP action on this issue. A detailed assessment of the impact of the campaign on MEPs is difficult; a small number of interviews with MEPs or related stakeholders were done for this evaluation. However, it is important to note, as mentioned earlier, that the PES (and the Europeans for Financial Reform) was already actively campaigning on the FTT in early 2010. Moreover, one MEP directly fed back that the campaign focused too much on lobbying those already converted and failed to reach beyond ‘the lowest hanging fruit’.

3.1.9. This critical analysis of the advocacy impacts hopefully will not undermine, in any way, FTT campaigners’ justified enthusiasm for the campaign’s real achievements. The reason for this evaluation’s hard-nosed look at campaign impacts is to make sure that it will be possible to draw lessons: one can only hope to explore what has enabled progress to be achieved, when there is a clear understanding of what progress has *actually* consisted of. This issue will be taken up in more detail in chapter 4 (lessons learnt).

3.2. Influencing public opinion/the media

Introduction

3.2.1. As mentioned earlier, there is a strong consensus among interviewees that the FTT is more visible publicly than it was a couple of years ago and the FTT campaign is widely credited with achieving this.

“When we started [the campaign], FTT was not in public or political discourse; now something like 70% of the population know what it is, this is a major thing.” (Coalition partner)

“The campaign has really taken off in [the national] media. No one talked about Robin Hood Tax before and now it features regularly in our national papers.” (Oxfam affiliate)

“It has become a lot more visible. We have managed to introduce the Robin Hood brand – all newspapers call FTT a Robin Hood tax now.” (Coalition partner)

3.2.2. Testing this hypothesis of increased awareness of the FTT because of the FTT campaign is challenging. The evaluation came across a number of FTT polls, both national and EU-wide surveys, but many of the polls test *support* for the FTT as opposed to general *awareness* of the FTT. More importantly, there are no examples of ‘before and after’ polls allowing for direct comparison of the situation prior to the FTT campaign and now. As such, the poll evidence, although interesting, is of limited value from an evaluation perspective. The available poll evidence is summarised in Annex B.

3.2.3. Instead, the evaluation used the following mechanisms to test the hypothesis of increased awareness and more generally the impact on public opinion:

- A collation of anecdotal evidence from the telephone interviews around increased visibility of and support for the FTT campaign.
- A review of media coverage for the FTT and the FTT campaign across the different participating countries as collected by the different Oxfam affiliates, linked to analysis of the online Google News archive³ to identify broader trends of media interest in the FTT;
- Analysis of social media monitoring information collected by Oxfam affiliates, linked to some basic social media benchmarks available for other (Oxfam) campaigns; and,
- Analysis of the online survey responses by Robin Hood Tax UK supporters to questions as to how the campaign impacted on them.

We look at these different components in turn.

³ The following search terms were used: financial transaction tax, Robin Hood tax, Tobin tax, tax on financial transactions.

Anecdotal evidence of increased awareness and support

3.2.4. There is some interesting additional anecdotal evidence suggesting that awareness of and support for the FTT has increased and this can be linked to the FTT campaign:

- In countries where Robin Hood branding was used, commentators, journalists and policy-makers started referring to the FTT as the Robin Hood tax. Interestingly, the Robin Hood Tax term was also adopted by the media in countries where the campaign had not used the Robin Hood Tax branding including in Spain but also in Germany and Italy. Other examples include president Sarkozy's references to the Robin Hood tax during his November 2011 press conferences, references to the Robin Hood tax on the BBC news website and during the BBC4 News Quiz.

“What we achieved was dusting off an old idea – the Tobin tax and bringing it closer to making it happen... This is a relatively complex idea but it is no longer an idea out there in the wilderness. Even if they stopped everything now, it would be really difficult to go back to that. Getting someone like [BBC business editor] Robert Peston saying that he's up for it is not nothing” (Oxfam affiliate)

- There is interesting anecdotal evidence from one academic interviewee. The individual concerned has set his/her students essays about the FTT (previously the Tobin Tax) for the last ten years and has noted a clear evolution:

“Students used to say that it was a nice idea but not practical. This was 10 years ago. Five years ago they would say nice and possibly practical but you will never get the political will needed. Now – post crash – students just say that it is a good idea” (External stakeholder)

- There are some indications that awareness of the tax has reached beyond the usual suspects. For example, the Banker video was linked to an online petition enabling viewers to vote in favour (yes) or against (no) the introduction of the FTT. The Goldman Sachs internet protocol address was reportedly used to deliver votes; a few thousands 'no' votes were registered in the space of a few minutes. It is difficult to know how many individuals were involved in delivering these few thousands votes, but it is interesting to note that someone or some people in all likelihood linked to Goldman Sachs considered the FTT sufficiently threatening to react to an NGO campaign poll. Similarly, shortly after the European Commission's FTT announcement in the summer of 2011, the Global Financial Market Association, representing the interests of the world's leading financial industry, quickly responded with their own research evidence suggesting that any levy on transaction would be largely passed on to end users. Oxfam staff also referenced a cyber attack on the Robin Hood Tax website which brought it down for one day. The internet security experts involved

suggested to Oxfam it had been an extremely sophisticated attack that could only have been organised by a large, well financed group.

- The campaign has been successful in mobilising a substantial number of civil society organisations and other actors to call for a FTT; the FTT can now boast a support base of hundreds of organisations – in the UK alone 115 organisations have given their support to the campaign. In addition, a thousand economists in 53 countries have written to G20 finance ministers.

3.2.5. It is important to note that the extent to which awareness has increased, has varied between countries. In countries where the 1990s saw extensive interest in the Tobin tax, overall public awareness was (seen as being) already quite high. For example, in Belgium, there was a sense that the public was already quite aware of the FTT concept prior to the campaign. A 2004 survey in Leuven (a Belgian student town) showed that a third of the population (36%) were familiar with the Tobin tax. Elsewhere, campaigners felt that public awareness had not necessarily gone up significantly. In the absence of large scale opinion polls information, media coverage for the campaign the number of supporters viewing campaigning materials or signing up for the campaign petitions can give a very broad indication of different levels of interest in different countries.

Analysis of media coverage for the FTT and the FTT campaign

3.2.6. Due to limited resources, most affiliates did not undertake any systematic recording of media coverage, but some did. Examples of media coverage include:

- ***United Kingdom: 509 media clippings*** identified between February 2010 and June 2011⁴, including several examples of coverage in mainstream media including BBC (25), the Guardian (45), the Daily Mail (19) and the Financial Times (4). Content analysis undertaken by Oxfam Great Britain prior to this evaluation indicates all but one clipping provide positive coverage. There are peaks in the coverage in February 2010 and the following months, linked to the February 2010 campaign launch and again in February 2011, mainly linked to media coverage for bankers' bonuses. Other coverage in the UK appears to be linked mainly to individuals or organisations coming out in support for the FTT, elections or the Government's budget announcements.

⁴ This includes 308 clippings in 2010 referencing both Oxfam and the Robin Hood Tax and 201 clippings in 2011 including any reference to the Robin Hood Tax. The 2010 clippings are considered to be fairly exhaustive, the 2011 clippings are likely to present a partial picture

- **France: 180 media hits identified**, including 56% in the printed press, 20% from the wires, 12% radio and 5% TV. Oxfam France report that they have been quoted in all major newspapers and on some important radio stations. Staff did however comment that it was difficult to secure positive media coverage, especially early on, with journalists questioning the feasibility of introducing an FTT. The stunts and demonstrations in Nice for the G20 summit in particular were singled out as having required great coverage (10 clippings collected).
- **Germany**: no systematic collection, but **9 examples of media clippings** presented to the evaluation team. Media coverage was secured in specialist media (e.g. the Socialists' newspaper and development media), der Spiegel (a German weekly news magazine with a weekly circulation of more than one million), Sueddeutsche Zeitung and Cicero (online political magazine).
- **Italy: 15 examples of media hits** collected by the campaigners, including several appearances in La Repubblica (an Italian daily general-interest newspaper with an average daily circulation of 500,000) and radio interviews with campaign partners in the Radio Vaticana and Ecoradio. A blog by a leading academic in the Italian national paper La Repubblica regularly refers to the campaign and FTT: during 2010-2012 the Tobin Tax was mentioned 9 times, the Robin Hood Tax 5 times and Zero Zero Cinque (as the Italian FTT campaign is known) 4 times;
- **United States**: A media briefing resulted in **2 press clips, and 1 Reuters article** which quoted a member of staff on the FTT.

3.2.7. Several affiliates commented how there had been an increase in media interest over time and were generally positive about the amount of media coverage secured. In Great Britain, Robin Hood Tax supporters who completed the online survey tended to be more critical of the amount of coverage secured. When asked whether and how they had been influenced by the media coverage, 1 in 5 commented that they had not noticed any media coverage. Individuals who responded to the open comment question about the media generally commented that (i) there was very little media coverage and (ii) that media coverage tended to be negative. To a large extent, however, views about the amount of media coverage depend on expectations and what counts as success.

“To be honest with you I watch the news quite often. I have only seen the RHT shown or mentioned on TV about 4 times in the last 18 months or so. You need more coverage obviously”
(Online survey respondent)

3.2.8. One of the difficulties in identifying whether or not FTT media coverage can be counted as successful is the lack of common templates for collecting and analysing media coverage and the lack of clear benchmarks and any overview

of the amount of media coverage Oxfam campaigns elsewhere have achieved. Annex C presents a preliminary and very partial attempt at benchmarking (both media coverage and online and offline engagement with supporters), undertaken in the context of a previous CPC assignment for Oxfam International. These table offer some very broad guidance but more internal benchmarking and joining up of media monitoring templates are needed before clear conclusions can be drawn about the FTT media coverage.

- 3.2.9. Analysis of the Google News archive offers an additional route of enquiry. This analysis does suggest that (online) media attention for the FTT has increased exponentially since 2007 (see table 3.2 below). This appears to offer quantitative support for the general consensus among stakeholders of increased visibility of the FTT, growing from only 41 references in 2007 to more than 3,500 in 2011. The analysis also shows a flattening of interest in 2012: if the three first months of 2012 offer a good indication of coverage for the year as a whole, 2012 media coverage will result in about 3,300-3,400 references in Google News archive. It is important to note that the depth of chronological coverage offered through Google News varies across different countries, publications, languages and years. As such, on its own, the Google News data cannot be taken as robust evidence of an increase in media coverage for the FTT. Together with other sources of evidence, however, it can help build up a picture of increased attention for the FTT.

Table 3.1 References to the FTT in Google News archive 2007-2012

	Financial transaction tax	Robin Hood tax	Tobin tax	Tax on financial transactions	Total
2012 (to 24/3/2012)	269	94	374	99	836
2011	944	838	1,050	750	3,582
2010	173	142	237	198	750
2009	54	33	166	111	364
2008	10	104	29	18	161
2007	9	7	16	9	41
Total	1,459	1,218	1,872	1,185	5,734

Source: Google News Archive and CPC calculations

Note: The totals in the column are the sums of the previous four columns. They are likely to offer an overrepresentation of the number of articles referring to the FTT in any given year as one article may well include a reference to the FTT, Tobin tax and Robin Hood tax.

Analysis of social media monitoring information

3.2.10. The social media monitoring information on the FTT campaign is summarised in the table below. Adding up the numbers across the different countries suggests the following totals:

- **About 600,000 individuals signed their name to an FTT petition (about 370,000 individuals)** across the 8 countries included in Table 3.2 and about 235,000 signatories through petitions run by Avaaz, Europeans for Financial Reform and Make Finance Work. High numbers of signatories stand out in the UK and Germany in particular. The number of signatories in Germany is higher than the number in the UK in both absolute and relative terms (as a percentage of the population⁵);
- **About 280,000 FTT campaign Facebook fans** (7 countries) – with the strongest numbers for the www.robinhood.org website and for UK based fans. Indeed, the number of Facebook fans in the UK dwarfs the numbers elsewhere – probably reflecting the investment in social media and the strong supporters’ base in the UK. In relative terms (as a percentage of the population), Australia and Denmark score relatively high; Canada scores relatively low⁶;
- **About 12,800 Twitter followers** (6 countries), the vast majority of them in the UK;
- **About 865,000 viewings of the two Banker videos** combined (in four languages, either dubbed or with subtitles) with an additional 25,000 viewings of the FTT cartoon produced by Oxfam Canada and 13,000 viewings of the 80 second FTT explanation. More than 100,000 viewings of the Banker videos were of the video in translation.

Table 3.2 FTT supporters (website and social media as in 15/03/2012)

	Petition	Facebook fans	Twitter	Video views	Oxfam supporter base
Australia	101,024 ‘yes’ votes on RHT website (without signing up by name; number of sign-ups is about 4,000)	4,759 (+5,801 UK RHT Facebook fans)	318 tweets 299 following 563 followers	Directs to the Oxfam GB Banker I video	100,000+

⁵ The population of the UK is about 61 million; Germany counts about 81 million citizens.

⁶ The population of Australia, Canada and Denmark are 21 million, 34 million and 5.5 million respectively.

Canada		269 (+4,246 UK RHT Facebook fans)	21 tweets 5 following 25 followers	FTT Cartoon: 20,172 (French) 5,111 (English)	
Denmark	526	1,548 (+904 UK RHT Facebook fans)	Directs to the GB RHT tweets	Directs to the Oxfam GB Banker I video	No Oxfam affiliate in the country
France	36,639	9,510 (+2,508 UK RHT Facebook fans)	255 tweets 238 following 480 followers	Le Banquier: 28,013 views	35,000 (web)
UK	102,060 supporters joined the campaign	264,443 of which 199,980 UK based	4,585 tweets 592 following 11,607 followers	Banker I: 654,592 views Banker II: 110,537 views	
Germany	170,000 signed the petition for the Parliament	1,008 (+2,947 UK Facebook fans)	202 tweets 0 following 84 followers	Banker (German version): 24,853 and 46,447 100,000+ cinema viewings FTT explained in 84 seconds video: 13,124	
Italy	3,215 signed the campaign manifesto	702 (+ 1,329 UK Facebook fans)	No campaign tweeter	Banker I (with subtitles): 2,133	6,290 Facebook fans
Spain	48,079				
United States	988 (Robin Hood Tax USA) and 2,731 (US Transaction Tax petition)	Facebook posting received 89 likes and 32 shares	172 individuals tweeted campaign e- action	842 views for campaign video by Oxfam America	

Source: Interviews with and written contributions from Oxfam affiliates and review of relevant Internet pages.

3.2.11. Again, no direct benchmarks are available to compare the results of Oxfam's activity. Annex C presents a broad overview of what online and offline actions in other contexts have achieved but it is not possible to directly compare activities. Some broad observations are possible:

- *The 600,000 signatories to FTT petitions appear to be average to strong for campaigns of this scale* – FTT did not reach the 1 million+ signatories that the most successful (if often larger) campaigns secure but scores higher than the many campaign actions that only secure a few thousand or tens of thousands supporters (see Table C.2).

