



Coalitions for Transparency in Extractive Industries

A study of the coalition model of the
Publish What You Pay campaign

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1 Introduction

Publish What You Pay (PWYP) is a global network of civil society organisations that are united in their call for an open and accountable extractive sector so that oil, gas and mining revenues improve the lives of women, men and youth in resource-rich countries. PWYP's coalition 'model' is predicated on a belief that the coordinated, collective actions of a diverse coalition of organisations will be most effective in influencing key stakeholders and driving policy change towards greater transparency in the extractive industries.

Since its inception in June 2002, the PWYP campaign coalition has grown from a few UK-based organisations to become a global network of more than 700 organisations in almost 60 countries organised into a fairly loose alliance of affiliated national coalitions. Some of these coalitions share the same PWYP brand and logo, while others have distinct and independent identities. All, however, share the same status of affiliation, without differentiation.

With the growth and evolution of the global campaign has come two particular challenges. Firstly increasing demands on the international secretariat for coordination and support to national coalitions far outstrip its current capacities. Secondly, despite the important achievements of the campaign at the international level, national coalitions continue to face numerous operational challenges, which undermine their effectiveness to advance the advocacy agenda at national level. These problems are to be found at different levels and to differing degrees, though they are present in almost all coalitions in the resource-rich countries.

With this in mind, this study has two primary objectives:

1. To test the organisational theory of change (“the coordinated, collective actions of a diverse coalition of organisations will be most effective in driving policy change for greater extractive industry transparency”) and assess the extent (and where, why and how) to which this theory has been proven at national level (or not).
2. To assess the operational difficulties of coalitions and to recommend good practices for how coalitions can best be managed and supported.

Box 1: Research questions

1. In which situations and under which conditions are PWYP national coalitions particularly effective at influencing policy change for greater extractive industry transparency, and what effect has their affiliation with PWYP global campaign had on their ability to do this?
2. To what extent do PWYP national coalitions identify with the purpose of the global PWYP campaign, both formally and informally (i.e. the PWYP 'formal' statement of purpose vs. what national coalitions actually perceive the PWYP campaign 'agenda' to be about)?
3. What do national coalition members perceive as the primary role and functions of the coalition (at national / international levels respectively), and to what extent do they feel the functions of their national coalition are being 'met' / fulfilled?
4. What are the different forms that PWYP national coalitions take? Where have we seen function-form fit working well? Are there themes / lessons for success? To what extent has the function-form fit contributed to the success of the campaign, and how?

The study began with a review of 10 country coalitions, selected in consultation with the International Secretariat: Ghana, Niger, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan, Nigeria, Chad, Indonesia, Australia, US and UK. Of the ten countries, field trips were conducted in first four while the remaining six were studied remotely through telephone interviews.

After preliminary analysis of the country reviews, a number of common themes were identified. These were tested across a wider sample of opinion through a Delphic consultation conducted through two mechanisms at the PWYP conference in Amsterdam in 2012 – an instant vote system of up to 100 delegates within a session at the conference, and distribution of a paper questionnaire to all participants who were then able to answer on paper or online. The survey received 54 responses.

2 Policy change and Effective coalitions

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effectiveness of a coalition model in achieving policy change in extractive industry transparency. The coalition model is based on a theory that policy change is more likely to occur when a diverse collection of organisations work together in a coordinated fashion towards common policy goals. In order to discuss the effectiveness of the coalition model, we first need to establish what coalition effectiveness means and second to place this in the context of policy change. The study drew from a number of sources to build a logic model which could be tested.

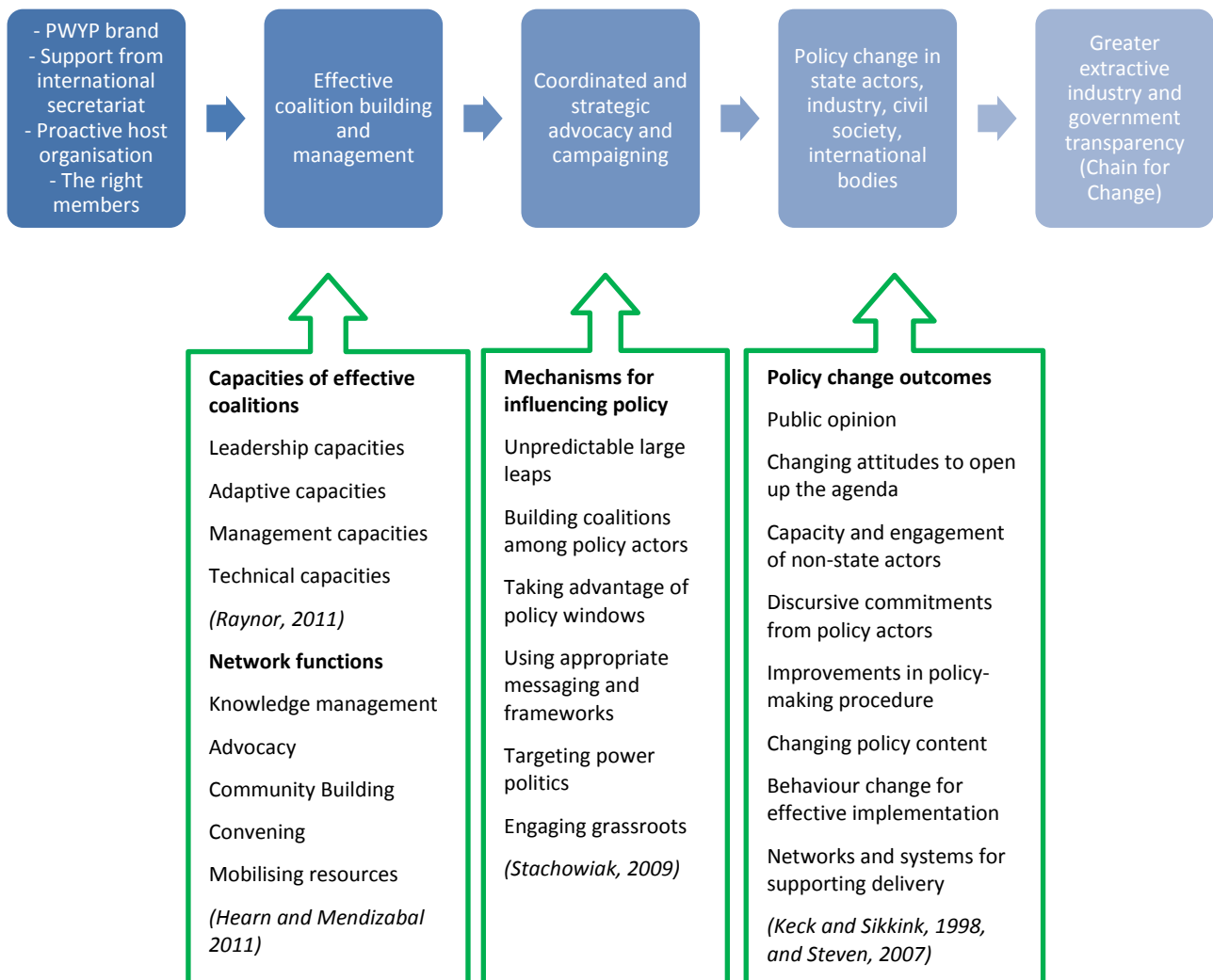


Figure 1: Logic model for PWYP coalition strategy

Figure 1 describes a simple logic model (blue boxes), based on the theory of change behind the coalition model, together with three frameworks that are useful for interpreting the model (the green boxes). There are clearly many more steps involved and many alternative routes to achieve the same outcomes but this serves the purpose of clarifying the intended aim of the coalitions and gives us something to test.

