

Tackling the “Resource Curse:” The Role of Brand in a Global Campaigning Network

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Oil. Natural Gas. Minerals. Uranium. Around the world, the extractive industries generate billions of profits from resource-

rich countries, yet paradoxically, the majority of citizens from these same countries live in dire poverty. Unlocking this paradox involves understanding and addressing a crucial link: how a lack of transparency and accountability in the payment and receipt of natural resource revenues encourages corruption and mismanagement by public and private officials, undermines good governance, and chokes off income that could help reduce poverty, fund basic needs, and spur economic growth and development.

Birth of the Brand

Publish What You Pay was launched in 2002 as the civil society response to this widespread “resource curse.” As a campaigning coalition, it was formed not as an independently registered nonprofit organization, but as a formal affiliation of NGOs whose mission was to “increase revenue transparency in the oil, gas and mining companies.” *Publish What You Pay* drew from the research and work of its founding members, a small group of London-based organizations including CAFOD, Global Witness, Open Society Institute, Oxfam GB, Save the Children UK, and Transparency International UK.

Fiona Napier, one of the founding members, recalled the coalition's beginning, “It was a time when coalitions comprised of NGOs largely based in the north could make a difference,” she explained. “I worked on *Publish What You Pay* outside of my day job at Save the Children UK, but it helped to bring Save's name along. It helped to have the big brands.”

Publish What You Pay's message was simple: that people from countries rich in natural resources should not be poor. Its theory of change was built on the argument that increasing revenue transparency in the energy and mining sector would improve government accountability and strengthen revenue flows to the public. Napier recalled how the network's name emerged on an early group call: “We were trying to define the problem and I remember a number of us thinking out loud ‘why don't we just ask them to publish what they pay?’” The phrase,

combined with a graphic lifted directly off of a Global Witness report served as the banner under which the group conducted its first five-year effort.

Early Growth and Success

Within five years, *Publish What You Pay* had proven to be a game changer. By 2007, it had placed extractive industry transparency firmly on the map, mobilizing its rapidly expanding civil society membership to shape the debate and agendas of governments, companies, investors, donor agencies and international organizations. Early success could be measured not only

A Snapshot of Advocacy Success

In 2002, its very first year, *Publish What You Pay* achieved a significant victory by spurring the British government to launch the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), a first-of-its kind international voluntary framework whose implementation became the strategic focus of many coalition members in the years to follow.

Building on the EITI voluntary framework, the 46-member *Publish What You Pay* coalition in Nigeria went on to achieve the world's first country-level implementing legislation for EITI. Liberia's *Publish What You Pay* coalition enshrined EITI in national law and the constitution, securing an interpretation that embraced contract as well as revenue transparency. In Ghana, the participation of the *Publish What You Pay* coalition in the EITI process led to a doubling of royalty rates for mining companies, significantly increasing the country's tax intake.

In 2010, *Publish What You Pay USA* scored the first regulatory success at the international level by securing an international anti-corruption provision in new Dodd-Frank legislation. The precedent-setting law required extractive companies listed on the U.S. stock exchange to disclose how much they pay foreign governments to acquire drilling and mining rights, and provided a road map for the network to pursue similar regulation in other major capital markets. By the end of 2011, *Publish What You Pay* members in Europe lobbied successfully for the European Commission to propose similar legislation to Dodd-Frank.

in concrete advocacy wins but also in the explosive growth—and value to its members—of the network itself. By 2011, the coalition had evolved beyond the six northern founding members into a truly global network representing 638 member organizations in 55 countries including 35 national coalitions made up of community-based organizations, faith-based groups, labor unions, and international NGOs working in the development, environmental, transparency, and human rights domains.

"We derive our legitimacy from the network, and we wouldn't be credible if we didn't have the grassroots," noted Advocacy and Communications Officer Joe Williams. Fiona Napier explained, "It's no longer just a case of northern NGOs banding together in a coalition and saying, 'We're going to affect change.' For *Publish What You Pay*, it means being really, truly international: having as broad a base of constituents and members as possible, but also having the expertise and strategy to lobby in key nodes of power when it needs to. Today, the rules of NGO advocacy are that you need to surf the waves of opportunity and react fast with really good arguments, evidence and testimony that comes from as close to the problem as possible."