- The Banker 1 video is by far the most popular video on the Robin Hood Tax YouTube channel (650,000 viewings; the next most popular video, excluding the Banker 2 video, only achieves about 60,000). Arguably even more telling is that on the Oxfam Great Britain YouTube channel (which has twice the number of subscribers on the Robin Hood Tax YouTube channel: 3,000 odd compared to 14,000 odd), *only 2 videos (out of 500+ videos) secured more viewings than the Banker 1 video.*
- The total number of fans for the national campaign Facebook sites tends to be a fraction of the number of Facebook fans for each national Oxfam affiliates, with two noticeable exceptions: the Robin Hood Tax Facebook site (260,000+ fans) is significantly more popular than the Oxfam Great Britain Facebook site (90,000+); the French Taxe Robin des Bois Facebook site (9,500+ fans) is slightly more popular than the Oxfam France Facebook site (8,000+). In other words, one could argue that the *social media FTT campaigns in France and the UK have punched above their weight* compared to the Oxfam affiliate's Facebook presence.

3.2.12. Analysis of the Robin Hood Tax campaign's online monitoring data provides evidence of increased support for the FTT campaign between the February 2010 campaign launch and March 2012. The numbers of people who signed up for the campaign via email stood at just over 100,000 in March 2012. The rate at which people have engaged has slowed down over time. This slow-down appears to have been relatively gentle for the number of email and Twitter sign-ups: the first nine months of the campaign saw a monthly average of about 5,800 new email sign-ups; the following 12 months saw a slightly lower but still respectable 4,000 new email sign-ups per month. The drop in YouTube interest has been more pronounced, possibly linked to early interest in the Bankers videos (launched in 2010); the same is true for the drop in Facebook sign-ups. The number of e-actions can not be directly compared as there appears to be some inconsistency in the way in which the data was collected. As elsewhere, what is needed here are *benchmarks* from other campaigns to decide whether the relatively gentle slowing down of email sign-ups can be considered a success or give rise to concern.

Table 3.3. Robin Hood Tax Website statistics Feb 2010-March 2012

	*Feb-Oct 2010		Nov 2010-Oct 2011		Nov 2011-March 2012		All
	All	Monthly	All	Monthly	All	Monthly	
Email signup	52,000	5,778	47,500	3,958	2,560	512	102,060
Twitter	4,600	511	5,870	489	1,147	229	11,617
YouTube	668,154	74,239	265,146	22,096	50,027	10,005	983,327
Facebook	252,000	28,000	9,500	792	3,001	600	264,501
E-actions taken	45,000	5,000	28,317	2,360	607	121	73,924

Source: CPC analysis of Robin Hood Tax UK Statistics 2010/11

Note: The data collection was done by different members of staff and there appear to be some inconsistencies as to what was and was not included under particular headings. For example, the e-actions taken between November 2010 and October 2011 only cover e-actions on the Robin Hood Tax website; the November 2011 to March 2012 refer to one e-action only; it is not clear what is included in the 45,000 e-actions recorded between February and October 2010. Moreover, the timeline is not clearly recorded for the data covering the first period; the timeline used here has been deduced on the basis of the date of the campaign launch and the date of later reports.

Influencing supporters

3.2.13. The picture painted by the online survey of impacts on Robin Hood Tax supporters (in Great Britain) is encouraging given the campaign's objectives:

- Fewer than 1 in 10 of survey respondents commented that the campaign did not influence them; ***the vast majority of respondents (more than 9 in 10) ticked at least one of the options indicating that the campaign had influenced them.***
- The single biggest impact of the campaign on supporters was that they felt ***more informed (8 in 10)***; relatively fewer (less than 2 in 10) actually changed their mind about the tax with however most of these changing their mind in the 'right' direction given the objectives of the campaign: ***17% of respondents are 'now more in favour' of the introduction of an FTT.***
- ***More than a third (37%) commented that one of Oxfam Great Britain key issues had been put higher on their radar screen,*** in particular UK poverty and development. This is in line with supporters' earlier campaign experiences: although three quarters of respondents had already previously been involved in other campaigns, individuals were more likely to have been involved in human rights or environmental/climate change campaigns. UK poverty campaigns in particular featured less often.
- Impacts are broadly similar for individuals who had previous campaign experience and those who had not. Overall, they were less likely to report influence. The main exception is that individuals without previous campaign experience were more likely to report that they were now more aware of a particular issue; UK poverty in particular has been put on their radar screen.

Table 3.4 Impact on supporters' views on the tax

	%	No
I feel more informed about the tax	81	362
The campaign put an issue higher on my radar screen	37	163
<i>The campaign put UK poverty higher on my radar screen</i>	30	134
<i>The campaign put development higher on my radar screen</i>	21	93
<i>The campaign put climate change higher on my radar screen</i>	12	53
I changed my mind about the tax	18	79
<i>I changed my mind about the tax - I am now more in favour</i>	17	75
<i>I changed my mind about the tax - I am now less in favour</i>	1	4
Subtotal: the campaign had an impact	92	411
The campaign has had no impact on me	8	35
Total	100	446

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

- 3.2.14. More than half (60%) were further influenced by the media coverage for the FTT. The most likely impact was that *media coverage made the campaign seem more credible and the introduction of the FTT more likely*. A quarter of respondents also commented that the media coverage made them proud to be involved and more enthusiastic about the campaign. However, media coverage was unlikely to encourage respondents to design their own campaign activity (only 1%).

Table 3.5 Impact of FTT media coverage on supporters

	%	No
Made the campaign seem more credible/serious	46	203
Made me more optimistic that the tax would be introduced	45	198
Made me proud to be involved	28	121
Made me more enthusiastic about the campaign	24	103
Encouraged me to design my own campaign activity	1	5
Subtotal: the media coverage influenced me	60	261
I did not notice any media coverage	21	92
I noticed media coverage but it did not really influence me	19	85
Total	100	438

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

- 3.2.15. The survey also contains information about the amount of action taken by online respondents. In this instance, however, it is particularly important to

be aware of possible bias in the responses: more committed (more active) supporters may well have been more likely to participate in the survey. One in 10 of online survey respondents had initiated at least one campaign action. Half of respondents had followed the campaign but not been involved in any activities. The remaining third had participated in actions organised by others. In other words, *almost half of respondents had participated in campaign actions*.

Table 3.6 Action taken by UK supporters

	%	No
I have followed the campaign but have not been involved in any activities	54	269
I have participated in actions organised by others, but have not initiated any actions myself	34	169
I have been actively involved and have initiated at least one action myself	10	52
I am aware of the campaign but do not feel particularly strongly about it	1	4
I had not heard about the campaign before this email survey mentioned it	*	2
Total	100	496

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

- 3.2.16. The vast majority of respondents (more than 9 in 10) had spoken about the campaign or shared campaign materials with people they knew, and most of them had done so frequently (2 in 10) or from time to time (6 in 10). *Two thirds had shared information or materials with strangers*, although most only from time to time (3 in 10) or rarely (3 in 10).

Table 3.7 Sharing of information/materials by supporters

	People I know		Strangers	
	%	No	%	No
Frequently	23	111	9	39
From time to time	57	277	27	118
Rarely	15	71	31	133
Never	5	26	33	145
Total	100	485	100	435

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

Conclusion

- 3.2.17. Drawing clear conclusions about the campaign's impact on public opinion is possibly even more difficult than assessing its impact on policy-making.

Although there is ‘hard quantitative’ data in the form of monitoring, assessment is hampered by a lack of consistency and uniformity in data collection, both across and within affiliates: what is available are often only ‘snapshots’ of information for a particular action or time period. This limits how much analysis (and benchmarking) can be done in an evaluation context and leads to a vicious circle: any analysis undertaken offers little added value to campaigning staff who are thus understandably not inclined to invest their limited time in developing or implementing more consistent monitoring tools meaning little analysis of value will be possible in future.

- 3.2.18. That being said, *the overall impression is indeed one of increased public awareness of the FTT which can be partially attributed to the FTT campaign*: a strong consensus among interviewees of increased public awareness; Google News archive data suggesting an increase in media coverage; and online survey respondents commenting that they now feel more informed about the tax and (for 17% of them) more supportive of the tax; all point to a shift in public awareness – although it is important to stress that the evidence base is stronger for the UK. The overall impression is also one of an overall campaign reach (600,000 signatories) that was average to strong for a campaign of this scale but where the Banker 1 video and the Facebook pages in the UK and France punched above their weight and where Germany stands out in terms of the FTT petition signatories it secured, both in absolute and relative terms (as a percentage of the population).

4. ADDED VALUE OF OXFAM

4.1. Added value of Oxfam in national coalitions

4.1.1. The evaluation team asked national campaign partners how (if at all) they felt Oxfam had added value to the coalition and to the campaign. Although responses obviously varied across countries, there were a number of common themes:

- ***Overall, strong positive reaction*** to the role played by Oxfam and the organisation's way of working as a coalition partner. One partner commented that s/he had been "*warned*" by other organisations against working by Oxfam because in the country concerned, Oxfam has a reputation (in some circles) of using its partners for its own ends; s/he stressed that this had not at all been the case. There, as elsewhere, Oxfam staff were praised for their genuine partnership working approach, making sure partners were involved in decision-making;
- Arguably the areas of added value quoted most often were (i) ***Oxfam's experience in popular mobilisation***, (ii) the ***strength of Oxfam's media expertise, specifically social media*** and (iii) the organisation's insights in the political dynamics of international negotiation. In terms of popular mobilisation experience, the 'stunts' approach was particularly valued. The striptease stunt in Nice and the stunt at Pariser Platz in front of the Brandenburger Tor in Berlin, for example, as well as the 'mock' Financial Times distributed to the Parliamentarians in Brussels, were mentioned by a number of partners, as particularly successful and not something traditionally in their campaigning portfolio. Oxfam's added value in terms of popular mobilisation played also at a more subtle level: some partners commented that their traditional approach of campaigning would be more confrontational than Oxfam's approach. They felt that the 'merriness' of the campaign – a play on Robin Hood and his Merry Men – had offered an interesting new perspective to the public and media traditionally more used to (and at times quite hostile) to confrontational, controversial campaigning techniques. That being said, some partners felt that the lack of controversy may also have had its disadvantages: for example, the first Banker video (with Bill Nighy), liked and praised by virtually all interviewees, was described as perhaps not sufficiently controversial to allow the video to really go 'viral'. In other countries, partners went along with the stunts approach, but felt this put them slightly outside their own comfort zone even if they recognised the mobilising potential of the stunts – one described the main difference made to the campaign by Oxfam as follows:

“I suppose I would never have worn the silly little hat without them. The things one does for a good cause” (Coalition partner)

- Several partners highlighted the ***strength and added value of Oxfam’s work on media, specifically social media***. Partners suggested that the social media, in particular, allowed the campaign to develop constituencies online and allowed them to be reactive to a very quickly changing environment.

“The campaign has been innovative, the social media especially, the way we used twitter and Facebook to reach and talk to supporters. It has been labour intensive but good to have these conversation with supporters.” (Coalition partner)

- ***Oxfam’s insights in the political dynamics of international negotiation*** were similarly quoted as an important plus. This appeared often directly linked to the international dimension to the FTT campaign and indeed to Oxfam as an organisation: national coalitions tended to include partners with strong links (at times stronger than Oxfam) with national policy-makers, but often depended on Oxfam for intelligence on what was happening politically in other countries;

“Max Lawson’s political updates and analyses have been super helpful. The challenge we had was to make people feel this is real and other governments are supportive, keep the spirits up” (Coalition partner)

- It is interesting to note that it is Oxfam’s insight in the policy-making process rather than Oxfam’s technical expertise that was highlighted more often as a particular added value. Indeed, in a number of countries partners responded that Oxfam had ***not necessarily added that much value in terms of technical FTT knowledge***. This was particularly true for affiliates that were part of a wide and well-established coalition. (More recent and emerging campaigns saw technical knowledge and argument formulation as important added values.) Some interviewees (including both campaigners and policy-makers) commented that lack of technical expertise and sufficiently strong arguments – and especially counterarguments – remained a key weakness of the campaign. Elsewhere, other organisations were quoted as having been working on an FTT for years and having a sufficient and stronger grasp (than Oxfam staff) on the technicalities of the FTT. This is perhaps not surprising given that the FTT is a relatively new area of interest for Oxfam and since Oxfam staff and Oxfam affiliates admitted to sometimes having felt (or feeling) out of their depth when discussing the FTT and unable to respond to questions;

“Oxfam’s technical information was fine but we needed technical knowledge in the national context so we used technical papers by national academics [when lobbying the policy makers]” (Oxfam affiliate)

- A further area of added value, commented on in several countries, was the importance of simply having ***an additional ‘body’ working on the***

campaign, almost irrespective of the organisation this individual was working for. Many partners commented about operating in an environment of limited campaign resources and the importance of being able to share work with others. Although many countries have fairly large FTT coalitions, the bulk of the work is often done by a very small number of people. It makes sense that especially in countries where the work is done by 2 or 3 people, even 1 or 2 additional people can make a significant difference. Oxfam was described in some countries as having played an important secretariat role, working behind the scenes, ensuring everyone in the coalition were doing ‘their part’ and keeping the wheels rolling. In this respect, Oxfam was asked by partners in the coalition to make sure that they kept up their involvement: Oxfam was described in some countries as having previously been involved in FTT (or Tobin Tax) campaigning (in the 1990s) and then dropping out; there was a plea for not letting that happen this time round.

“I cannot say enough how much I appreciate Oxfam’s support. I really hope it will continue – more people know about how financial markets work now. We have put IMF on notice that they just cannot do a crappy job without hearing smart people from the social movement. This has been one of the most exiting things I have worked on!” (Coalition partner)

- The **additional human resources in the area of political advocacy and media** were mentioned specifically. Some partner organisations don’t have a media department or media officer and commented about the added value to the campaign of a member of staff able to do media work. Having a dedicated and professional ‘apparatus’ was particularly appreciated and partners gave several examples where Oxfam had added value, for example the one page advert in Frankfurter Allgemeine produced by Oxfam Germany, which featured Angela Merkel ticking off her ‘to do’ list with FTT next on the list or, similarly, the advert in Métro and Libération produced by Oxfam France in the run-up to the G20. Oxfam America reported receiving a handful of emails from US allies thanking them for the FTT video they developed.
- In some countries, **Oxfam played a role as the campaign’s true champion** and the organisation’s overall dedication for the campaign was recognised by many stakeholders.

“Oxfam took the responsibility to stimulate discussion, I cannot see anyone else doing it so Oxfam has had a crucial role. The campaign needed someone to stimulate, put in place and coordinate activity and remind partners what to do, find out different interests.” (Oxfam affiliate)

- Resource constraints meant that partners not only appreciated the additional human resources, but also **the additional communication materials Oxfam brought to the campaign**. They commented that they would not have been able to produce materials such as the website, Bankers’ videos, and the added value of being able to simply use logos and templates already developed by Oxfam. This included both materials developed abroad (by

Oxfam Great Britain and/or Oxfam International) or developed nationally (by the national Oxfam affiliate).