If the right inputs are provided (the first blue box) and the coalition sufficiently develops the four capacities defined by Raynor (2011) and balances the right mix of five network functions as defined by Hearn and Mendizabal (2001) (the first green box) then that will result in members better able to work together in coordinated campaigning and advocacy. The coalition can then go on to influence policy through any combination of six mechanisms (the second green box) described by Stachowiak (2009). But policy change covers a broad spectrum of changes so it is useful to be

able to describe what this might include: Keck and Sikkink (1998) and Steven (2007) describe eight different policy change outcomes (the third green box) which will work together to contribute to the final outcome: greater extractive industry transparency.

3 Findings

In this section we present the findings from the review of the ten sample coalitions and the results from the Delphic survey. The section is structured around a set of themes which emerged from the review of coalitions.

3.1 Leadership and coordination

There was a high level of diversity in the way the sample coalitions are led and coordinated. In all cases there was a person identified as the ‘coordinator’ of the coalition but in practice the nature of this role varies significantly. In some coalitions the coordinator leads the campaign from the front and carries out most of the work of the coalition themselves. In other cases the coordinator leads from behind by supporting members to work together – facilitating, rather than doing, the work of the coalition. In all cases the coordinator was identified as the spokesperson and main contact for the coalition, but the extent to which they act under the authority of coalition members varies.

The data suggests there is a fine balance to be struck in leadership. The term ‘leadership’ is variably used to describe both personal leadership and organisational leadership. The data suggests that a strong ‘leader’ (both personal and organisational) can be of benefit to the coalition in setting the terms of engagement, and driving the campaign forward. Data from some sources suggests that too strong a personal leadership can create a tension in the coalition. One person might attend all the meetings and take on a lead role, even to the point where the coalition is synonymous in the minds of outsiders with that one person. Such strong leadership, while able to take the campaign forward, does not leave in its wake a cadre of up and coming apprentices. Indeed in some cases it seems to have suppressed the growth of other strong personnel associated with the campaign.

The data also states that in some cases a lead organisation takes a role that prevents others from finding their full potential. It suggests that in some cases the coalition is seen as synonymous with the particular organisation, and that the other members of the coalition are seen as subordinate. In these cases the notion of a coalition as coordinated action of many actors is at risk of breaking down as one actor is clearly dominant over the many. Leadership is tightly related to coordination. The secretariat is intended to call meeting and coordinate the responses of its members. In some cases, the ‘coordination’ is closely related to the lead organisation or lead individual, and is difficult to distinguish between the two.

It is important to note that in some cases, the data suggested that there was strong leadership with facilitation of the capacity of others. The statements above do not apply to all cases considered, and there seems to be a clear divide between coalitions in developed countries vs. those in developing/transition countries.

Questions: The notion of leadership in a coalition is complex and highly dependent on personalities and context. But as with all networks, there is a choice – which is often implicit – about the role of the network secretariat or coordinator with regards to its members. Sometimes the coordinator is the primary agent, acting on behalf of members, representing them and being the primary voice. But in other networks, the coordinator takes a backseat and supports members to be the primary agents. How is this balance played out within PWYP coalitions?

Delphic statement 1: “It is important for my coalition to be led by a publically well respected person who has the ear of their own social network of influential people.”

The respondents **mainly agree** (37/54). Those who agreed emphasised that respectability with the Government is very important for a leader, but there is a balance to be struck on how the leader conducts themselves and public respect should not trump other important characteristics and values. They also commented that good leadership

often involves facilitating others rather than relying on their own reputation. Finally, there was clear agreement that the dynamics of leadership and coordination are complex and context dependent.

“The person does not only need to be influential but a leader of consensus and with good morals that can listen to all points of views of stakeholders.”

Those who disagreed (10/54) explained that influence with a social network is not the most important characteristic of a leader of a PWYP coalition or that influence was important but not necessarily ‘public’ influence. Again they mentioned that coalitions depend on more than one person, and that it will differ in different contexts.

“The coalition is not a one person only affair. The coalition's work is a workgroup of committed women and men for a cause and objective in common, and fight against corruption in the chain of extractive industries.”

The idea of a publically visible and respected coalition leader is therefore not as supported as initially seems. However the role of a good coordinator is more unequivocal.

Delphic statement 2: “It is important for my coalition to be led by a strong coordinator who can support members to work together strategically.”

There is **overarching agreement** (47/54). The reasons given were along the lines of coordination has been one of the keys to success in the coalition and it’s the coordination function that adds value to individual members’ work. Respondents warned that coordination is most useful when clearly separated from leadership, when it doesn’t compete with members and when combined with strong leaders, members and other staff.

“Our strong coordinator harmonises the energies of all its members to produce desired results.”

“I totally agree with the statement. However, my experience showed that strong coordinator [is] not enough. It needs all strong and committed all staff, leaders and members together.”

This last comment leads us to the area of membership and voice.

3.2 Membership and voice

The coalitions vary in size from a few close knit core organisations, to coalitions with considerable membership. There seems to be no particular correlation between the size of the membership and the effectiveness of the campaign – smaller nimble coalitions can in some circumstances achieve as much as larger coalitions – but dependent on windows of opportunity as discussed below. Indeed interviews suggest that even in the larger memberships, there is an identifiable core of members who do the actual work and the size of the core didn’t seem to correlate with the overall size of the membership, suggesting that there is an operational limit to the size of the active membership. In larger campaigns there are a number of ‘lurkers’ – willing to give their name and ‘support’ but without the resources to do much to contribute to the day to day campaigning.

