

TIME FOR CHANGE

A new theory of change for
Amnesty International UK

For Amnesty International members only
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**AMNESTY
INTERNATIONAL**



TIME FOR CHANGE

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1 Introduction

We are proposing a new theory of change for Amnesty International UK for the period 2022-2030. A 'theory of change' is our attempt to understand how what we do will lead to the changes we seek on the issues we care about. It is a theory – one that must be tested – based on evidence from our work, and observations about the work of others. The theory of change:

- ▶ examines internal and external attitudes to us as an organisation, our brand, and our strengths and weaknesses, as well as the wider human rights context
- ▶ describes our current theory of change before proposing a new one that seeks to achieve three long-term outcomes: changing attitudes to human rights, building a powerful movement, and winning human rights victories.
- ▶ outlines the tools, resources and strategies we can use to achieve the objectives of the new theory of change
- ▶ looks at how we can put the new theory of change into practice.

We developed this theory of change in the second half of 2020, through wide consultation with staff across Amnesty International UK, activists and other supporters, and with input from the Boards and their Activism and Campaigns and Impact Sub Committees. The theory of change has been developed following a wide-ranging review of internal and external evaluations of our work over the last five years; analysis of how key audiences view Amnesty International and our work; a scan of the wider human rights sector; and a review of the UK and international human rights sector, as well as taking a lead from the strategic direction coming from the International Secretariat.

The bold direction set out in this paper is an evolution for Amnesty International UK, not a revolution. Work on civil and political rights, in particular freedom of expression will continue and be expanded; our decades long work on individuals at risk and human rights defenders will remain at the heart of what we do and who we are and Amnesty International UK will still be there when human rights crises occur, ready to respond using the full force of our movement.

Over the past decades we have ushered in huge successes on many different areas of work. From the Arms Trade Treaty to equal marriage in Northern Ireland, Amnesty International in the UK has had countless successes. Reflecting on the past five years we have seen more successes – on refugee rights, child rights, and on the lives of individuals and communities around the world. We know how to win and we are trusted and respected.

International work, work we are world leaders in, will continue. Over the next decade, as a leading Amnesty International section, we'll be fighting tooth and nail alongside our colleagues around the globe, including almost

certainly fighting for the survival of Amnesty International offices in countries and territories opposed to our work.

But the times are changing – the context in which we operate is changing, and our ability to have an impact is changing. To meet these challenges we too need to evolve, bringing in new ideas about how change happens, and what is important to work on. We need to be - and are expected to be - relevant to the lives of people across the UK who see in Amnesty International an ally in their struggles.

The fights happening right now for basic dignity, against racism, and in support of climate justice are intimately linked and tied to freedom of expression, assembly and association. We see movements for racial and climate justice being targeted, harassed, their leaders thrown in jails or killed.

As a movement that seeks to offer broad coverage of work on human rights, and seeks to partner and support individuals around the world demanding dignity, justice and freedom, we need to consider how we can meaningfully act on these issues, always adding value and deploying the most impactful interventions on anything we do.

Racism, hostile nationalism, and the climate crisis are casting long shadows across the world. As we go into the next decade and we start to change, we are clear that we are still Amnesty International: lighting a candle rather than cursing the darkness.

2 Internal and external analysis of the impact of Amnesty International UK's work

External analyses of the impact of our work provide useful insights but we still lack information in many areas, mainly because we do not have a consistent, systematic approach to monitoring, evaluation and learning. To inform our strategic planning, staff reviewed and compiled key findings from the internal and external evaluations listed below.

The scope for this review was work carried out or evaluated over the five years of the last strategic period. In this version we have also considered feedback on previous Amnesty International successes, like the Arms Trade Treaty campaign, although the formal evaluation was out of scope for this project as that campaign ended in 2013.

- ▶ Stop Torture and My Body My Rights external evaluation
- ▶ I Welcome external evaluation
- ▶ Write for Rights 2018 internal evaluation
- ▶ Write for Rights 2019 internal evaluation
- ▶ Rise Up mid-term review conducted internally

- ▶ Priority campaigns – ongoing monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEL)
- ▶ Our work in Northern Ireland – anecdotal feedback on successful approaches
- ▶ Solidarity work, such as Pride Inside – based on participant feedback
- ▶ The research and findings of the NCVO Human Rights in the UK report
- ▶ Our work with Syrian civil society – internal reporting
- ▶ NFP Synergy reports (surveys of Parliamentarians) on our work on the Brave campaign and Nazanin Zaghari-Ratcliffe

From these, we have drawn seven important lessons.