- Perhaps surprising, the focus on *development was not necessarily seen as an area of added value* – which is at odds with Oxfam’s own view of its value added. This was either because other partners in the coalition were similarly development organisations or because partners did not see Oxfam as pushing this angle particularly hard.

4.1.2. The evaluation tried to look at a number of counterfactual scenarios – instances where an FTT campaign also took off without (or was believed not to have ‘needed’) Oxfam involvement.

4.1.3. Stakeholders in Germany in particular were rightly pointing out that Oxfam was not the initiator of the Steuer Gegen Armut campaign – there would have been a national call for the introduction of the FTT without Oxfam involvement – suggesting that the added value of Oxfam in Germany has been more limited. That being said, stakeholders still recognised Oxfam’s public facing work and general commitment to the campaign and Oxfam Germany staff convincingly argued that much of the media work and stunts would not have taken place given that it was Oxfam who initiated many of the actions.

“It is difficult to say what would be different if anything without Oxfam. We make all decisions together, Oxfam is not the only development organisation...but their media work has been particularly important, they are very good, very professional.” (Coalition partner)

“They were the only major NGO [coalition member] which have reshuffled resources, money and personnel to the campaign.” (Coalition partner)

In addition, Oxfam Germany invested heavily in (unbranded) coordination work and in keeping the focus on development as opposed to the regulatory value of introduction an FTT: the quote above rightly points out that Oxfam Germany are not the only development NGO members of Steuer gegen Armut, but the other development NGOs are not as proactively involved.

4.1.4. Similarly, the Robin Hood Tax campaign has taken off in a number of countries where Oxfam has no or only limited presence (for example Poland, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and a number of African and BRICSAM

countries) or where an affiliate has made a decision not to get actively campaign on a FTT (particularly the US). Stakeholders in these countries unanimously agreed that although they would probably have “*done something*” anyway, Oxfam’s championing role had been “*a great help*”, particularly when only very limited resources were available nationally. ***Oxfam’s expertise in public mobilisation*** in particular was seen as adding value, both organising ‘stunts’ and actions but also their ability to bring together actors to work together, providing ***coordination at policy, advocacy and campaigning work***, keeping up to date what is going on. The role of OI in particular was highlighted as crucial in this.

“There would definitely be a coalition calling for a FTT and linking it to development aid, health and climate finance [even without Oxfam involvement]. Oxfam has played a key role in bringing the public campaigning aspect to it, they have been coordinating the international campaign and reaching out. They were very involved with the Global Action Days. They have had resources to do that.” (Coalition partner)

- 4.1.5. FTT campaigns in countries without Oxfam presence often relied heavily on the ***materials produced by Oxfam*** (e.g. Robin Hood branding and templates, lobby and media packs) which were widely used, although partners were sometimes uncertain which material was produced by Oxfam.

“We used Oxfam intelligence, branding and other materials, we used blog templates, the entire website, Q&A and fact sheet which we translated. To be honest, I am not sure what is from Oxfam exactly, we used what ever was spread via EUFTT and Global FTT lists. But I think a lot of that was from Oxfam.” (Coalition partner)

4.2. Added value Oxfam GB/Oxfam International

- 4.2.1. The evaluation team asked Oxfam affiliates whether they felt Oxfam Great Britain and Oxfam International had added value and further facilitated their own national campaigning efforts, through international branding, coordination or information-sharing.

Additionality – would FTT campaigns have happened without OGB/OI?

4.2.2. Overall, there is quite a strong sense of ‘additionality’ of affiliate activity – several affiliates were happy to acknowledge that they took on the Robin Hood Tax campaign because of the example set by Oxfam Great Britain and that they probably would not have been working on this otherwise. This was however more pronounced in some countries than in others. As mentioned earlier, (political and NGO) interest in the introduction of an FTT predates the UK FTT campaign and countries with strong political and/or NGO interest probably needed less ‘nudging’ by Oxfam Great Britain. A number of Oxfam affiliates commented that in all likelihood they would have worked on the FTT even in the absence of any Oxfam Great Britain or Oxfam international activity, but they recognised that the FTT campaign might not have been as central to their campaigning work otherwise. One affiliate commented that they would not have been able to campaign as much without the resources developed and supplied by Oxfam International. Oxfam International was also reported as having been supportive to NGO efforts in countries where no Oxfam affiliate was present.

4.2.3. It is important to note that in some cases, it was the Robin Hood Tax campaign example set by Oxfam Great Britain rather the formal decision by Oxfam International to develop this into an OI campaign that triggered affiliate interest. Indeed, one affiliate referred to the slight indecisiveness and lack of clarity from the part of Oxfam International in the early stages of the campaign: for a long time, it was not clear whether Oxfam International was ready to endorse this as its campaign.

Value of resources and support offered by Oxfam International

4.2.4. As was the case for coalition partners, Oxfam affiliates raised resource constraints and welcomed the support offered here by Oxfam International, in particular in terms of developing materials but also in terms of direct lobbying support. The materials that were seen as most useful were:

- ***The political analyses and policy updates*** – including information on organisations and individuals who had come out in favour of the FTT. Internal updates and analyses were considered most useful. Where affiliates tried reworking reports for publication in their own countries, they commented that the resources simply were too UK-focused to really work.

In one case, reworking of a political analysis took so much time that it would have been more efficient to start the analysis from scratch in-house;

“Oxfam International have been very supportive. Without Oxfam we would not have known what was going on in Brussels. This was particularly important when responding to the European Commission consultation on an FTT” (Oxfam affiliate)

- The different *templates and branding materials (including letter templates to decision makers)* – the latter for those affiliates that used the Robin Hood Tax branding;
- The *Economists’ letter* – many considered this letter as having been particularly important in demonstrating support and giving credibility to the campaign;

“We now regularly refer to the fact that this campaign is backed by 1,000 economists, that it is a European or even global campaign. There is great value in this; we are able to demonstrate that there is strong international backing for a FTT” (Coalition partner rather than affiliate)

- The Banker videos (I and II) – although the initial plan to develop remakes with well known national actors across the different countries did not materialise. Most if not all affiliates stated they used the videos in their campaigning and in a number of non-English speaking countries the video was subtitled; and
- The *cartoon developed by Oxfam Canada* was quoted by a number of affiliates as a useful resource.

Oxfam France explicitly recognised that financial support from Oxfam Great Britain had been an important enabler to having a big campaign in France, with adequate human resources, new products and more generally increased capacity.

- 4.2.5. Unsurprisingly, not all resources worked in all national contexts. In particular, the focus on bankers as the ‘villain’ did not necessarily work in countries where the banker is “*just that nice guy in the bank around the corner who takes care of my money*”. Quite a lot of discussion took place (with Oxfam affiliates as well as other stakeholders) about the Robin Hood Tax branding. Views varied significantly, not just among Oxfam affiliates, but also among partners and policy-makers. There was a general sense that the *Robin Hood branding had probably been an efficient mechanism to engage with public opinion*. A minority view was that the link between the FTT and Robin Hood had been a difficult sell to national audiences: for

example, one coalition partner commented that, in his/her country, the public is not familiar with the Robin Hood legend of stealing from the rich to give to the poor; they know Robin Hood from recent Hollywood adaptations which place less emphasis on this aspect of the legend. This was, however, a minority view. Others commented that the public was equally familiar with the Walt Disney cartoon, where stealing from the rich to give to the poor does feature.

Value of international branding (Robin Hood Tax branding)

- 4.2.6. Views varied much more as to whether or not the Robin Hood branding had been effective (or counterproductive) in gaining traction with commentators, journalists and policy-makers. Campaigners and policy-makers alike commented that the branding did not undermine the underlying advocacy message in cases where there was a pre-existing relationship: if policy-makers already knew and respected the campaigner, they were willing to listen to the message despite the somewhat populist branding. A small number of policy-makers, however, felt that the Robin Hood branding undermined or ridiculed the campaign message. The criticism raised most frequently by commentators and decision-makers was that the FTT campaign was too simplistic in its messaging. This was not just about the Robin Hood branding, but was often linked to it. We'll deal with this in more detail in the next chapter (Lessons learnt).

Campaign coordination and governance

- 4.2.7. More generally, Oxfam affiliates commented positively about the overall campaign management and governance by Oxfam International. The Oxfam International campaign manager was singled out as particularly effective, in particular because of his facilitating leadership style and diplomatic way of working. Inevitably, some felt that the campaign manager might at times have been too diplomatic. Some partners felt that there could have been better coordination with some actions, for example have one petition instead of several (one for the G8, one for the G20 and one nationally). Smaller affiliates found the conference calls at times quite challenging: a 2 hours weekly call is difficult for someone who is managing all campaigning activity in an affiliate. Also it was felt that the conference calls did not really offer enough time to talk through what had 'worked'. On the other hand, affiliates

raised the issue of information overload – that they regularly work with several different campaigns and a FTT campaign was ‘20% of their time on top of the 100%’.

“There is a barrage of information. I get 5-6 emails every day from Oxfam and another 5-6 emails a day from the global campaign. There are always 7-8 campaigns on the go so understandably there has been some reluctance to get on the emailing lists” (Oxfam affiliate)

- 4.2.8. Affiliates appreciated the flexibility of the campaign and many indeed commented that this was an unusual campaign for Oxfam International, in that it was more flexible than traditional Oxfam campaigns. One affiliate suggested that the campaign was not really led by Oxfam International, but was really “*Max and Adam’s thing*” especially to start with. This was seen as a positive factor, in that Oxfam International, as an organisation, would have been too bureaucratic to take this forward. The campaign was developed in a very short timescale when there was a political window to press ahead. That being said, the lack of strategy was also seen as having carried risks and disadvantages. For example, affiliates commented that the campaign did not take full advantage of possibilities for cooperating and liaising on campaigning tactics between G8 countries. One affiliate commented that the different affiliates never even shared their campaigning strategies and tactics with each other; they did not necessarily see this as a mistake on Oxfam International’s part, but pointed this out as an example of a missed opportunity of learning and sharing.

Involvement of Southern affiliates and partners

- 4.2.9. Oxfam affiliates (and coalition partners) felt that the South had often been less visible. The FTT campaign was seen first and foremost as a European campaign. Several individuals recommended revisiting the role of the BRIC or BRICSAM countries in FTT context.

“There is no hook for them, no materials produced that could be used by middle-income countries” (Oxfam affiliate)

- 4.2.10. Feedback from the Southern affiliates was mixed – some saw OI support as too directive and top-down and called for higher level of involvement of the South in strategic discussions. Several Southern affiliates highlighted the fact

that the campaign arguments don't work in their national contexts. A number of Southern affiliates and partners praised Oxfam's support – several suggested that they would probably not have done very much without the additional support and resources from Oxfam, including funding for external consultancy and direct support from Oxfam GB staff who talked to decision-makers in the South.

“There have been more discussions around who pays for climate change, which is good, but this discussion should be owned by the South and it is not. It has been very much a media campaign owned by few experts. It has a good logo but not much thought put on how to connect to people on the ground.” (Coalition partner)

- 4.2.11. That being said, the rapid, last minute scaling up of the campaign in South Africa was considered to have been “a great success” and although staff acknowledged that not nearly enough effort had been put into the BRICSAMs, they pointed out that at one point there was an individual working on BRICSAM with a particular focus on Mexico, South Africa and India.

4.3. Value for money

- 4.3.1. Assessing value for money in the FTT campaign is difficult. Table 2.2 showed that an estimated €400-500,000 was spent by Oxfam across the different affiliates, on top of a human resource cost of about 20 FTEs. This human resource input equals an estimated additional €500-600,000⁷, implying the ***total amount spent on the FTT campaign is roughly €1 million***, a little over half of which was spent in the UK. Table 4.2 below presents an overview of these figures.

Table 4.1 Cost of the FTT campaign across different countries

Country	Financial	HR	Total
Australia	€6,500	€28,000	€34,500

⁷ The NCVO Civil Society Almanac suggests that average costs per FTE employee for major voluntary sector organisations is £22,600 or €28,300 at June 2012 exchange rates.

Belgium	€4-5,000	€7,000	€1,500
France	€60,000	€127,000	€187,000
Germany	€8,000	€43,000	€81,000
Italy	€0	€43,000	€43,000
The Netherlands	€8,000	€57,000	€65,000
Spain	Unknown	€43,000	€43,000
United Kingdom	€300-400,000	€198,000	€548,000
Total	€467,000	€546,000	€1,013,000

Source: CPC calculations on the basis of estimates provided by Oxfam staff.

4.3.2. Whether or not these figures present value for money is difficult if not impossible to say. It is important to stress that the bullet points and tables 4.1 and 4.2 below should be seen as possible avenues to *start* the discussion around value for money rather than providing any clear answers in this discussion:

- At this point in time, no additional FTT monies have been secured for development against which this investment can be measured. France has introduced FTT legislation and remains committed to spending some of the FTT monies on development, but implementation of the new legislation has not yet started. It is tantalising to note however that the *Oxfam France's €187,000 FTT investment presents only a miniscule fraction of the French ODA budget (€10 billion⁸)*; the French ODA budget would not need to increase by much to make Oxfam's investment in France pay off.
- The *total amount of funding invested by Oxfam International and its affiliates on campaigning activity is €52 million* (figures for 2010-2011, Oxfam International Annual Report). It is unclear what is and is not included in this €52 million figure, so a direct comparison is difficult, but the *FTT investment of €1 million represents 2% of this amount*. In the absence of any assessment of the value for money and effectiveness of the other campaigns by the Confederation, evaluating whether the significance of this 2% result is difficult. Nevertheless, the success of parts of the FTT campaign – the immense popularity of the Banker 1 video (only 3 videos more popular on the Oxfam Great Britain website) and the widespread adoption of the term 'Robin Hood Tax' by external stakeholders come to mind – encourage lenient assumptions about the relative value for money of the FTT campaign.
- The FTT campaign was generally also seen by Oxfam staff as an effective campaign, especially given the relatively limited resources available. Indeed, several affiliates raised concerns about the availability of resources for the campaign and competition for resources with the GROW campaign.
- The table below gives an indication of the 'unit cost' per FTT supporter across different countries and engagement channels. Germany appears to

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OECD DAC statistics for 2011 and June 2012 \$/€exchange rate.

have been particularly efficient in terms of signing up signatories to the FTT petition; the UK stands out in terms of the efficiency of the outreach of its FTT Facebook site. It is important to note that these unit costs can only give a very broad indication of efficiency and effectiveness. Factors other than Oxfam affiliates' actions (and indeed additional financial and HR inputs from coalition partners) influenced the reach of offline and online engagement efforts.

