Effectiveness of UK civil society sector in building support for international development

William Avis and Isobel Wilson-Cleary

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Question

Is the UK civil society sector effective at building support for development by encouraging and engaging UK citizens?

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1. Overview

A priority for the development community in donor countries is improving understanding of public attitudes towards international development and support for aid. UK civil society\(^1\) organisations (CSOs) have used a variety of strategies to build support for development. Available evidence on their effectiveness suggests some success in short-term popular mobilisation national and global campaigns such as the Make Poverty History campaign. However, longitudinal data on public perceptions of development and evidence of UK CSOs seeking to develop clearer understanding of public perceptions and how to communicate their work suggest more needs to be done to engage and maintain longer-term public support for development.

\(^1\) Civil society is understood to refer to the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organisations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. Civil society organisations (CSOs) include community groups, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), labour unions, indigenous groups, charitable organisations, faith-based organisations, professional associations, and foundations.
The UK public plays a three-dimensional role in tackling global poverty (Darnton and Kirk, 2011: 5):

- Providing a licence for NGOs and government to take immediate action on global poverty (for example, in supporting the ring-fenced 0.7% aid budget).
- Making a positive difference through the actions they take in their daily lives (for example, giving money, buying ethical or fair trade products, volunteering and lobbying).
- Opening up a space for debate in society, which in turn gives the government the opportunity to make the systemic changes required to tackle the causes of global poverty.

The current literature presents a disparate body of knowledge: data on UK public perceptions of international development fails to sufficiently identify key drivers or individual motivations of public support for development (Van Heerde and Hudson, 2010 and 2012), and there is a limited evidence exploring the contribution of different UK actors in shaping these perceptions (including civil society). At best evidence is indicative rather than conclusive. Recent attempts to address this evidence base remain at an early stage (Hudson & van Heerde-Hudson, 2014; Bond, 2015b). The literature considered in this review was largely gender-blind.

Findings of this rapid review include:

- Public opinion on development is extremely difficult to measure with issues around definitions. For example, public understandings of ‘development’ and ‘aid’ is often humanitarian and emergency aid, rather than longer-term development aid.
- Lack of public support for aid appears to be associated with an extremely high degree of ignorance about what aid is, how much is spent, and what it does.
- Levels of ‘concern for global poverty’ are how public perception data is measured. Levels of the ‘very concerned’ among the public have been seen to fluctuate around an average of 25%. Since 2008, there has been a decline in the proportion of Active Enthusiasts: falling by a third, from 21% to 14% of the public.
- Moral motives and self-interest are widely agreed to be dominant drivers of public support for international development assistance, but evidence on their relative influence is limited.
- CSOs’ engagement models have been effective in achieving short-term, widespread popular mobilisation in response to crises or large issues, but less-so in achieving greater public understanding of, and longer-term commitment to, development issues.
- UK CSOs are beginning to address this through programmes targeting the formal education sector and changing their approaches to how they communicate their work.
- Donor programmes to improve public perceptions of development that target civil society have been less successful than those targeting the formal education sector and the media. Some suggest this is as a result of contractual relationships that lack trust and strategic vision.

2. Data on public perceptions of international development

The evidence base on public perceptions of international development is relatively limited, despite a growing interest in this area. In a qualitative study of public perceptions of international development and support for aid, IDS (2010: 1) comments, “our knowledge of how the UK public form their attitudes towards international development and aid is rather shallow”. Similarly, criticisms have been levelled at how public perceptions are measured (Hudson and van Heerde-Hudson, 2012). In the UK, responses to

2 Active Enthusiasts are considered to be strongly engaged with global poverty and development issues.
the question ‘how concerned are you about the level of poverty in poor countries’ have been used as the basic metric of support. Traditionally, measures of public perception have been set in relation to the proportion of the public who answer that they are ‘very concerned’ in response to the above question. The degree to which concern about poverty in developing countries can be correlated with support for international development assistance has, however, been questioned (Riddell, 2007; Hudson and van Heerde, 2009; House of Commons, 2009).