LESSON 1

Our current approach to campaigning is achieving change, but primarily where our agenda overlaps with those in power

Our current approach to campaigning, in general, is one which takes quite a traditional approach to creating change. We identify a winnable ask, single out a key decision maker, map who influences them and roll out tactics to convince or pressure them to implement the change we're calling for. Over the years this has brought Amnesty International much success – from winning the ATT to the establishment of the International Criminal Court. We have also been able to defend rights protections across several key areas – no mean feat given the prevailing political climate. However, over the past five years this approach has been challenging as a route to big change, and many similar organisations are reviewing their approaches to this kind of campaigning. As our domestic agenda has expanded we are facing more challenges with the government and this will demand us to be more innovative in our campaigning and advocacy if we are to achieve our strategic objectives.

Our campaigns focused on the domestic agenda, for example on Refugee Family Reunion and the Domestic Abuse Bill, are failing to deliver and we need to be prepared to adopt a different approach. We know from work with this and previous governments that work on domestic issues is much more challenging and our objectives face a lot of opposition.

We therefore need to be exploring how we can be more innovative and challenge some of the more orthodox approaches to campaigning. For example, we have seen how, over the past five years, we have been more effective when we are able to use the law to uphold or enforce human rights standards. This will be explored more in Lesson 5.

In contrast, when we are working on foreign affairs issues, for example on human rights defenders and on IAR cases like Nazanin our work is well received among parliamentarians and government (see NFP reports on Nazanin and Brave). Our Brave campaign made huge progress on our political asks and will leave a lasting legacy with HRDs. In these instances, our agenda and the agenda of government are much more aligned. The Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO), and the UK Government in general, are broadly supportive of the human rights agenda internationally. This extends into country specific work – where again, in general, the UK's business interests and strategic relationship generally indicate whether our issues will gain traction.

For example, our interests overlap in our work with the FCDO on Syria (the UK is not allied with the Assad regime) and this has led to major campaign success. The opposite is true of Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories, where the government has been unmoved by our campaigning.

This isn't to say that we should only work on issues that the UK Government is supportive of, quite the opposite in fact. The value of this lesson is to recognise that much of the change that is urgently needed in the UK and around the world is not currently on the political agenda – our job should be to shift the agenda and create the ground for that long-term change to happen, working beyond the current political horizon.

LESSON 2

Solidarity is still a key strength of the movement

Amnesty International's solidarity work boosts the morale of organisations, communities, and individuals. More than that it can increase their capacity, introduce them to new audiences, create new partnerships, and build support and profile for their work. In recent years we have given the people we work with and support a greater say over how we work together, seeking to understand the most meaningful contribution the Amnesty International movement can make to them and their work: this has been an overwhelmingly positive development and direction we need to continue in.

For example, Pride Inside, a creative initiative to support LGBT+ individuals and organisations to continue to host Pride season events 'inside' during the pandemic, was resoundingly successful. Participants say this boosted their profile and helped them reach new audiences and deliver events they could not have done alone. Working in partnership with smaller organisations led by rightsholders helps us foster stronger like-minded networks and, ultimately a stronger human rights sector. This is important experience to build on.

LESSON 3

When we provide a framework for communities to organise around, they do. And unusual partnerships can have huge political impacts

The external evaluation of the I Welcome campaign rates Football Welcomes as a huge success. The project framework evolved from a weekend of activities to a range of sustainable community programmes, galvanised by a clear ambition and central organising idea. People want to be part of it – and it has had a significant impact in the lives of participants from the communities in which the clubs are based. It has helped Amnesty International bring positive messages about refugees to new, large and difficult-to-reach audiences, which we could not have achieved alone.

The ‘political’ nature of Football Welcomes is significant as clubs proudly extend solidarity and support to refugees, a highly marginalised and stigmatised group. These innovative partnerships allowed Amnesty International’s messages about solidarity, rights, and common humanity to be repeated and amplified by messengers known to and trusted by audiences new to Amnesty International.