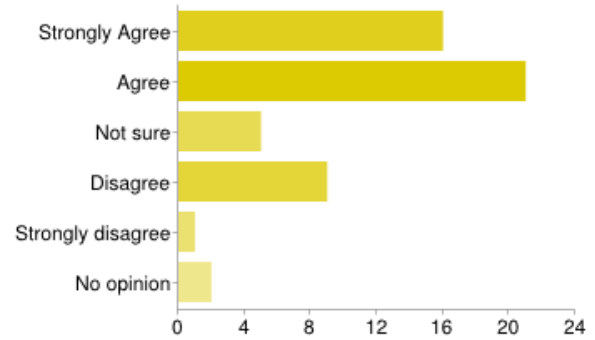


Figure 2 - Summary graph for statement 1 of Delphic consultation through paper and online (n=54)

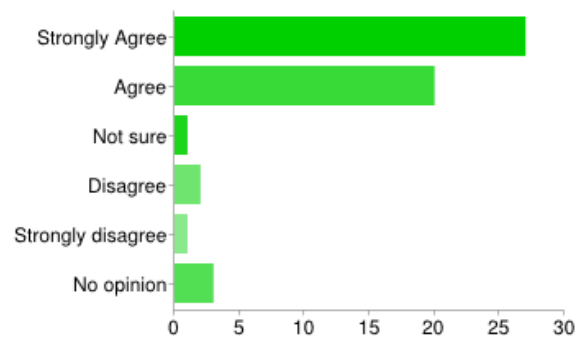


Figure 3 Summary graph for statement 2 of Delphic consultation through paper and online (n=54)

The data suggests that there is some diversity within some of the coalitions. In particular the sample coalitions showed a diverse membership with members focused on different aspects of the issues. For instance there are those NGOs focused on the legal framework, others focused on the gender or environmental implications of the work, and even there are some who focus on a particular section of the community, such as pastoralists or youth. It was common for interviewees to mention diversity as an important factor for the effectiveness of the coalition.

Formal membership criteria was something that did not come up in interviews very often, most likely because it has not been an issue among the sample coalitions so far. There was no mention of a case of having to deny membership to an organisation.

Questions: Strength comes in numbers – especially when it comes to campaigning – but greater number leads to greater diversity which requires more coordination to maintain unity and coherence. What is more important in a coalition: greater numbers and diversity or a small, efficient core with the right combination of contacts, expertise and resources?

Delphic statement 3: “It is more important to cultivate a committed core membership with the right combination of contacts, expertise and resources than invest time in signing up large numbers of members.”

The respondents **mainly agree** (39/54). For those who agree they emphasise that a committed core can work effectively, a large coalition can be difficult to coordinate and that commitment of members is crucial for sustainability. However they also commented that a core is not enough, there is strength in numbers and diversity, as the global PWYP campaign has proven.

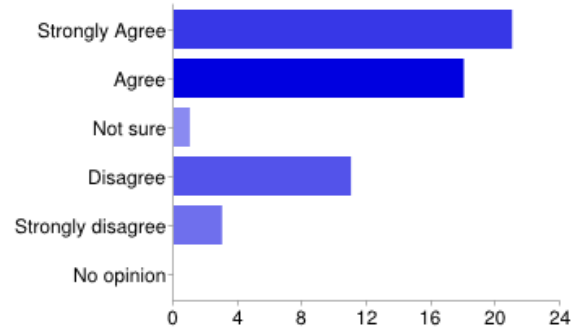


Figure 4 Summary graph for statement 3 of Delphic consultation through paper and online (n=54)

“A grand core is source of disagreement because members come with hidden agendas. Experience shows us that small core support and strengthen expertise better than larger groups. ”

For those that disagreed (14/54), their arguments were that larger numbers bring a wider range of skills, capacities and legitimacy, and are more resilient than smaller coalitions. Some pointed out that sufficiency is key, either way.

“Both are important. The committed core is needed to advance the work required but it is often important at certain times to be able to reference the large membership.” “I agree but we need the numbers in order to create pressure. PWYP must grow into a constituency that has political influence. This will make be forceful in terms of legislation.”

For some the issue of legitimacy, and its implied legal registration is tied closely to the formality of the coalition. For some it is important that there is a legal representation – in order to lobby effectively and to receive resources. Others feel that too much structure limits the flexibility and response of the coalition to new challenges. This leads us to look at adaptive and strategic capacity of coalitions.

3.3 Adaptive and strategic capacity

Coalitions are not the same as formal, hierarchical organisations; their unique quality and the usual reason for their being is their flexibility and ability to mobilise quickly. However, a coalition will only hold together while members share a common goal and can articulate the value they get from the coalition.

In the coalitions in this study, we did not see examples of coalition strategic plans although we were told in a few instances of strategic planning processes taking place. In a few coalitions the data suggested evidence of explicit campaign objectives but in most cases the objectives were implicitly understood rather than explicitly agreed in

writing. The data did give many examples of coalitions taking advantage of windows of opportunity that arise, often unexpectedly.

Again, the data did not provide examples of systematic monitoring of the context – beyond the monitoring of the EITI implementation. There also did not seem to be systematic processes for monitoring members. That is not to say that these processes are not taking place, only that we did not see explicit records of it. It is highly likely that this kind of monitoring takes place on an informal basis and is shared and discussed by members informally and is naturally, rather than systematically, used for decision making.

There were examples of processes taking longer than perhaps necessary. For instance at the international level, recruitment of senior staff can take time, and the year long strategy planning process leading to vision 20/20.

Question: Do coalitions consciously choose to minimise formality, protocol and planning in order to stay agile and action focussed rather than bogged down in bureaucracy?

Delphic statement 4: “Coalitions with formal structures, protocols and planning processes lose their agility, which is one of the main advantages of a coalition.”

Here we see strongly **divided opinion**. Those that agreed (21/54) emphasised that a focus on campaign objectives should come before coalition processes and structures, that formality can lead to competition for resources, that strong coordination can achieve more than formal structures and that formality can compromise independence of members. But they also suggested that formality can provide clear strategic direction as well as legal protection from government.

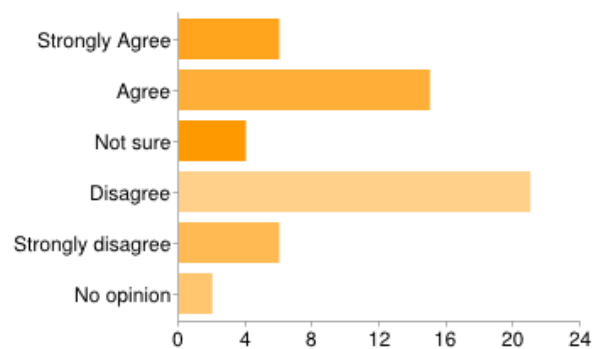


Figure 5 Summary graph for statement 4 of Delphic consultation through paper and online (n=54)

“The National Coalition in [my country] decided to get formal-legal entity for the coalition. It was a choice which I said no way represented my organisation which is a member of [the coalition]. The choice of getting formal-legal entity will - I can say - absorb the resource (human resources, fund) which will be much benefited if used by the core of the coalition. Our experiences show that coalition will be better if we don't build a new legal-formal entity.”

Those that disagreed (27/54) mentioned that there is no trade off with formality and flexibility, that structure, protocol and planning are required for timely and effective advocacy, sustainability and accountability and learning, and that it is highly dependent on the political and organisational contexts.

“The answer to this question is highly dependent on not only the political environment, but the operating environment, as well as the institutional landscape. For example, if NGOs are weak and funders are risk averse in a given country, a more formal structure may attract better funding and allow a coalition to ensure that grant outcomes and commitments are delivered. However, a less formal structure may be appropriate in countries where individual members have a stable financing base, including from the membership, and if there is an existing, established pattern of delivering on shared commitments to outside entities, and an established pattern of delivering on commitments made to each other.”