Hudson and van Heerde-Hudson (2012) argue that survey tools need to be improved if data on public attitudes is to effectively support and inform the development community’s engagement activities. They highlight a number of issues with survey design that are critical to reducing measurement errors, including:

- A failure to define key terms and clarify differences in ‘development’ and ‘relief’ aid: in 2008 the majority of those surveyed by TNS viewed development spending as involvement in disaster relief. However, this only accounted for 8% of overseas spending that year.
- A lack of consideration that absolute support does not necessarily translate into political support and survey design should account for this with questions that also measure relative support.

Evidence on public perceptions

Data on public perceptions of international development are commonly gleaned from surveys that canvass perceptions of concern regarding global poverty. Darnton and Kirk (2011) identify DFID’s Public Attitudes Towards Development surveys as the most reliable single source of data. This series of annual studies conducted between 1999 and 2010 asked a consistent set of questions and provided a longitudinal set of data on UK public attitudes. The last published survey (TNS, 2010: 2) found that 73% of respondents were concerned (to some degree) about poverty but that only 14% of the sample were active enthusiasts. Later survey data for the Aid Attitude Tracker records public support at just 46% (Bond, 2014).

Levels of the ‘very concerned’ among the public have been seen to fluctuate around a long-term average of 25% (Darnton, 2007). Darnton and Kirk (2011) present a composite measure of findings from a range of surveys related to the question, ‘how concerned would you say you are about levels of poverty in poor countries?’ (ONS, 1999-2004; PPP, 2007; MORI, 2008; COI, 2009; TNS, 2009a; TNS, 2009b; TNS, 2010).

Figure 1: Levels of ‘very concerned’ reported by the UK public (%) 1999-2010

Source: Darnton and Kirk (2011: 16)
To further develop an understanding of perceptions of development, DFID commissioned a segmentation study in 2008 which identified six segments amongst the UK public, differentiated by their attitudes and values in relation to poverty in poor countries. These segments are: Active Enthusiasts, Interested Mainstream, Distracted Individuals, Family First Sympathisers, Insular Sceptics and Disapproving Rejecters (TNS, 2010). The segmentation model suggests that the proportion of the most engaged segment of the public has shrunk by a third since April 2008, standing at 14% in February 2010.

Figure 2: DFID segmentation study

Research conducted by Darnton (2009: 3) concluded that, “in terms of engagement with global poverty, the public is on a downward trajectory”. DFID’s final Public Attitudes Survey confirms a picture of declining public support (TNS 2010).

Since 2013, the Aid Attitude Tracker (AAT) has measured UK public attitudes towards overseas aid and development issues. It is driven by eight partner organisations: BMGF, Bond, DFID, Comic Relief, Oxfam, One, Save the Children and VSO. YouGov and UCL design the survey and analyse the data, which focuses on people’s individual-level behavioural patterns, something Hudson and van Heerde-Hudson (2012) argue, has been under-explored.

The AAT divides the general public into 5 segments: fully engaged, behaviourally engaged, informationally engaged, marginally engaged, and totally disengaged. Those considered marginally engaged represent 41% of the population and are typically uninterested in issues of international development, and indifferent to social and political issues more generally (Bond, 2014).
A number of key findings emerge from this literature, these are explored below.

**Low levels of concern**

Levels of the ‘very concerned’ among the public have been seen to fluctuate (Darnton 2007). Peaks have been recorded, corresponding to civil society led communications activity and anti-poverty campaigns, for example, the Make Poverty History Campaign with data recording a peak of 32% of very concerned among the public (Darnton and Kirk, 2011). Civil society is considered to have played a key role in mobilising support for these campaigns.

Given that the concern question is read as a measure of all-round engagement, it can also be argued to be the best quantitative measure of the level of salience of global poverty. Qualitative evidence is unambiguous here, showing global poverty to be a low-salience issue for the UK public. The Public Perceptions of Poverty (PPP) research programme (2004-2007), tracked public attitudes to global poverty between 2004 and 2007. The final round of PPP research concluded: “poverty is not an issue for most people” (PPP, 2007 cited in Darnton 2009) and, that “levels of public concern about global poverty appear to be static or actually falling” (Darnton 2009).

The AAT confirms these earlier findings with immigration, the state of the economy and incomes and wealth inequality topping public concerns (Bond 2014).