The Suffragette Spirit project and the Brave Human Rights Defender Awards are other good examples. Here our partnerships with local media outlets allowed us to get our messages out to a much wider audience than normal and get human right narratives into local communities.

LESSON 4

Effective research can drive change on domestic issues

Original research is the basis of Amnesty International’s work internationally and we increasingly see its value and impact on domestic issues in the UK. The UK-focused reports, [Trapped in the Matrix](#), [Without My Family](#), [Toxic Twitter](#) and [Cuts That Hurt](#), were published in the course of the last strategic plan. The impact of Without my Family remains to be seen, but the others all made a significant impact following publication, including with key targets. The findings of Trapped in the Matrix and subsequent advocacy work led to more than 370 people being removed from the police Gangs Matrix list.

LESSON 5

Amnesty International is increasingly using the law to great effect

The current political climate in the UK and internationally makes persuasion or pressure-based campaigning a challenge, so, working with the IS (who

are involved with every case), Amnesty International UK has increasingly been using the law as a tactic in creating change. Domestically we have intervened or otherwise supported cases on mass surveillance, child citizenship fees and UK arms sales to Saudi Arabia – all three resulted in positive outcomes, though the latter two are subject to appeals. Most notably, we also used the law to help bring about abortion reform in Northern Ireland. In October 2019, the UK government was legally obligated to ensure regulations for free, safe, legal and local abortion services were in place in Northern Ireland by 31 March 2020.

Internationally, organisations we have supported as part of our work on Syria have been instrumental in bringing to trial Anwar Raslan, former intelligence officer in the Assad regime, for war crimes using universal jurisdiction. He is the first former Assad regime official to be tried in this way.

Using the law through strategic litigation is an important tool that that enables us to increase the efficacy of our campaigning and advocacy work, by highlighting how government decisions and policies are failing to comply with human rights standards. The use of the law helps strengthen and consolidate our campaigning approach as it underpins a simple and engageable narrative that posits the campaign in a binary of ‘right’ versus ‘wrong’.

The public work we have delivered around each of the above examples has helped build the external argument for the need to undertake litigation or judicial review; has helped narrow the focus of legal action; and it is through the campaigning and advocacy undertaken before an issue reaches legal proceedings that establishes the Government’s position and desire (or not) to change that position.

LESSON 6

Working with human rights defenders is one of the most effective ways to create change

As noted, it is increasingly difficult for Amnesty International to influence the UK government when our interests clash domestically or internationally. It also appears that foreign governments are increasingly unlikely to act on the calls of UK citizens alone: we do not have good evidence that this type of activism has a significant impact.

But we do see significant impact achieved through working with human rights defenders and their organisations. In working with people like Sakris Kupila, Seyi Akiwowo, Vitalina Koval and Elżbieta Podleśna, we are supporting individuals and organisations best placed to have the biggest impact for their communities.

Amnesty International's collaboration and support can help protect them, provide wider recognition and enable them to carry out their work safely and effectively. Another excellent example of this is our facilitation work with Syrian civil society groups.

This work helps us achieve our organisational objectives for the progressive realisation of human rights globally, and, in the most meaningful and direct ways, it helps to bolster the activities of communities fighting for those rights.

This is true of support we have provided to groups as well as individuals – including the Syrian Centre for Media, UK School Strike for Climate, Solidarity With Refugees; Welcome Cinema and Kitchen; and many others

LESSON 7

Human rights education is transformational

All the feedback and evidence we have about our human rights education work indicates that it can have a transformational impact on people's lives, fostering a lifelong understanding of human rights and a commitment to campaigning and deeper engagement with the issues. There is a huge multiplier effect – one committed teacher or speaker can effectively engage hundreds more people in human rights. Programmes for activists, such as Activist Political Engagement (APE) and Rise Up, provide specific and impactful training.

Summary of the impact of our work:

- ▶ We make some gains through insider work, predominantly on issues where our lobbying agenda overlaps with that of power holders.
- ▶ The notable exceptions are when we litigate for change or have irrefutable evidence of harm.
- ▶ Supporting other organisations and human rights defenders builds credibility, is good for our brand, and empowers those who share our vision for human rights.
- ▶ When we create organising frameworks that people want to be a part of, we leverage massive resources and expand our reach.
- ▶ Unusual or unexpected partnerships have huge impact in relaying human rights messages to new audiences outside our echo chambers.
- ▶ Human rights education supports and enhances our work across all of our objectives.
- ▶ We are most effective working across the UK when we fully leverage and strategically target the different powers within devolved governments and make our work relevant and effective equally across England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

LESSON 8

The four UK nations require very different campaigning approaches

Throughout the past five years it has become increasingly clear that the four nations of the UK are moving in different directions in terms of their promotion and protection for human rights.