The 2007 Rebrand

Recognizing the need to update their brand identity and image to reflect a greatly expanded and diversified global membership, *Publish What You Pay* undertook a full brand review in 2007, with support from donor funding and a communications consulting firm, Tactical Tech. Radhika Sarin, the network's second International Coordinator described the process which resulted in a new logo—a graphic of an 'all-seeing' blue eye joined to the original name:

"We became the 'blue eye' in 2007. One of my first responsibilities was to make sure our message was seen as coming from *Publish What You Pay* as opposed to one of the members, and particularly the founding members. I was expected to deliver a whole new website and communications plan to ensure a coherent message and a cohesive vehicle for that message. Tactical Tech consulted our members about the look and feel and what we wanted from our brand and created a graphic template that different [members and] coalitions could use, whether in Ghana or Norway. We made a very concerted effort to create a flexible brand no matter who was using it. I think the brand is very democratized, if I can use that word."

Versions of the new logo—identical except for the translated name—were made available by the secretariat. Members could choose whether to use the brand, and national coalitions were

not required to brand themselves *Publish What You Pay*. The secretariat did not develop a formal strategy or protocol for brand management. Instead "peer pressure" exercised by the network's "elders" was used to "nudge" members in the rare case of brand misuse that came to the secretariat's attention.

Looking back, Sarin reflected on the secretariat's hands-off approach to brand management: "The more structures and guidelines you set up, the less democratic it becomes. Actually, sometimes the less transparent it becomes. It's a real challenge if communication becomes restricted by having to go through particular structures...I think *Publish What You Pay* has a very resilient brand. It promotes itself because people are using it and doing stuff with it."

Brand as Benefit and Burden

In the field, *Publish What You Pay*'s brand helped advance its mission in a number of important ways. For some members in the global south, associating with the brand provided a "worldly opening" enabling vital access to new audiences at the regional and international level. "*Publish What You Pay* gives us a presence as part of an international movement, allowing us to fight on the same ground with the extraction companies who are big international organizations" explained Ali Idrissa, coalition coordinator in Niger. The protective benefits of the brand were also crucial to some members. Idrissa explained "it's very difficult to do this work if you don't have larger protection to help you." Jean-Claude Katende, coalition coordinator in the Democratic Republic of Congo underscored how associating with the brand "strengthened leaders' security and eliminated all kinds of threats."

For many members, the *Publish What You Pay* brand magnified their voice and visibility and amplified the credibility and legitimacy of their claims. For some of the larger NGO members, association with the brand signaled a legitimate connection and partnership with the grassroots, boosting their advocacy legitimacy. In Kazakhstan, Central Asia and the Caucasus, the brand served as a unifying banner that invited the participation of new members by signaling the global reach and seriousness of the movement, enabling coalitions to achieve broad membership growth and establish new cross-border, cross-country task forces.

Congo's Katende described the brand as an organizing mechanism for facilitating learning and knowledge that resulted in strengthened grassroots capacity: "Through *Publish What You Pay* we participate in seminars and informational sessions

across Africa and share our experiences and strategies with groups in Congo and Madagascar." Isabel Munilla, director of *Publish What You Pay USA*, highlighted the brand's ability to increase efficiency and collective effectiveness: "It's about pooling resources. It helps us coordinate shared interests and allows us to do a lot with relatively few resources."

While *Publish What You Pay's* brand helped advance mission and impact for many members, in certain arenas the brand was viewed as "rude," "awkward," and a potential liability. The Russian translation of the imperative "Publish What You Pay" was interpreted as "rather offensive and strange" prompting the national Kazakh coalition to adopt the name "Oil Revenues –Under Public Oversight," using the *Publish What You Pay* brand verbally with internal members, but not visually in any external materials. Anticipating potential future advocacy arenas, some members worried that the Chinese translation of the name could be perceived as "too directive an ask" and "not the best vehicle" for engaging Chinese civil society, the government, or companies.

In both of these examples, the burden of the brand sprang from limitations inherent in the slogan. Constraints of the name were also evident in the fact that members' work in the field had assumed broad dimensions beyond the focused demand that extractive companies "publish what you pay." When Marinke van Riet assumed the position of third International Director in September 2011, the question of brand was firmly back on the secretariat's radar screen.

Brand Integrity: The Alignment of Mission, Identity, and Image

After ten years, the activities and ambitions of *Publish What You Pay* members had far outgrown the coalition's original mission and strategy, raising concerns about the structural *integrity* of the brand. Of particular concern were: 1) the widening gap between *Publish What You Pay's* brand and its mission; 2) a lack of understanding about the network's shared identity; and 3) conflation challenges between *Publish What You Pay's* brand and other brands that muddied the network's external image and brand recognition.