Table 4.2 'Unit cost' of FTT supporter across different countries

	Total cost	Petition		Facebook		RHT Facebook	
		Nr	Cost pp	Nr	Cost pp	Nr	Cost pp
Germany	€1,000	170,000	€0.48	1,008	€80.36	2,947	€27.49
France	€187,000	36,639	€5.10	9,510	€19.66	2,508	€74.56
UK	€48,000	102,060	€0.37	264,443	€0.07	199,980	€0.74
Australia	€4,500	4,000	€6.63	4,759	€7.25	5,801	€9.95
Italy	€43,000	3,215	€13.37	702	€61.25	1,329	€32.36
ALL	€93,500	315,914	€0.83	280,422	€0.19	212,565	€0.20

Source: CPC calculations based on estimates provided by Oxfam staff.

- Overall, the campaign invested slightly more human resources in popular mobilisation activities than in advocacy, but the picture is mixed across different countries. In France, the Netherlands and Spain HR were spent broadly equally between the two areas of work; in Australia there was a stronger focus on advocacy; in Belgium, Germany and the UK a relatively stronger investment in popular mobilisation. In the absence of directly comparable outcome measures, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions.

Table 4.3 Split human resources between advocacy and popmob

	Advocacy	Popmob
Australia	€28,300	€0
Belgium	€5,660	€14,150
France	€28,300	€28,300
Germany	€8,490	€14,150
The Netherlands	€28,300	€28,300
Spain	€16,980	€14,150
United Kingdom	€2,450	€113,200
Total	€158,480	€112,250

Source: CPC calculations based on estimates provided by Oxfam staff.

5. LESSONS LEARNT

5.1. What works - mobilisation

5.1.1. The key messages around what has worked in mobilising public opinion are presented below.

- The *international dimension* of the campaign has made a difference in terms of mobilisation. Oxfam staff and partners generally felt that supporters enjoy the sense of being involved in an international campaigning effort. They attribute the main added value of the Global Days of Action to this effect. The fact that this was an international campaign featured strongly in campaign messaging in some countries;
- The *Robin Hood branding* was seen to have greatly contributed to the (public) appeal of the campaign in a number of countries. However, as mentioned earlier, there was a minority view that the link between the FTT and the Robin Hood legend was not always clear in countries other than the UK. A January 2010 UK survey suggests that the ‘Robin Hood Tax’ had significantly greater appeal than the ‘Banker’s Tax’: 66% of (just over 2,000) respondents preferred the former. One country that initially decided not to call their campaign a Robin Hood Tax campaign (precisely because they had concerns about familiarity with the legend) noticed that despite this, the media referred to a Robin Hood Tax campaign. Three quarters of respondents in the June 2012 online survey of UK supporters commented that they ‘really’ or ‘quite’ liked the Robin Hood Tax branding;
- *Campaigning in coalition* and in particular the *reach of the trade union partners in the coalition* were seen as an important factor – in one of the countries, the trade unions were described as really having made the campaign for an tax on financial transactions their own, organising training among their members. Trade unions (similarly to Oxfam) have affiliates in different countries so have been able to mobilise their national affiliates and wider supporters in some countries. The width of the coalition however was seen by many as a double-edged sword: keeping a focus on development and climate finance was positioned against the risk of losing the consensus among coalition partners. Trade unions were not actively involved in all countries (e.g. limited involvement in France);

“All countries say they work with trade unions, but [our] story is different. Trade unions have really made the FTT campaign their own... When we call a demonstration we get 2,000 people without the trade unions, 25, 000 with the trade unions” (Coalition partner)

- The *use of social media*, although success varies between countries – the numbers reached in different countries were included in chapter 3. There

were also some concerns that the successes in social media reach did not necessarily include outreach beyond the ‘usual’ suspects.

- *Use of the media* remains a useful mechanism to reach out to public opinion. Affiliates felt that their success in reaching the media had been mixed. In a number of countries, it was felt that the campaign was up against a media that was actively hostile to the FTT concept. In those countries, there was media coverage on the FTT, but not necessarily in support of the FTT, in particular early on. Resource constraints (media officers) were also seen as an issue by some affiliates, in some cases linked to conflicting priorities (the GROW campaign). Respondents to the June 2012 online survey of UK supporters confirmed the importance of the media: media coverage for the campaign made the campaign seem more credible and the introduction of the FTT more likely to supporters;
- The *letter of 1,000 economists* was seen by many to have made a difference, in particular in terms of building credibility for the FTT campaign. However, the endorsement of the importance of the letter came mainly from Oxfam staff and coalition partners as opposed to external stakeholders: the interviews provide evidence of extensive *use* of the letter by staff rather than significant *impact* of the letter on the public or external stakeholders. A basic Google and Google News search confirms that the letter was indeed extensively used and advertised *by campaigning organisations* and Oxfam staff confirm that the letter was picked up by some mainstream media, including the Guardian and Telegraph in the UK and La Repubblica in Italy. There were some Oxfam staff who doubted that the letter had been effective. Some staff pointed out that the credibility of economists was seriously undermined following their failure to foresee the financial crisis. Other stakeholders pointed out that the economic profession is split on the issue of the FTT and several felt a letter by supportive bankers, if feasible, was what was really needed. That being said, coalition partners still felt that the letter was important in shifting the FTT concept from a crazy, radical idea to something more realistic: they actively used the letter as counterargument.
- The key messages from the online survey of UK supporters suggest that what will get supporters (more) involved in FTT activities is (i) ease of access and facilitation of involvement – having someone else organise things for them – and (ii) a clear sense that they have a role to play and that their involvement makes a difference. There were relatively few clear differences in the responses between individuals who had initiated their own FTT action (arguably the group Oxfam is interested in nurturing) and other respondents, except for one strong distinction: the former were significantly more likely to say that they felt that they had a role to play in the campaign.

5.1.2. Lessons learnt in terms of possible challenges or weaknesses in the campaign include the following:

- *The lack of a ‘villain’* in some countries was seen as having hampered broad public reach: public anger at bankers in the UK was not necessarily mirrored in other FTT countries. Some affiliates and partners put this

slightly differently: they did not really think the lack of a villain in their countries was a problem, but the campaign's strategy of identifying a villain. They thought that their countries would have benefited from a more 'positive' approach. The concept of the UK 'City' banker does not necessarily exist in other countries nor is there quite as much attention or anger over bankers' bonuses. In some countries, the 'banker' is just the friendly guy managing people's money in the high street office.

"In Europe the message seems to be punish the bad and provide for the good. In our country the campaign is more about doing good without singling out who is bad." (Oxfam affiliate)

- There were quite a number of concerns about *the focus on taxation* as central public engagement mechanism. Concerns were raised by several stakeholders that in a period of fiscal tightening and introduction of new taxes, there was only very little appetite among the public (nor its politicians) to discuss yet another tax. Separately, a journalist commented that s/he had been contacted countless times by Oxfam staff about the FTT over the last twelve months, but not about development more generally, hinting that too exclusive a focus on FTT risked drowning out Oxfam's underlying core message about development finance. Interestingly in this respect, the evaluation encountered at least one Oxfam staff who did not think the FTT was necessarily the right way forward as a mechanism of change – as it risks shifting the focus away from development and towards financial regulation.
- Many interviewees identified *the technicality of the issue* as a serious barrier to campaigning. This played at different levels. For example, one affiliate noted that it was difficult to recruit volunteers who found it easy to talk about the tax. Staff themselves did not always feel sufficiently confident to respond to questions asked by sceptics or critics – in particular the charge that the tax would only get passed on to customers. Moreover, there appear to have been risks in the (necessary) simplification of the campaign messaging. Simplifying the message may have worked in getting (widespread) support for the underlying message of social justice and redistribution, but may have done little to reach out to individuals broadly supportive of social justice objectives, but fundamentally unsure about the effectiveness of the tax as a means of achieving these objectives or the potential downsides of FTT introduction. Campaign messaging (to the wider public at least) has used the tried and tested technique of presenting the introduction of an FTT as a 'no-brainer', brushing aside the arguments of critics in Q&As, rather than acknowledging the complexities and potential risks and 'losers' of introduction of an FTT and building a more nuanced case. This is not necessarily a problem – simple messaging matters in public campaigning – but may have had downsides. Responses to the June 2012 online survey of UK supporters seem to confirm this, with the use of objective economic arguments the campaign feature supporters liked most – much more than the Robin Hood branding or the use of celebrities, for example – and crucially, many supporters asking for more detailed technical information, enabling them to counter what they see as valid

arguments raised by opponents, including in the responses they receive from MPs. The campaign arguably may have underestimated its supporters and gone too far in popularising the message to the ‘no-brainer’ level.

“At the beginning [of the campaign] it felt we had no technical background and so many questions, answers started coming later in mid-2011. We wanted to do something technical but Oxfam has no credibility [as technical experts].” (Oxfam affiliate)

“It has been a challenge to respond to questions asked by sceptics – it was difficult to recruit volunteers that found it easy to talk about it. The level of aggression was high among the public, who argued that any tax would only get passed on to customers.” (Oxfam affiliate)

“We were not that strong in the run up to the G20 summit in Nice. It was difficult to know what was going to happen. We could have been sharper with our messages; we were not fast in responding to the critique. It was all very last moment.” (Oxfam affiliate)

- Although the international dimension was seen as a definite plus, the FTT was seen by several stakeholders outside Europe as essentially a European affair as far as public opinion is concerned; this was particularly pronounced in the South: the introduction of the FTT is simply not an issue for the public in Africa according to stakeholders there. One affiliate commented that the campaign was “*really disconnected*” from Southern countries and suggested linking the FTT campaign with other campaigns, for example, the tax haven campaign, to establish clearer connections with how the financial crisis is impacting on the South;

“It was challenging, the Oxfam campaign focused on the G20, but our country is not part of the G20. So using the G20 was not that relevant.” (Coalition partner)

“The weight of Europe has become less in the world now, there has been a great change and we need to balance work better between countries.” (Oxfam affiliate)

“Outside of Europe it has been more about finding some kind of attraction, push doubly hard. We have been operating at different levels. The FTT is very disconnected from citizens here.” (Oxfam affiliate)

- At a more technical level, the ***lack of materials in languages other than French and English*** was seen as having hindered public outreach but this was not a major issue nor did it feature in many countries;
- Arguably the biggest challenge of the public awareness-raising is the question whether it has actually ‘worked’: ***has the strong public supporter base lead to any changes in Government positions?*** Evaluations elsewhere

have shown that public pressure can make a difference to policy-making, if a critical mass of public support is reached. Discussions with UK stakeholders suggest that the campaign achieved high visibility but not necessarily sufficient *intensity* of support. One UK policy-maker commented that s/he did not have the impression that MPs felt in any way pressured by their constituents on the FTT – even if most probably are fully aware of the FTT and some might even be supportive of it. This raises questions about the depth of public support for the FTT: they may be in favour of the FTT, but not feel passionately enough about this to really engage with their MP on this (instead of other issues they care about)? It is difficult to draw firm conclusions here. The June 2012 survey of UK supporters indeed confirms that one of the reasons for not writing to their MPs was that they had previously written to their MP on other issues or felt that they had other, more pressing concerns to raise with their MPs. Oxfam (Great Britain) staff rightly retort that MPs participated en masse to parliamentary events in the run-up to the 2010 elections and explicitly commented about the fact that their constituents raised the issue with them. One possible explanation is a shift in supporter activity (and MP interest) between 2010 – in particular in the run-up to the elections – and the 2011 post-election period. As mentioned earlier, the number of e-actions did indeed drop between 2010 and 2011. Secondly, evaluations elsewhere show that the impact of public pressure on policy-making is often mediated through (supportive) media coverage which may not have been supportive enough in some countries in the case of the FTT campaign. Finally, when the building of public support is seen as a means to an end (as opposed to an end in its own right), effectiveness comes as a result of creating the *illusion* of widespread public support as opposed to actually building the support base. Inevitably, there is a trade-off in resource distribution: investing more heavily in social marketing and actually building the support base, the less resources are available for direct political advocacy using the illusion of public support. In this respect, being clear about exactly what popular mobilisation is meant to achieve and where popular mobilisation fits in the logic chain becomes crucial.

“The problem is that the public discussion never took off; it did not make it to the level of the water cooler. The bonus tax was cruder in this way; it chimed more” (Policy-maker)

- 5.1.3. The paragraphs above have already referenced a number of the key findings from the supporter survey. Annex E presents the findings from the online survey in more detail.

5.2. What works – advocacy

- 5.2.1. The key messages around what has worked in political advocacy include:

- ***The breadth of the national coalitions*** – for example the inclusion of a strong faith element or the involvement of trade unions. Trade unions in particular were singled out because of their leverage on political parties and because of their mobilising power – although, as mentioned earlier, the French trade unions were not really involved in the (successful) French advocacy efforts. The faith element was similarly important in a number of key countries. Policy-makers are relatively accustomed to being lobbied by single issue organisations and were reported to being slightly put off balance by the diversity of the campaigning organisations;

“Nowhere else do trade unions have such strong influence on political parties” (Coalition partner)

- ***Working with the election cycle*** tends to be an important campaigning advantage and this has been no different in the FTT campaign. In particular in France, the upcoming presidential elections allowed the campaign to encourage politicians left and right of centre not to be ‘outdone’ by each other in the FTT context. It is important to note, however, that French policy-makers did not necessarily believe that the French elections had been a decisive factor in the success of the campaign. Moreover, in the UK, the 2010 general election context failed to deliver an FTT victory;
- More generally, ***working through MPs*** appears to be crucial. Where progress has been achieved, there appears to have been close cooperation between NGOs and MPs who at times have been active (formal or informal) members of FTT campaigns and coalitions. Examples include the work done in the run-up to the Belgian FTT law in 2004 and the intense advocacy with MPs undertaken by Oxfam France and its partners.
- There were some comments that more could have been done to reach out to MPs. For example, one MEP commented that s/he was in favour of an FTT but had never been contacted by any campaigners about ways of pulling resources or cooperating. She noted this as a serious flaw of the campaign – Oxfam staff however pointed to the campaign’s power analysis which pointed to concentrating resources on member states rather than the European Parliaments. Similar comments about the need for additional outreach to policy-makers were made by other policy-makers. As mentioned earlier, MPs in the UK were described as not sufficiently ‘pressured’ by the campaign although not enough policy-maker interviews took place in the UK to be able to draw firm conclusions here and there may have been a shift in MP engagement and involvement between the 2010 pre-election situation and 2011. Oxfam Great Britain staff were able to point to fairly intensive engagement with senior policy-makers in the run-up to and additional meetings following the 2010 elections⁹. The Belgian ‘success’ story (in so far that an FTT law was voted there already in 2004) was attributed by the different stakeholders involved to very close cooperation between NGOs (and trade unions) and (supportive) MPs.