In Northern Ireland we have seen huge steps forward in terms of rights protections, while major issues remain unresolved. In Scotland, the national government is taking a much more progressive approach to rights protections than the Westminster administration. In Wales, a debate has begun about a possible Human Rights Act for Wales and the devolution of justice powers.

It's also the case that our target audiences across the four nations are very different in terms of their appreciation and understanding of human rights. We cannot continue to roll out generic campaigns, actions or even messages and expect them to have the same impact across the UK. Going forward, it is essential that our domestic campaigns have a nationally relevant focus, including ensuring any research we undertake on the UK takes devolution and different socio-political contexts into consideration.

3 External perspectives on Amnesty International

This section sets out the findings of an external analysis focusing on how non-Amnesty International staff groups – supporters, young people, journalists, political figures and other organisations – view Amnesty International UK.

Current and potential supporters like and respect Amnesty International but are unsure exactly what we do

Supporters see Amnesty International as aligned with their vision of a world with justice, human rights and freedom for all. Their deep belief in human rights triggers engagement with us, rather than interest in a specific case or issue. They respect Amnesty International for its inclusiveness, tenacity, fearlessness, and integrity. For them, our campaigning work is tangible, accessible, and offers a clear role for the collective. Yet even among this generally supportive audience, most could not pinpoint any specific Amnesty International successes. They also say we could be better at educating and emphasising our success stories.

Potential supporters (audiences beyond our supporter base), have a fundamental belief in universal human rights and justice. But this is not at the forefront of their concerns and other issues compete for their attention. They prefer to

engage with international issues such as water or children's charities that offer tangible 'value exchange'. People aged 40+ remember us from student-day activism, but little beyond that. We lack current visibility across age ranges, unlike groups such as Change.org. Human rights feel 'lofty', distant, inaccessible, complex, and too removed from their world. They find it hard to engage with change at authority/system level as it lacks the emotional pull of individual stories. They question how their donations will be spent, a concern exacerbated if our work appears intangible or insurmountable.

Young people can see a role for themselves in Amnesty International, are eager to engage but currently have limited access

The issues of greatest concern to young people are climate change, biodiversity loss, racism, gender discrimination, and children's rights. We know this through polling by the International Secretariat, a consultation on Amnesty International UK youth strategy, and participants in Rise Up. Overwhelmingly, this group is unfamiliar with Amnesty International but has a strong belief in human rights. From Amnesty International they want support for campaigning and other human rights work, ie education, access to resources, money to fund their own initiatives, and ability to leverage our profile to create change.

Journalists respect Amnesty International, see us as an authority, and would like more original research

We have a good reputation among most journalists, primarily garnered through quality of content and relationship building. Both of these are fragile – and relationships would be hard to maintain without a Media Awards and with less research output from the IS. Our work cited positively by this group include our Individuals at Risk (IAR) work and work on Northern Ireland abortion. Journalists trust us as global experts in human rights. They would like to see more 'original' output eg research/reports on our issues.

The current government is broadly unsupportive of our work, except on some foreign affairs issues

It is a mixed picture with the current government. In some areas our interests align, such as in foreign affairs when our campaign target is a country the government is broadly hostile towards (eg Syria or Iran). In the UK some government focus on domestic abuse aligns with our work, though it fails to address our calls for support for migrant women.

Generally, our domestic agenda and government policy and political priorities are in staunch opposition, particularly on issues such as immigration, the Gender Recognition Act, access to justice, citizenship fees, arms sales, refugee family reunion, legal protections for human rights, the importance of an independent judiciary, the value of the Human Rights Act, the importance of accountability for war crimes etc.

Our political influence is supported through meetings with parliamentarians, providing submissions, research, briefings, and work on legislation. Our research is often quoted in parliament and used to challenge and scrutinise the government's work. Conversely, our research is used by the government when raising human rights issues and individuals at risk cases with other countries and UN bodies.