**The engaged core**

Available data suggests that there is a core of around 14-25% of the public who are committed to the antipoverty agenda. This pattern is borne out across the ten-year TNS data series on levels of the ‘very concerned’. At the time of the Make Poverty History campaign of 2005, levels of the ‘very concerned’ peaked at 32%. However, levels of ‘very concerned’ have slipped since then, and there is evidence that they are currently slipping further.
Darnton and Kirk (2011) conclude that since April 2008 the trend has been for a decline in the proportion of Active Enthusiasts. Their numbers have fallen by a third, from 21% to 14% of the public. Across the same period, the bottom two segments, the Insular Sceptics and the vocal-minority, Disapproving Rejecters, have grown from roughly a quarter (27%) to a third (33%) of the public.

More recent data from the AAT suggest that 32% of the UK adult population are engaged, positively or negatively, in development issues. It suggests that this group follows global issues, have an awareness of global events and talk about these matters with others (Bond 2015: 5). Of this engaged group, 41% are considered supporters, 47% swings and 12% are sceptics.

3. Factors influencing public support for development

IDS (2010) suggests that a primary motivation behind efforts to gauge public attitudes towards international development is to monitor and/or promote support for international development assistance amongst the populations of industrialised countries.

Dominy et al (2011) note that evidence suggests that DFID’s Partnership Programme Agreements with NGOs have contributed to the level of public support that exists in the UK for development. However, again, in part because of a lack of evaluation, they have been unable to prove this or the scale of contribution. There is very little literature assessing how civil society organisations have, if at all, shaped public perceptions.

Darnton and Kirk (2011: 5) comment that, “there is a problem in terms of the UK public’s levels of engagement with global poverty. Simply put, people in the UK understand and relate to global poverty no differently now than they did in the 1980s. This is the case despite massive campaigns such as the Jubilee 2000 debt initiative and Make Poverty History; the widespread adoption and mainstreaming of digital communication techniques and social networks; steady growth in NGO fundraising revenues; the entire Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) story; and the establishment of a Westminster consensus on core elements of development policy”.

Research identifies the two dominant drivers of public support for international development assistance as moral/humanitarian motives and self-interest (Riddell 2007). The evidence of the relative influence of these two competing motives is, however, mixed. Lumsdaine (1993) argues that the main reason people support the concept of aid is because of a moral duty to help. Van Heerde and Hudson (2010) provide evidence of a positive relationship between moral duty and concern about poverty in developing countries. However, they also demonstrate that the level of concern is influenced by the degree to which people consider poverty in developing countries affects them personally, suggesting that self-interest is also a driver. A number of other factors that influence public perceptions of development are identified in the literature on this topic and are areas in which CSOs have been active.

Knowledge of development

Public attitudes to international development correlate with knowledge of development, as well as with a wide range of socio-political, socio-demographic and wider attitudinal factors (Bolitho et al 2007). Numerous opinion surveys, suggest that public understanding of international development tends to be limited (McDonnell et al 2003; TNS 2008; Riddell 2007). Darnton’s (2009: 10) rapid review concluded that “the public as a whole remains uninterested in and ill-informed about global poverty”. Low levels of public understanding are apparent in relation to government spending and both the MDGs and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Hudson and van Heerde-Hudson, 2014).
In his review of whether aid works, Riddell (2007) comments, “public support for aid appears to be associated with an extremely high degree of ignorance about what it does: most turns out to be support for humanitarian and emergency aid to address immediate problems, rather than long-term development aid”. Creative Research (2006) found that the public’s default definition of aid was “donations to charities in response to disasters” (Creative 2006 cited in IDS, 2010). Similarly, the OECD Development Awareness Centre found that, across donor nations, the prevailing understanding of aid was as “short term charity for humanitarian relief” (McDonnell et al, 2003). Civil society has been seen to perpetuate this conflation, focusing on short term humanitarian and crisis appeals rather than long term engagement around broader development issues.

The AAT identifies a number of trends regarding perceptions of international development:

- Over 50% of the UK public want lower government spending on overseas aid, but also don’t have a clear understanding of how that money is spent.
- The UK public has very little tolerance for corruption.
- Low awareness of MDG deadline and SDGs: 1 in 10 members of the public are unaware of the 2015 deadline.
- Messaging and messengers is important: those perceived to be competent and have high likability are more likely to activate audiences.

Engaged audiences trust charitable organisations more than non-engaged groups, and over 50% of the UK audience see aid recipients as credible sources of information, followed by academics.