⁹

For example, advocacy activity included meetings with George Osborne twice, Vince Cable four times and Alistair Darling (all prior to the election), as well as meetings post election with Treasury special advisors and staff, advisers to Ed Balls and Ed Miliband, Vince Cable and senior Lib Dem figures.

Active outreach to MPs is arguably even more important in a context where there is very little support from relevant Government departments – some linked the lack of progress at policy level in the UK explicitly to the lack of support from DfID: if not even the country’s own development agency is willing to express support for the FTT, what chances does an NGO coalition stand? Interestingly, there was one MP who commented that the letter of the economists had been a positive move – s/he regretted however that the letter had not been more visible: s/he came about it only by chance.

“Campaign lobbying has been weak apart from those who are already converted. Face to face meetings are extremely important, but no one has attempted contact me or my colleagues, many of which are opposing a FTT” (Policy-maker)

- The other important factor in the Belgian ‘success’ story was the close ***involvement of a supportive academic***. It is interesting to note this because there was only very limited evidence of active involvement of academics in the context of the FTT campaign in other countries. The evaluation did not explicitly set out to explore this from the outset, so it is possible that some evidence remained hidden to the evaluation team. Nevertheless, few if any stakeholders mentioned the active involvement of academics unprompted in the context of the FTT evaluation, so there may be lessons here in terms of taking the campaigning forward.
- As mentioned earlier, the ***international dimension of the campaign*** appears to have mattered in the context of popular mobilisation. The evidence of the importance of the international dimension is less pronounced in terms of impacts on policy-makers. Encouragingly, however, in at least one country a parliamentary resolution in support of the FTT was passed in the context of an FTT Global Day of Action and explicitly referring to the Global Day in the text of the resolution. Staff in non-supportive countries commented that they used the international dimension in their discussions. Policy-maker interviews broadly confirm that the international dimension mattered, mainly because it gave the campaign more credibility: they rightly comment that the FTT is an international issue and needs activity at international level.

“We were able to show support across the world and said to policy makers: ‘do you really want to be the only country that does not support this?’” (Oxfam affiliate)

- Overall, the ***research evidence*** supporting the campaign messaging was described by those policy-makers who had come across it as excellent. However, they commented that there had been a problem with making sure the research evidence reached its policy audience and tailoring the research evidence to the policy audience. Essentially, the message coming from policy-makers is one of insufficient targeting of the messaging: campaigning messages were either described as too simplified or too dry and technical to be relevant for an MP. The research evidence was described as of good quality but too “*academic*” by one policy-maker.

“The campaign has been really good in terms of creativity. They used good marketing techniques. However, it is much too simplistic in its argumentation ... This is a good way to bring it under the attention of people, but what drives [officials] is technical explanation” (Policy-maker)

“If this is the kind of report I am to forward to an MP or a 23 year old MP researcher, it just would not work” (Policy-maker)

“The message was quite simplistic. Simplistic messaging might matter in terms of reaching out to the public. However, they should also have tried developing materials that reached the ones who weight on decision-makers. The campaign got quite aggressive articles in the press about the feasibility of the tax. They did not have the tools to counter this” (Policy-maker)

“The technical literature is of good quality but not well published. The other publication [opposing the FTT] was not as good technically but got 100 times more publicity”

- More generally, the ***campaign materials were widely praised by policy-makers***, including the Banker videos and slogans. Perhaps unsurprisingly, they were praised for their creativity and wit rather than their ability to change the policy-making process. Interestingly, the Banker II video received both very positive and very negative reactions from policy-makers.

“I am not in favour of the FTT myself but the campaign was very clever. There was a little video of a bunch of kids robbing a banker and then only asking for one piece of a coin, which was really funny and clever. I also got a newspaper about the FTT, five years in the future, which I thought was a clever move” (Policy-maker)

“There was one negative impact. There was another video, showing a kid stealing from a passer-by. He was then only asked to give up one coin. This was counterproductive. It reminded people of small criminals in the suburbs. You don’t want your campaign identity to be young kids from the suburbs stealing” (Policy-maker)

5.2.2. The main lessons around possible challenges and weaknesses in the advocacy work have already been hinted at throughout the earlier pages of this report. The main ones are:

- ***The lack of a well-defined political advocacy strategy*** in a number of FTT countries, and linked to this, the lack of a global international advocacy strategy. The campaign’s flexibility was widely seen as a strength, but this same flexibility was seen as a weakness in terms of its approach to political

advocacy. Many Oxfam affiliates prioritised popular mobilisation and not all were able to clearly articulate their political advocacy strategy. At international level, Germany, France and the UK were identified as focus countries, so some strategic directing took place but stakeholders felt that more could have been done to link the approaches in the different countries. Others questioned whether the focus on Germany, France and the UK had necessarily been the correct one. In the UK, there does not appear to be a clear strategy linked to the 2012 mayoral elections in London;

- Linked to the previous point, some staff and partners felt that not enough resources had been spent on advocacy (compared to popular mobilising) but views on this differed and the relative spend on advocacy varies between countries. One coalition partner commented that the advocacy/ mobilisation ratio in the campaign had been completely “*skewed*” compared to other campaigns s/he had been involved in. Oxfam GB’s Head of Advocacy and Policy received positive feedback on his lobbying activity from staff and coalition partners in a number of countries, but stakeholders also remarked that the Head of Advocacy had ultimately relatively little time to spend on this particular campaign, given his management responsibilities and wider advocacy duties;
- Interestingly, quite a number of policy-makers commented about how little they had been targeted by the campaign. The *relative lack of direct political lobbying*, together with the complaint of insufficient targeting of the messaging (in terms of simplicity vs. technicality of messages) was arguably the biggest complaint issued by policy-makers interviewed. Policy-makers commented that this lack of lobbying is a problem, given that intensive direct lobbying against the FTT is going on at the same time. Policy-makers explicitly contrasted the lack of contact from the FTT campaign with extensive contacts with the financial sector lobby. It is interesting to note that the intense political advocacy in France and with key European Commission policy-makers coincide with instances of clear progress in FTT positions. Germany is an interesting case: there is evidence of significant political advocacy work, with however relatively less direct Oxfam involvement. Policy-makers in Germany found it more difficult to comment on to the extent to which and how the campaign had influenced policy-making in their country. Oxfam Germany staff make the point that it may well be more difficult to secure contacts with German policy-makers than in other EU countries;

“The campaign needs to identify key targets in the European Parliament and ask support from those MEPs already for the tax” (Policy-maker)

- A third complaint raised by surprisingly many policy-makers was that the campaign had *sacrificed its focus on development* too much. One policy-maker commented that the 50-50 split in his/her country (50% of the FTT profits allocated to development and 50% to domestic issues) had been a strategic mistake. It may be worth noting the difference in approach between different countries: the involvement (or not) of trade unions and organisations with a more domestic focus at times made it more difficult to stress the development message; similarly, in some countries, policy-makers

and media (and indeed Oxfam staff) felt that it made more sense to focus on getting the FTT first and then discussion allocations. In other countries, Oxfam consistently included development in all its communications and staff were adamant that the development message had not been “*crowded out*”. Oxfam staff point to more recent evidence of the campaigning work on development starting to bear fruit, for example in reactions from the European Commission around the need to allocate some FTT monies to development.

- The earlier mentioned concern about the *focus on taxation* was not only seen as a possible weakness in terms of outreach to the wider public. It was also seen as a problem in political advocacy work in some countries. Stakeholders (both Oxfam staff and external stakeholders) felt that the FTT message risked becoming too specific, crowding out (i) the wider development finance message, as well as (ii) the wider financial regulation debate. In particular in countries where progress has been minimal, the lack of a broader agenda was seen as having stifled the policy discussions. In middle income countries in particular (but not exclusively), the focus on taxation was seen as a problem: policy-makers simply pointed to the absence of ‘big banks’ in their countries and the fact that they would not benefit in any way from the introduction of an FTT. That being said, it is important to remember that the focus on taxation was a deliberate strategy, aimed at enabling coalition-building and tapping into public anger at bankers and that way engaging more (new) supporters than the campaign would have been able with a more targeted development finance focus.

“We are getting a bit FTT tired. There is a weakness in me every time hammering on about the FTT... I have the feeling that they’re thinking: ‘here he comes again with the FTT’. It is a matter of balance and dosage and avoiding overkill. All the arguments are on the table now ... It is also about our own credibility [as Oxfam] – we need to put it in a broader agenda” (Oxfam affiliate)

- A somewhat problematic issue for the campaign is the difficulty it has experienced trying *to convince (some) progressive politicians to come out in favour of the campaign*. This may be linked to the point raised earlier in the context of popular mobilisation: the campaign is presenting the introduction of the FTT as a ‘no-brainer’ which may not be effective in targeting individuals who are broadly favourably to development finance but unconvinced about the technicalities of an FTT, making them unlikely to take risks on the issue. Secondly, there may be a link with the lack of direct pressure and contact with MPs: MPs are aware of FTT and may even be broadly in favour of it, but it is simply not high enough on their list of priorities to take action;

“The reality is that [these political parties] are divided... But there are some people who are opposed and others who are unpersuaded so the party follows a precautionary approach: ‘we are in favour if it is global’” (Policy-maker)

“There has been some traction with parts of the public which gave ability to build up pressure. However, not to a significant degree: the pressure has nowhere near been strong enough to make political parties change” (Policy-maker)

- Finally, a number of policy-makers pointed to the myriad of FTT initiatives and the need to join forces, in particular given the strength of the financial lobby. They pointed to initiatives by Finance Watch, the Tax Justice Network, the Robin Hood Tax campaign, Europeans for Financial Reform or the broader Leading Group on Innovative Finance (encompassing both NGOs and Governments) and wondered why the efforts to deliver an FTT could not be better joined up. This is partly related to the criticism above about losing the development focus and the constraints because of coalition-working (and indeed the campaign’s strategic decision to work in coalitions).

5.3. What works – partnership working

5.3.1. Overall, coalition partners were very positive about the collaboration with their national Oxfam affiliate and, where relevant, their interactions with Oxfam GB and Oxfam International. Partners appreciated what was seen as a genuine desire by Oxfam to work in partnership and ensure ownership for actions was with the coalition. Oxfam’s involvement varied between countries, inevitably resulting in different reactions. Several of the strengths of the cooperation with partners were already raised in section 4.1 (added value of Oxfam in national coalitions). Other key issues that were identified as working well in the coalition building included:

- *Open international meetings* and regular email updates and online debate that were open to all, including Oxfam affiliates and their partners but also to partner organisations in countries with no Oxfam affiliate or no Oxfam affiliate involvement. The role of social media in particular has been important here – several stakeholders found it reassuring to know that there are ‘others’ out there also working on the campaign.

“It has been good to have a global coordination for the Robin Hood Tax campaign. We have been able to post what we are doing and learn what has happened elsewhere. We can then share this with media and existing supporters in blogs and social media. We would not have been able to reach all – no capacity.” (Coalition partner)

“The international meetings were a very important morale booster; usually there is always somebody from some country who has something positive to say. There were moments when

people were getting discouraged, but then someone said something positive and we were back on” (Coalition partner)

- The ‘global’ partnership in particular when the political ‘window of opportunity’ opened in France and then in wider Europe, when it was seen as very important to have an active campaign. Campaigners recall using images from the first Global Days for Action (GDA) providing an “illusion of the campaign being much bigger than it is” and how this illusion translated into reality.

“It was all about presentation, we were saying that 40 countries are active on this. But the illusion became a reality; it really did take off, particularly in France and Germany. What lobbyists were pushing became a realisable thing” (Coalition partner)

- ***A tight group of core organisations*** and/or individuals who champion the FTT and work closely together. The fact that there were only few organisations actively campaigning presented obvious challenges (in terms of resource constraints) but was also seen as offering benefits in that decision-making was easier and cooperation smoother. More often than not, Oxfam was one of this tight group of core organisations in national coalitions. Several partner organisations highlighted Oxfam’s role as the internal ‘apparatus’ ensuring that the campaign went on. Related to this, clear roles by different core members was seen as important – most coalitions divided work between partners on technical and academic research, policy and lobby work and public mobilisation.
- ***Flexibility and the reactive nature of the campaign*** – this approach was seen as the only possible approach due to very fast moving political debate and quickly emerging opportunities for action. At the international level different affiliates and partners dipped in and out of the campaign and generated collaborations as opportunities arose. However, it was also recognised that the campaigns are now getting into a position where a more formalised approach is needed as stakeholders “can no longer do things on top of other things”. Such “*short-termism*” was raised as one possible reason why the campaign lost some partners on the way.

5.3.2. Partners and affiliates raised a limited number of weaknesses in the broader coalition working:

- Although the national partnerships were generally very large (often consisting of at least 30 partners), only a handful of partners were truly active and “*responsible for 99% of the work*”.

“This is one of the widest coalitions I have worked on although only a handful took active decisions. There have been too many sleeping partners; there are many shouting from the sidelines but then not actively supporting beyond signing an occasional letter” (Coalition partner)

- The large partnership was also seen as a hindrance – partners have joined the campaign from different perspectives and it has been much *more difficult to keep the focus on development*. One partner stated how he/she “does not care how to use the revenue” just as long as banks are taxed.
- Several stakeholders commented that *environmental stakeholders in particular have been more difficult to engage than perhaps other sectors*. Some suggestions were made that once the idea of a Robin Hood Tax was taken over by ‘traditional elitists’, the link to development and climate change was lost.

“Environmental organisations have a tunnel vision of the world; they don’t connect melting glaciers to people on the ground, discussing how people are coping if there is no drinking water locally”

- Oxfam was seen by some partners as dipping in and out of FTT campaigning. They referred to some Oxfam involvement in the 1990s followed by disengagement and saw the risk that this scenario was repeating itself in their country;
- Especially at the start, the FTT campaign was seen as embracing too radical an idea, even among civil society organisations. Oxfam staff in particular identified this lack of initial enthusiasm from key partners as a major lost opportunity. Oxfam staff pointed to the lack of genuine engagement by a number of major UK and international NGOs, fearing that the FTT concept was too radical. There were suggestions that even within Oxfam there were initially concerns about having the Oxfam brand too closely linked to the Robin Hood Tax campaign. This was seen as evidence of “*the power of what you’re up against*”.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- 6.1. It is clear that Oxfam and its partners have been able to mount an impressive campaign. FTT campaigns were launched in more than a dozen of countries and crucially, Oxfam was credited by its partners with having added clear added value to national coalition efforts. Areas of added value included Oxfam's experience in popular mobilisation and (social) media work; the organisation's insight in the political dynamics of international negotiations; and the additional resources – in terms of financial support, human resources and materials – brought to the campaign. Oxfam was also credited with having helped bring the issue of the FTT (again) in the mainstream, build momentum and establish broad based coalitions around the FTT. The evaluation team tried to introduce an element of 'counterfactual' in the evaluation by exploring instances where national coalitions were launched without Oxfam affiliate involvement or where partners felt that their country would also have engaged on the FTT without Oxfam involvement; even here partners acknowledged added value, for example because of the international coordination role played by Oxfam or the FTT resources made available to partners.
- 6.2. All external stakeholders contacted by the evaluation team were familiar with the FTT (or Robin Hood Tax) campaign and they were often full of praise for the campaign and the different campaign materials; several commented on the quality of the technical materials and the creativity of the main public awareness-raising tools. Although there is no robust way of directly linking the FTT campaign to increased visibility of the FTT among the wider public, most stakeholders believed that the campaign had played a role in bringing this about. Even policy-makers who were reluctant to see any great impact on policy-making believed that the campaign had had an impact on levels of public awareness. There is some evidence to support this shift in public awareness, including the fact that UK supporters report that they now feel more informed about the tax and (for 17% of them) more supportive of the tax. At this point in time, there is not yet any evidence of implementation of the FTT, with money directed towards development, as a result of the FTT campaign, but France has agreed legislation that should see implementation later in 2012. All this was achieved with fairly limited resources both in terms of human resources and financial inputs: excluding Oxfam Great

Britain, Oxfam affiliates typically only spent a few thousand euros on the FTT campaign and “minimal” human resources; the total budget for the campaigns amounts to an estimated €1 million and although value for money is difficult to assess, the overall impression is of an effective campaign.