We have a constructive relationship with a broad range of UK parliamentarians. Many MPs and peers champion our work and raise our concerns in parliament and directly with government. Our relationships with opposition parties remain strong. We provide support and training to enable our activists to build constructive relationships with their local politicians. Our research shows that MPs are keen to engage with active Amnesty International groups or members in their constituencies.

Most politicians and political influencers do not regularly engage with human rights or see this as a high priority. They see the human rights agenda as wide, confusing and sometimes incoherent, and are put off by the idea of 'buying-in' to a broad agenda. Amnesty International UK needs to identify single issues we can work on with them.

Among those who have heard of us, Amnesty International is well respected for supporting prisoners of conscience, victims of torture and other abuses, and LGBT rights. However, this prestige seems to be waning. Many politicians are not clear about our priorities, some saying our campaigning is too antagonistic, picking holes and criticising rather than constructively engaging to achieve change.

In Scotland, where the devolved government tends to be more positively disposed to human rights, we have some good access and influence with ministers and other key political decision-makers and backbenchers. In Northern Ireland, we have good relationships with certain Ministers within Stormont's five-party government, as well as backbenchers across most parties, while others consistently oppose much of our agenda.

UK-focused human rights organisations see us a leader with good reach and activist base. But they want us to be fighting the bigger fights

External stakeholders regard Amnesty International as a powerful organisation with a strong brand. They see as particularly important our geographical reach across the UK, strong network of activists, and ability to bring international experience and expertise to national and local settings. We are respected for the quality of our research, for reflecting people's voices, and using our resources and expertise to implement human rights campaigns.

Amnesty International UK's clear messaging and communications and ability to coordinate campaigns were praised by external stakeholders (consulted through National Council for Voluntary Organisations research and the I Welcome evaluation). Amnesty International UK was recognised for its role as an incubator, offering capacity and resources to enable networking and strategic thinking within the sector.

Summary of Amnesty International UK's position among external audiences

- ▶ We are still seen as authoritative and credible by political and media figures but the current UK government is largely unsupportive of our work. Opposition parties and devolved governments are more positive.
- ▶ Our agenda, and the 'human rights agenda' is not well understood by any audience
- ▶ Our brand is strong and respected, if not well understood, by the audiences we want to bring into our work.
- ▶ Young people want to be a part of Amnesty International but need a way in.
- ▶ Other human rights organisations recognise and respect us but want to see us fighting bigger fights.

4 The wider human rights landscape – who are the other operators and what can we learn?

This section sets out the wider human rights landscape in the UK and draws out some comparisons and some potential approaches to consider. Analysing the human rights sector though is a challenge – many organisations working on human rights issues would not typically describe themselves as such, our analysis focused on organisations who do explicitly use the language of human rights to describe their work.

From this review, we can see that most organisations taking an explicitly rights-based approach – are small, operate at a grassroots level, are generally led by rightsholders, and focus on supporting rightsholders on the ground.

Most human rights work is issue-based, focusing work on a particular group of rightsholders. In the UK, the majority of funded work that is explicitly human rights focused is based in London.

From a review of funded grants via the Grant Nav (an open platform to publish data on funding), 67 per cent of total grant funding for human rights projects were based in London. Current UK human rights work is focused on

defending the human rights of the most marginalised groups, for example young people in the justice system, often directly or intervening on individual cases to provide immediate support to individuals.

The other group of organisations working in the UK space have more of a 'legal' focus (run by lawyers, use the law as a key tactic for change).– Liberty; Reprieve; Redress; British Institute of Human Rights. These are our traditional partners and are seen as close to Amnesty International in terms of brand profile and similarity of issue.

More recently, we have seen the rise of new movements: Black Lives Matter, Extinction Rebellion and the School Strikes for Climate all call for solutions to the systemic inequalities and discrimination that drive multiple human rights violations and have been credited with shifting the narrative about what is possible and what solutions should be expected to these substantial challenges.