Dominy et al (2011) in their review of the use of aid funds in the UK to promote awareness of global poverty note that awareness-raising activity, in particular, development education, plays an important role in creating an environment that supports efforts to tackle global poverty. They recommended DFID focus its investment within the school system because this is where the next generation (key to eradicating global poverty) is being educated.

IDS (2010) argues that the UK public derive their knowledge about poverty in developing countries primarily from the media, namely television, newspapers, radio and/or the internet. Similarly results from DFID tracking surveys record television and newspapers as the most frequently mentioned sources of information (TNS, 2010). There was, however, some scepticism about the information provided by the media, and especially television, with concerns expressed at the lack of comprehensive coverage of poverty in developing countries and the focus on humanitarian emergencies that ‘make a good story’.

While the media was the main source of information on development issues, it was generally recognised to be biased towards crises rather than painting a picture of the state of developing countries more generally (IDS, 2010).

Agency

Darnton and Kirk (2011) identify ‘agency’ as a key dimension of public engagement i.e. a person’s belief that they are able to undertake an action to tackle poverty, and that that action will have the desired effect. PPP research tracked levels of agency across the Make Poverty History campaign, using the statement ‘There is nothing I can personally do to tackle poverty in poor countries’. Across the PPP surveys, levels of disagreement with this (negative) statement fell. While 40% of respondents agreed, 44% disagreed in Wave 1, by Wave 6, 45% agreed and 40% disagreed (PPP 2007, cited in Darnton, 2009).
Since the end of PPP, the DFID trackers show that levels swung back, in the February 2010 wave, 36% agreed but 44% disagreed (TNS 2010). The public are roughly evenly split between those who say they can and can’t take action to tackle poverty.

Findings from the attitude tracker demonstrate that amongst engaged audiences (32% of the population), 47% of this group are considered swings and question what impact their action would have (Bond 2015: 5). This group question what is being achieved in international development, some are overwhelmed about the issues facing people in poorer countries and whilst they would consider taking action, are unsure about how they can help and what their support means.

Perceptions of corruption

Corruption remains a fundamental impediment to public engagement. Bond (2015) find that 59% of survey respondents say donating to poor countries is pointless due to corruption. This marks a slight increase from 2010. Similarly, Save the Children (Mango 2009) conducted a study of its child survival initiative, concluding that the first ‘barrier’ reported by respondents to donating to the campaign was “money not getting through to the end cause”. Quantitative data suggests that perceptions of corruption are becoming more salient among the UK public. For instance, 57% of respondents to the most recent wave of DFID surveying (TNS 2010) agreed with the statement ‘the corruption in poor country governments makes it pointless donating’. This figure rose by 13% in less than 18 months – from 44% in September 2008 (TNS 2010).

Civil Society Campaigns

Darnton and Kirk (2011) note that the causes of poverty continue to be seen as inherent to poor countries: famine, war, natural disasters, bad governance, overpopulation. They note that civil society has contributed to the development of a dominant paradigm, labelled the Live Aid Legacy, characterised by the relationship of ‘Powerful Giver’ and ‘Grateful Receiver’.

In the social movement literature, NGOs have been described as ‘protest businesses’, and their model of public engagement is referred to as ‘cheap participation’ (characterised by low barriers to entry, engagement and exit – all of which generate high turnover). Whilst the sector’s engagement models have achieved widespread participation and increasing fundraising incomes, the impact on the quality of public engagement remains open to question (Darnton and Kirk 2011).

Seu and Orgad (2014) comment that although the element of cheap participation and the possibility of disengagement make this model universally attractive and effective, they identified signs of a public immunity to this fundraising model. Emergency ‘inflation’ in NGO communications reinforces audiences’ sense of being bombarded with messages demanding that people help, and promotes fatigue, resistance and withdrawal.

Tibbett and Stalker (2014: 20) conclude that the implication of this may be that the international NGO sector can no longer assume it carries a credible threat of representing substantial public mobilisation in favour of international development and poverty eradication. Communicating this ‘threat’ to policymakers will need to be used with care in the future. Future campaigns will also need to consider whether a longer running and more sustained set of messages to reframe the debate on aid and development would be a useful and realistic response.
4. The effectiveness of civil society’s role in influencing UK public attitudes

There is limited evidence on the effectiveness of civil society’s role in building support for development. Available research suggests that public attitudes matter, but is not conclusive in providing information on why people have certain attitudes and behave in particular ways (Glennie et al 2012; Hudson and van Heerde-Hudson 2012) making it difficult to assess the effectiveness of civil society influencing.