- 6.3. It is clear that the last couple of years have witnessed an evolution towards greater (political) support for the FTT in a number of countries and organisations. Attributing this trend to the FTT campaign is, however, difficult. There was a trend towards increased attentions for the FTT prior to the launch of the FTT campaign; indeed, this trend was noted by Oxfam staff and seen as a clear political opportunity and invitation to campaign. Key factors driving this trend include interest in policy circles in France and pre-existing NGO campaigns. By and large, policy-makers were reluctant to credit the FTT campaign with any major impact on policy-making. They were generally positive about the campaign but felt that the financial crisis and the fiscal constraints faced by national Governments, together with strong championing by France and the European Parliament had been key drivers. Some policy-makers were fairly direct in their statements, commenting that the campaign had made “*no difference at all*” in policy-making terms.
- 6.4. The latter is probably too harsh. There are clear exceptions: the balance of evidence suggests that the FTT campaign did contribute to national policy-making processes in particularly in France and to the decision-making process within the European Commission. Oxfam affiliates in several countries could point to convincing in-house logic chains suggesting that they had influenced parliamentary motions and MP interventions. Indirectly, the FTT campaign influenced decision-making by widely advertising the (partial) endorsements of the Gates Foundation and the IMF. Even if the campaign appears not to have instigated policy change, it appears to have facilitated it at times – oiling the wheels as it were.
- 6.5. The evaluation has attempted to draw some lessons around what has worked and what have been challenges in mobilising public support, political lobbying work and partnership working. It is difficult to draw robust conclusions here, given that the evidence points to a variety of views: the Banker 2 video was singled out (unprompted) by two policy-makers, in one case in a positive sense, for its creativity and wit, in another case for its

negative impact of the campaign, because it risked identifying the campaign with thieving youngsters; the letter signed by economists was mentioned by one policy-maker as useful and was one of the tools most widely used by affiliates and partners, but did not feature much in discussions with external stakeholders; partners were positive about the campaign's flexibility, but saw clear disadvantages in this as well, in particular the lack of clear strategic guidance and direction. The list can go on.

6.6. This variety of views is not surprising in a campaign as widespread and diverse as the FTT campaign. Nevertheless, this diversity of responses offers little guidance for campaigners in terms of how to take the campaign forward. Fortunately, a limited number of key messages appear from the research findings in particular around the 'tension' created between the demands of popular mobilisation and political lobbying:

- First, in some countries the resource distribution appears to have been somewhat skewed towards popular mobilisation, especially compared to the resource allocation in other, similar Oxfam campaigns. This is not necessarily a problem, as long as the aims and objectives of popular mobilisation are clearly defined. Crucially, however, policy-makers themselves comment that they feel not sufficiently targeted or pressured by the campaign. This is the case in particular for MPs (and MEPs) and is presented as all the more important given the intense political lobbying undertaken by the financial sector against the FTT;
- Secondly, there appears to have been a problem in the targeting of different campaign messaging. The campaign received positive feedback both about the quality of its technical reporting and the creativity of its public awareness-raising materials. However, policy-makers complained both that argumentation was too simplistic and unable to answer to reasonable criticisms and that the campaign materials were too technical to be accessible or directly relevant to policy-makers. This does not appear to be simply yet another instance of an inevitable diversity of views. There rather appears to be a more fundamental issue of insufficient tailoring and targeting of messaging going on;

These 'weaknesses' in the campaign actually offer a very positive message to the FTT campaign: they suggest that the full potential for influencing the political debate has not yet been reached. They offer a clear signal that there is merit in continuing the campaign, as increased engagement with MPs (and MEPs) and improved targeting of messaging holds the promise of (potentially) increased effectiveness. Some of the clearest examples of the FTT campaign influencing the policy-making process can be found in the

work done by national coalitions with their country's MPs – in France, Germany, Italy – which similarly seems to encourage further investment in work with MPs.

6.7. Additional practical steps that can be taken to improve the effectiveness of the political lobbying include:

- Attempts to achieve even greater coordination between the different NGO initiatives around the FTT and tax justice, which policy-makers report as confusing;
- Increased investment in developing counterarguments to reasonable concerns and questions, at a level that recognises the complexities and potential losers and risks inherent in the introduction of the FTT – in other words, engaging in a more nuanced discussion if and when relevant; and, if possible;
- Increased efforts to recruit bankers willing to show their support for the introduction of the FTT.

6.8. A third key message relates to the campaign's focus on taxation. Whereas advocacy evaluations elsewhere clearly point to the importance of having a clear message, the impression of some stakeholders is that this technique has backfired to some extent in the context of the FTT campaign. Oxfam's focus on the FTT was seen by some as crowding out its development and its development finance message. Conversely, there is a second line of attack on the specificity of the FTT campaign: stakeholders working around the FTT (NGOs and policy-makers) see the FTT as part of a much wider debate around financial stability, regulation and justice. Unfortunately, it is more difficult for the evaluation to offer clear recommendations.

6.9. Finally, it is worth considering the case of the UK, currently being a major 'blocker' to the introduction of an FTT at EU level. There is no denying that the current situation is problematic: some stakeholders indeed fear that the "*damage has been done*" and that there is little hope of bringing the UK on board in the near future. Even if that the case, it may be worth making sure that lessons are learnt for future advocacy efforts directed towards the coalition government (not linked to the FTT):

- If the current Government and relevant Government Departments (in particular DfID) are less inclined to actively work with and listen to NGOs than may have been the case under the previous administration, more *indirect routes* will become increasingly important. EU pressure may not

be the way forward in this respect – if anything, EU involvement may have made things a lot worse for the fate of the FTT in Britain. Indirect routes may include channels already explored by Oxfam, including for example faith organisations, non-NGO communities such as the Mumsnet website and – linked to comments earlier – indirect pressure on the Government through increased engagement with MPs.

- Success in the UK in the past have often come about by giving the UK Government a *chance to lead and indeed be seen to lead on development* and indeed ‘shine’ internationally. It is interesting to note that Oxfam’s shift in development finance messaging has meant that the UK has gone from being top of the class (one of the few countries to reach the 0.7% ODA target) to being bottom of the class (one of the loudest opponents of the FTT). Is it possible to design a face-saving way out of his opposition for the UK prime minister in the context of the FTT? Is there a way of linking campaigning messages to pet projects such as the Big Society?

Again, there are no easy answers here, but a clear strategy appears needed.

- 6.10. Encouragingly, there are suggestions that the campaign may have underestimated (some of) its (British) supporters and gone too far in popularising the FTT message by presenting it as a ‘non-brainer’. FTT supporters are actively asking for more nuanced information and a discussion around how they can challenge what they see as valid counterarguments raised by opponents, including MPs. There may be value in working with supporters – as indeed suggested by an online survey respondent – to collate the responses received from MPs and proactively plan next steps on this basis. Supporters report that they will engage when they feel that their contribution is needed and will make a difference; working with them on MP engagement in this manner may be a small step contributing to creating this.

ANNEX A TIMELINE OF THE FTT CAMPAIGN

Table A.1 Timeline of the FTT campaign

22/06/2012	A group of ten European countries, including the Eurozone Big Four - France, Germany, Italy and Spain - agrees to press ahead with plans for a Financial Transaction Tax.
21/06/2012	52 financiers write to David Cameron and other European and world leaders calling on them to back Financial Transaction Taxes to raise revenue for "people in urgent need at home and in the world".
19/06/2012	A new campaign launches in the US, with actions happening in support of Robin across the country.
14/06/2012	Ahead of the annual Mansion House Bankers' Banquet, Robin Hood Tax campaigners hold their own feast at the Royal Exchange to highlight the cost to ordinary people of the financial sector's "success".
30/05/2012	Supporters head to the RBS AGM to demand a fair tax on the financial sector.
23/05/2012	The European Parliament votes by a 487 to 152 majority for a Europe-wide Financial Transaction Tax to be implemented by 2014 as part of a wider growth strategy.
18/05/2012	Ahead of the G8 Summit, thousands of members of National Nurses United march through the streets of Chicago to demand a Robin Hood Tax from world leaders.
16/05/2012	A new assessment from the European Commission says that a Financial Transaction Tax could increase economic growth in Europe.
15/05/2012	For one week campaigners from around the world take action and call on leaders to support a Robin Hood Tax ahead of the G8 and key EU Summits.
14/05/2012	Ahead of the G8 Summit and EU Finance Ministers meeting, UN experts urge leaders to adopt a Financial Transaction Tax as a 'human rights imperative'.
30/04/2012	Alex Salmond, Scotland's First Minister, backs a Financial Transaction Tax with revenues going towards tackling poverty and climate change at home and abroad.
29/04/2012	The UK's most senior Catholic, Cardinal Keith O'Brien, urges David Cameron to implement a Robin Hood Tax in the UK.
27/04/2012	Campaigners go to the annual Barclays AGM to demand a Robin Hood Tax on the banks.
22/03/2012	Supporters join hundreds of demonstrators outside 10 Downing Street to ask Osborne to tax the banks, not the poor.
15/03/2012	A new report by economist Avinash Persaud shows the net effect of a Financial Transaction Tax on UK GDP is likely to be +0.25%.
23/02/2012	Carwyn Jones, the First Minister of Wales, announces his support for the Robin Hood Tax.
07/02/2012	Nine European countries ask the Danish EU Presidency to fast track the introduction of a Robin Hood Tax.
06/02/2012	New report by Professors Stephany Griffith-Jones and Avinash Persaud shows the positive impact of an FTT.
29/01/2012	French President Nicolas Sarkozy announces plans to introduce a unilateral Financial Transaction Tax in August 2012.
16/01/2012	New Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy announces Spain's support for the introduction of a Financial Transaction Tax.

06/01/2012	President Sarkozy says that France will implement its own Financial Transaction Tax if European countries prefer to wait.
04/01/2012	Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy decide to implement a European Financial Transaction Tax before the end of the year.
14/12/2011	French Finance Minister François Baroin announces a French and German target of 2013 for implementation of an FTT in Europe.
09/12/2011	Robin heads to South Africa for COP 17 and pushes world leaders to tax the banks for the Green Climate Fund.
04/12/2011	The new Italian Prime Minister announces that Italy will be more supportive of a Financial Transaction Tax in line with the French and German position.
02/12/2011	The new Belgian Government commits to support a Financial Transaction Tax at European level in its coalition agreement.
30/11/2011	Former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan calls for Western countries to live up to their climate finance commitments and suggests a tax on financial transactions to raise revenue.
16/11/2011	German Chancellor Angela Merkel calls on David Cameron to get behind European proposals to introduce a tax on financial transactions.
07/11/2011	Former US Presidential Candidate Al Gore joins the calls for a tax on financial transactions.
04/11/2011	A growing group of G20 countries from France to Brazil back a Robin Hood Tax at Cannes, and the link between the Robin Hood Tax and fighting poverty and climate change becomes clearer than ever.
03/11/2011	Pressure mounts on Cameron as 70 organisations and 80,000 supporters ask him to push for a Robin Hood Tax at the G20.
02/11/2011	Rowan Williams add his voice to calls for a Robin Hood Tax, and asks Cameron to back an FTT at the G20.
24/10/2011	The Pope comes out in support of a Financial Transaction Tax ahead of the G20 Summit.
22/10/2011	Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte tells parliament he is in favour of a Financial Transaction Tax.
18/10/2011	In the lead up to the G20, RHT supporters donate £7,000 in 48 hours to keep up adverts in London Underground asking David Cameron to back the tax at the G20 Summit.
15/10/2011	Writing in a letter to the Guardian, Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu calls on world leaders to implement a Financial Transaction Tax at the G20.
29/09/2011	Over 10,000 supporters upload their photo to appear in a new Robin Hood Tax video in the run up to the G20.
28/09/2011	European Commission President José Manuel Barroso announces that the Commission will adopt the proposal for a Financial Transaction Tax.
22/09/2011	A summary of Gates's forthcoming report outlines his support for a Financial Transaction Tax.
01/09/2011	Thousands of Nurses across America take action in 21 states to demand a Financial Transaction Tax on Wall Street.
31/08/2011	French President, Nicolas Sarkozy, and European Commission President, José Barroso, say they will look for an agreement on an FTT at the G20 in November.
17/08/2011	France and Germany decide to table a joint proposal for a Financial Transaction Tax in September 2011.