Systemic change or systems focused campaigning refers to attempts to address the root causes of social problems, which are often intractable and embedded in networks of cause and effect. It is an intentional process designed to fundamentally alter the components and structures that cause the system to behave in a certain way. Elements of systems-focused or systems change campaigning often:

- ▶ Challenge prevailing power relations and systems of oppression: either by tackling the most powerful political, social and economic forces or by building a new power base.
- ▶ Deploy new narratives about the issues they are focused on – either by undermining existing negative narratives (migrants are dangerous/pro-life) or by proposing new positive narratives (health is a human right/refugees welcome etc)
- ▶ Organise in alignment with the values you want to strengthen: does not reproduce and internalise the oppressions that we seek to overcome, e.g. actively gives power to marginalised voices and communities.
- ▶ Propose an alternative as well as calling out a problem; seeks to inspire and create hope for change.
- ▶ Build the wider movement of organisations who care about the same problems and are working on similar solutions, includes the voices of the most affected.
- ▶ Provide meaningful opportunities for individuals and communities to participate in creating change that can be clearly traced to the system wide changes the overall campaign seeks to make.

Looking slightly beyond the human rights sector, there are organisations – such as Amnesty International – that seek to incorporate more than one of these approaches (movement building; systems change; organising; use of the law; public campaigning; individual support) in their theory of change.

▶ **350.org**, an organisation working in this space, uses distributed organising and public campaigning to work on systems change. They have a visionary goal: *'350 is building a future that's just, prosperous, equitable and safe from the effects of the climate crisis'*. It has tangible steps to get there:

- 1 **A fast and just transition to 100 per cent renewable energy for all.**
- 2 **No new fossil fuel projects anywhere.**
- 3 **Not a penny more for dirty energy.**

It has major national and international campaigns around each of these objectives, as well as clear and engaging actions that groups and communities can organise around at the local level, from divestment campaigns to opposing new fossil fuel projects. 350 was built from the ground up as a grassroots movement, so it is not surprising this is the approach they take.

▶ **Greenpeace** is also incorporating systems thinking and long-term change into its work, and provides an example of how a big NGO can bridge this gap. For example, Greenpeace UK is currently running a campaign on the UK's transport system called [Transform Transport](#), which uses the government's proposed road-building scheme as a hook for talking about broad changes to the whole transport system, with asks on:

- 1 Ramping up investment in public transport, walking and cycling
- 2 Repairing the roads we have instead of building new ones
- 3 Making sure all new cars and vans are 100 per cent electric powered by 2030.

This approach includes local organising on road building, going beyond simply opposing road building, and offers concrete proposals for a different future. It comes from Greenpeace's extensive analysis in its [A Green Recovery](#) from Covid-19, which proposes new solutions to the challenges facing the climate. This creates a link from meaningful local action to big, systemic change. The NGO does this alongside much more 'traditional' actions such as taking direct action to hinder oil and gas exploration.

A summary of the wider human rights sector in the UK

- ▶ Most organisations working on human rights issues are small and issue focused, and are not working on the structural drivers of human rights violations but rather their real-world consequences.
- ▶ Recent movements – some supported by Amnesty International – are using people power to explicitly call for dramatic systemic change.
- ▶ Some bigger NGOs are using a mix of direct action, systems-change campaigning, and traditional forms of activism.

5 Narrative version theory of change

Our current theory of change

Our current theory of change holds true across most of our domestic and our international work and can be loosely defined as:

▶ **By building and exercising power – mobilising our movement, using our profile to engage parliamentarians, and campaigning to hold government to account – we can change human rights protections for the better and, in turn, improve the lives of the people who benefit from those protections.'**

Under our current model we focus significant campaigning resource and capacity on stand-alone policies or practices that undermine human rights. In doing so we are not focusing on the conditions, systems or structures that create and perpetuate those violations. For example, we have undertaken work on specific aspects of the criminal justice and immigration systems but have not conducted sustained campaigns for change to those systems which would fundamentally address the structures that drive human rights abuses. We need to develop a model of campaigning that identifies underlying structural challenges through systems mapping, enabling us to deliver an incremental approach that achieves short, medium and long term victories.

Over the last five years, our attempts to influence decision makers – with some exceptions – have not worked. For example, in our work on refugees in the UK we are dealing with a Home Office that has been described as 'institutionally ignorant about race' – which is to say 'systematically racist'.

- ▶ A government that allowed the right to health to effectively fall by the wayside during the pandemic.
- ▶ Consistent rhetoric about undermining the human rights framework that protects rights across the UK

Internationally, we have seen the resurgence of exclusionary nationalism and populism from the USA to Brazil to India.

As an organisation we need to update our thinking.