Seu and Orgad (2014) investigated the UK public’s understandings and reactions to humanitarian and international development issues. Their comparisons between the data sets suggest that, although NGOs have become proficient at the ‘emergency model’ of communication, NGOs’ knowledge of what would support longer-term public engagement with humanitarian and international development causes was limited. They conclude that the dominance of the emergency model in current communications weakens NGOs’ efforts to develop and sustain the public’s long-term commitment to international development related causes.

Darnton and Kirk (2011) note that the Make Poverty History campaign exemplifies these themes. It was successful in encouraging popular mobilisation and raising awareness but it did little to transform public attitudes towards development in the longer term. The transformative potential offered by the message of ‘justice not charity’ went unheard, in part because it was unfamiliar and hard to comprehend, and also because it was drowned out by the noise of celebrities, white wristbands and pop concerts.

Seu and Orgad (2014) offer some insights into why parts of the population may be more or less in favour of supporting development or spending on aid. Interestingly, different polls suggest different reasons, reflecting both the complex nature of public attitudes (which may not always be consistent) and the importance of the way questions are asked.

The Narrative Project is a mixed-method research project designed to develop insight and test messaging on how to change public discourse on, and foster greater understanding of, global development. It focuses on the engaged public who follow global issues, have an awareness of global events and talk about these matters with others (Bond 2015b: 5). This group represents less than a third of the UK population (32%) and comprises of 3 sub-groups: supporters, swings and sceptics. Swings are the largest proportion and are believed to present the greatest opportunity to double the number of people who support development (Bond 2014). The project identifies communicating independence, shared values and partnerships as core communication themes for UK civil society to encourage greater and more positive engagement.

The Narrative Project was launched with the intent of transforming the way the civil society sector talks about development. The project seeks to reverse the decline of public support and create a climate that helps CSOs engage the public more effectively. The approach suggests that the debate is negative and broken arguing that:

- People know little or nothing about progress made.
- The conversation focuses on what doesn’t work and what is wasted.
- Many supporters are fatigued, detractors are emboldened.
- Aid is seen as a good idea done badly

Dominy et al (2011: 28) conclude that programmes to improve public perceptions of development that target civil society have been less successful than those targeting the formal education sector and the media. The main criticism directed at this area of work is its focus on individual projects, rather than
continued investment in relationship building with potential partners (i.e. reliance on funding to structure relationships that, as a result, have tended to be contractual and short term rather than strategic and long term).

Civil society is seen to play a role in shaping understandings of development issues, encouraging individuals to take action and organising large scale campaigns.

**Knowledge regarding development**

Bond (2015) note that communicating in the right way with the engaged, yet neutral, public can potentially double the number of supporters. CSOs play a pivotal role in focusing attention on salient issues, this has been seen during national campaigns and appeals. During the IF campaign, Tibbett and Stalker (2014) argue that, CSOs successfully focused public attention on tax.

However, an analysis of the effectiveness of the mobilisation elements of the campaign suggests a conceptual split into two main groups: the core supporters of the development sector, many of whom were engaged by the campaign and took action, and the wider public, who were not engaged in large numbers. In general terms, although well executed, many communications aspects of the campaign struggled to resonate due to the complexity of the message.

Similarly an internal evaluation conducted for Comic Relief (2015) advocated the adoption of principles articulated by the Narrative Project, ‘education, employment and enterprise, and African voices’. Yet there remain challenges of communicating scale of impact and sustainability; finding and tracking positive change stories; and the need to balance need and progress.

Data from AAT Wave 3 highlights how engaging young audiences offers an opportunity to stop a decline in engagement in development in the longer term. There is an increasing presence of civil society organisations in the UK working on development education. Sometimes referred to as ‘global learning’, it involves engaging the youthful public, through existing education systems and school curriculum (Bourn 2014). For example, Oxfam Education ‘works to empower young people to be active global citizens’ through supporting teacher training, school partnerships and resources. More recently, Think Global have developed a toolkit ‘UK Public Attitudes to Development: Building New Responses’ to bring similar principles to wider public audiences (Think Global 2015).