05/08/2011	The IMF release a paper saying that a Financial Transaction Tax would be practical to administer and feasible without international agreement.
27/07/2011	Brazil introduces a new 1% transaction tax on currency derivatives to curb speculation.
13/07/2011	Robin Hood Tax campaigners hand in a letter to David Cameron, along with pictures from the Global Day of Action in 43 different countries.
30/06/2011	The European Commission suggests an EU-wide FTT. We say it must go to fighting poverty, not filling the EU coffers.
22/06/2011	Campaigners from around the globe call for world leaders to support a Robin Hood Tax.
15/06/2011	To highlight the effect of casino banking on people around the world, the Robin Hood Tax campaign creates its own pop-up casino at the Royal Exchange.
09/06/2011	1,200 people go to Westminster to lobby their MP on the Robin Hood Tax and other issues.
18/05/2011	The EU-ACP Joint Parliamentary Assembly adopt a declaration to use innovative financing methods such as the Financial Transaction Tax.
11/05/2011	Finance and Deputy Prime Minister Jyrki Katainen says Finland will implement an FTT with or without other countries.
08/05/2011	French bank Crédit Coopératif decides to introduce its own Financial Transaction Tax.
13/04/2011	1,000 economists from around the world tell Bill Gates and the G20 to support a Robin Hood Tax.
04/04/2011	Robin tours around Britain visiting people and communities hit by the financial crisis and the cuts.
26/03/2011	Robin Hood supporters join thousands of protesters in London marching for an alternative to the public sector cuts.
09/03/2011	A little bit of Sherwood comes to Brussels with the European Parliament voting in support of a €200bn (£172bn) a year Financial Transaction Tax.
24/02/2011	Bill Nighy challenges the CEOs of Goldman Sachs, Barclays, RBS and HSBC to a reality check by going with him to visit impoverished areas of the UK and Kenya.
21/02/2011	Campaigners from 25 countries unite to call for the G20 to deliver a tax on the banks.
31/01/2011	For those wonks amongst you more research from CEPR on the likelihood of an FTT.
27/01/2011	Sarkozy takes charge of the G20 and uses Davos to put bank taxes top of the political agenda for 2011.
20/12/2010	We know Bankers have the power to change things, so thousands of you send letters to them.
08/12/2010	As details of the proposed levy emerge it is clear it is still far too soft on the banks.
05/12/2010	Innovative financing for climate is top of the agenda at COP 16. And Robin Hood is there flying the flag in Mexico.
11/11/2010	South African Health Minister, Aaron Motsoaledi, welcomes a Robin Hood Tax.
08/11/2010	The Robin Hood Tax campaign is part of a global movement representing over 200 million people calling on leaders to introduce fair taxation on the financial sector.
21/10/2010	The bank levy legislation outlined would raise £2.5 billion. A far cry from what is needed or possible.
18/10/2010	Parliamentary briefings are opportunities to present research, ideas and arguments to MPs and their staff.
18/10/2010	Robin hits the headlines again with a stunt asking George Osborne to introduce bank taxes

	instead of cuts.
15/10/2010	Bank taxes can be a complicated issue. The Robin Hood Tax campaign is delighted to have Professor Joseph Stiglitz on hand to explain why and how they should work for the world's media.
07/10/2010	18 months ago the idea of taxing the banks was being dismissed out of hand. Today the European Commission (the executive body of the EU) outlines their vision for taxing the financial sector. It's big
24/09/2010	At the Trade Union Council Annual Congress support for a Robin Hood tax was everywhere. Helped along by David Threlfall (Frank Gallagher from Shameless).
17/09/2010	The Labour Campaign for International Development asks all the candidates what they think of the tax.
09/09/2010	As Finance Ministers gather in Brussels this special report discusses the FAT tax.
01/09/2010	Report surveying financial transaction taxes around the world. Interesting reading.
23/07/2010	At the XVIII International Aids Conference in Vienna, the UN Special Envoy for Innovative Finance calls on world leaders to 'back the banker's tax'.
07/07/2010	Plaid Cymru MPs lay amendments to the Finance Bill which would introduce a Robin Hood Tax on bankers as an alternative to the regressive hike in VAT which will hit the poorest hardest.
04/07/2010	The IMF says the financial crisis has shown that the world's banking sector is under-taxed and should be subject to a co-ordinated levy by the G20 nations.
25/06/2010	Twenty of the world's biggest economies meet to discuss the global financial system. We are there to make sure they don't forget the poor and the planet.
21/06/2010	Emergency Budget: 35 Economists called on the Government to introduce an ambitious tax on the banking sector rather than a rise on VAT which would hit the poorest hardest.
21/06/2010	We needed to send a clear message to Government. So an amazing 700 people pay for billboards in Westminster Station to do just that.
10/06/2010	The IMF Report for the G20: 'A Fair and Substantial Contribution by the Financial Sector' is published.
28/05/2010	The European Commission adopts a bank levy proposal to insure against future economic crises.
20/05/2010	Robin Hood Tax supporters go to welcome the new parliament, armed with photos of over 3000 supporters.
12/05/2010	Both David Cameron and Nick Clegg reply to supporters of Robin Hood on the eve of the election, saying they both support some form of tax on banks. How will this translate into action?
29/04/2010	Celebs write a letter to The Times Editor asking that banks 'repair damage with a Robin Hood Tax'
24/04/2010	European Day Of Action For Financial Transaction Taxes: All across Europe people take action in support of a Robin Hood Tax.
15/04/2010	MUTATE Britain launch their Robin Hood Tax exhibition in East London.
02/04/2010	Sir Ben Kingsley, Noel Clarke (Kidulthood, Dr Who), Tom Felton (Harry Potter) Joe Dempsie (Skins), Blake Harrison (The Inbetweeners) and Jaime Winstone (Kidulthood) star in new campaign film.
24/03/2010	David Cameron Supports Unilateral Action On Bank Taxes
23/03/2010	Sienna Miller, Emma Thompson and Nick Frost, singer Lemar, and Shameless star David Threlfall come out in support

23/03/2010	3000 people ask the Chancellor to consider the Robin Hood Tax in the budget. We take those voices and deliver them to the Treasury.
20/03/2010	Gordon Brown comes out in support: Brown: 'I'm the guy who is pushing the rest of the world community into having a financial levy on banks'. And he calls the campaign 'formidable.'
12/03/2010	Professor Jeffrey Sachs, Richard Curtis, Bill Nighy and Robin Hood tax representatives host an event at the RSA.
10/03/2010	European Parliament Backs Making Financial Transactions Work
02/03/2010	Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Rowan Williams, Comes Out In Support
01/03/2010	Jesse Jackson comes out in support of a Robin Hood Tax in a speech to Cambridge University union.
26/02/2010	An American supporter gives us what we didn't even know we were missing - a song and dance.
24/02/2010	An unprecedented number of MPs from all parties turn up for the first briefing.
15/02/2010	350 Economists Call On G20 Leaders to Introduce a Robin Hood Tax
12/02/2010	Goldman Sachs, Goldman Sachs Clicking In The Votes
11/02/2010	CEOs of over 100 organisations send a letter to the three party leaders asking them to consider taxing the banks to help the poor and the planet.
10/02/2010	Launch of Robin Hood Tax campaign

Source: Robin Hood Tax website

ANNEX B POLL EVIDENCE: FTT AWARENESS/SUPPORT

B.1 The evaluation team came across the following poll evidence about awareness of and support for the FTT across EU countries:

- An October 2011 poll commissioned by Oxfam France showed 61% of French people as being in favour of an FTT for development and climate issue. Earlier the same year, more than twice as many people supported an FTT than opposed it (51% vs. 22%). Only one in nine people thought banks had already done enough to atone for the economic crisis;
- A December 2011 poll commissioned by Aides, an NGO member of the French FTT coalition, 82% of the French people were in favour of a FTT “*allocated to the fight against poverty and global pandemics*”.
- A June 2011 Eurobarometer poll shows **6 in 10 of Europeans (61%) in favour of the FTT**; 26% are opposed and 13% expressed no opinion. The wording of the survey referred to the recent endorsement of the FTT by the European Parliament; clarified that the tax would be very low and would not apply to the general public but only to transactions between financial institutions. Individuals were asked for their support in principle. The Eurobarometer puts support in the UK at 65%;
- A YouGov survey, commissioned by Oxfam Scotland in June 2011, surveyed just over 1,000 people across Scotland and revealed that **6 in 10 of Scots (62%) support the idea of an FTT**; 20% oppose and 18% are unsure. The wording of the survey similarly clarified that this would be a tax between financial institutions and not on routine banking transactions. The actual survey question was not about the FTT but asked individuals whether they would support “*a tax on the UK’s financial institutions*”. The survey also clarified that the money would go towards protecting public services and tackling poverty at home and abroad;
- An April 2010 poll by Ipsos Mori, commissioned by Save the Children and the Robin Hood Tax campaign, **49% of the British public supported the introduction of an FTT (23% ‘strongly’)**; 20% opposed it and 31% did not know or had no preference. Individuals were asked whether they would support the introduction of an FTT in the UK if the FTT was agreed by all the other G20 countries and if the proceeds would be split 50-50 on domestic and international issues;

ANNEX C BENCHMARKING TABLES

Table C.1 Example of media coverage overview – number of hits

	Print	Online	TV	Radio	Total
3 wise kings (Spain)	42	-	13	6	-
Super MDGs	4	-	2	-	-
Fair Play (Ghana)	7	3	-	-	-
G8 Communiqué reaction (Canada)	125	600	-	22	-
HIV/Aids conference	-	-	-	-	>150
COP15 Copenhagen	47	27	84	23	±200

Source: Review of Oxfam Public Campaigning (draft) (CPC, September 2011)

Table C.2 Example of reach of online and offline campaign actions

	Participants	Actions
Big Noise petition (200 countries)	-	8-10,000,000
Unicef Say Yes for Children (190 countries)	-	95,000,000
GCAP (70 countries)	-	35,000,000
COP15 OI (by mid-November)	-	1,600,000
Climate actions 2009 (all affiliates) – offline	-	1,480,000
MDG action (4 countries, on & offline)	-	1,450,663
Send a friend to school	-	1,000,000
White Band Day (50 national coalitions)	-	1,000,000
ONE US (petition George Bush)	2,400,000	500,000
Cancun COP16	-	500,000
Climate actions 2009 (all affiliates) – online	-	211,000
Close the Gap (Australia)	-	145,000
Picture in album fans of Stanley Menzo	-	60,000
Oxjam/freshers' fairs events Blue Face action	-	50,000
Email Nestle	-	44,000
Open letter G8 finance ministers (Germany)	-	42,000
G8 Japan <i>online</i> action	-	15,000
Fair Play for Africa pledge cards (Kenya)	-	10,000
Summer festivals (MDGs)	20,000	9,220
HIV/Aids conference	-	5,300
Invitation for Make the World Turn Around	16,640	3,100
Global keepy-uppy competition (signatures)	-	2,355
Fair Play for Africa pledge cards (Ghana)	-	2,000
MfA events (Malawi)	14,300	950
Global keepy-uppy competition (videos)	-	742
Make the World Turn Around	1,900	570
Pill check week (4 countries)	-	293
MfA petition online	-	50
Stand-up event (Bangladesh)	13,200,000	-
World's biggest lesson (2003)	2,000,000	-
Climate hearings (30 countries)	1,600,000	-
National Close the Gap Day 2011	120,000	-
TckTckTck demonstration COP15	100,000	-
COP15 march in Copenhagen	100,000	-
Wave – climate march Glasgow & London	58,000	-
Oxfam speech Glastonbury Festival (2004)	30,000	-
Make Poverty History Trafalgar Square	20,000	-

Fair Play for Africa launch march (Malawi)	3,000	-
MfA World Health Day event Thoylo	3,000	-
Climate Action Day South Africa	1,500	-
Mili-band climate change action Kingsnorth	1,200	-

Source: Review of Oxfam Public Campaigning (draft) (CPC, September 2011)

Table C.3 Example of reach of online materials (inspired) by Oxfam

	Hits	Interaction
G20 bloggers US	2,000,000	10 reactions/blog
MDG bloggers (10 bloggers)	100,000 (500/post)	
Robin Hood Tax (Facebook, Twitter, RHT website)		200,000 members
G8 Germany website info (Oxfam G8)	550/day	
#tweetbottle action (COP16 Cancun)n (12 affiliates)		400 messages
COP15 Copenhagen OI Twitter	2,000 new followers	
COP15 OI Flickr	>20,000 views	
2015 tv news video	6,000 views & mentions	
Don't drop the ball on aid (Technocrati)	9,063,357	
The Banker video on YouTube	>1,000,000	
MDG blogs		
MDG3 tweet		Retweeted >1,000 times
Fair Play for Africa Facebook page (continent wide)		700 members
In My Name video YouTube	1,200,000	1,000s comments 500+ posts and articles in the first 4 weeks

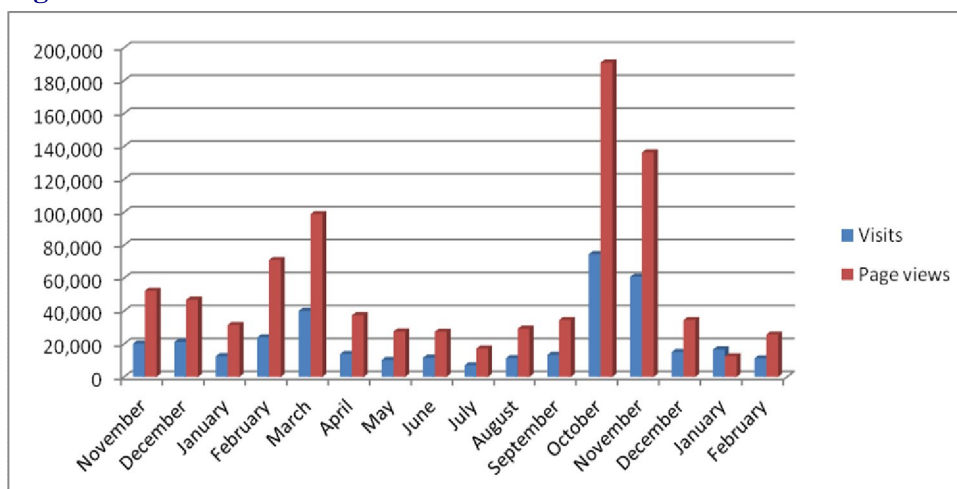
Source: Review of Oxfam Public Campaigning (draft) (CPC, September 2011)

ANNEX D ADDITIONAL SOCIAL MEDIA MONITORING DATA

D.1 Additional social media monitoring data worth noting includes the following:

- Analysis of the Robin Hood Tax website traffic suggests that there have been peaks in (online) public interest. The first peak occurred during February and March 2011 (Bill Nighy’s Bank Challenge 24th February and European Parliament voting to support FTT 9th March) and the second higher peak in October and November 2011 (run up to the G20 Summit in Cannes).

Figure D.1. Robin Hood Tax Website statistics Nov 2010- Feb 2012



- A e-action in the United States asking individuals to tell president Obama to “*stop blocking progress and support the Robin Hood Tax at the G20 summit*” had a response rate of 7.57%, generating 7,318 actions;
- Open rates and adjusted click-through rates for Oxfam Great Britain emails average 26% and 25% respectively.

Table D.1 Open rate and click-through rates Oxfam GB emails

Subject line	Open rate	Adjusted click-through rate	Total number who opened
Act Now: One week to get a Robin Hood Tax (26/10/11)	59%	44%	8,395
Thanks for emailing Cameron. Watch us now on the BBC! (3/11/11)	45%	25%	8,528
Bill Nighy has sent you an email (19/9/11)	40%	15%	15,093
Bill Nighy has sent you an email (7/10/11)	26%	11%	10,157
The Robin Hood Tax – what next? (2/4/12)	26%	25%	3,408
Good news: group of G20 countries back Robin Hood Tax (4/11/11)	25%	20%	18,747

The Robin Hood Tax – what next? (2/4/12)	20%	19%	15,384
14 days to a Robin Hood Tax: Can you help fill 5 mins of it? (18/10/11)	20%	25%	15,033
In a week's time we could secure a Robin Hood Tax (26/10/11)	18%	57%	10,598
All	26%	25%	105,343

Source: Oxfam Great Britain social media monitoring data

ANNEX E ANALYSIS OF JUNE 2012 SURVEY RESPONSES

What encourages people to engage with the campaign?

