

# Enhancing Transparency International’s Global Advocacy

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## Executive Summary

Transparency International (TI) is a leading global advocacy voice on accountability, transparency and anti-corruption with a high level of access and influence with many governments and international institutions. At this 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary year of TI it is worth celebrating success in establishing anti-corruption agendas, commitments and institutions. At the same time, it's important to consider questions about collective progress and the assumptions driving anti-corruption work considering the continuing extent of corruption and impunity.

In the face of rising populism and authoritarianism, technological advances that can be used by the corrupt and activists for ill or good, crises of global governance, and rising public anger about inequality and corruption in many countries, there is real urgency for TI to be an effective anti-corruption force, working with and within broader movements.

In the context of a broad 2020 strategy, significant change at the Secretariat and a reliance on project funding, the Secretariat currently has a set of discrete and, at times, small target, advocacy projects run by individuals or small teams (not all in the “policy and advocacy team”), rather than a focused advocacy agenda with appropriate staffing and resourcing. Continuing this way is not an option if TI wants to have a chance to really contribute to equity and justice.

*With two years left in the 2020 strategy and the Secretariat stabilising, it is time to reorient around a small number of global advocacy priorities on which the Movement can make a sustained push for change. This will be dependent on sharpening advocacy approaches and moving towards more effective staffing and resourcing at the Secretariat and in the Movement.*

Our main recommendations are:

1. Focus global advocacy on two sustained strategic bets
2. Clarify and strengthen TI's approach to global advocacy
3. Based on strategic focus and approach, pro-actively fundraise for programmatic funding
4. Support the Movement to put in place protective and responsive mechanisms for threats to anti-corruption activists and Chapters

The TI Movement's passionate advocates, insight into the drivers and impacts of corruption around the world, relationships and credibility with governments and institutions, positions it to unlock impact beyond the sum of the parts of small scale and disconnected efforts. Doing so will require focus, determination and change in how parts of the Movement work together in sustained ways. This requires a significant cultural change – enabled by leadership, staffing, practices and communications – as there is no technical fix for global advocacy efforts.

**A Note on Process:** Our process identified 97 outcomes at national and international levels contributed to by TI's global advocacy, and we interviewed representatives from governments, inter-governmental institutions and allies to verify a sample of them. We have interviewed over 100 people from the TI Movement, Secretariat, allies, and targets (see overview at Appendix One) and reviewed significant documentation. We attended and observed advocacy work of TI at the OGP Summit in Tbilisi and the C20 Summit in Buenos Aires. We also spent time in Berlin. This work occurred simultaneously to the Mid Term Review of the 2020 Strategy. We worked to coordinate our efforts practically and have shared some insights. At this stage we haven't seen the Mid Term Review recommendations. This work is an ongoing process as we'll provide support to implementation until at least February 2019.

## Defining advocacy and global advocacy

*Advocacy* is an adaptive process of trying to influence powerful actors to change their policies, practices, behavior and thinking based on long term goals.

Advocacy is not linear. It requires having long term outcomes as a north star, strong partners and allies, building relationships and understanding with individuals and institutions, building support and broadening coalitions (including unlikely allies and, at times, mobilising social and citizens movements), ongoing political intelligence gathering and analysis, research and analysis, experimentation and reflection, thoughtful (diverse) strategies that are updated constantly to respond to openings and changes, and powerful communications.

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*Promote more systems thinking around corruption - not come at corruption from a homogenous cause and effect, but instead look at issues like chapters do - start with the problems/issues in people's lives and then identify corruption angle that need to work on and build out regionally and globally. Ally*

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Without long term goals and strategy or rationale behind it these common activities are not advocacy: being invited to events or forums, getting corruption on the agenda, tinkering with the institutional rules of global bodies, publishing reports.

**A Note on Scope:** While all of the TI Movement engages in advocacy and influencing debates, policies and practices – this work and report focuses on efforts at connected advocacy across national, regional and global levels, in which the Secretariat often plays a critical role. Our recommendations implicate the whole Movement but do not mean that every Chapter needs to engage with all areas of global advocacy. As we recommend below, global advocacy priorities can be best driven by a committed coalition of chapters and talented advocates at the Secretariat.

*Global or international advocacy* is an effort to influence the norms, agenda, policies and practices of a range of actors across multiple countries where those efforts require or would be significantly enhanced by targeting international fora or institutions.

There are three important questions to answer in deciding whether to pursue global advocacy –

1. What are the most significant areas where the TI Movement could make a material difference to corruption?
2. Can this change only be made by transnational changes because the drivers, enablers, actors or issues are themselves transnational?
3. Is working together to drive change across multiple countries and at regional or global level the best way to achieve our outcomes?

*Global advocacy work should be identified by combining local, national, regional and global analysis within the TI Movement and with allies and experts about what the preconditions and political conditions are for moving towards a common, long-term goal. This is about capitalising on the knowledge and political insight that comes from having advocates at national, regional and global levels, not about either solely bottom up or top down decision-making.*

## Lessons from the literature

Academic and grey literature on global advocacy points to some important issues for Transparency International to consider. A fuller examination of these issues based on a rapid review of evidence is contained in Appendix Three.

Globally, the shift towards geopolitical fragmentation and multipolarity continues, extending beyond European/Western dominance to new power poles in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Flemes, 2013; Oxfam, 2018). The capture of state institutions by economic elites drives increasing global inequality, mirrored by shifts towards populist, authoritarian and nationalist regimes (Oxfam, 2018).

An important and unsurprising enabler of global advocacy is the existence of democracy in domestic contexts (Hanegraff et al, 2015). In an analysis of the structural conditions that affect NGO involvement in transnational policy processes, democratic political regimes emerged as the key factor that determines an organisation's ability to participate. Subsequent factors that affect organisational participation are the availability of and access to resources, and the structure of state/society relations.

Within democratic countries, overall wealth and access to resources become key factors. Organisations from undemocratic or low resource contexts are largely unable to participate at the international level. Instead, well resourced groups from democratic contexts dominate. Global organisations need to be aware of these constraining factors and ameliorate structural barriers by sharing resources and facilitating participation.

While shrinking civic space is a global trend, it manifests differently in each country context; the response therefore needs to be sensitive to its specific emergence and dynamics. Recommendations to protect and expand civic space include mobilising citizens, collaborating through diverse alliances, media literacy, fact-checking, and civic education (Oxfam, 2018; Divjak & Forbici, 2018).

Digitalisation is changing societies. It affects global advocacy as both an enabler and a constraint. Sangokoya (2017) posits that the digital revolution has created a number of challenges for civil society, such as risks to digital rights, the impact of high-powered propaganda tools in the 'attention economy', and the need to navigate the relationships between traditional civil society organisations and new digital social movements. Potential threats to transparency and accountability are diverse, from the lack of corporate governance that allows 'fake news' to proliferate, to algorithmic bias in government decision-making that may cause harm.

Concepts of open data and open government have come to prominence as avenues to promote transparency and accountability, and counter corruption (McGee & Edwards, 2016). Noveck proposes that the open data movement is a 'distinctly twenty-first century governing practice borne out of the potential of big data to help solve society's biggest problems.' (2017, 4) Yet McGee & Edwards caution against 'tech optimism', demonstrating that open data does not automatically makes governance more inclusive or accountable (2016).

Constraints around strategy, planning and evaluation, affect both tech-led and traditional forms of advocacy. Klugman (2011) identifies a lack of long-term investment and ongoing evaluation as constraints to achieving complex social justice goals. She notes that a focus on policy outcomes is often at the expense of implementation, which operates outside of annual grantmaking timeframes.

The literature points to the importance of coalition-based advocacy, framing and communication, and enabling public participation as forms of advocacy that have positive effects on processes, policies and

programmes. Shiffman (2016) identifies the factors that make an issue gain traction in the global policy context, including network features (leadership, governance, composition, framing), the policy environment (allies and opponents, funding, norms) and issue characteristics (severity, tractability, affected groups). Leveraging these factors is important to shift how an issue is addressed.

Participation in global alliances or networks is not always beneficial for local groups. Traditionally, analyses of global advocacy networks assumed they leveraged power for positive local impact. But a study in Latin America demonstrated mixed results for local groups participating in transnational advocacy networks (Rodrigues, 2011).

While participation can result in long-term empowerment (i.e. political or technical capacity), it can also result in the implosion or demobilisation of local groups. Rodrigues notes that, ‘while local activists have benefited from increased access to material resources and networking opportunities ... these same opportunities have increased competition and fragmentation among local groups.’ (2011, 2-3) She charts how local groups assumed technical and political responsibilities as a consequence of association with national or global networks, but lacked resources to meet their new responsibilities, resulting in failure and a loss of legitimacy.

Rodrigues notes that, while in part local activists failed to institutionalise gains, another factor was the ‘fluid nature of international NGOs’ commitment to causes and campaigns.’ (2011, 8) Long-term institutional and financial support is essential.

While coalition/alliance approaches have been identified as an effective form of global advocacy, changes in approach are called for. El-Amine (2017) proposes that organisations need to be reflective, led by people who are willing to understand and address their weaknesses. Until this is the case, progressive movements will be stymied by structural barriers that prevent them from being nimble and effective. She also points out that putting traditional leaders in traditional leadership positions unintentionally replicates the systems of oppression they are intending to fight, deepening racial and gender divides. Oxfam (2018) likewise recommends partnerships be built on solidarity, with shared successes, risks and challenges. This means leadership by civil society groups from the global South, and for institutionalised civil society adapting to the role of facilitators and catalysts.

**A Note on Process:** we searched academic and general search engines using a set of search terms around the effectiveness of global advocacy, particularly related to anti-corruption. We collected 230 pieces of literature, of which we included around 80 that were chosen due to relevance. We are providing a full spreadsheet of the literature to TI.

## Our assessment

At the start of TI, founders advocated to change the World Bank's approach to corruption. Focus shifted to the OECD and UN for negotiation of Conventions. This prompted a focus on implementation and regional agreements drawing on the growing strength of the Movement. Over time, global advocacy efforts became more diffuse addressing a range of sectors and fora. Currently, there are at least 9 areas of global advocacy (some sectoral, some target focused, some outcome driven) being led from the Secretariat by individuals or small teams. Most areas have no long-term strategy and are driven by short-term project funding and deliverables. Current global, advocacy efforts are often *less* than the sum of the parts or, at best, *the sum of the parts*.

TI has 2 particularly compelling strengths as an advocacy organisation:

1. **THE MOVEMENT:** The greatest strength (which will be no surprise) is the movement itself – having national leadership and presence in 100 countries to both understand the drivers of corruption and be in a position to influence national actors.
2. **CREDIBILITY:** TI is positioned as a key organisation meaning that governments and other institutions think they cannot exclude TI from consultation or engagement (in some places this is also because TI is seen as less confrontational than other civil society groups). The CPI and, to a lesser extent, the Global Corruption Barometer and TRAC position TI globally and nationally, although the CPI can also have damaging effects that could be, at least partially, remedied by incorporating analysis of financial centres and secrecy into the analysis.

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*Our strength is having people in 100 countries and letting that bubble into a global voice on key anti-corruption issues – Secretariat staff*

*We take TI very seriously, respect ... their work – Latin American Government*

*TI are the people we fear the most – European Government*

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These strengths are currently constrained by:

1. **CAPACITY:** varied advocacy capacity within the movement and at the Secretariat where more staff with advocacy backgrounds, experience and passion are needed.
2. **RELATIONSHIPS:** relationships are not strong enough to enable acting like a Movement. People often don't know where expertise/interest lies or how to work together.
3. **COLLABORATION:** related to the above, only a few individuals in the Secretariat have shown a real talent for collaborating effectively with the movement on global advocacy. There is a need for new – and more consistent – approaches to support the critical collaboration of those Chapters who *want* to work on global advocacy issues and efforts.
4. **PROJECTISATION:** small target, short term, disconnected projects are driven by failure to prioritise, reliance on the interests of individuals rather than strategy, and a funding strategy and approach focused on project funding (which also allows areas to continue if non-strategic, yet funded).

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*Underwhelming advocacy but enormous goodwill built up over 20 years – Ally*

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## Enablers and constraints of global advocacy

In total, we identified 93 outcomes from global advocacy efforts, of which we verified 32 with external interviewees (representatives from governments, international institutions, allies). Summaries of the clusters of outcomes by area of work are in Appendix Two. You can explore and analyse the outcomes further on the platform Kumu at <https://www.kumu.io/maymd/advocacy-outcomes#map-1e1OZfya>.

Across the full set of 93 outcomes, common enablers were:

- Growing technical expertise within TI on the subject;
- Relevant, quality research and analysis;
- Collaboration and partnerships;
- Effective strategic engagement with targets; and
- Political openings (e.g. Panama Papers, reform governments).