This latter comment points to the perceived need for formality in order to access funding and resources.

3.4 Funding and resource development

Funding is a perpetual concern for the majority of coalition coordinators and seems to take up a large proportion of their time, mainly because few coalitions have multi-year secured funding for the secretariat, and even when they have, there is often an idea for a new project waiting to be funded. Traditionally coalitions have been relying on OSF

and RWI as their main sources of income. Members felt it was now time to diversify the funding sources in order to gain strategic leverage.

Several of coalitions were funded by more than one source and it was the minority of coalitions that only had one donor for secretariat activities. Donors were almost all NGO's rather than bilateral or multilateral donors or foundations. Quite often the donor organisation is a member of the coalition, but in many cases it was explicitly stated that the donors took an appropriate role ensuring the autonomy of the coalition. In addition to institutional funding, in-kind and monetary contributions from members are very important.

Controversially, perhaps secretariat funding is not the critical issue that it first seems. There were two examples of where the secretariat was unfunded but both survived because members maintained commitment to the coalition and continued contributing their own efforts, and in both cases, they came out of the funding crises with a stronger and better organised leadership and governance structure.

Questions: Is it a general pattern that coalitions are finding it harder to raise funds for the coalition work? Are membership fees a practical alternative to institutional funding, decreasing reliance on outside donors and increasing ownership among members?

Delphic statement 5: "We are finding it harder to raise funds for our work."

Exploring the funding question on the Delphic consultation, there are a surprising breadth of observations and comments to what we thought was an obvious question. Those who agreed (29/54) commented that core institutional funding is scarce with donors preferring project based funding, that competition for funding is high and that donors are having stricter criteria and some are losing interest in this field.

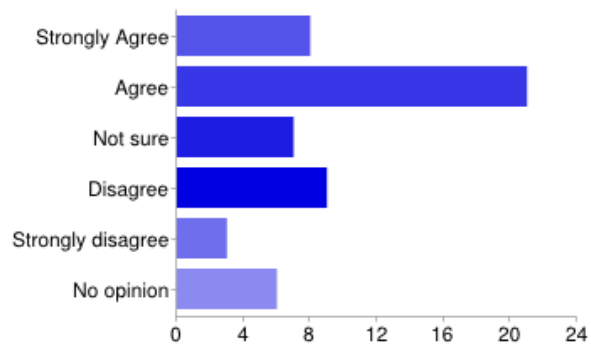


Figure 6 Summary graph for statement 5 of Delphic consultation through paper and online (n=54)

"I think that the trend towards specific project funding by many donors, as oppose to core funding, has made it extremely difficult to raise funds. Project-level funding tends to be more onerous in terms of administrating the grant, particularly given that they tend to be shorter time periods. I also find that PWYP focuses on longer term impacts, and impacts that are slightly more difficult to measure than other areas of work."

For those who were not sure (7/54) whether the funding environment is becoming more difficult, the issue foremost in the mind seemed to be the legitimacy of the coalition structure and the financial accounting systems (and their transparency):-

"Coalition has its own niche to assist poor people to get benefit from natural resources, so it may attract many donors. However, the coalition may need to have a trustworthy financial management system, so that donors would be confident to channel their fund through."

"Because our coalition is transparent to all and have government institutions like Anti-Corruption Commission, Ministry of Mineral Resources, etc. donors are very willing to fund as our work speaks volume and is seen and appreciated by government, Parliament, Communities etc. Also we go through the strategic planning sessions which document is easy to market."

One solution that came up in interviews was to increase the membership fees. The Delphic responses are split in opinion but erring towards agreement (27 agree, 13 not sure, 12 disagree). Would membership fees address the core funding issues?

Delphic statement 6: “The coalition (in my country) should explore raising significant finance through membership fees.”

There are few strong opinions here. Some of those who agreed (27/54) with the statement focused on the fact that it’s not the fee itself that important but the commitment it represents, that fees can build buy-in and ownership, but also that there is a need for coalitions to consider alternative sources of funding alongside donors:

“It’s true that ownership allows management in a better way, thus having own funds allows the coalition to work better. But the campaign PWYP needs following from technical and financial partners because this is about a noble cause like the fight against injustice and human rights violations. It is also about fighting for transparency which will develop communities involved.”

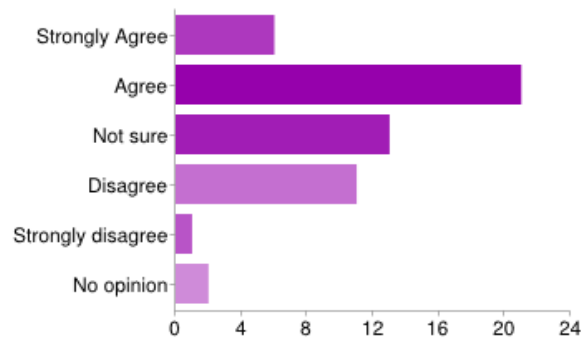


Figure 7 Summary graph for statement 6 of Delphic consultation through paper and online (n=54)

Those that disagreed (12/54) stated that the level of fees wouldn’t be sufficient to really help resource the coalition and that it may in fact hamper the campaign by discouraging membership.

“If we intend to raise significant contribution from them it will be a barrier for them to participate and support our cause on promote transparency and accountability to use resource revenue. Our goal is to have policy and social change where revenue from oil, gas and mining equitably benefit to whole citizen both current and future generations. However, It really good to have small contribution from member which demonstrate their commitment and the ownership.”

3.5 Coalition outcomes

The data revealed clear stories of effectiveness emanating from the campaigns. Often the really powerful stories came at a time of crisis where there was then a change in constitution or law, as in Niger and Kyrgyzstan. Or if not a crisis, then a similarly unexpected window of opportunity, e.g. the discovery of oil in Ghana. However, against the more emotive stories are the strong steady detailed work of keeping the issues on the agenda, meeting regularly with policy-makers, constantly pushing for the EITI, and monitoring government and private sector compliance. The interviews for this study revealed a dedicated and brave set of women and men who take personal risks to champion the campaign, as well as those who tirelessly lobby in the corridors of power.

Coalition impact, though, is a complex notion and success is very hard to predict. For example, in Niger, at a high point in their campaigning many activists were arrested and put in jail, and only now in hindsight can the struggles of those times be seen to make a positive impact.

Question: To what extent do the successes of PWYP campaigns depend on crises or windows of opportunity outside of their influence?

Within the Delphic, we explored the environment within which success within the coalition was found – was it internal coherence, or do gains actually depend more on the external political environment?

Delphic statement 7: “Our greatest success came out of a turbulent time in our political context.”