**Agency**

CSOs play a central role in engaging the public and making them feel that their actions make a difference. Efforts have, however, focused on short term responses to crises rather than long term commitment to development issues. Seu and Orgad (2014) note that participants differentiate between, and responded differently to, humanitarian emergencies and development issues. Overall, the former seemed to be received with less resistance by the public. Seu and Orgad (2014: 13) conclude that this is because, in an emergency, there is:

- Evidence of usefulness of monetary donations
- Clarity of what is needed
- Visibility of what can be achieved through aid
- Emergencies are perceived and responded to as discrete episodes expressing temporary needs and consequently making discrete demands
In the case of poverty and broader development issues, the problem is perceived to be:

- on-going
- not ameliorated by monetary aid.

CSOs have been relatively successful in encouraging individuals to take actions that are intended to reduce poverty. Dominy et al (2011: 22) consider there to be four ways in which individuals act to reduce poverty:

- Product – adopting ethical criteria in choosing products and services e.g. Fairtrade
- Voice – advocacy and campaigning
- Money – donating money
- Time – volunteering (this has been accomplished)

Civil society campaigns

Events such as the Jubilee Debt Campaign, Make Poverty History and IF campaign have garnered impressive public engagement. Peaks of 32% of the very concerned followed the Make Poverty History Campaign. These levels of engagement have however proven hard to sustain and have had limited impact on broader perceptions of development, often perceived to perpetuate a view that conflates development with aid and responses to humanitarian crises.

Dominy et al (2011) assert that large cross-sector campaigns such as Make Poverty History appear to have had little lasting impact. However, Atkinson et al (2008) conducting a survey of charitable giving to development charities, find a significant and lasting increase associated with the Ethiopian famine, Band Aid and Live Aid (Atkinson et al 2008).

As Seu and Orgad (2014) argue, data sets suggest that, although NGOs have become proficient at the ‘emergency model’ of communication with the public, NGOs’ knowledge of what would support longer-term public engagement with humanitarian and international development causes seems to be limited by comparison. The dominance of the emergency model in current communications weakens NGOs’ efforts to develop and sustain the public’s long-term commitment to international development related causes.

Cugelman and Otero’s (2010) evaluation of Oxfam GB’s climate change campaign cites increased media coverage as evidence of increased public awareness of the link between poverty and climate change. The campaign focused on engaging existing public supporters and successfully reached its target of 10,000 actions and 58,000 attendees to the Wave March in London and Glasgow, although the public were not always aware of Oxfam’s involvement. Informants believed the UK campaign has influenced public awareness including: greater awareness of the link between climate change and human impacts, prominence of the mitigation issues; and adaptation issues.

A 2010 evaluation of Christian Aid’s Countdown to Copenhagen found that partner NGOs were overall complimentary about the public campaign but note that the strategy may not have been one that fully addressed the complex dynamics between supporters, wider publics and decision makers that present barriers to solutions on climate change (2010). It recommended Christian Aid review UK messaging and positioning in order to better target supporters and wider publics for engagement and mobilisation.
A recent evaluation of the IF campaign\(^3\) conducted by Tibbett and Stalker (2014) highlights some of the challenges associated with movements that seek to build support for development by encouraging and engaging UK citizens. They note in areas related to supporter and public mobilisation, and public understanding of the structural causes of poverty and hunger, the assessment of performance was not positive. The campaign did not achieve many of the mobilisation targets it set itself, although arguably, some of these were unrealistic from the start and made more difficult because of the short timelines. According to opinion polling conducted on behalf of IF, the campaign did not bring about the changes it sought in the UK public’s understanding of the structural causes of hunger. However the campaign highlighted the issue of tax which has led to improved recognition amongst the media and politicians about a key structural cause of hunger.

UK civil society organisations are also involved in broader public engagement initiatives, such as the annual anti-poverty campaign, Live Below the Line. In 2015, the initiative raised £700,000.

5. References


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\(^3\) The Enough Food for Everyone IF campaign (referred to in this report as the ‘IF campaign’) was launched in January 2013 and was an attempt to make progress towards ending global hunger. It was designed around three ‘key moments’: the campaign launch, the UK government budget and the G8 summit.


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**About this report**

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