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*we can see that our tools have impact when we integrate advocacy into the process of doing the research – Secretariat staff*

*There are a lot of opportunities that come up that won't be in a project proposal or strategy - seizing on opportunities - some of our best wins - e.g. without the furor over treatment of Antoine Deltour in luxleaks we may not have a whistleblower proposal on the table – Movement*

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Across the full set of 93 outcomes, common constraints were:

- Failure to integrate work across advocacy issues and/or targets
- Lack of strategy and resourcing to support follow through
- Projectised, short term or undiversified funding
- Lack of adaptation to changing environment and/or learning
- Inadequate advocacy staffing.

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*Work out what to do when we hit an obstacle - so much energy to begin with, but then lose steam and then just a few passionate people who continue to drive it. How to keep that momentum going, this is a whole of movement and not just TI-S issue. – Movement*

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The most significant, interconnected set of national, regional and global outcomes was in the area of company ownership transparency and anti-money laundering. The case study below highlights the enablers for progress in that area, at multiple levels.



### Case study: Making Company Ownership Transparent

Since the 2020 strategy, only in the anti-money laundering and beneficial ownership area has the TI movement managed to work together and within broader coalitions to drive change at multiple levels in a sustained way (through to the start of implementation), being *more than the sum of the parts*. The diagram below shows outcomes TI has contributed to grouped by forum/context and coloured to reflect different kinds of outcomes (e.g. relationship building versus regulation or implementation). This demonstrates the use of multiple levels and forums.



Key enablers of effective global advocacy around beneficial ownership and anti-money laundering were:

- Taking advantage of *political openings* (e.g. Panama Papers & terrorist financing);
- Key role in *broader coalitions* with strong, collaborative *partnerships* (FTC, Global Witness, ONE, Eurodad, The B Team);
- Sustained *research and analysis* at the Secretariat, TI-EU, TI-UK and a range of Chapters. Growing expertise across the movement that contributed to influencing policy;
- *Catalytic global moments*, e.g. G20 and London Summit, securing government commitments with Secretariat & Chapter leadership (e.g. Poder Ciudadano's at G20, TI-UK for London Summit);
- *Sustained national or regional advocacy* on commitments, regulation and implementation including in EU, Kenya, Nigeria, Argentina, Ghana, Indonesia, UK, Australia, and others, supported to varying degrees by the Secretariat & allies;
- *Balanced Secretariat and Chapter leadership* with many outcomes being driven by Chapter leadership and others by Secretariat leadership;
- Contributions to *implementation and demonstration* including through the development of *OpenOwnership*;
- *Coordination and collaboration by passionate advocates* with the movement & with allies. This work was characterised by the leadership and nous of those leading it at the Secretariat and in TI-EU and Chapters.

There is also room for improvement: strengthening the impact and accessibility of communications, connecting technical issues to those that people care about, integrating the work on anonymous companies with work on contracting and asset recovery, developing a stronger strategy to support implementation by governments.

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- *[if we ask] what do you think of beneficial ownership? people will say that has nothing to do with me. If we ask would you like to know who is in charge of giving energy to your house and that person is brother of the mayor - immediately engage*  
–Individual Member
- 

However, TI has played a specific and critical role in this area and contributed to real progress. There is now much work to do to sustain follow through on spreading this transparency as a global norm and practice and seeing whether the hopes on how transparency of company ownership will prevent corruption and impunity materialise, and under which conditions.

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*They have been very vocal on beneficial ownership - and they are probably the first organisation to bring to us a structured argument on why BOT was an important thing to pursue and transparency on this. This kind of contribution is really relevant. – Latin American Government*

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## Our recommendations

### 1. Focus global advocacy on two sustained strategic bets

In the future, TI needs to be hard-nosed and rigorous about investing in a small number of sustained global advocacy efforts – no more than 2-3 at the time. These should be areas that fulfil the following *criteria* (note: more may fulfil this criteria & decisions will have to be made).

- **SYSTEMIC AND TRANSNATIONAL ISSUES:**
  - *Areas where there's evidence or possibility that change could affect broader systems and relationships of power.* Not discrete issues or opportunities.
  - *Issues where global action or attention is critical to enabling or supporting national or local action either because the issues are transnational, or because national approaches are significantly and substantially influenced by international rules, norms and funding.* For example, international flows of dirty money cannot be addressed in one market alone.
  
- **MOVEMENT COMMITMENT:**
  - *Identified by a group of Chapters and at the international level (by the Secretariat, Board, allies and experts) as highly relevant to achieving greater equity, justice and accountability. Commitment from a group of Chapters to do sustained national work on the issue:* global advocacy work should involve aiming for big changes with more incremental progress along the way – and addressing core issues of justice and inequality.<sup>1</sup> Global advocacy work should be about coalescing the work of Chapters and the Secretariat to make real progress by coordinating work at multiple levels. There can and should be no global advocacy work without real ownership and commitment to invest their own resources in sustained work in the issue by at least 10 Chapters.
  
- **POLITICAL ANALYSIS REVEALING POTENTIAL FOR CHANGE:**
  - *Supported by political analysis that identifies real opportunities for change and a clear and compelling role for TI within broader movements:* TI should focus and invest where it is the best placed to make a difference, considering the contributions of others. The transparency, accountability and anti-corruption has grown significantly in the last 25 years, meaning that TI does not need to have a meaningful role on all issues or areas.
  - *Targeting a range of fora and levels:* areas of global advocacy should not be work that is focused on or limited to one forum, but relevant to and able to be addressed across many national, regional and global fora. Engagement with global or regional fora (e.g. at G20, OGP, AU, EU) that are critical to TI's agenda should link to national strategies. Engagement at regional and global institutions should be driven by global priorities, national input, and analysis of the institution. TI should not develop bespoke institutional influencing strategies that are disconnected from national and global priorities.

In our assessment this decision can be made by the TI Board, upon recommendation from the Secretariat, based on relevant engagement (such as this very process) with the Movement and allies. Based on the feedback we have received we do not suggest a further, drawn out process.

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<sup>1</sup> Allies and funders emphasised to us that framing work more substantially around inequality would be welcomed and useful. This is also a way to use SDG framing without seeing SDGs as a project or institution to influence on its own, just another political marker of the importance and interconnected relevance of anti-corruption efforts for addressing sustainable development, inequality and justice.

a. *For 2019-2020, focus on dirty money and political integrity*

Applying the above criteria, based on discussions with the Movement, allies and targets, we propose that TI focus its global advocacy work on two areas until 2020 at least (if not longer). The below are starting points for discussion and refinement.

**Stem and reverse the flow of dirty and dark money**

*Rationale:* it is a systemic and explicitly transnational issue crucial to preventing grand corruption and reducing impunity, particularly for grand corruption.

*Policy aims:* company ownership transparency; asset and conflicts disclosure; end secrecy jurisdictions; limiting secrecy potential of cryptocurrencies; asset recovery; clean contracting.

*Targets:* national governments, G20, OECD, FATF and regional bodies, AU, EU, OAS, World Bank, IMF, London Summit follow up, OGP, professional services.

*Potential strategies:* national and global advocacy on company ownership transparency, facilitating country uptake of OpenOwnership and increasing use of data, collaborating with governments on implementation, using leaks, investigations and grand corruption cases to drive progress and public support, making public procurement accountable and transparent, building private sector support and influencing accountants & the financial sector, experimenting and analysing the potential positive and negative implications of cryptocurrencies and blockchain, influencing asset recovery.

*Partners and coalitions:* Financial Transparency Coalition, OCCPR, Global Witness, OpenOwnership, The B Team, Tax Justice Network, Open Contracting Partnership, Asset Recovery Forum, Eurodad, TJN-Africa, Directorio Legislativo, Tax Inspectors without Borders.

**Addressing political corruption by bolstering political transparency & civic rights**

*Rationale:* this underpins the ability to make progress on the rest of TI's agenda and is a key priority for many Chapters, without current Secretariat support. The global trend towards authoritarianism in many countries is underpinned by political corruption.

*Key policy aims:* increased political integrity and transparency around lobbying & money in politics; reduced political corruption; whistleblowing, asset declarations, increased respect for civic rights and safety for corruption fighters.

*Targets:* national governments, parliamentarians, OGP, UN, EU, AU, OAS, ASEAN, MDBs.

*Potential strategies:* international narrative connecting corruption, political integrity and civic rights; developing and supporting national or regional work on political integrity and big and dark money (TI-EU could play a role based on their experience); securing public commitments to expand political integrity and civic rights from politicians (including pre-elections); influencing international institutions and financial institutions to not enable and collaborate with authoritarian regimes.

*Key partners and coalitions:* CIVICUS, Civil Society Centre, Financial Transparency Coalition, Global Witness, OCCPR, Business & Human Rights Resource Centre, ISHR, Avaaz, Amnesty International.

*b. Work through the practical implications of focusing*

Clearer priorities mean re-organising resources, recruiting new staff strategically and shifting the practices and culture of the Secretariat and Movement around advocacy and collaboration. Prioritisation means *stopping some work* to consolidate focus and resources. It means stopping small target or ad hoc efforts to influence sectors and fora that are not strategic.

Global sectoral or thematic work should be positioned to contribute to clear, long-term priority goals, operate as more of a knowledge service integrated into an expanded Helpdesk, devolved to Chapter leadership or discontinued. In some cases, work that has developed into global advocacy projects should be nationally driven with supportive communications at the global level (for example, SDGs). Our recommendations for the future of current areas of work are below. These require further discussion and work with the Secretariat team over coming months. (See outcomes from each area summarised in Appendix Two).

AREA OF WORK	CURRENT APPROACH	RECOMMENDATION	RATIONALE
SDGs	Shadow reporting, global support to national monitoring efforts, participation in global discussions.	<i>No global</i> advocacy effort or role. Chapters engage where politically salient. Globally, use framing in <i>communications</i> where politically useful, including role of SDG 16 as enabler for all SDGS. Integrate the data and analysis from existing research efforts into work on global advocacy priorities. <i>Helpdesk</i> covers but not specific staff person.	No evidence of impact or likelihood of impact, or strategy for how a direct focus on SDGs and SDG monitoring will deliver concrete impact.
Private sector	Supporting Chapters, working with Business Principles Steering Committee, B20 advocacy.	Staff in <i>global advocacy</i> working on private sector influencing and fora around global advocacy priorities (for example, in international financial flows if a key strategy is to target accountants and/or financial sector). At least one staff person to support Chapters on private sector work in <i>Helpdesk</i> .	Current program of Chapter support is important but not global advocacy. Currently underusing the advocacy potential of private sector work.
Whistleblowing	Support to Chapters and some influencing on standards.	Move to <i>Helpdesk</i> . Connect into and contribute to the <i>political integrity workstream</i> of global advocacy.	Core anti-corruption issue where TI has track record, however largely change happens at national level.
Climate Governance	Mix of influencing international climate financing institutions and funding country level work.	Continue to significantly rationalise global work, using national cases to drive accountability from international institutions/financing. Move to <i>Helpdesk</i> while funded and continue previous conversations about greater Chapter leadership of global work.	Some committed Chapters have promising national work and some international institutional reforms achieved. In the period

			examined, international and national work relatively disconnected.
Public procurement	EU project on Integrity Pacts and clean contracting coalition work.	Staff person in <i>global advocacy</i> , supporting Chapter work on clean contracting linked to global advocacy work. EU Integrity Pacts work moves to <i>Movement Stakeholders</i> .	Clean contracting coalition is nascent but has potential and could be a critical piece of dirty \$ work. EU Integrity Pacts work is a regional project.
Conventions	Research, advocacy linked to grand corruption.	Could sit in either <i>global advocacy</i> or <i>Helpdesk</i> to support Chapters on national influencing and work with global advocacy when UNCAC or OECD Conventions are relevant.	Ongoing role in global advocacy efforts. Otherwise, continuing relevance for national progress, needing some global support.
OGP	Influencing development of the OGP and on key issues around beneficial ownership and public procurement.	Chapters use OGP when it's a relevant and useful national forum to drive change, and <i>global advocacy team</i> support and engage when relevant to priorities. <i>A key point of contact remains in global advocacy for OGP but not as the sole responsibility of one person.</i> Rest of team understand and work with OGP when meaningful. TI role on Steering Committee used to drive visibility and progress in OGP of TI priorities.	OGP should be more integrated across global advocacy but not a project in itself considering the varied impacts of OGP at national level and that best outcomes to date have come through thematically driven collaboration at global level.
Anti-money laundering	Influencing through G20, and supporting work of Chapters.	We propose that this work continue in the <i>global advocacy</i> team but be recast somewhat - to both broaden the analysis and clarify the strategy.	This is the most successful piece of work in recent times, with enduring relevance, a need to follow through on gains, and desire for the Secretariat to play an ongoing and active role from Movement and allies.
GAC	Working with journalists to respond to openings around cases.	This work continues as part of <i>global advocacy</i> contributing to global priorities. This way of working with journalists is one strategy, used by the team at relevant moments, not a separate project. Someone retains lead on the OCCRP relationship & works with colleagues across the team.	This is a promising emerging model that could better support TI's global priorities through further integration.