Here we see that the respondents **mainly agree** (35/54) that success comes through ‘windows of opportunity’ (turbulent times in a political context). From those few that agree their comments mentioned that significant work of the coalition has been in response to external events like widespread looting of natural resources, coup d’états and transitions from one state to another, and that the coalition must be ready for the optimum time for campaigning and adapt to the changing context but that they can also influence the emergence of the windows or opportunity as in the Dodd-Frank act:

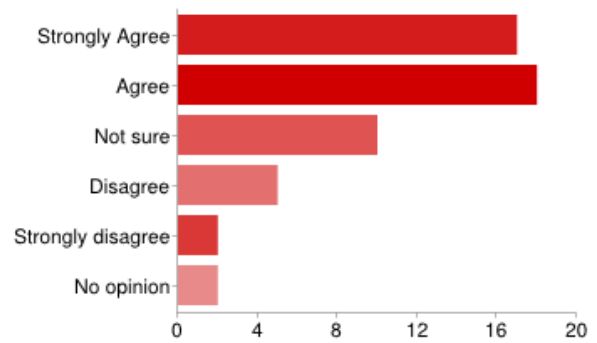


Figure 8 Summary graph for statement 7 of Delphic consultation through paper and online (n=54)

“In a way, I agree. The Dodd-Frank Act was an attempt to stave off the next Great Depression. It therefore provided a fertile environment to push transparency regulations. However, the provision could not have been pushed through, had it not benefited from many years of legislative work including hearings and 3 separate drafts of legislation. This ensured that sufficient Congressional support was in place for this type of provision to be included without objection. “

The few that disagreed focused on the subtleties of the question – one noted that the UK hadn’t gone through such turbulent times, and another said “Not ‘turbulent’ necessarily, but yes, there are political windows that we need to take advantage of (some are turbulent, but others just involve change and present opportunities.)”

3.6 Stepping down into community

One of the underlying features of national campaigns, particularly those in developing countries, is to engage with rural local areas, often called the sub-region. This means the local civil society members of the campaign have a strong role in engaging the local communities and supporting them to lobby the mining companies and the local government so that they, not just people in districts far away, benefit from the natural resources in their district.

The data suggests that these members are active within the coalition. They offer data of local activities that can be fed upwards through the coordinators into the national – and international – campaigns. They often provide flesh to the bones of a campaign by providing stories from where the action is. The data also suggests that there are considerable challenges to enabling these local organisations to fully participate in the national campaign. They are often at a considerable distance from the capital and transport costs represent a significant expense. There were examples of where the local NGOs were asked to come to the capital for meetings, and where the core organisations based in the capital would travel to the location to support trainings and transparency meetings. These costs of time and finance are not insignificant.

3.7 The use of technology

The data suggests that the ever changing role of Information and Communication technology in daily lives is changing the way coalitions work.

Use of traditional media to inform public. To date the traditional media has formed a key component of most campaigns. In the sample coalitions two coalitions are intimately involved with publishing a ‘newspaper’. There were cases where the news media are invited to events. In one case, the PWYP coalition pioneered a discussion format on television. They set a template for discussions. While this was in itself a costly exercise and lasted a limited time, it nevertheless set the precedence that the media now follows.

Use of new media to connect. In the last few years, new communication media such as Facebook and Twitter have changed the way a large portion of the world accesses information. In many emerging countries the use of the new media is almost leapfrogging its use in more established countries. For instance in India and Mongolia, all parliamentarians are required now to have an iPad or equivalent, to access information. Smart phones are increasingly common among the political elite.

The data suggests that in some cases, the strategic use of a Twitter account not only keeps the user informed but provides a gateway for political influence. For instance in one case, a PWYP member was at one point being ‘followed’ by 10 parliamentarians (A change of government means that this has now changed). Even in relatively remote settings the landscape of ‘social media’ use is changing.

4 Analysis

4.1 In which situations and under which conditions are PWYP national coalitions particularly effective at influencing policy change for greater extractive industry transparency, and what effect has their affiliation with PWYP global campaign had on their ability to do this?

4.1.1 Windows of Opportunity

Efficacy does not seem to be linked to the structure nor functions of the network. Most of the visible gains have been achieved by long term advocacy and persistent messaging, followed or enhanced by responding to moments of opportunity. For instance the Niger case – activists were engaged in lobbying for economic improvements and justice for more than ten years. The main gain was during a political coup, when the activists were able to engage with the Military and to embed the idea of transparency in the extractive industries into the revised constitution. Since then they have been working with parliament to enshrine the ideas of the constitution into law and their journey continues. The point is, their main gain was partly because they existed and had some historical credibility such that the new government listened, and partly because they were agile and brave enough to respond to a window of opportunity.

In some cases the main gains have not come from within the coalition. Azerbaijan, which is often held up as one of the leading countries that were early adopters of EITI, and have a strong coalition, the main gain is said to have come from the pressure the UK extractive company BP applied to the government in order to secure their long term relationship. The coalition responded to this window of opportunity but ultimately it was an opportunity raised by changing circumstances not created by the coalition.

4.1.2 Champions

Efficacy also seems tied, not just to windows of opportunity, but to Champions. There were examples of where the coalition leans heavily on its coordinator. Respected by government, private sector and civil society, the coordinator represents the coalition at almost every meeting, and is the hub from which the spokes of the network revolve. Even where coalitions presents as a more balanced membership, nevertheless they seem to hinge on the role of Champions.

4.1.3 Affiliation

The second half of the research question asks whether the association with the PWYP Global Campaign had a noticeable beneficial effect on their ability to influence. This has been hard to gain insight into. On the surface the name of PWYP is valued by most (if not all) the multi-stakeholder parties, even the mining companies. But in some cases, that name is so strongly attached to the Champions, that it is difficult to separate it from them. Again on the surface the name lends legitimacy to the Champion but whether that legitimacy is really based on the respect the stakeholders have for the individual, or the legitimacy that comes from being with any organisation, or whether there is a legitimacy that comes from being part of an international campaign it is difficult to say.

Certainly, where the EITI is effective, it is because of the international linkages. A national process disconnected from any international body would be unlikely to be effective. EITI thrives on its international connections. And from that viewpoint, it seems that for the Champions to be associated with the coalitions, and for the coalitions to be linked to an international association or campaign, gives the Champions some more legitimacy to sit on the EITI multi stakeholder process. However it is very difficult to assess the counterfactual where the same person with the same drive and commitment but didn't have international connections – whether this would have been as effective.

4.2 To what extent do PWYP national coalitions identify with the purpose of the global PWYP campaign, both formally and informally?

There is a general consensus of what the PWYP focus is. Most coalitions work on a compromise between formality and informality. There was considerable debate about the role of formal processes in the coalitions. However the bottom line seems to be a general consensus about the focus of the coalition.

The focus can of course be nuanced and perhaps even challenged. In international documents, extractive industries and the PWYP campaign includes oil and gas. In one example though, PWYP was associated with mining, and when oil became an issue a new coalition was set up, the 'Oil platform'. It is difficult to disaggregate whether the different coalition was because the focus of PWYP was seen to be too narrow or whether other factors were the real cause.

In one example a coordinator suggested that there the situation is a little different and that the focus and credibility is more of a challenge. The coalition seemed very focused on the Global PWYP campaign, but had difficulty engaging with the right people within Government to maintain that focus. There is a lot of environmental work within that country, focused on the forests, and there are a number of networks and coalitions around that subject. PWYP is a relatively small player among these other networks. . Again the picture seemed to be more about personal contacts and relationships leading to opportunities for lobbying work. .