Mission & Brand

Mission focus was a critical concern, with significant implications for brand. Over time, *Publish What You Pay's* expanding base had broadly interpreted the network's agenda, stretching mission-related activities and ambitions beyond the 2002

imperative of "increasing revenue transparency in the oil, gas and mining industry." Marinke van Riet described the growing split between the network's brand and its mission:

"The biggest question for me is: Does the brand still cover what we actually do? There are now four components to our actual agenda: we have "Publish What You Pay," our work geared toward achieving transparency in payments that industry makes to governments; "Publish *Why* You Pay", our call for extractive industry contracts and other information such as profits to be made public to ensure countries are receiving a fair deal; "Publish What You *Earn*" which is our government ask; and "Publish What You *Spend*" because we're moving beyond transparency to demand accountability...On the other side, our brand doesn't show that we work in the extractive industry, so that's a big one! "

Some members called for formally expanding the network's mission. Niger's Idrissa advocated "enlarging the scope and expanding the mandate for increased transparency and accountability in the extractive industry into other areas" like contracts, licensing, spending and the decision to extract. Indonesian member Frenky Simanjuntak felt that the coalition should engage with issues beyond revenue transparency to include "contract transparency, human rights, and natural degradation." Global Witness' Napier felt the network should officially broaden its scope "to include other natural resources like fish...in order to shape and revitalize the debate on natural resources in the 21st century. Staying hitched to transparency in the fossil fuel industry could come to be a bit old-fashioned."

Kazakh member Anton Artemyev articulated the tensions between mission and brand: "The name of the brand *Publish What You Pay* very accurately reflected what we were all about in 2002 but now one of our biggest challenges is that we have outgrown this. While our brand name is quite strong, many members are now focusing on things which go way beyond revenue transparency."

Brand and Internal Identity

Adding to the brand-mission challenge (the "what we do" question) was the network's lack of collective understanding of their internal identity (the "who we are" question). From his seat in the secretariat, Joe Williams mused "People have different views of what and who *Publish What You Pay* is. Are we a finite campaign? A solidarity network from which to tap in to a valued knowledge base? An international transparency movement? A pathway to be recognized and affirmed?" Answering

these questions was a top priority for van Riet who was leading the coalition in a six-month inquiry process whose findings would help inform strategic priorities for the next four years.

Brand and External Image

Achieving brand integrity would also require correcting perceptions about *Publish What You Pay's* image by addressing brand confusion that existed between the network's brand and other brands doing similar work, including the *Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative* (EITI) and transparency-oriented NGOs like Revenue Watch and Global Witness. Tackling this differentiation problem would require sharpening a distinctive identity and image so that both internal members and outside audiences would understand *Publish What You Pay* as distinct from being "the service mechanism" or "civil society component" of other more "massive brands." "*Publish What You Pay* needs to remain its own brand" explained Isabel Munilla, "The approaches need to be distinct, and the identity needs to be distinct, and communicated through the brand at the local and the global level, with extremely consistent messaging."

Both the secretariat and members realized that addressing and resolving brand integrity issues would require discussion from the bottom-up. "We need a comprehensive process that invites all members to examine how many we are, who we are, and how closely or loosely we relate to the movement. A broad discussion of these findings...would be a requisite [for deciding] whether to expand beyond revenue transparency or beyond the extractive sector," explained Artemyev. *Publish What You Pay* understood that an effective brand needed to be built from the inside out. Achieving brand integrity would entail harnessing members in a participatory process of clarifying and honing identity, image, strategy and mission.

Managing a Democratic Brand

By 2011, brand risk and protection was a hot topic within the secretariat. Spurring conversation on the issue was growing concern about increasing instances in which the *Publish What You Pay* brand "got burned," including a situation with a network-branded press release that was "a bit too political in nature." Within the secretariat, discussions on brand management, risk and protection were taking shape in conversations related to membership standards, the strategic role of communications, and funding structures.

Hot Potatoes, One-Man Shows, and GONGOs: Brand Risk and Membership Standards

Managing a growing global membership and managing brand were twinned issues for the secretariat. "In terms of brand, we're at the point where we are bigger than we've ever been, and with growth comes responsibility. Gone are the days when we could be loose about the brand. Now is the time to say, 'What does this brand mean? What are the duties and obligations that come with using the *Publish What You Pay* brand? What are best practices?' I think brand protection is something which will become increasingly prominent as we grow," emphasized Advocacy and Communications Officer Joe Williams.