Focus also requires a new approach to incoming opportunities and invitations at TI-S:

1. *Link to advocacy strategy*: lead advocates should assess the strategic relevance of invites and provide the briefings, key messages and support for engagement if relevant.
2. *Broker voice from across the Movement*: the communications team can refer requests for comment and provide messaging within a TI narrative to spokespeople across the Movement<sup>2</sup> (e.g. Chair, Vice-Chair, Managing Director, ED TI Kenya on humanitarian, ED TI Bangladesh on Climate, ED TI Australia on mining, TI-EU on lobbying, IMs). This requires a handle on expertise across the Movement, judgment and being nimble.
3. *Rely on and refer to others in the field*: TI doesn't need a voice on every issue. TI can refer requests for comment or representation to other organisations leading on particular issues. The fact that the field has grown enormously in the past 25 is a great asset – TI is no longer the only group talking about corruption and does not have to “cover the field”.

Beyond global advocacy priorities are many areas where the Movement wants to tap into expertise or collaborate. This requires strengthening certain mechanisms and approaches:

- *Expand the helpdesk with expertise to support Chapters and leverage knowledge for advocacy*: the Movement expects the Secretariat to be able to provide advice and broker and consolidate the knowledge of the movement on core anti-corruption topics. As these are not necessarily global advocacy priorities, this expertise should sit in an expanded helpdesk (with topics informed by impact and demand).<sup>3</sup> The helpdesk can contribute to global advocacy work through policy analysis and consolidating the insight & experience of the Movement. The Helpdesk can also play a role working with advocacy and movement stakeholder colleagues in coordinating support to Chapters where there is a political opening (e.g. new reformist government) and they need access to the experience of the Movement on key issues.
- *Thematic leadership within the Movement*: where there is commitment, capacity and resourcing, thematic leadership can also be driven by specific Chapters at scales that are appropriate to the issue, capacity of the lead Chapter and interest in the Movement. This requires further discussion on the expectations from the broader Movement of a Chapter's global thematic leadership, as well as the role of the Secretariat in supporting and enabling such leadership.

*c. Agreeing to priorities beyond 2020*

Global advocacy priorities should be endorsed and continued and/or adjusted as part of the development of future strategy.

The Secretariat and the Movement should actively contribute to and learn from the Trends Ambition Committee of the Board to scan and forecast areas that may be crucial for TI to engage with and invest in to stay relevant and use this as a way to refresh and reflect on global advocacy work and a kind of incubator for potential future global advocacy priorities. This would benefit from seed funding from core funds to invest in left field things that could define the future. This effort can also be supported by the Helpdesk in doing proactive research as with their recent work on the implications of blockchain.

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<sup>2</sup> For example, TI could have a version of <https://expertes.fr> or <https://www.greenpeace.org/usa/bio-tags/expert/>,

<sup>3</sup> A good example of the Helpdesk providing advocacy relevant advice was recently providing a briefing on pardons to the TI Brazil office in the wake of Presidential Pardons that informed advocacy around their reversal.

## 2. Clarify and strengthen TI approach to global advocacy

Global advocacy efforts should be defined by the following features:

- *Long term work directed at long term goals or outcomes that require change to happen from multiple actors and at national, regional and global levels.* Advocacy is an **adaptive** process of trying to influence multiple actors to change their policies, practices, behavior and thinking. It is not linear. It requires building relationships and understanding with individuals and institutions, ongoing political intelligence gathering and analysis, thoughtful strategies that are updated constantly to respond to political openings and changes. ***Being invited to events, getting corruption on the agenda, and tinkering with the institutional rules of global bodies is not enough to make real impact. Global advocacy aimed at this should not be pursued.***
- *A sustained effort that is based on political analysis and the independent, yet connected, work of the TI Movement and broader coalitions.* Underpinned by clear ways for those working on the issue to collaborate within TI – at minimum, a coalition or working group, convened by the lead advocate in the Secretariat, that develops strategy together, shares political intelligence, and coordinates action to make sure that any global moments are preceded and followed by national engagement. This also requires ways to learn together and support for advocates to develop their craft. ***Global advocacy cannot be effective without national work to translate global commitments or norms into local reality. Global commitments are not enough.***
- *Programmatically funded or likely to be able to be programmatically funded*, where a sufficiently clear strategy developed amongst the Movement and with broader coalitions can unlock support from foundations for long term funding that is not tied to specific deliverables but is focused on progress towards the long-term goal. This funding needs to be shared across those leading the work across the Movement, enabling investment at national and global/regional levels. ***Advocacy is NOT a project, it cannot achieve results by fulfilling deliverables like reports, workshops and meetings. Project funding can be used to start developing work in an area but without long-term funding commitments or core support, advocacy efforts will not be sustained and will not be effective.***
  - a. *Invest in the people, culture and practices to enable real collaboration on effective advocacy in the movement*

### *People*

Effective advocacy efforts require a mix of strategies and therefore a mix of skills – which can sit within the Secretariat, Movement and broader allies or coalitions. In particular, research and analysis, advocacy and communications nous are critical. When raising programmatic funds, these should support the development of relevant staffing, skills and processes across the Movement. In the case of dirty money, some of the resources are in place and could work with renewed focus and integration. In the case of political integrity and civic rights, at first a small team could lead the strategy development, enabling strategic fundraising (see 3 below).

Where a regional institution emerges as highly relevant to progress on global priorities, the Secretariat and regional Chapters should work together to define an approach to that institution and identify who



can lead (staff person in the location, in a Chapter or Secretariat, or deployed for a period of time).<sup>4</sup> The deep knowledge of a regional institution directed at key priorities by a talented advocacy team has generated significant outcomes at TI-EU. However, the EU, as a supranational regulator, is a very different forum to other regional groupings that operate more like a regional G20 making commitments or driving initiatives. As such, the same kind of engagement is not necessarily warranted in all regional fora and needs to be driven by political analysis tied to global or regional priorities.

Great advocates have certain attributes, not necessarily a set of technical skills. They are passionate and focused on real outcomes: this keeps them going through the ups and downs and also underpins their ability to persuade and convince others. They are relationship driven – they build relationships with peers, coalition partners and also targets. They are good listeners and can shape their engagement based on their understanding of what motivates others. They are highly collaborative and effective facilitators and brokers within coalitions (TI and broader). They are attuned to political and power dynamics – they want to know how systems and institutions work, and who influences whom. They are adaptive, experimental and entrepreneurial – they have the humility to know that they do not know exactly what is needed and a curiosity about how change happens that allows them to reflect and change. Advocates don't need to start as technical experts in one subject but can build up understanding and expertise over time supported by analysts and experts within TI and the field.

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*they need ... energy to lead, identify opportunities, players and coordinate. They also need more leadership support to do this stuff. To take time to reflect. And think strategically. – Secretariat Staff*

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Recruitment and development of advocates needs to focus on their passion, talent and attitudes, supported by a culture that values adaptation, reflection and drive. Advocacy is a craft that can be developed through experience and practice, building on existing aptitude. TI can retain talented advocates if it gives these staff autonomy to pursue long term goals and adapt agreed strategies to changes and political openings, in collaboration with the TI Movement.

Building up global advocacy means finding people with these talents and tendencies and also building a culture that values critical reflection and supports staff to learn how to be attuned to power and be adaptive in their work. With four upcoming recruitments into the policy and advocacy team of TI-S, now is the time to focus recruitment on a cohort of advocates that can work on the two priorities.

#### *Practices and culture*

Global advocacy approaches need to maximise joint strategy, timely information sharing, regular reflection, and mobilisation within the Movement to drive change. Done right, it can grow commitment, solidarity, motivation, and a culture of critical reflection and adaptation.

We suggest that for each of the two priorities, the Secretariat broker, facilitate and support a *coalition* within the Movement comprised of key Chapters who are committed to the agenda and/or strategic/influential countries on that issue (e.g. financial hubs) as well as relevant Individual Members. These coalitions would combine their analysis and knowledge, develop political analysis and strategy, work collaboratively on advocacy efforts, and reflect and adjust strategy and tactics. These coalitions

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<sup>4</sup> For example, Maggie Murphy was deployed to Australia to lead on the work on 2014 G20 to great effect.

would communicate regularly with the broader movement and enable Chapters to join in on the action at critical moments or as contexts changed.

Key advocacy practices can be significantly improved, leading to a more strategic, adaptive, collaborative culture within the Movement, and greater impact. These include:

- *Strategy development*: a consistent (regular) but not bureaucratic process for developing strategy that ensures that power and political analysis, stakeholder analysis, movement engagement, and engagement with partners, coalitions and allies informs daily action. Strategy needs to be seen as an ongoing practice rather than a once in five years event.
- *A refreshed approach to “strategic engagement”*: being clear and explicit when building relationships with governments, private sector and other institutions that TI’s model is “collaborate and contest” – i.e., we will talk and collaborate on anti-corruption where there seems to be good faith and common interests, but we reserve the right to provide frank feedback and speak out about process, outcomes and corruption. TI is most effective when staff/Chapters are assiduous about checking facts and allowing rights of reply before publication. In some circumstances, it is also appropriate to let key contacts in target institutions know before TI is going to speak out to enable them to respond.
- *Reflective and adaptive practice*: regular reflection and adaptation is critical to advocacy work as we do not know how things will change or that our strategies fit the situation until we try them. We suggest regular “action learning” within coalitions and the Secretariat team to build reflective capacity as well as investing in regular stock-takes on strategy.

Some initial potential approaches are outlined in Appendix Four.

#### *b. Strengthen communications*

Advocacy efforts rely on effective communications in a number of ways:

- To maintain the *credibility and access* of TI through using a range of spokespeople<sup>5</sup> to position TI proactively and reactively as a critical global voice, and building relationships with key media outlets that enable TI to get its message out in the moments that matter.
- To create a *coherent narrative* that ties TI’s work together and enables people – citizens, governments, companies, Chapters, staff – to understand clearly what TI stands for and demands and how they can contribute (where possible).
- To *communicate accessibly* how corruption harms people and the vision for the future that TI is advocating in global advocacy areas (e.g. no “beneficial ownership”).
- To support advocates to *target* their communications to particular *audiences*.

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*Have political capital for a global voice and agenda setting - truly the widely acknowledged NGO on anti-corruption and if we had people who were trained to be table thumping political activists and spokespeople and a communications team who could equip them in the right places and give them the right scripts we could make a tremendous difference – Individual Member*

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With a new Head of Communications, it is timely to explore how to strengthen communications in support of global advocacy efforts.

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<sup>5</sup> As above, this includes Chair, Vice-Chair, MD, and a range of spokespeople across the Movement on particular issues similar to <https://expertes.fr> or <https://www.greenpeace.org/usa/bio-tags/expert/>,

### **3. Based on strategic focus and approach, pro-actively fundraise for programmatic funding**

Currently TI-S relies heavily on project funding and this has led to a range of perverse results. Project funding is particularly badly suited to advocacy efforts as it limits an adaptive approach by often focusing on small (achievable) targets and outputs based on assumptions that we know what is needed – most often this is what we are most comfortable with (e.g. country research using the same template and two workshops).

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*If you want to do this kind of work right, it takes long term unrestricted funds. – Chapter*

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In the transparency and accountability field there are now a range of donors – for example, members of the Transparency Accountability Initiative –who provide multi-year, programmatic funding for advocacy efforts **when** they are convinced by the strategy.

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*If there was a strategy that people felt excited about and it spelled out 3 priorities for a 3-year period and here's how we're thinking about how to learn, adapt, and measure progress - I don't think TI would have a hard time getting core support on the basis of that. It would be preferable on both sides – Funder*

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Donors have become concerned with TI-S's broad agenda, lack of strategic focus and internal instability. However, now, with restabilisation and if the recommendations above are progressed, there is an opening to reassure and inspire these (and other) donors with TI's ability to create impact in the two areas selected.

To achieve this, foundational steps on recommendations 1 and 2 need to be put in place. Then the Board Chair and Managing Director and in-coming Head of Advocacy can work to rebuild relationships and engage key foundations in strategic discussions to secure minimum three year programmatic funding (i.e. the funding should be unrestricted in how it is invested in one or both global advocacy priorities to give flexibility around strategy and resources). We believe that if this approach is taken, TI could have programmatic funding for this work by mid-late 2019.

Beyond institutional funding, TI could benefit from looking more deeply at potential new business models to support its financial sustainability, including subscription or advisory services.

We expect that the Mid Term Review will also provide broader recommendations around approaches to funding and that these will need to be considered together.