4.3 What do national coalition members perceive as the primary role and functions of the coalition and to what extent do they feel the functions of their national coalition are being fulfilled?

It is here that we need to draw on the ODI's Network Functions Approach (Hearn and Mendizabal, 2011). Rather than asking for perception of functions, we asked about what the coalitions do and then drew our own conclusions about the functions. What we see is that the major functions of the coalitions are **advocacy** (creating a platform for members to influence others) and **knowledge management** (sharing knowledge between members and from external sources into the coalition). Minor functions include **convening** (bringing together diverse range of actors), **community building** (building trust between members and creating a common vision) and **resource mobilisation** (providing training on EITI monitoring, providing support to run local events). What we find is that the minor functions were in support of the dominant functions, for example, coalitions provide training and funding for members to enhance their advocacy, and support a diverse range of perspectives around the common goal of revenue transparency – e.g. environmental NGOs work with gender-oriented NGOs for different reasons but for the same goal.

We find that the coalitions are stronger at convening than they are at community building, meaning that they are used to bring together a diverse membership and to negotiate differing priorities, but they are less used for building strong ties and consensus between members. In most cases, the convening function is what brings the coalition together – without it, the diverse range of members wouldn't be able to negotiate their particular concerns and arrive at a common goal. A lot of effort, on the part of the coordinators, goes into ensuring the relevancy of the goals of the coalition for the members. Coalitions also use their convening power to bring together diverse external-stakeholders, such as government actors and extractive industry representatives. For example, in one case the coalition supported one of their members in organising a multi-stakeholder meeting where local government, members of the community and representatives from mining companies were invited to discuss in a town hall, hosted by the governor. In this case the coalition didn't have any agenda other than transparency and seeing that the views of each group were heard by the others.

Resource mobilisation is a minor function and is realised predominantly through capacity development initiatives by the coalitions for their members – e.g. training on contracting. Funding flows tended to be from members into the secretariat rather than the other way round. There was an exception; one case has a process in place where members can propose local level activities which can get funded by the secretariat. In most cases, members who are managing particular coalition initiatives either fund these themselves or are funded directly by donors rather than funded through the coalition.

Our analysis suggests that the majority of coalitions fulfil the two major functions adequately. It was widely reported that one of the biggest value for members of the coalitions was the ability to stay informed on issues relating to extractive industries. We also identified that the majority of outcomes reported by the coalitions revolved around ‘policy wins’ through advocacy and campaigning where they had been able to use their collective influencing power to bring about change. Even in Australia, where the coalition is relatively new and still spending a lot of effort in establishing the coalition and building coherence, they already have examples of where they’ve been able to contribute to significant advocacy outcomes.

4.4 What are the different forms that PWYP national coalitions take? Where have we seen function-form fit working well?

While there is no taxonomy of network forms that we can refer to, we have made a number of observations about the governance and coordination of the coalitions that demonstrate some differences in the form. But in general, each coalition was as unique as the next and we find limited value in categorising the different forms they take as there are too many dependencies to draw meaningful conclusions. How the coalitions function and how they are governed seems to be strongly dependent on the history and origins of the coalition and what existed before it started. The cultural, political and geographic context are also major factor which will determine how formal a coalition becomes, how its members relate to each other and how united they are towards a goal.

That said, we can approach from the other direction and discuss the capacities required for networks focusing mostly on filtering and amplifying. These kinds of networks rely a lot on efficient communication channels both internally and externally and we find that to be a common characteristic of most of the coalitions in the study. One example was of a secretariat very proficient at publishing press-releases responding to key events and promoting the views of the coalition. Likewise, another has published a number of briefs that are used by members to ensure a common language and clarity on technical issues. In another case, where the coalition has a clear hierarchical structure of local level chapters, state level, zonal level and national level, the downward communication is highly efficient, with local level actors able to receive messages from international and national level, but the communication between members is perhaps hampered by the hierarchical structure which positions coordinators as gatekeepers.

5 Conclusions

5.1 Has the organisational theory of change been proven?

“The coordinated, collective actions of a diverse coalition of organisations will be most effective in driving policy change for greater extractive industry transparency”

It is not possible to unequivocally prove or disprove the theory without an analysis of the counter-factual (policy change is just as effective when organisations act alone without coordination) which is impossible to observe in this case (even in historic cases before the coalition was officially formed the member organisations would have been working together). Additionally, a detailed analysis of drivers of policy change was outside of the scope of this study. What we were able to do was to probe the role of the coalitions in a selected number of campaign successes and compare this to what the literature suggests as typical mechanisms for policy change.

Policy change is brought about through various mechanisms; coalitions are just one of six identified in one particular literature review (Stachowiak, 2009):

1. “Large leaps”: through tipping points or seismic shifts;
2. “Coalition”: through agreement and coordinated activity;
3. “Policy Windows”: through opportunism;
4. “Messaging and Frameworks”: through communicating evidence, issues or options in the right way;
5. “Power Politics”: through working directly with the ‘political elites’;
6. “Grassroots”: through community organising and public action and pressure.

The data, while not conclusive, suggests that where coalitions have made significant progress in their campaigns, this has been due to a combination of mechanisms: windows of opportunity, large leaps, grassroots, coalition (the mechanism of building consensus among policy actors as distinct from the PWYP coalition), and to a lesser extent through messaging and frameworks. In each case, the nature of the coalition seems to contribute to the ability of the members to influence policy.

5.1.1 Windows of opportunity and large leaps

It is clear from the data that “progress” in the campaign is not a linear path without obstacles, but the findings indicate that the coalitions have an important role in navigating this complexity, particularly in seizing windows of opportunity when they arise and in the persistent pushing that is required to stimulate large leaps. Each of the coalition members has stories of conflict with the government and the private sector, and for every story of change there seems to be a story of disappointment. It is of fantastic testament to the actors within the coalition that they take personal abuse and hardship and remain with the task. As consultants we unashamedly end this study admiring their dedication.

Interestingly though, while the data does support the notion that “the coordinated, collective actions of a diverse coalition of organisations will be most effective in driving policy change for greater extractive industry transparency”, it also clearly shows that large steps of change generally occur in moments of turbulence or unexpected change.

This does not contradict the coalition theory as such. The presence of the coalition has in several cases created a space for activists to come together and be ready for and take advantage of the turbulence. And after the turbulence, there is data and evidence of the often slow but systematic lobbying that ensures the EITI is implemented with best effect. The continuous work of coalitions in sharing of information, coordinating meetings with important stakeholders, maintaining a common message, organising and briefing spokes-people etc, is particularly important for being able to respond to windows of opportunity as well as stimulating large leaps.

Also when we consider the chain for change, we also see clearly that the coalition is stretching the EITI to its next logical steps. Contract negotiations were mentioned by many, and remain difficult to penetrate.