Secretariat leaders recognized the new demands and dangers stemming from the size, complexity and diversity of the network, yet were grappling with notions of authority and control inherent in ideas about brand protection. As the conversation developed, the secretariat focused less on strategies for controlling the brand itself, and more on how to design and apply new membership criteria and standards for existing and new members.

This approach was not only consistent with the network's earlier "democratic" approach to brand management (trusting members to use and represent the brand, including the logo), but was widely embraced by members, particularly national coalition leaders from Congo to Kazakhstan who saw first-hand the strengths of membership growth, but also the acute liabilities of the "one-man shows," "hot potatoes" and the GONGOs in their midst. Ian Gary, a long-time Oxfam America member put it succinctly, "Managing brand risk is a question of quality control among membership."

Brand and Strategic Communications

Secretariat-level discussions of brand governance also focused on the network's vision of its communications function. From the beginning, *Publish What You Pay* had embedded the function of internal and external communications (including knowledge management, convening, translation, information exchange, external messaging, reporting, publicity and advocacy) in the operational roles of secretariat staff, recognizing that communications could make a broader strategic contribution to performance.

"Beefing up the communications role and hiring our first Information Officer within the secretariat was a big part of the 2007 rebrand," recalled former coordinator, Radhika Sarin. Four years later, *Publish What You Pay's* secretariat had grown to

include a staff of five¹ whose interconnected roles and positions at the executive level reflected the recognition that strategic communications was central to brand and mission.

Each of the five secretariat staff performed some form of internal or external engagement. Communications Assistant Alice Powell explained her role "I spend a lot of the time working with members of the coalition, putting them in contact with each other, sharing resources, finding out what happened in their work. We try to collect and mine information and project it to the world."

Social Media, Brand and Mission

In 2011, *Publish What You Pay* began experimenting with how social media could drive mission and brand. Members recognized both the opportunities and constraints of being a global alliance, and called for *Publish What You Pay* to become "more of a **knowledge network**, something like a **Wiki-PWYP**, with various knowledge discussions that members from all over the world can contribute to." The secretariat acknowledged that "the next frontier is about ensuring that information is available to anyone to speak truth to power. We need to start working on how information can be applied to effect change," said Joe Williams.

Publish What You Pay launched a first **Twitter** experiment in September 2011, benefiting from partner members like the ONE Campaign who tweeted their question to half a million people, and Oxfam America who forwarded the tweet to 81,000 of their followers.

Suggestions from members like Indonesia's Chandra Kirana would push the envelope far beyond the network's current Twitter and e-newsletter efforts: "It would be great if we could **mobilize various advocacy campaigns like www.avaaz.org does**. When the Dodd-Frank regulations were being discussed, we could have put up an *avaaz*-like website with some very concise information about the law and its relevance to citizens around the world, especially those living in resource-rich countries. With a clear demand and a sign on function, we could have built much more support and thus pressure on the US."

In late 2010, the secretariat "bolstered" their communications effort to "emphasize and amplify the voices of our network... build awareness about transparency in the extractive sector, and increase awareness of our campaigns in particular," described Powell. First steps in this effort involved revamping their e-newsletter, and taking experimental steps with social media. "It's about carving a space for ourselves within the extractives debate and becoming a respected 'go to' source of information," shared Powell. Members were hungry for more. Their tech-savvy suggestions would push the secretariat to think way beyond the e-newsletter and consider strategies that embraced advocacy, mobilization, internal strategic exchange, messaging, and brand all at the same time (see *text box*).

Conducted strategically, communications was seen as helping to strengthen identity, hone mission, differentiate strategic approaches, build capacity, and galvanize internal and external resources—all processes at the heart of maintaining and protecting a powerful brand.