#### **4. Support the Movement to better put in place protective and responsive mechanisms for threats to anti-corruption activists and Chapters**

Through the crackdowns on civil society occurring alongside rising authoritarianism in many parts of the world, anti-corruption activists rate at the top of the list alongside environmental defenders as those most at risk of harm.

Depending on the country and context, TI Chapters and their staff sit on a spectrum of threat from being very protected by the brand of TI through electronic monitoring of communications, aggressive auditing, along to threats of and actual harm. Considering this spectrum, the Secretariat can play a more proactive and sophisticated role in supporting Chapters to withstand the challenges they may face.

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*Where the Secretariat could provide support to chapters on is a little bit of the pro-active civic space building what you need to withstand or forecast where this is going to affect you –Ally*

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Firstly, the Secretariat can build on their work with the Movement – as a whole and on the basis of levels of risk – around proactive work to prepare themselves for potential challenges including through systems, protocols and even questions of how to bolster their legitimacy and support.

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*Secretariat only focuses on cyber safety and security not safety and security issues for staff – Chapter*

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Secondly, strengthen the protocols at the Secretariat and within the Movement to raise the alarm and galvanise support when individuals, civic rights or Chapters are under threat – for example through speaking out, international visits, asking other governments to act. Again, this should take account of the spectrum of risks that Chapters face as well as what the Chapter perceives would help their situation at the time.

Doing this will require additional leadership and resourcing at the Secretariat, which can be built into the funding approach described above.

## Appendix One: Methods and Respondents

### *Background and methods*

This impact review takes a step back from evaluating specific advocacy efforts to examine the effectiveness of TI's global advocacy approaches since 2011 in order to develop a stronger framework for future advocacy work. In particular, the review will test hypotheses that currently underpin TI's advocacy work. Specific objectives of this project include:

1. Summarise current research and thinking on effective and impactful advocacy;
2. Assess the effectiveness of TI's advocacy since 2011, testing the validity of underlying hypotheses and generating insights arising from TI's influencing practice;
3. Develop recommendations to guide future TI influencing work.

The audience for this work is the TI Movement including the Board, National Chapters, Individual Members and staff of the Secretariat. This work happened alongside the mid-term review of the 2020 Strategy. We have worked to coordinate with the MTR. *At this stage we have not seen MTR findings and they have not provided input into our report.*

The main methods for this review are:

- A rapid evidence review of external literature;
- Outcome harvesting to analyse the contribution of TI global advocacy to process and policy outcomes since 2011;
- Consolidating lessons and engaging with key TI interlocutors on recommendations.

### *Respondents*

Our 101 respondents include:

- *Movement*: 28 [28%]
- *Secretariat*: 37 [37%]
- *Targets*: (governments, inter-governmental institutions, private sector fora): 19 [18%]
- *Allies & partners*: 12 [12%]
- *Researchers and commentators*: 5 [5%]

We interviewed 47 women and 54 men.

We interviewed informants from Africa (4), Americas (26), Asia Pacific (12), Europe (59).

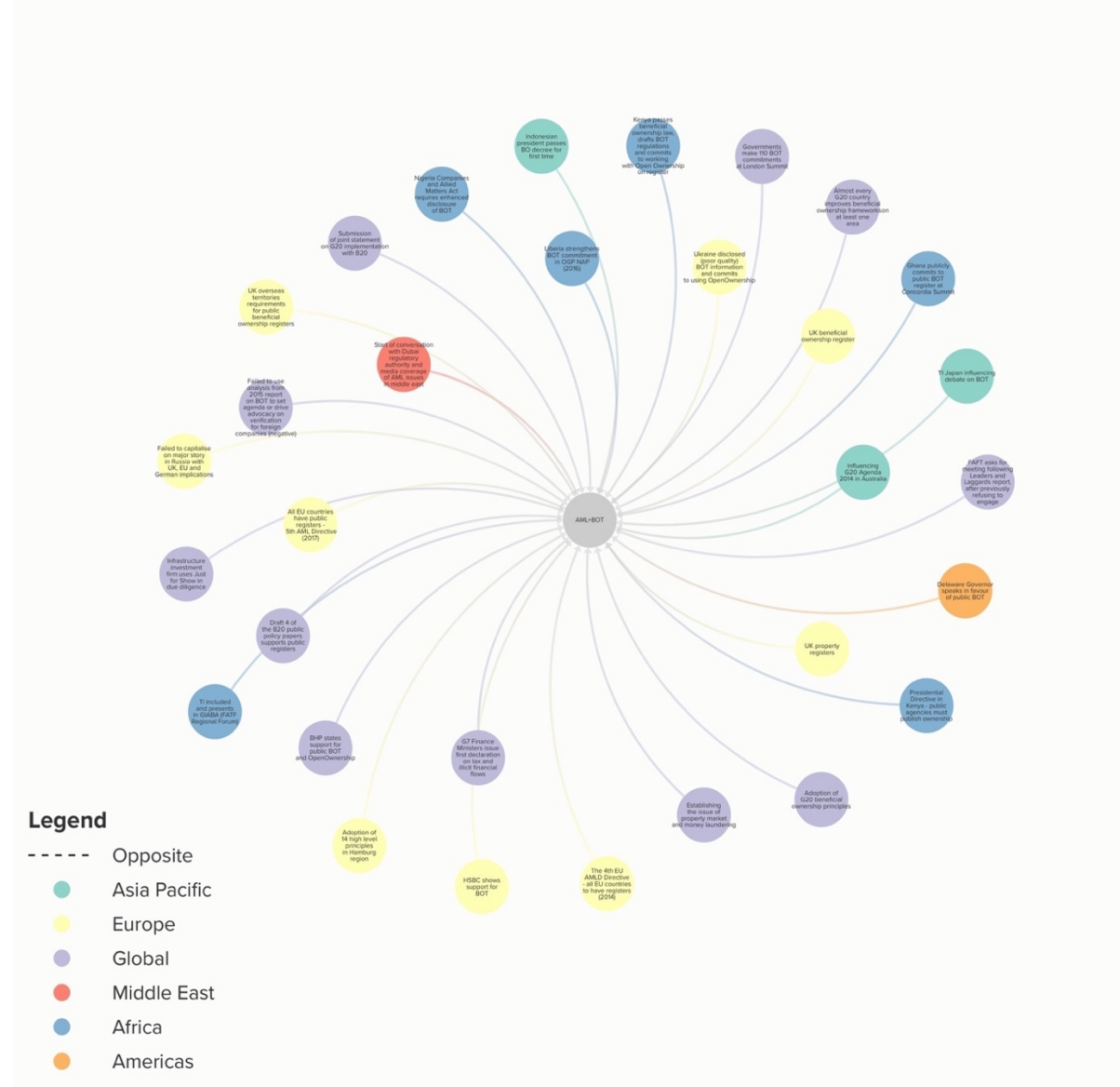
We attended two global advocacy events – OGP Summit and C20 Summit and held workshops and focus groups in Berlin.

## Appendix Two: Global advocacy outcomes

This appendix contains a summary of the 93 outcomes collected, organised by issue and coloured by region. 32 outcomes were verified through interviews with targets and allies or documentation. You can explore and analyse outcomes using the online platform [Kumu](#).

### *Beneficial ownership and anti-money laundering* 30 outcomes, 11 verified.

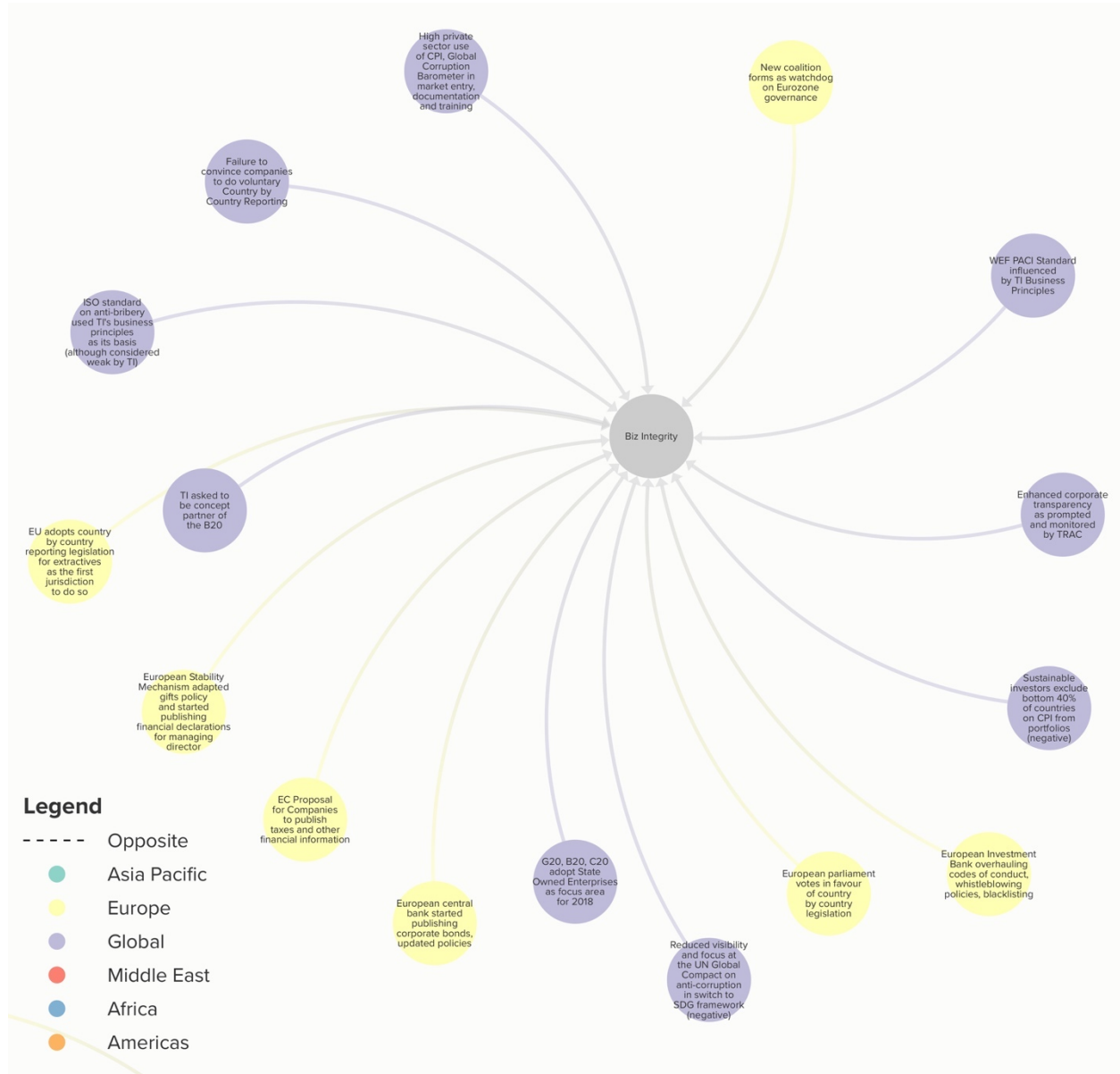
TI has worked across the movement and within broader coalitions to drive change at multiple levels in a sustained way (through to the start of implementation), being more than the sum of the parts. In this set of outcomes what is notable is the outcomes that track from the global level (e.g. commitments at the G20 or the London Summit) through to regulation and implementation at the regional or national level (e.g. EU AMLD, changes in Kenya, Nigeria, Indonesia, UK etc). This work demonstrates what is possible when parts of the Movement build expertise and advocacy power on an issue together. A significant enabler has also been the resourcing of policy expertise and research at the Secretariat and in other parts of the Movement. Further analysis is contained in the case study earlier in this report.



*Business integrity (including work on financial systems in the EU)*

16 outcomes, 4 verified.