5.1.2 Grass-roots and building coalitions

Our findings suggest that PWYP coalitions play a key role in mobilising grass-roots support for the campaign. This occurs at two levels. On the one hand, coalitions can extend deep into the affected communities and often involve or work with communities directly – providing information and training to enhance their ability to demand transparency. On the other hand, coalitions involve organisations with vast grass-roots support – such as labour unions and faith-based organisations, and supporting these organisations extends the reach of the coalition to ‘ordinary citizens’ who can influence change through mass-action.

Building coalitions is also an important mechanism – referring here to coalitions with external actors (government, private sector, international community for example) rather than the PWYP coalitions which are predominantly civil-society focussed. Much of the advocacy work undertaken by coalitions is about building constructive working relationships with key actors mentioned above, rather than just oppositional campaigning and activism. Reaching out to and building coalitions with diverse policy actors has been particularly important in the recent major policy wins in the US and EU.

So while we were not able to find evidence that these particular coalition effects contributed to policy change, we can certainly see that they provide conducive conditions for policy change to occur.

5.1.3 Engaging with the Chain for Change

Our core conclusion regarding the research question about the theory of change can be seen in the recent Chain for Change, and support to each of the national coalitions can be addressed by assisting the coalitions to engage with the Chain for Change. This simple device addresses the various stages of change, and it would be good to enable the coalitions to identify where on the chain they are. The answer is unlikely to be a single reference point, but active discussion of how all the links need to be in place could strengthen the coalitions understanding of the work that needs to be done.

In one example PWYP undertook an (consultative) exercise that identified 4 scenarios for the country ranging from non-transparency to transparency with the money being used widely by the government. The outcomes of such discussions were published in a magazine and this magazine proved engaging for local communities. This is an excellent example of how the Chain for Change can be unpacked even for citizens to engage with.

If the international secretariat were able to develop publicity and discussion around the Chain for Change, this could broaden each national coalitions understanding of what needs to be done and be a proxy for systematic strategic advocacy work-plans.

5.2 How can the capacities of the coalition be supported?

Given the diversity of the coalition the answer to this question is not simple. The coalitions sit within complex environments. In general, development understanding is moving away from the ideas of predictability and control towards complexity and uncertainty. The coalitions, which work within a complex policy environment, with unpredictable actors is almost the very epitome of these ideas. A predictable, linear project is therefore difficult if not impossible.

In this context 'capacity development' ideas shift from a focus on implementing discrete projects aimed at skills enhancement or organisational strengthening, to addressing much broader systemic challenges. What are the required capacities of a coalition in these highly contested environments, characterised by uncertainty and insecurity? Experimental and incremental approaches are needed to put in place continual and adaptive capacity.

Traditional capacity development focuses on resource shortfalls, such as staff shortage or wrong skills, lack of equipment or inappropriate incentives. In a key piece of research, the European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM 2008), identified five core capabilities that can inform capacity development. These capabilities seem applicable to the PWYP Coalitions, and form a frame against which to assess where nuanced interventions from outside the country might be applied. The five core capabilities are:-

- **To commit and engage:** volition, empowerment, motivation, attitude, confidence
- **To carry out technical , service delivery and logistical tasks:** core functions directed at the implementation of mandated goals
- **To relate and attract resources and support:-** manage relationships, resource mobilisation, networking, legitimacy building, protecting space
- **To adapt and self-renew:-** learning, strategizing, adaptation, repositioning, managing change
- **To balance coherence and diversity:-** encourage innovation, and stability, control fragmentation, manage complexity balance capability mix.

In the findings, we note that national coalitions have a breadth of capabilities. However in most cases this is through an organic growth, without systematic attention to this frame. In creating more international dialogue on how to strengthen coalitions, it might be valuable to consider capabilities in these five dimensions.

To commit and engage. The findings clearly show a dedicated and committed core of PWYP members who are actively seeking to engage with their political context. At a minimum they need encouragement, and acknowledgement. Conferences and workshops such as the tenth anniversary gathering of PWYP may have a significant cost however there is considerable (and un-measurable) value for strengthening the willingness to commit and engage.

To carry out technical, service delivery and logistical tasks. The findings suggest that most of the coalitions have the basic processes for the core functions in place. In one case transparency of the lead organisation was questioned by some of the respondents, but in general the logistical tasks were being implemented.

To relate and attract resources and support. The findings suggest that this is an area that needs attention. Most interviewees talked about scarcity of resources, although interestingly the Delphic response to “We are finding it harder to raise funds for our work” while attracting a majority agreement was not overwhelmingly in support of the statement – some did disagree. Nevertheless fund raising is an issue of the modern world, and little gets done without resources. The findings suggest that coalitions would benefit (strengthen their capability) if the role of relationships and legitimacy were explicitly explained in terms of resource mobilisation.

To adapt and self-renew. The findings suggest that this is an area where attention may be required. Activism by definition is a tiring ‘profession’ and as people get older it becomes personally more and more difficult to find the energy and motivation. We have identified above that many coalitions rely on Champions, and in some interviews the Champions were talking of retirement or changing their work pattern to decrease their engagement. In this scenario it is important that new Champions are being cultivated.

From the wider literature on societal entrepreneurs, we know these individuals need to:

- advocate new ideas and develop proposals
- define and reframe problems
- work across wide sectors of society to build partnerships and horizontal and vertical governance
- broker ideas amongst multiple actors
- mobilise public opinion and help set the decision making agenda including the normative background
- engage with various types of organisational restructuring

Identifying and strengthening a new generation of actors with the above characteristics is going to be a challenge.

To balance coherence and diversity. The coalitions in general have a diverse membership and the debate over formality and informality indicate that this question of coherence and diversity is top of the mind for many coalitions. Capability strengthening here might look like strengthening the debate more explicitly, stimulating more discussion – an increased awareness would likely result in more balance.

5.2.1 Cultivating a new generation of Champions.

One of the conclusions we come to based on the longitudinal nature of the campaigning and the people we met, is that there will be a need for another generation of Champions. We conclude that there might need to be an intentional strategy of recruiting younger persons (in the countries of action) as part of the capacity building strategy.

This would not be an easy task. On the one hand the existing leadership are doing a good job and there is no particular obvious reason why new leadership would be beneficial. However, the PWYP campaign needs to think **long term** – the gains made in establishing EITI, the multi-stakeholder processes, the Dodd-Frank law, the EU law changes, are all part of a decade of action. In the Chain for Change launched at the tenth anniversary, PWYP acknowledges that the gains made are a link in an overall chain. Many of the other links (revised and fair contracts, transparent and pro-poor use of funds, etc) are going to take another decade (or more) to advance. In some sample coalitions there has already been a transition from one set of activists to a different set (In the case of Niger many of the older set of activists are now in Government). However, even given this ‘renewing’, in some interviews some of the existing

Champions acknowledged their age, and that they were tired from the pace of their work. Some felt they might be looking to semi retire soon. At the same time a consistent response from respondents was that the involvement of any organisation very often was determined by the interest of an individual from that organisation – and that when the individual moved on the organisations support for the PWYP campaign often waned.