- E.1 The table below shows why online survey respondents registered their email address with the Robin Hood Tax campaign. The single most important reason is to show their support for the Robin Hood Tax campaign. Hoping to get actively involved in Robin Hood Tax activities is less important: this was a reason for less than half of respondents. Those respondents who report that they initiated at least one FTT action were much more likely to tick this reason: more than three quarters of them indicated that hoping to get involved in Robin Hood Tax activities was an important reason for them to join. This suggests that the more active supporters (at least in their own view) were already planning on getting active when they first joined the campaign.

Table E.1 Reasons for registering with the campaign

	%	No
To show my support for the Robin Hood Tax campaign	98	538
Because I am in favour of financial redistribution	95	521
I always try to support social justice campaigns	92	502
Because I was annoyed/angry at bankers	90	491
Because I am in favour of curbing speculation	85	459
To find out more about the Robin Hood Tax campaign	85	454
To find out more about the financial transaction tax	76	401
I was hoping to get actively involved in Robin Hood Tax activities	47	246

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

Note: The responses are given for those who felt this reason was 'very' or 'quite' important. The number of responses varies between the different reasons given, from 531 to 548.

- E.2 The table below shows what inspired respondents to undertake their own FTT action. In response to the comment box at the end of this question, many respondents commented that their FTT 'action' consisted solely of sending emails (including to their MP) or posting information on Facebook. Availability of materials/guidance is the single most important factor.

Table E.2 Factors that encourage supporters to take FTT action

	%	No
Availability of materials/guidance	78	157
Examples of other activists elsewhere	65	127

Support from Oxfam staff	47	87
Network of friends/family willing to help	46	84

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

Note: The responses are given for those who felt this reason was 'very' or 'quite' important. The number of responses varies between the different facilitators given, from 181 to 201.

E.3 Online respondents were asked (in an open question) what had inspired them to write to their MPs.

- About one in ten of respondents who answered this question explicitly credited the campaign. They commented generally that the campaign inspired them or referred explicitly to receiving an email from the campaign which asked them to contact their MP. The availability of templates also helped.

"I have written to my MP twice, both times prompted by emails from the Robin Hood Tax campaign"

"The campaign provided a sample letter, ideal as I would not know where to start!"

"Robin hood campaign inspired me"

"First Bill Nighy video on YouTube"

- A large proportion of respondents commented that they wrote to their MP simply because they felt that it was the right thing to do: they believe in the tax and feel that MPs should know how their constituents feel. Many appeared to have been inspired by their anger with bankers and a sense of getting even with financial institutions, often using quite emotive language – words used include "pure anger", feeling "incensed", "sick" or "enraged". Many appear to be used to getting in touch with their MPs.

"Belief that MPs should know what their constituents think and because they believe in the FTT"

"Show my personal anger and concern over the current situation and, hopefully, be another voice to put pressure on parliament to do something positive"

"For me it is a no-brainer; it is the start of doing things that need to be done, and the risk / negatives were so little!"

- The main reasons given for not contacting MPs were twofold: (i) lack of time or energy and (ii) a sense that it would not make any difference because their (Tory) MP was expected to toe the party line. Several respondents also commented that they were contacting their MP about other issues which they felt were a priority at the time or said that had decided not to send an FTT email because they felt that they had been contacting their

MP already too often in recent times. Interestingly, one individual commented that s/he did not write for “*fear of appearing mis-informed*”.

“Its pointless contacting a Tory MP, they simply toe the party line and fob you off with standard letters from a (ir)relevant minister”

“I had a health issue query with my MP at the time”

“Lack of time”

E.4 As reported earlier, 1 in 10 of online survey respondents reported that they had initiated at least 1 FTT action themselves. Given Oxfam (Great Britain)’s ambition to move more towards a ‘movement’ where individuals take the initiative, the evaluation team analysed the data to see whether anything can be said in particular about this group:

- Men were more likely to report that they had initiated their own FTT action (13% of men compared to 8% of women);
- Individuals of 65 years or older were more likely to have initiated their own FTT action (13% compared to 10% of 25-49 year olds and 9% of 50-65 year olds);
- Individuals who had been an Oxfam supporter between 1 and 5 years were more likely to have initiated their own action than more recent or longer standing UK supporters (23% but this figure needs to be treated with caution as only 35 respondents fall in the 1-5 years category);
- Individuals who had never previously been involved in a campaign were less likely to have initiated their own action;

E.5 Online respondents were asked what, if anything, would make them more likely to get involved in future FTT activities. More than 250 online respondents answered this question. Their responses broadly fall in three categories:

- ***Ease of access and facilitation*** – respondents comment that they would get involved if activities were organised locally and, importantly, if someone else organised them. Many are happy to get more actively involved but they seemed to want Oxfam to tell them what to do and make it really easy for them to do it. A minority suggest that it might be enough for Oxfam to offer networking so like-minded people can meet; most seem to want things to be organised for them;

“Simple activities with clearly defined instructions, like writing to our MPs”

“Locally organized activities, and more recommendations of what a person could do on the local level”

“Give me more petitions etc to sign”

“I'm not sure. I've written to my MP. I don't like demonstrations. Some suggestions for a shy campaigner might help me”

“Other people in my area organising things, I am not great at that sort of thing”

“Easier on-line petition signing and letter sending and more feedback on how many people have been involved and what action if any has resulted from it”

“Emails telling me how to get involved”

“If someone else organised something”

“Emails requesting specific help as am pretty useless at coming up with ideas on my own!”

“Just to be asked, as I believe in it and want to do as much as I am able”

“Quick easy ways to campaign (Oxfam style e-letters which are v. fast to send)”

“Convenience”

“Easy campaigns that require minimum effort from me. I am busy, strapped for time but I do care. Happy to forward emails, share info on Twitter and Facebook”

“I am a loyal supporter, all u have to do is ask. I will consider all reasonable requests to be more active”

- ***Knowing their support makes a difference*** – people indicate that signs of progress would offer further encouragement; this can take the form of email updates of progress, seeing more media coverage or a sense that there is a clear strategy to deal with the lack of progress in the UK;

“A better political strategy – basically the campaign is losing in the UK not winning and that is obvious”

“Higher profile in the media. If it's not reported widely it's a waste of time”

“It would be useful to refer to successful examples of it, without the sky falling down, e.g. Japan, meager though their tax is”

“If there were more prominent MPs who made public statements giving their support”

- Additional information about the tax including ***more detailed and objective facts about advantages and possible disadvantages***;

“Continued email updates and more detailed information with both pros and cons for the proposed tax”

“More emphasis on objective arguments”

“Further development of sound economic arguments”

“Slightly less gimmicky-ness”

“A complete economic argument that counters the arguments against”

- There is a fourth category – ***changes in personal circumstances*** – but this is not something Oxfam can build on: individuals simply comment that having more time or money or being healthier/younger would encourage them to get involved in future FTT activities;

Which aspects of the campaign do people appreciate most?

E.6 Overall, online respondents were very positive about the campaign approach. For each of the 8 dimensions of the campaign approach, from use of celebrities to the clear focus on a solution, at least 6 in 10 of online respondents commented that they really or quite liked this. The most striking finding is that respondents particularly liked ‘the use of objective economic arguments’ and the ‘clear focus on a solution’. Virtually all respondents (97%) liked these aspects of the campaign and an impressive 8 in 10 ‘really’ liked this. Celebrity involvement, while still popular was only ‘really’ liked by less than 1 in 3 of respondents. Similarly, use of the Robin Hood branding and use of people’s anger towards bankers – arguably the more defining features of the popular campaigning (think The Banker I and II videos) – are still popular (three quarters of people liked this aspect of the campaign), were only ‘really’ liked by 4 to 5 in 10 of online respondents. In other words, online respondents are more positive about the more technical argumentation than about the ‘popular’ mobilisation tools.

Table E.3 Campaign characteristics liked/disliked by supporters

	Really/quite liked this		Really liked this	
Use of objective economic arguments	97%	453	81%	378
Clear focus on a solution (introduction of the tax)	97%	458	79%	371

Link with climate change AND development AND poverty in the UK	86%	405	61%	286
Tone and content of (online) campaigning materials	86%	400	43%	201
Frequent email updates about campaign successes	85%	399	43%	200
Use of people's anger towards bankers	79%	372	46%	218
Use of Robin Hood symbol/branding	76%	354	40%	188
Celebrity involvement	62%	291	29%	138
Total	100	476	100	476

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

E.7 This preference for more rational/technical inputs is also reflected in the open comments at the end of this question:

“I appreciate the discussion of economic arguments, but I need more. My MP replied to my email with good points I'm not sure I can counter”

“It is important to understand why Merkel and Hollande are for the tax. This is not widely known, nor are their motives for being in favour. Could this be a scheme to reduce the Anglo Saxon Protestant dominance in banking?”

“I'm not especially politically inclined and don't always keep up to date with current affairs, and sometimes felt a bit lost in the whole thing”

“Campaign needs to be explained better in a devoted programme next to a simple outline of how the financial system works . . . most people do not understand it and feel disconnected from its complexity”

E.8 The comment about MPs emailing back with valid counterarguments which supporters find difficult to challenge arises a few times in responses. One respondent suggests a useful way forward in terms of collecting, collating and analysing the responses of MPs:

“I would like somewhere to email the responses of the MP's I've written to. I have all the answers to the RHT letters but don't know where to email them. I did send an email to the RHT people requesting this info but as yet I haven't received a reply :o(”

E.9 Other open comments simply refer to how much people have enjoyed the campaign – “it's a brilliant campaign ... love it” – and explicitly referring the

Bill Nighy videos and the sense of humour in the campaign. Several people commented however that they had not seen the ‘frequent email updates’ the online survey referred to and actively asked for more frequent updates.

“Also enjoyed sense of humour and international aspects of campaign - and the little green hats...”

“The Bill Nighy video was great not sure we’ve had frequent emails”

“Frequent e-mail updates: They haven’t been frequent at all, but I have liked what I received. I’d prefer smaller ones, more often - once a month, at least”

“Frequent email updates? When, where? I have not had any”

E.10 More generally, there is a request to make getting involved even easier.

“Tone and content of on-line campaigning was not as good as it could be. I feel the information you are portraying is asking a little too much of the common busy person. Avaaz.org has great tools and makes it very easy to take action quickly and easily. You should take a leaf out of their book if you seriously wish to raise the stakes. The ease in which someone can take action will determine if they will do it. If you ask too much or make the on-line process too long winded they will simply click through to the next email”

E.11 The vast majority of online respondents felt proud to be associated with the campaign and did feel part of a movement, however only 2 in 5 ‘definitely’ felt part of a movement. Just 1 in 3 ‘definitely’ felt valued and less than 1 in 3 ‘definitely’ felt a sense that they had a role to play. Only 1 in 10 ‘definitely’ felt powerful or real ownership of the campaign.

Table E.4 Emotions linked to involvement in campaign

	Definitely/to an extent		Definitely	
	%	No	%	No
Proud to be associated	92%	429	59%	275
Part of a movement	87%	406	38%	176
A sense that I had a role to play	83%	381	29%	132
Valued	78%	360	33%	151
Powerful	53%	245	13%	58
Real ownership of the campaign	52%	235	11%	49

	100	475	100	475
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Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

- E.12 When only looking at those individuals who initiated their own FTT action (table below), the first but unsurprising finding is that their scores are systematically higher across all these different dimensions. For example, close to 7 in 10 report that they feel ‘powerful’ and ‘real ownership of the campaign’ compared to just over 5 in 10 for online respondents as a whole. Arguably more striking is that **6 in 10 initiators ‘definitely’ felt a sense that they had a role to play**, compared to less than 3 in 10 for online respondents as a whole. This may hold a useful recommendation in terms of messaging to supporters. This appears to fit with the message that supporters would be included to get involved in future FTT activities if they knew that their actions would make a difference.

Table E.5 Emotions linked to involvement in campaign (FTT action ‘initiators’)

	Definitely /to an extent	Definitely
Proud to be associated	100%	76%
A sense that I had a role to play	96%	59%
Part of a movement	90%	51%
Valued	82%	45%
Powerful	70%	28%
Real ownership of the campaign	68%	28%

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

Respondent characteristics

- E.13 Recent UK supporters and long term (more than 10 years) supporters were more likely to respond to the online survey. About two fifths of respondents had not previously been an Oxfam supporter but only signed up in the context of the Robin Hood Tax campaign. Another two fifths had been a supporter for more than 10 years.

Table E.6 How long have you been an Oxfam supporter?

	%	No
Only signed up in the context of the Robin Hood Tax campaign	41	168
More than 10 years	39	159
Between 5 and 10 years	11	46
Between 1 and 5 years	8	36
Total	100	409

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

E.14 More men (57%) than women (43%) completed the online survey.

Table E.7 What is your gender?

	%	No
Male	57	261
Female	43	196
Total	100	457

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

E.15 Two thirds of respondents (66%) were 50 years old or older. A third of respondents were between 25 and 49 years of age. A very small number of individuals younger than 25 completed the survey.

Table E.8 How old are you?

	%	No
65 or older	23	106
50-64	43	200
25-49	31	142
16-24	3	12
Under 16	*	1
Total	100	461

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

E.16 The majority of respondents (more than 8 in 10) live in England; one in 10 of respondents live in Scotland. Within England, the South, including London, is particularly well represented (40% of all English respondents).

Table E.9 Where do you live?

	%	No
England	82	351
<i>South East</i>	19	80
<i>South West</i>	14	60
<i>London</i>	12	51
<i>North West</i>	11	47
<i>East of England</i>	7	28
<i>West Midlands</i>	6	26
<i>Yorkshire & the Humber</i>	6	24
<i>East Midlands</i>	5	20
<i>North East</i>	3	15
Scotland	10	44
Wales	7	30
Northern Ireland	1	4
Total	100	429

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

- E.17 A quarter of respondents had not previously been involved in any other campaigns; three quarters had, often in several different campaigns. Most commonly this was on human rights issues, followed by environmental/ climate change and international poverty campaigns. Campaigns relating to UK poverty were relatively less likely to have attracted attention.

Table E.10 Previous involvement in campaigns

	%	No
Human rights campaigns	59	312
Environmental/climate change campaigns	54	288
Campaigns relating to international poverty	52	273
Campaigns relating to UK poverty	38	200
Other	2	12
Subtotal: involved in 1 or more other campaigns	76	402
Not been involved in any other campaigns	24	128
Total		530

Source: UK supporters online survey (CPC, September 2011)

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http://ec.europa.eu/index_en.htm