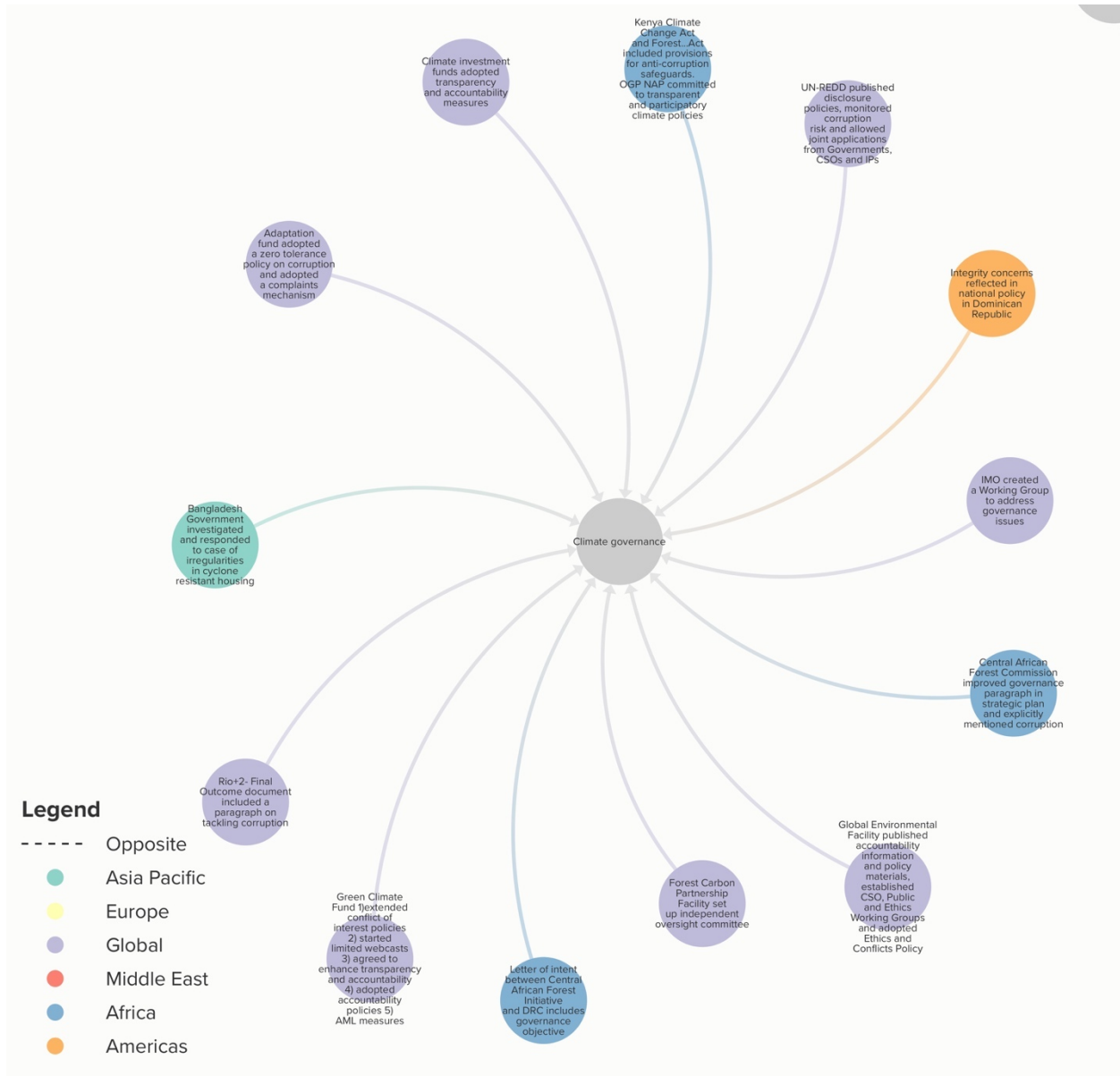
TI has contributed to progress on institutional reforms and agendas and some regulations, particularly in the EU and to an extent at the global level. However, no national level work in evidence, with no national outcomes. Few links between global and regional work. A lot of discrete issues and institutions targeted.



## Climate governance

13 outcomes, 2 verified.

There have been some promising outcomes at national level. Internationally, positive influence and agenda setting to bring anti-corruption issues into climate related institutions (esp IMO). However, international work has overly focused on changing institutional rules across a wide range of relevant bodies, rather than connecting national issues to change international structures. This is now a key focus of the programme.

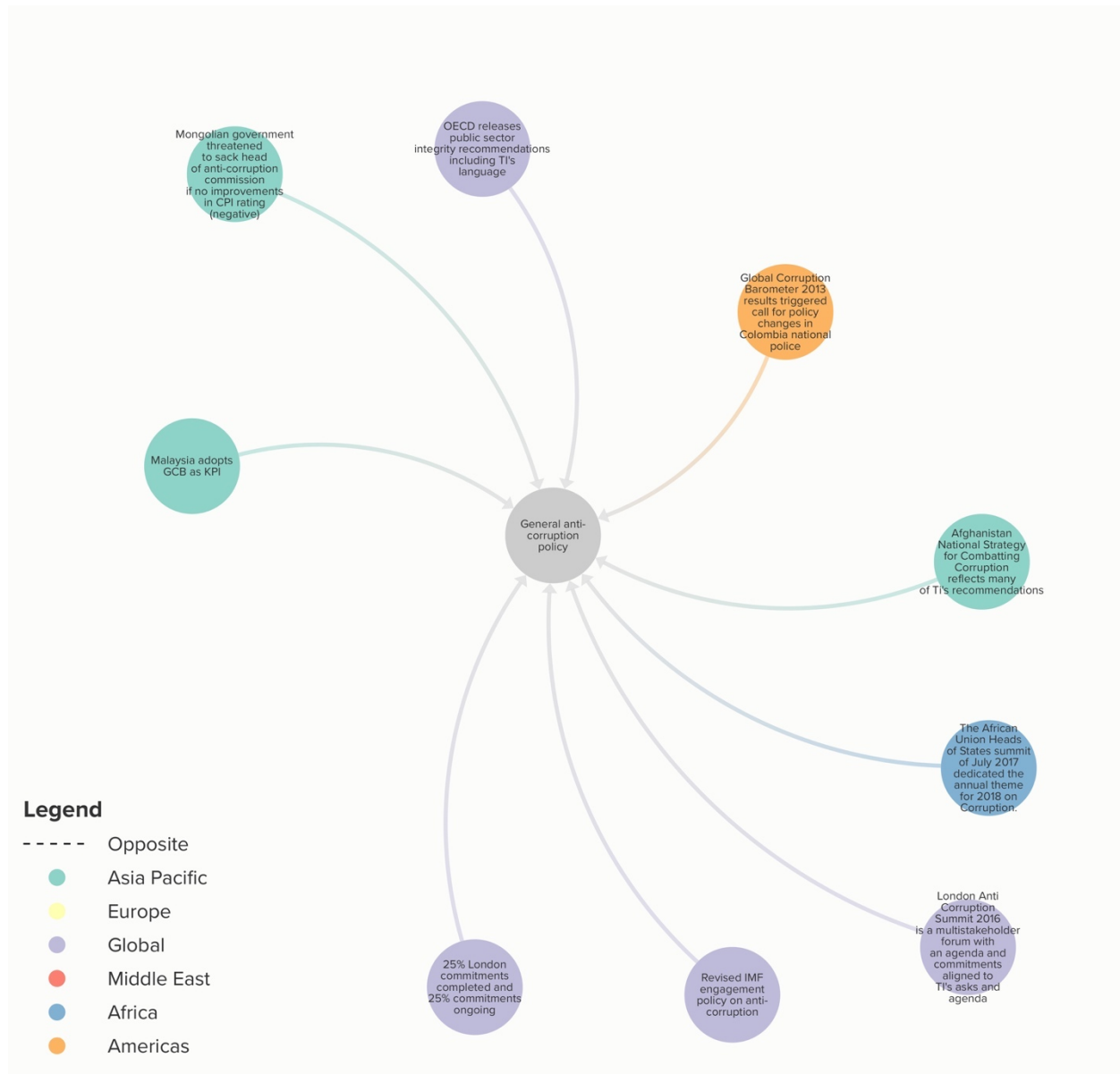




## General anti-corruption policy

9 outcomes, 4 verified.

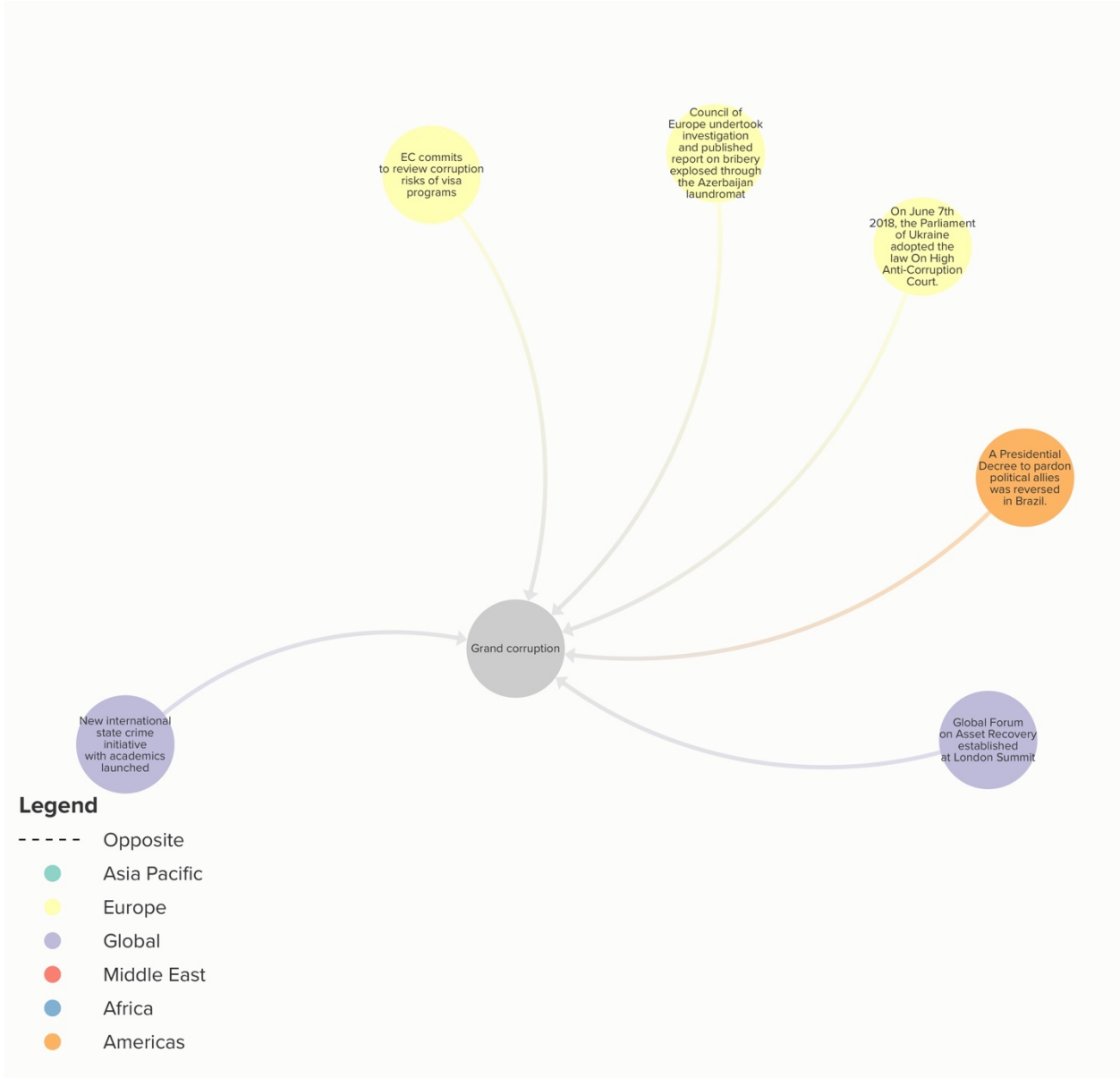
TI continues to influence commitment making around anti-corruption at national, global and regional levels. This needs to be matched with follow through at a national level (e.g. national outcomes in BOT that flowed from the London Summit). This area also highlights the potential perverse outcomes from TI research with governments reacting to increase CPI scores, not necessarily address underlying issues.



*Grand corruption*

6 outcomes, 4 verified.