Brand Risk and Funding

Financing strategic communications was a significant hurdle. "Disseminating materials in various languages takes an amazing amount of resources and time and we've got five official languages—Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, French and English. Being multilingual is important to all our members. They want more, and in other languages," explained van Riet. And while direct cost was a major concern threatening the coalition's ability to foster necessary engagement between members, an equal challenge was how the funding was structured for network staff positions, a configuration resulting from the network's early ambitions to promote shared financial responsibility and ownership in collective work. van Riet described the structural funding problem, contextualizing it as both a risk for core operations and for brand:

"We are in a very complex funding situation. One post is funded by a large NGO member, another is funded by the President's fund of a major donor and yet another by another foundation. Our Africa Coordinator's contract is funded by yet another NGO member which itself is funded by various donors...None of this is reflected in the International Secretariat's budget and not to even mention the various donors who support our national coalitions with core or project support. So if any of the members or donors decided to stop funding these positions or coalitions, they would run the risk of withering and dying. That would have huge brand implications as we wouldn't be able to deliver our core services to an ever expanding membership."

¹ By September 2011, the London-based Secretariat included Marinke van Riet, International Director; Joe Williams, Advocacy and Communications Officer; Alice Powell, Communications Assistant; Sophia Harding, Programme Officer for Asia-Pacific, Eurasia and the Middle East; and Carlo Merla, the Africa Regional Coordinator who was based in Ghana.

The next phase of brand management for *Publish What You Pay* was taking shape in discussions about creating formal membership standards for screening renegade members, through experiments with strategic communications that could help reify and reinforce the network and the brand, and in concern about funding structures that posed a risk to brand and operations.

Brand Affinity

Mobilizing collective action would be critical to challenging the extractives industry. After a decade of building capacity in this regard, the network was taking stock of victories, strategies, and lessons learned. Maximizing impact over time would depend upon the network's ability to navigate dimensions of brand *affinity*—the ability of diverse member brands to work well alongside each other under the unified network brand, sharing credit effectively, and promoting collective over individual interests and identities.

For many of the coalitions and smaller organizational members, particularly those seeking protection and visibility from the brand, brand affinity was a simpler equation. Members in Niger, for example, actively aligned with the *Publiez Ce Que Vous Payez* brand, prominently featuring the network logo aside their own in all print and media messaging. Members in Kazakhstan, Central Asia and the Caucuses, however, held the network brand "in their back pocket" a stance perhaps more related to the name's problematic translation issues, but also indicative of active debates about identity that were manifesting in the coalition's decision about whether to launch a separate website or feed up to www.publishwhatyoupay.org.

Brand affinity with larger NGO members like Global Witness, Save the Children, Oxfam, Transparency International and Revenue Watch was more complicated, given their own brand prominence and investments in the transparency and extractives arena. Often, larger NGO members did not actively affiliate with the *Publish What You Pay* brand unless work was very specifically related to an active joint campaign or advocacy issue. Oxfam America's Ian Gary explained, "We talk about how we're part of a bigger coalition called *Publish What You Pay*, but we don't lead with *Publish What You Pay*." Global Witness Associate Director Napier noted "Sometimes we want to make announcements ourselves. Not necessarily always with *Publish What You Pay* because Global Witness has distinctive things to say, and because our brand has recognition and matters too. NGOs don't say it, but it's competitive." Former international director Radhika Sarin added "There is a lot of concern

that some member organizations have more resources than *Publish What You Pay* does. Each organization is also trying to do the same thing in terms of brand establishment and promotion. It's a huge challenge."

Surmounting competition—whether for credit, funding, influence, or visibility—as well as navigating power imbalances would be the biggest hurdle to achieving brand affinity and maximally leveraging a unified *Publish What You Pay* brand. How the network tackled the brand affinity challenge would have important implications for future impact. A recent comparative study² of eight global campaigns including *Publish What You Pay* found that the most successful were coalitions—and big ones. The report noted that having a unified coalition brand "add[ed] real value to the ability of the campaign to have impact," concluding that it would, however, take "renewed leadership" from the more "brand precious" players...if joint campaign brands are to be built."

In the effort to achieve brand affinity in coalitions, one communications expert offered a piece of advice that linked brand affinity to brand integrity and brand differentiation: "Within a collaborative context you have to be especially clear about who you are and what you do, and differentiate your brand. That doesn't mean that there's not major collaboration going on. There is. Everyone just really needs to know what makes you different from each other...Your partners need to know. Donors want to know. And I think donors are willing to give more money to organizations that are really collaborating³."