If we therefore acknowledge that an effective coalition relies on the strengthen of individuals, then we are left with the question - what can the international secretariat do to support a transition over time, to maintain a body of inspired individuals, to strengthen the capabilities of the emerging new Champions?

There is a body of work emerging that is identifying how Champions arise, and how one might strengthen and cultivate Champions. This literature and study is predominantly in the Western nations, nevertheless it perhaps provides the foundations for a training course or extensive e-discussion.

A programme of action might consider:-

- Having e-discussions (either within a closed or open space) with existing coalitions about the ten year horizon and the who of their coalitions. This is intended to raise awareness and gently stimulate a desire for succession.
- Identify young, upcoming, activists and sign them up to a distant learning activity to explore (learn) about what makes a successful Champion.
- Identify resources that might support their development – this may mean bringing them together to learn from each other with an expert facilitator – or it may mean cross country visits.

Our point here is that the PWYP international secretariat needs to intentionally cultivate the new generation of activists. Reliance on the serendipitous rising of the new generation may threaten the long term viability of the global campaign.

5.2.2 Creating a toolkit resource

How then can the international secretariat build capacity to engage with the Chain for Change? The initial idea proposed at the outset of the study was that the findings would be used to develop a toolkit for strengthening coalitions. The format of this toolkit is important. Currently there exists a guide to coalition management produced by PWYP for national coalitions: “Best practices for the set up and management of PWYP coalitions”. This is a six page document with practical advice. Our research indicated that this document was not used substantially by the coalitions beyond the initial conversations at the establishment of the coalition. We would therefore propose something different in this case.

One idea that emerged during the study was to produce a website with facilitated e-discussions. The Delphic survey was used as an opportunity to seek a wider opinion of this (see Figure 9 opposite) and we conclude that even a website is not sufficient. The data suggests that it needs to be a programme of work that includes workshops and facilitated online discussions (either in closed or open spaces) rather than a static resource, with a focus on cross-coalition learning and capacity building.

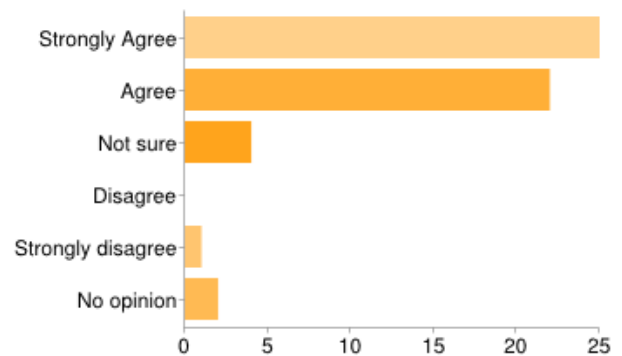


Figure 9 Summary graph for statement 8 of Delphic consultation through paper and online (n=54) “A website is not enough – for it to be useful we need regular facilitated e-discussion and regional capacity workshops.”

The challenge appears as much about assessment as it does about knowledge sharing: in order for coalitions to learn from the many fantastic resources that exist on coalitions management, campaigning and influencing policy, there

needs to be a clear understanding about what capacities are required and what the strengths and weaknesses of the coalitions are.

We therefore propose a self-assessment tool for monitoring the effectiveness of the coalition, based on the idea of a competency framework with a number of different competency areas derived from this study and the literature, each with a set of rubrics to describe what that competency looks like at different levels. The framework will be used by coalitions to set their own targets and track their own progress. The particular power of this kind of framework comes in its use at face-face meetings. Members are able to use the common language in framework to hold each other to account. In situations where different coalitions come together – e.g. in regional or international meetings – the coalitions can use the frameworks to support learning from other coalitions who are identified as having a particularly strong competency. The proposed self-assessment is provided as an accompaniment to this report.

6 Recommendations

It has been hard to come to clear and practical recommendations. The diversity of the coalitions, the cultural and socioeconomic context, the magnitude of the vision, are all strengths and challenges. It therefore becomes difficult to reduce advice to simple sentences. Nevertheless, since that is what is requested.

6.1 Leadership and coordination

Much of the work hinges on the leadership, coordination and championing within the coalition. These are three roles which can overlap but should be recognised as having different purposes. **The Global Steering Committee could provide some minimum standards for the first two roles.** Leadership - At a minimum a working PWYP Coalition should have a steering committee that has formal terms of reference and procedures in place to ensure accountability to members. They meet regularly and review the work of the coalition and advice on strategy. Coordination – At a minimum PWYP coalitions should have a coordinator who seeks general input or feedback on tasks from members and uses that as a way of identifying collaborators. The role of Champions is an intuitive one that links to social networking – we do not recommend minimum standards for ‘Championess’, but rather ensure that people are honoured both within PWYP (at the annual meeting), and in publicity.

Given the mandate of PWYP, transparency in processes is paramount. At a minimum we would recommend that the minutes of the steering committee, annual accounts and a statement of activities are available to all members.

6.2 Strategic and adaptive capacity

It must be recognised that the timeframe for this type of work is quite different from many development projects. A simple ‘handpump project’ can (in theory) be planned and implemented within two years. Lobbying for policy, legal and practical change in the extractive industries is a long process, as evidenced by the new 20/20 vision. As discussed in the conclusions, this time factor is very significant, and needs to be considered explicitly not just implicitly. Whether individuals come or go, the PWYP coalition is ‘in it for the long haul’.

We recommend that this ‘long haul’ be allowed to influence the strategies, recruitment and resource development.

At a minimum on resources, the coalition should seek to create space to think ahead. Fundraising needs to be thought through (a plan can be articulated if not written down) and the coalition needs to explicitly develop fruitful relationships with funders. Long term funding depends on good donor relationships so members need to be seen to be reliable and enthusiastic in delivering on their commitments. Donors are increasingly concerned with value for money. These long term relationships with donors therefore need to be supported with monitoring data. We recommend as a minimum standard that the steering group and coordinator use monitoring data to analyse effectiveness and relevance of coalition structure and campaign priorities.

This long term view should also influence recruitment. At a minimum, we recommend that the coordinator checks with members frequently about their current activities and records general information, so that the steering

committee has the data for its discussions. However, **our main takeaway from this study is the need to explicitly develop the next generation of activists.** Coalitions should seek to engage young people in the campaign as an explicit priority for the coalition. The coalition should support an on-going mentoring programme to identify and nurture emerging leaders and future champions for PWYP.

6.3 Knowledge management and learning

Our final **recommendation concerns the process of ‘mutual sensemaking’.** Information alone is not knowledge, knowledge is often co-constructed when adults get together. At a minimum we recommend that the coordinator occasionally creates opportunities and encourages members to share knowledge even without a regular agenda. Information from international and national levels needs to filter down to local level and horizontal sharing of knowledge is undertaken. We recommend that coordinators seek to encourage stories that go beyond simple reporting of policy wins and describe incremental progress and internal outcomes. A small proportion of these stories should make it into the public domain through website publication or reports etc. At an absolute minimum we recommend that the coordinator pools information from members around strategic priority areas and facilitates analysis and follow-up. The Steering committee then use the information to make decisions about organisation of the coalition.

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