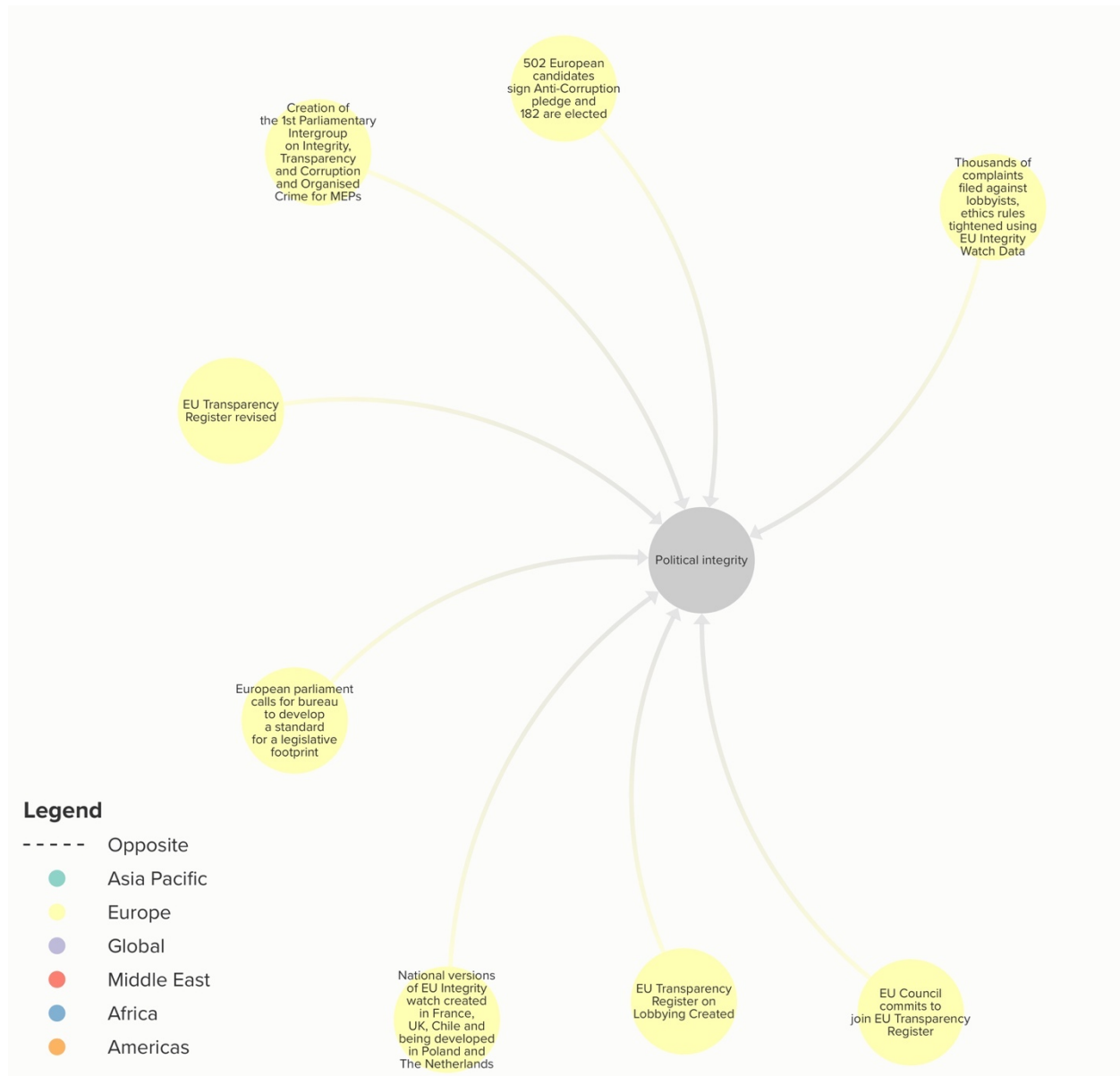
Aside from the beneficial ownership area (also considered broadly as part of the grand corruption work in the strategy), global advocacy contributions to outcomes around grand corruption have been minimal and disparate. The Ukraine example provides a case of global support bolstering national efforts. The relationship with OCCRP is opening up new opportunities but the results are nascent.



## Political integrity

8 outcomes, 3 verified.

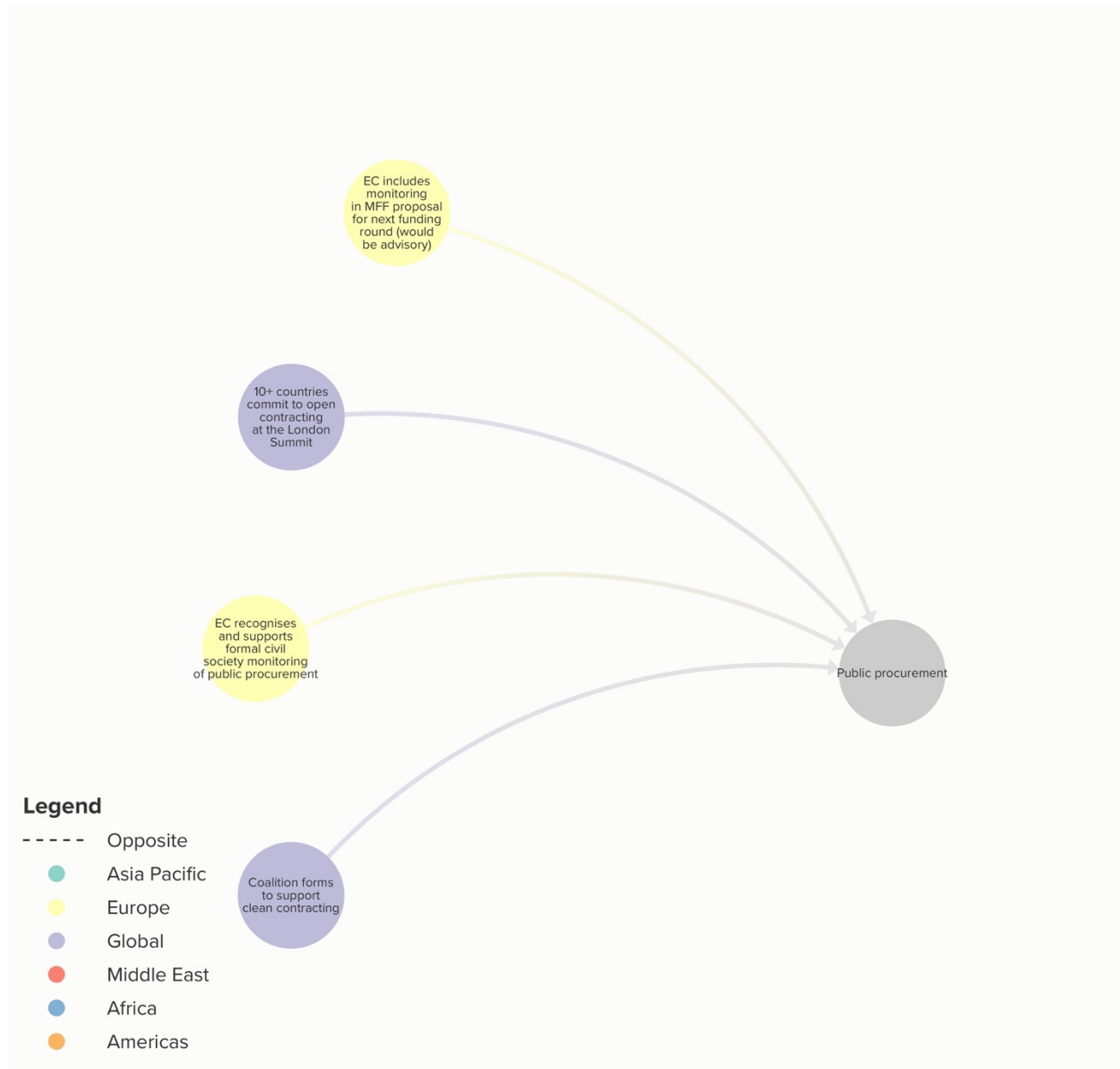
The EU office has made significant, impressive advances at the regional level on political integrity – of EU institutions and also around the public commitment of parliamentarians to anti-corruption issues. This has been enabled by the relative independence of the EU office, its clear advocacy focus, the talent and nous of its staff, their political analysis and knowledge of EU institutions, and the leadership and culture of the office that enables advocacy work. The focus has not been on really translating these changes or supporting work at the national level and this is evident in the body of outcomes.



## Public procurement / clean contracting

4 outcomes, 2 verified.

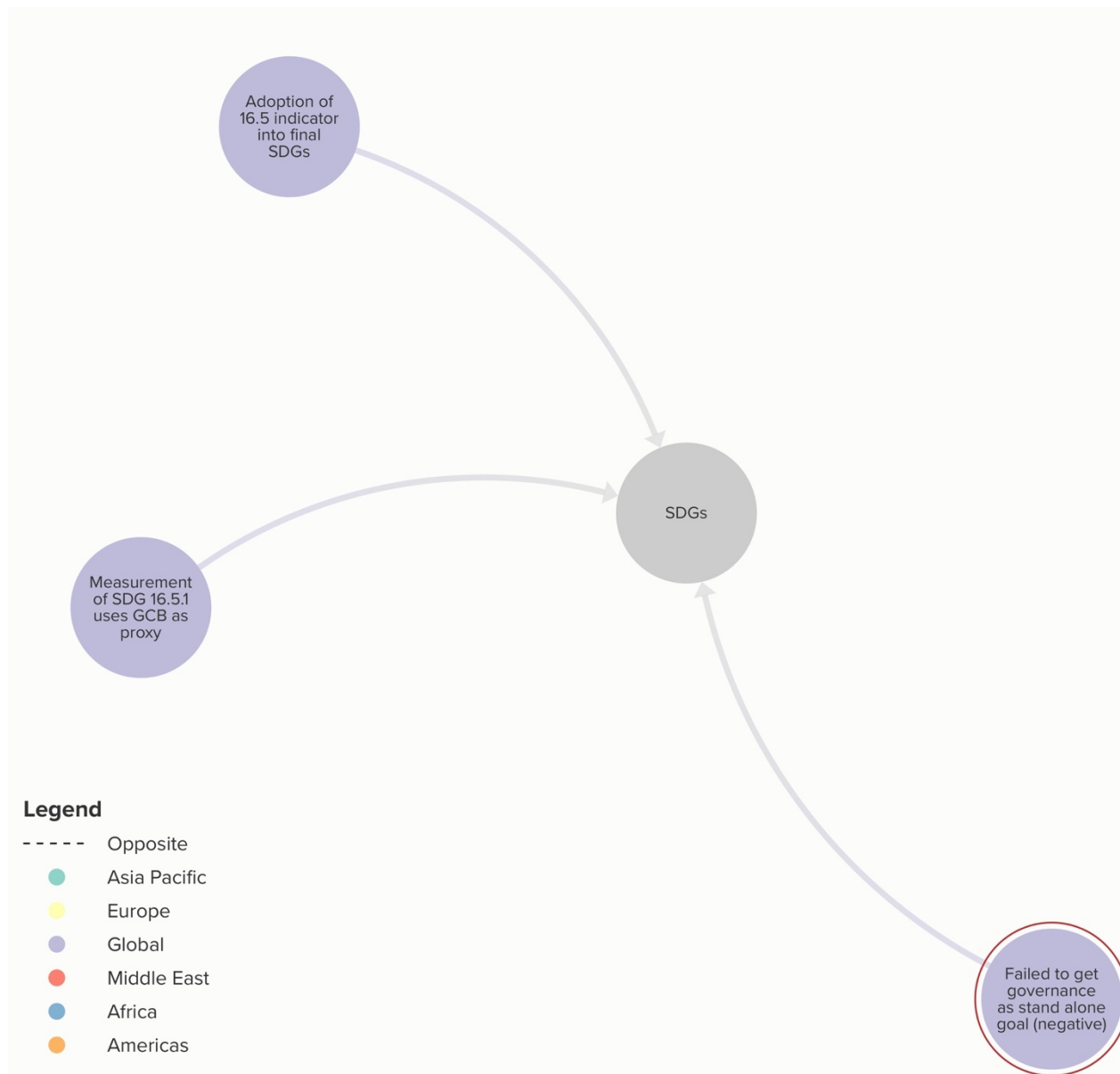
While TI has been active on public procurement since the 1990s, this area of work currently has two largely disconnected approaches – implementation of integrity pacts in the EU which hasn't had a strong advocacy focus and developing a coalition on clean contracting internationally which hasn't yet born fruit. There is potential for greater integration of the policy position around clean contracting across global advocacy and for this to be a key part of the dirty money global advocacy priority. The Integrity Pacts project could increase its advocacy focus – at national and EU levels, and be a source of significant learning for the movement on civil society monitoring of public procurement.



## SDGs

3 outcomes, 2 verified.