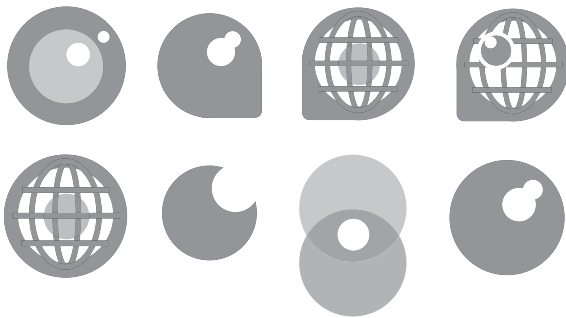
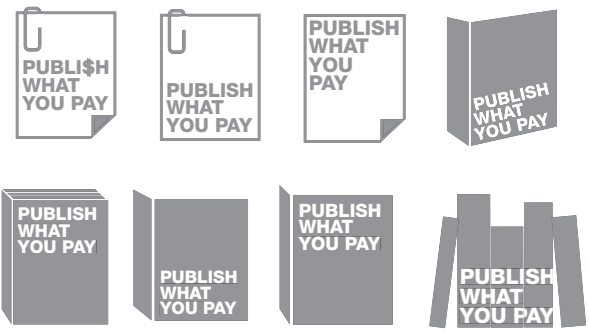
Conclusion

To maximize brand for mission impact, *Publish What You Pay* would need to address interconnected elements of brand integrity, democracy and affinity. Member Anton Artemyev described the path forward: "Now that we have become more diversified and complex, we need to be clearer about what we are and what we are not. So while [our brand] worked perfectly well before, now we need to strengthen it and strengthen its recognition and maybe devote more effort and time to building our specific, unique identity...making sure that we are all more or less on the same wavelength. Otherwise, I'm afraid brand recognition and achieving our common goals will become quite difficult."

² Campaigning for International Justice, Brendon Cox, May 2011, p. 53.

³ Lisa Witter, COO Fenton Communications, Interview with Johanna Chao Kreilick, July 8, 2011.

Exhibit A





Publiez Ce Que Vous Payez

Communiqué de presse

Le Bureau de Coordination du Réseau des Organisations pour la Transparence et l'Analyse Budgétaire (ROTAB), après, avoir appris avec consternation le dossier de détournement de plus d'un milliard et demie de nos francs par le biais de fausses factures, s'est réunie en session extraordinaire le jeudi 23 Juin 2011, afin d'examiner la situation liée à l'impunité et aux détournements des deniers publics.

Le BEN ROTAB, rappelle à l'opinion nationale et internationale que lors la campagne pour l'élection présidentielle deuxième tour de 2011, le ROTAB avait adressé aux deux candidats, une correspondance dans laquelle, il s'inquiétait de l'état de corruption et de détournement dans lequel végète notre pays et où il rappelait l'impérieuse nécessité d'attaquer le mal à la racine, pour l'extirper de notre système de gouvernance afin que les richesses profitent aux populations. Si ce brigandage économique et financier se perpétue dans notre pays, cela est dû essentiellement à l'impunité qui fait ressentir à nos concitoyens des sentiments de profonde injustice et de désespoir

Après une analyse approfondie de la situation, et en attendant que toute la lumière soit faite sur ce dossier, le BEN ROTAB, tout en se préparant à suivre attentivement le développement judiciaire de la question, constate:

1. Qu'il s'agirait là d'un crime économique grave et d'un manque à gagner considérable pour des secteurs sociaux de base comme l'éducation et la santé, entre autres,

2. Que durant des décennies entières, des hauts responsables de notre pays, se sont adonnés, en complicité avec des opérateurs économiques, au pillage systématique, indigne, éhonté et impuni des biens publics par l’usage de moyens frauduleux, de surfacturations, de marchés de gré à gré et de paiements de fausses factures.
3. salue les mesures conservatoires à l’encontre des présumés responsables, prises en Conseil des ministres du mercredi 22 juin 2011.

Cependant, aussi salvatrices qu’elles soient, le BEN ROTAB,

- constate fort malheureusement que ces mesures individuelles demeureront insuffisantes tant que toute la chaîne décisionnelle et de dépenses n’aura pas été identifiée et sanctionnée,
- Demande au gouvernement d’éclairer l’opinion nationale et internationale sur tous les tenants et aboutissants de ce dossier, afin de faire toute la lumière sur les auteurs présumés et leurs complices, au nom du principe sacro-saint de la transparence, de la justice sociale et de l’Etat de droit.

Fait à Niamey le Jeudi 23 Juin 2011

Pour le BNC du ROTAB

Le Coordonnateur National

Ali IDRISSE