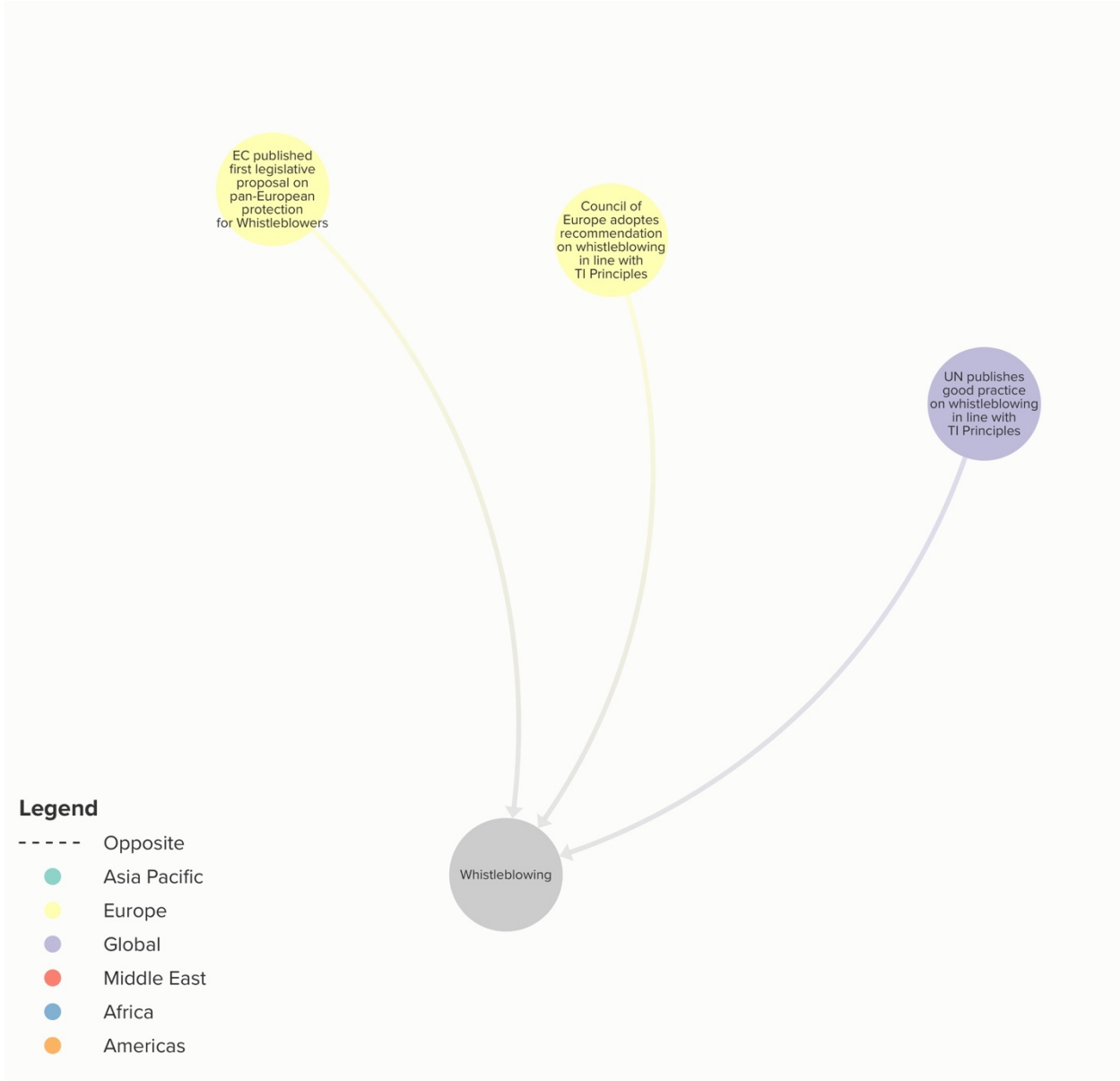
TI came late to the SDG negotiations process and contributed to influencing indicator 16.5 and the measurement of 16.5.1 through the use of the Global Corruption Barometer. Since then, the approach has had unclear global advocacy strategy and has not generated national or global outcomes to date. SDGs can be a useful overarching framework or part of TI's narrative for explaining why governance and anti-corruption matters, but this must be linked to clear political analysis and does not necessarily entail an SDG specific focus for research or advocacy to be effective. SDGs have very different political salience in different countries and Chapters need to decide if using SDG framing is relevant and effective in their context.



*Whistleblowing*

*3 outcomes, 0 verified.*

This area demonstrates the influence of TI’s expertise, thinking and approach on institutions’ frameworks. However, there isn’t a clear sign of progress on implementation or TI’s ability to shape implementation through collaboration or demonstration. This is a key area of expertise for TI to retain and provide support to Chapters, as well as contribute to global advocacy work around political integrity and civic rights.



## Appendix Three: Rapid Evidence Review on global advocacy

This summary looks across four areas: the global context, enablers and constraints of global advocacy, effective forms of global advocacy that have positive impact, and effective approaches for global organisations working with local and national groups. It is based on a rapid review of evidence around global advocacy. Rapid evidence review was chosen as a way to examine a wide body of literature in a structured and quick way. It provides a living record of relevant resources that can be easily updated or re-used by TI over time.

We undertook structured searching and found 238 pieces of evidence. We reduced this down to the most relevant. The below is a summary of key issues that emerged. The full spreadsheet of literature will also be provided to Transparency International so that it can be used and updated in the future.

### *Global context*

The shift towards geopolitical fragmentation and multipolarity continues, extending beyond European/Western dominance to new power poles in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Flemes, 2013; Oxfam, 2018). In a system that increasingly reflects an international oligarchy, a limited number of actors have control of the system and are able to define the rules of the game (Flemes, 2013). The capture of state institutions by economic elites drives increasing global inequality, mirrored by shifts towards populist, authoritarian and nationalist regimes (Oxfam, 2018).

Global governance is variably effective and increasingly weak (Ruggie, 2014). Complexity has escalated. Legal and institutional global architecture is fragmented. Multiple policy forums and channels of influence may work coherently or in tension. The gap between the scope and impact of economic actors and the ability of societies to manage and respond to negative effects is widening. Grand challenges (the ‘wicked problems’ of climate change, migration, and inequality etc) are impervious to rational top-down planning. Solutions must span organisational, epistemic and sectoral boundaries (Cagnin, Amanatidou & Keenan, 2011).

Traditional models of hierarchical government - negotiating top down, legally binding treaties - have little applicability in this context. The absence of hierarchy is not necessarily a fundamental problem. Instead, it calls for polycentric governance, where no single actor can be effective alone but must leverage others. A more effective approach is ‘building blocks’ - developing elements of an overall solution and embedding them within an international political framework. It requires identifying and reinforcing opportunities for linkages. (Ruggie, 2014) ‘Hard’ law should not be assumed to be more effective than ‘soft’ law, which may have stronger content and better implementation mechanisms (Bernstein & Chashore, 2012).

Policy-specific coalitions of states determine global policy through formal and informal networks and negotiations. Procedural culture has changed, with states (especially the BRICS/BASIC) adopting network approaches (Flemes, 2013). Bernstein and Cashore (2012) identify four pathways through which global environmental governance affects domestic policy change: international rules; international norms; markets; and direct access to domestic policy processes. These four pathways are not segregated; actors can best influence through the interaction of mechanisms and processes along multiple pathways. They argue that understanding these pathways is more important than attempting to ‘simplify or streamline’ existing intergovernmental architecture (2012, 604).

Another shift in the global context is the nature of development and the perceived role of civil society (Oxfam, 2018). While traditionally supporting civil society was considered a means to promote democracy, and therefore an end in itself, today many consider service provision a more appropriate role for civil society. Reduced space for civil society has been accompanied by an expansion of the private sector. The cast of

influential donors is also changing, with Western donors drawing back from an aid/development/humanitarian agenda. China has increased its involvement in global fora, with an expanded role in the foreign aid industry worth trillions of dollars in investment, but its approach is fragmented (Thier et al, 2018). Multilateral development banks have a critical role, such as strengthening institutions and providing financing, against the backdrop of increasing urban populations and need for sustainable infrastructure. But a lack of collaboration and coordination undermines efficacy and require reforms in governance structures.

### *Enablers and constraints of global advocacy*

Two main themes run through the literature in this area. The first is around the shrinking of civic space and the limits that places on opportunity for citizen participation and the safety of civil society. The second is around opportunities offered by new digital technologies for greater connectivity, communication and collaboration. These opportunities are tempered by the risks associated with these technologies. These themes are explored in the context of advocacy for transparency and accountability, and the open data/government movements.

An important but unsurprising enabler of global advocacy is the existence of democracy in domestic contexts (Hanegraff et al, 2015). In an analysis of the structural conditions that affect NGO involvement in transnational policy processes, democratic political regimes emerged as the key factor that determines an organisation's ability to participate. Subsequent factors that affect organisational participation were the availability of and access to resources, and the structure of state/society relations.

Divjak & Forbici (2018) point to five societal trends affecting civil society, including population demographics, economic crisis, digitalisation, populism, and shrinking civic space. Although Divjak & Forbici focus on the EU, these five trends appear universally relevant. Oxfam likewise identify increasing limits on civic space but as a global trend, equally evident in the global North and South, and across authoritarian regimes and democracies (2018). However, they point out that the reduction of civic space manifests differently in each country context; the response therefore needs to be sensitive to its specific emergence and dynamics. Recommendations to protect and expand civic space include mobilising citizens, collaborating through diverse alliances, media literacy, fact-checking, and civic education (Oxfam, 2018; Divjak & Forbici, 2018).

Digitalisation is changing societies. It affects global advocacy as both an enabler and a constraint. Sangokoya (2017) posits that the digital revolution has created a number of challenges for civil society, such as risks to digital rights, the impact of high-powered propaganda tools in the 'attention economy', and the need to navigate the relationships between traditional civil society organisations and new digital social movements. Potential threats to transparency and accountability are diverse, from the lack of corporate governance that allows 'fake news' to proliferate, to algorithmic bias that may cause harm.

The rapid change of digitalisation is not experienced uniformly. The 'digital divide' describes the gap between nations' ability to access the internet and new technologies. This inequality can be crippling (Weber & Kauffman, 2011). While it is predicted that the vast majority of the global population will have regular access to the internet by 2025, it is in the context of declining internet freedom (Sangokoya, 2017). Governments increasingly target new technologies (e.g. social media and communication apps) to hinder the spread of information and restrict activists protesting government behaviour (Negrón, 2017).

Ganesh, Deutch & Schulte (2016) note that privacy and anonymity are essential for activists challenging institutions and authorities, but are almost impossible to maintain on most commonly used platforms.



Concepts of open data and open government have recently replaced traditional approaches to transparency and accountability (McGee & Edwards, 2016). Noveck proposes that the open data movement is a ‘distinctly twenty-first century governing practice borne out of the potential of big data to help solve society’s biggest problems.’ (2017, 4) Yet McGee & Edwards caution against ‘tech optimism’ (2016). They argue that while open data/government movements have moved centre-stage, with little agreement on the terms beyond abstract concepts, they risk becoming ‘buzzwords’ that reinforce the neoliberal project of state deregulation. A number of assumptions undermine the effectiveness of these movements. Proponents often assume that open data automatically results in open government or that a causal relationship exists between publishing information and enhancing democracy. McGee & Edwards (2016) counter the notion that open data automatically makes governance more inclusive or accountable. Others point to the considerable barriers prevent the movement’s aims from being realised (Dawes, Vidasova & Parkhimovich, 2016). For example, most open data initiatives are supply-driven, paying little attention to the needs of the user. In any case, most users so far have been digital experts, rather than ‘normal’ citizens.

The literature points to constraints around strategy, planning and evaluation, affecting both tech-led and traditional forms of advocacy. Klugman (2011) identifies a lack of long-term investment and ongoing evaluation as constraints to achieving complex social justice goals. She notes that a focus on policy outcomes is often at the expense of implementation, which operates outside of annual grantmaking timeframes. McGee & Edwards (2016) note that transparency and accountability initiatives often lack a clear theory of change, especially when using new technologies. They recommend that new technologies are designed with an eye to local use and context to avoid exacerbating societal inequalities.

Despite these limitations, many organisations remain broadly positive about the ability of tech, such as social media, to enable advocacy. Advocacy organisations in Canada were cautious about unproven technologies, preferring to limit their use to the familiar forms of Facebook and Twitter (Obar 2014). Kingston & Stam (2013) note many human rights NGOs use social media as part of existing programs, but individual activists are more likely to undertake creative strategies that use the full potential of new technologies. However, Obar, Zube & Lampe (2012) note that the relationship between social media use and political and ideological change is so far speculative.

### *Effective global advocacy forms for positive impact*

The literature points to the importance of coalition-based advocacy, framing and communication, and enabling participation as forms of advocacy that have positive effects on processes, policies and programmes. Shiffman (2016) identifies the factors that make an issue gain traction in the global policy context, including network features (leadership, governance, composition, framing), the policy environment (allies and opponents, funding, norms) and issue characteristics (severity, tractability, affected groups). Leveraging these factors is important to shift how an issue is addressed.

Many resources point to coalition-working as an effective form of global advocacy. Some propose coalitions that include actors from civil society, government, the private sector and academia as productive, while others are more cautious on the role of non-civil society actors. Shiffman, for example, (2016) suggest that broad political coalitions have greater traction than those built only on technical expertise. Murdie & Davis (2012) point to the effect that ‘shaming’ tactics have on state behaviour when practiced in conjunction with third-party states, individuals, and INGOs, and/or domestic human rights organisations. In their findings, multiple advocacy actors stimulating reputational concerns are more influential than the economic vulnerability of repressive regimes. Pressure from ‘above’ (ie third-party states) is more effective than domestic pressure from ‘below’, although the effect is enhanced when pressure is applied from both sources. They suggest global organisations can influence the behaviour of repressive states without necessarily needing to enter its borders, reducing the risk experienced by domestic organisations. Oxfam (2018) focuses on the need for broad, diverse alliances of primarily civil society actors to work together, including faith-

based organisations, trade unions, media, universities, business associations, and community groups, among others.

How global advocacy issues are framed and communicated is important in achieving change. While not an advocacy form as such, Hestres (2014) demonstrates how internet-mediated organisations in the US were effective when they successfully reframed controversial issues in the climate/environment arena. Using non-conventional approaches, these organisations display traits of generalists, online interest communities, and issue-focused specialists. They target supporters/members who are already ‘on side’, using framing suited to mobilising ‘low hanging fruit’. They dramatised issues to compete for attention in a busy news cycle and used online mobilisation to generate offline action. These groups have also recognised that opponents who want to maintain the status quo seek to limit participation; shifting decision-making into more democratic fora opens up opportunities for people’s voices to be heard.

That enabling public participation is an effective form of advocacy to positively affect people’s lives is only to be expected. Nonetheless, in the context of increasingly constrained civic spaces globally, NGOs play an important role in enabling people to participate. Piper & von Lieres suggest that public participation (in developing countries) is increasingly mediated by organisations (2011). In the context of neoliberal globalisation, new and complex spaces for citizen action emerge. There is a role for NGOs to facilitate and enlarge this space, but the challenge is to ensure it is done ethically and appropriately.

#### *Effective working of global organisations with national and local groups*

In terms of how global organisations can work most effectively with local and national organisations through networks, alliances and movements to influence global, national and local outcomes, a number of common themes emerge. These centre around understanding cultural contexts, power dynamics between global/national/local groups, and adopting reflective behaviours and approaches.

Steers, Sanchez-Runde & Nardon (2012) note that leadership is a cultural construct. Expectations of the behaviour of successful leaders vary. The assumption that leadership is consistent across cultures is incorrect; it must be responsive to critical variations in local environments. Understanding this is fundamental for global organisations seeking to work effectively with national and local groups across a diverse range of cultural contexts. A recent MobLab discussion identified how resources - money, lists, tech - are not powerful until they are leveraged in a way that changes how people make decisions (2017). Power is based on relationships, and social ties can be a powerful campaign resource, enabling people to talk through their beliefs, build trust and growing connections. Existing community networks, such as schools, churches, unions and sports clubs, provide structures around which to organise and scale impact.

As noted above, the participation of national groups in international policy venues is largely determined by the existence of a democratic political regime in their domestic context (Hanegraff et al, 2015). Within democratic countries, overall wealth and access to resources become key factors. Organisations from undemocratic or low resource contexts are largely unable to participate at the international level. Instead, well resourced groups from democratic contexts dominate. This indicates a structural imbalance in who can participate in global advocacy. Global organisations need to be aware of these constraining factors and ameliorate structural barriers by sharing resources and facilitating participation.

However, the assumption that participation in global alliances or networks is always beneficial for local groups is incorrect. Traditionally, analyses of global advocacy networks assumed they leveraged power for positive local impact. But a study in Latin America demonstrated mixed results for local groups participating in transnational advocacy networks (Rodrigues, 2011). While participation can result in long-term empowerment (ie political or technical capacity), it can also result in the implosion or demobilisation of local groups. Rodrigues notes that, ‘while local activists have benefited from increased access to material

resources and networking opportunities ... these same opportunities have increased competition and fragmentation among local groups.’ (2011, 2-3) She charts how local groups assumed technical and political responsibilities as a consequence of association with national or global networks, but lacked resources to meet their new responsibilities, resulting in failure and a loss of legitimacy. She notes that, while in part local activists failed to institutionalise gains, another factor was the ‘fluid nature of international NGOs’ commitment to causes and campaigns.’ (2011, 8) Long-term institutional and financial support is essential. Carpenter points to how organisations that hold central positions in advocacy networks act as ‘hubs’ (2011). Through this positioning, they can influence which issues achieve global prominence. Important global social problems can be sidelined. This may frustrate national or local groups who fail to see their issue promoted to the global agenda.

While digital tools can be used to reach marginalised communities (MobLab, 2017), this needs to be understood in the context of the different needs marginalised people may have for privacy and security online (Ganesh, Deutch & Schulte 2016). Collaborations across and within tech and activist movements and communities must recognise their different histories of engagement with politics, technology and the state. Without this, marginalised people’s participation will be limited. Wilmot (2017) identifies how access to the internet and social media remains an expensive privilege in many countries. Digital tools have potential but for many, particularly those under repressive regimes, physical spaces are critical. He proposes both ‘using social media and acknowledging its limited reach in marginalised communities is a good rule of thumb.’

Clarity on governance structure and decision-making of global organisations facilitates good working relationships with national and local groups. For example, in 2012 350.org leadership said: ‘we are not a democratic organisation; we make decisions based on the best information we have at the time, including from conversations with various leaders and activists at every level of the movement.’ (Silberman, 2012). Distributed campaigning offers central leadership and framing, but local autonomy for creativity and context-specific action, (Liacas, 2015) Recognising that different civil society actors engage in different dimensions of multi-level politics is an effective way of creating change (Losey, 2014). Highly visible mass mobilisations can be complemented by less visible networks of transnational civil society organisations. The growth of advocacy networks depends in part on activists or political entrepreneurs believing that networking will further their missions and campaigns, and actively promoting networks. While traditional collective action advocacy relies on civil society orgs playing a central role, digital media supports broadly inclusive, easily personalised action frames as a basis of tech-assisted networking.

While coalition/alliance approaches have been identified as an effective form of global advocacy, changes in approach are called for. El-Amine (2017) proposes that organisations need to be reflective, led by people who are willing to understand and address their weaknesses. Until this is the case, progressive movements will be stymied by structural barriers that prevent them from being nimble and effective. She also points out that putting traditional leaders in traditional leadership positions unintentionally replicates the systems of oppression they are intending to fight, deepening racial and gender divides. Oxfam (2018) likewise recommends partnerships be built on solidarity, with shared successes, risks and challenges. This means leadership by civil society groups from the global South, and for institutionalised civil society adapting to the role of facilitators and catalysts.

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## Appendix Four: Advocacy approaches and tools

The best way to think about advocacy is as a craft, rather than as a technical skill. The implications of thinking about advocacy as a craft is two fold: that some people have aptitude or talent for advocacy, and that nous and skill is developed through experience and practice and cannot be taught like a technical skill.

Organisations need to focus on recruiting talented advocates but also need to build and maintain a culture and a set of practices that allows them to do their best work and for potential advocates to explore and grow through experience and practice. Culture can support or inhibit people building their advocacy craft by creating an environment that encourages or discourages asking questions, building relationships and changing course when needed.

There are some core practices that help advocates be effective in part by being able to learn and adapt to complex and changing situations.

As part of this project we will work with Transparency International staff on follow up and implementation for at least three months. This will include exploring and trialing some of the approaches and practices below.

### Strategy practices

#### *Convening and facilitating diverse view points*

A crucial practice is to seek out and understand multiple view points on the issues and approaches that TI works on. It's important to understand the nuances of these issues in different contexts and to understand the motives, interests and beliefs of targets and other influential actors.

A critical role of the TI Secretariat is to be curiously seeking out those views at all times, and also to be consolidating the insights of the Movement. The TI Secretariat needs to be regularly convening discussions within the Movement that set strategy on an ongoing basis.

#### *Developing and testing theories of change*

Theory of change is a planning process created for community change efforts. It is not a general theory of how change happens; but, a theory specific to an effort in a time and place. It aims to help teams and communities clarify their assumptions about change and about their contributions to change.

Developing theories should involve diverse and relevant people who have a real stake in the issue. They work backwards from a long term vision and long term goals to explore what would need to exist in the world (the preconditions) for those visions and goals to be explored. It allows groups to articulate their assumptions about how preconditions relate to each other and pathways of change.

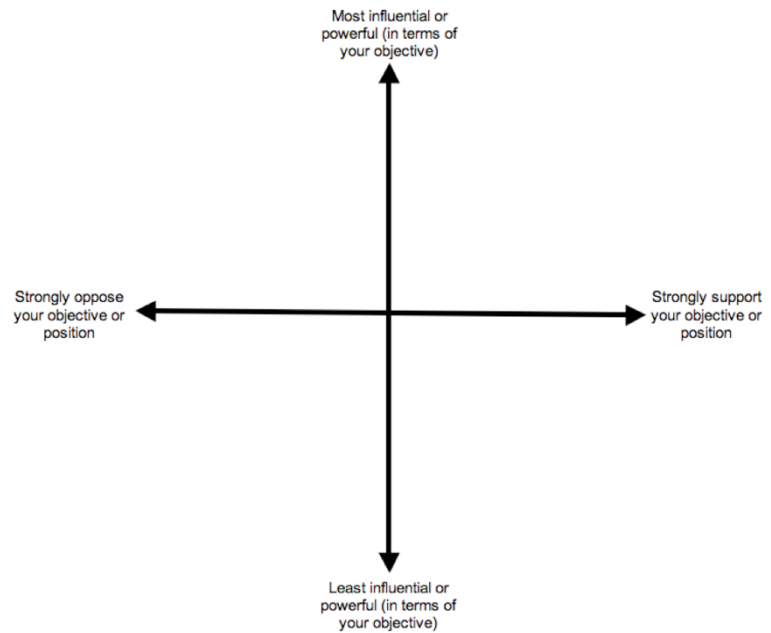
It can be used for reflection and evaluation over time as assumptions are proven/disproven and new preconditions for change emerge. It pairs well with outcome harvesting in that teams can analyse how outcomes that are emerging relate to the original theory of change.

It is best for messy and complex work and to help teams share their assumptions and see new possibilities for their work.

### *Power and stakeholder analysis*

Stakeholder mapping is a tool for both strategy and can be used for learning and evaluation. It helps analyse the key stakeholders and their relationship to the work. A frequent framework (at right) is to map their levels of support for change with the extent of their influence over the change.

This is best done down to the level of individuals – not at levels of generality (i.e. you can't map “the private sector” but you can map specific companies and, even better, specific individuals within companies). This means that in any advocacy area you'd use this regularly, at country, sectoral or institutional level.



### *Experimentation and piloting*

TI has a tendency towards big, drawn out strategy processes. We encourage TI to also be more playful in trying things out. This means experimenting with a relentless drive to keep trying and learning. It encourages everyone to frequently ask the question – is there a better way to do this?

A failing fast/well/forward approach values incremental development and feedback with extensive testing to determine if an idea has value. Critically, the goal is to cut losses when feedback and testing reveals something isn't working and try something else, a concept known as pivoting. Start small and discrete, choose individuals from TI who have enthusiasm and energy. Ideal if they can work outside the normal environment ([eg Skunkworks](#)) once tangible benefits are clear to organisational decision makers and donors then can build on and scale.

### *Pitching*

TI could also explore a process for pitching advocacy ideas on a regular basis to encourage crafting a pitch and practicing convincing peers. This could be used within the TI coalitions on issues or within the advocacy team itself.

### *Reflection and learning practices*

#### *Action learning*

Action learning is a regular practice that can help teams ask different questions, listen, reflect and find new approaches. Monthly action learning can allow members of the advocacy team and those involved across the Movement to bring challenges to a group of peers who listen and ask open and curious questions. This allows the person with the challenge to think about it from new perspectives and then commit to actions. This helps others involved in broader areas of work to learn about the context and concerns of their colleagues without jumping in with solutions.

### *Regular reflection on strategy and progress*

Beyond action learning, it's important to have dedicated, regular (at least quarterly) space to step back and reflect on what's changing, how stakeholders or power has shifted, and decide how to adjust strategy.

The Secretariat could convene discussions including those involved in work around the Movement that tracks progress made, obstacles identified, lessons learned. It can also be used to update and reflect upon stakeholder/power maps above to see what has shifted.

### *Rapid debriefing*

After a big push, or a big setback or a significant moment, it's important that the Movement have a chance to consolidate what they are hearing from governments and others, and what the results and lessons are. This kind of rapid debriefing (through a webinar or similar) should be an open conversation that is reflective and where critical comments are welcome. While Yammer is currently used to share information and celebrate, these debriefs need to be open and frank, in order to be able to generate real reflection and help everyone decide if they need to do something different.

### *Outcome harvesting*

Building on this review, TI can continue to collect and analyse emerging advocacy outcomes on an annual basis to understand progress. Outcome harvesting is designed for processes where the aim is to understand how individual outcomes contribute to broader changes and how specific actors have contributed to those outcomes. It is best for messy and complex work, such as advocacy, and to understand outcomes and contributions as they emerge, rather than based on tracking what was planned. It builds on the tacit knowledge of staff and allies, and also builds in validation by interviewing targets and examining relevant documentation.