- ▶ We need to consider and counter the causes of human rights violations, as well as the violations themselves.
- ▶ We need to focus on making bigger, deeper, long-term changes.

This new theory of change will inform how we talk about our work and the changes we want to see. It sets out a way forward for working with others, and should help us to make decisions about where and how to invest our resources.

Some of what is set out here is what we already do. There are some things Amnesty International has to do and say because if we don't, no one else will. But in other ways this is a shift for us as an organisation – a shift that starts with the idea that our vision of a just world – one where everyone can live a life of freedom and dignity because human rights are valued and upheld – will never be realised unless we start to address the root causes of human rights violations.

The current global crises – from systemic racism and police violence to migrant flows and the climate crisis – are sustained by a system of policies, practices and attitudes that require a powerful response. The human rights framework provides clear solutions to these challenges, yet this framework is under great strain.

We know from our history that when we come together and campaign for massive change we can create huge wins – from realising equal marriage in Northern Ireland to securing the Arms Trade Treaty. If we focus only on harm being done right now, we will fail to build the foundation of generational change. The ground we are fighting on will become narrower and more contested.

But in this struggle we are not alone – we are part of a global 10-million-strong Amnesty International movement allied to like-minded people who care about our future and want to come together to realise a similar vision.

Moving towards systemic change

Racism, inequality, the climate crisis, polarised and polarising politics, and other systemic problems undermine our efforts to create sustained change. If we only focus on the results of these systems – for example, immigration policies developed as a consequence of racism – we will miss the opportunity to tackle the real issues.

As the leading human rights organisation, we should be telling a powerful story of the better, fairer world we want to see. We should be working with allies and partners to seed ideas and work towards change.

For this approach to be successful, the new theory of change argues that we need to:

- ▶ Change attitudes about human rights
- ▶ Build a movement powerful enough to bring about our vision
- ▶ Imagine and start to campaign for big, systemic changes, winning small victories along the way

The new theory of change is circular, not linear. As our movement grows, so will our ability to win campaigns. As we win campaigns, we will change attitudes to human rights. As attitudes change, our movement will grow. Our strategic decision making should prioritise projects that combine these three ambitions.

How this will shape our work

Across the world Amnesty International is known and respected for speaking truth to power and taking on fights others would not. We will continue to call out human rights violations as they occur, and short term, tactical and responsive work will remain key. But for our strategic priorities we will start to build up wider-ranging campaigns with 'big shifts' (long term, major changes across whole areas of policy) at their core.

To achieve our objectives, we will:

- ▶ Campaign with and through the movement with rightsholders at the centre
- ▶ Grow the human rights movement through community organising and mobilisation
- ▶ Use the law to achieve specific human rights changes
- ▶ Maximise human rights education which helps us achieve the three outcomes above, and supports, reinforces and enriches all other activities.

Supporting mechanisms

Engaging people in our work, fundraising, and carrying out policy analysis, research, media work and PR will help Amnesty International to grow as a brand, maintain our legitimacy with key external audiences, keep the movement together, and retain our credibility and authority. This in turn will help us to have a greater impact and create the changes we want to see.

6 A complete theory of change

Vision

A just world where everyone can live a life of freedom and dignity because human rights are valued and upheld.

Mission

Our mission is to work with individuals and communities to build a sustainable movement to defend and promote human rights in the UK and globally.

Long-term outcomes

We will work to ensure:

- ▶ All people are treated fairly and live lives of dignity
- ▶ Everyone's human rights are respected, promoted and protected
- ▶ Human rights abusers are held to account and victims of violations have access to justice and reparations

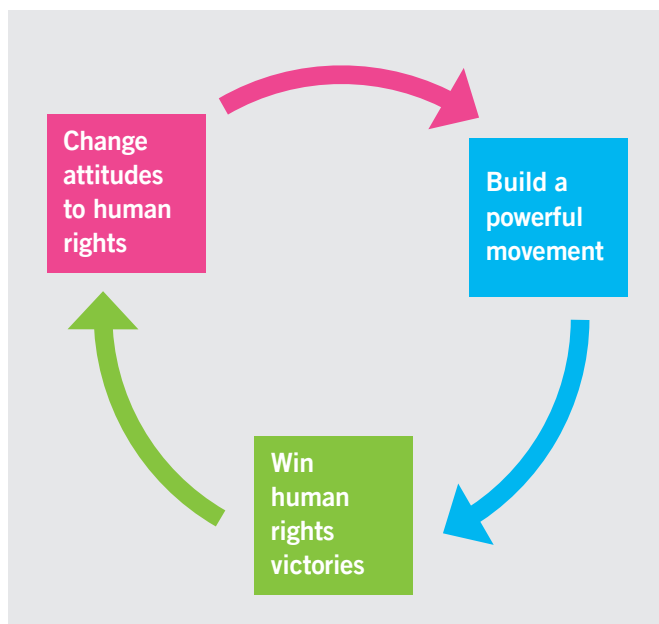
Two fundamental shifts are needed to bring about these changes:

- ▶ Human rights become a legal and social norm in the UK and around the world, and are progressively realised and implemented with adequate resourcing.
- ▶ The systems that create and sustain human rights violations are replaced with ones that protect and promote the human rights of everyone.

To bring about these fundamental shifts, we will focus on achieving the following strategic goals by 2030:

- ▶ Human rights will be better understood, valued and defended by increasingly large sections of the public. Racist, sexist, misogynistic and other stereotypes that facilitate human rights violations will be declining in public and political discourse.
- ▶ Amnesty International UK and our allies have fought and won key human rights victories on the way to securing long-term, sustainable change for people in the UK and around the world.
- ▶ More people, especially people or groups who currently have less social power, have the connectedness, access, protection, resources and will to stand up for their rights and those of their communities.

We want to make big shifts in how human rights are understood, valued and protected. To change behaviours in this way, we need to change people’s attitudes to human rights through campaigns, communications, education, and activism. We need to make real-world changes that fundamentally improve how large groups of people are treated. And we need to build a movement of people who share our vision. Progress in one area will support progress in others. As our movement grows, so will our ability to win campaigns. As we win campaigns, we will change attitudes to human rights. As attitudes to human rights change, our movement will grow.



Strategic Goal 1 – Change attitudes to human rights

By 2030 human rights will be better understood, valued and defended by increasingly large sections of the public. Racist, sexist, misogynistic and other stereotypes that facilitate human rights violations will be declining in public and political discourse.

All our analysis and feedback highlighted the need to address the decline in support for human rights among the public, in the press, and in political discourse. This theory of change argues that to bring about sustainable change domestically and internationally, we must:

- ▶ Proactively name the problem and its causes – racism, xenophobia, misogyny, and ableism, among others
- ▶ Undermine the narratives and stories that demonise oppressed communities and human rights and replace them with positive alternatives
- ▶ Invest in building a greater understanding of human rights across society.

Our campaigns, media and communications, and education work are the channels through which we share these narratives.

- ▶ **Indicative activities** These are the kinds of activities that will contribute to the achievement of this outcome.
 - 1 Strategic campaigns and communications to re-frame and shift long-term narratives about human rights.
 - 2 Media and PR to share our narratives and values.
 - 3 Education work to inform and inspire people to understand and value their rights.
 - 4 Partnership building – particularly with ‘unusual suspects’ (organisations, individuals or groups who reach and engage audiences and targets we do not – eg local media as per Suffragette Spirit above or football clubs as per Football Welcomes) – to shift narratives about human rights.
 - 5 Sensitisation work with Amnesty International UK staff on the intersections between different forms of structural oppressions and human rights violations.

How we need to work

To achieve our objectives, Amnesty International UK must take a long-term, values-based, positive approach to our strategic communications, seeking to seed and embed new narratives about human rights, and proposing positive solutions to the major challenges we face.

The communications strategy provides a clear grounding for how to approach this work. This is reinforced by the Impact of the Movement (IOM) strategy, Football Welcomes, Pride inside, Suffragette Spirit, Still Marching, and our education work. With our media and PR skills we can develop a long-term approach to shifting narratives, building on and connected to our organising, activism and education in communities.

Our long-term strategic human rights priorities (see section on proposed approaches to implementation) should use this approach to strategic communications.

We will need to establish how to benchmark and monitor these changes.

Feedback on this approach

There was consensus across all audiences that this approach is the right one for Amnesty International. Many respondents said it also lends itself well to movement building – building support in communities for positive solutions to human rights challenges.

Strategic Goal 2 – Build a powerful movement

By 2030 more people, especially people or groups who currently have less social power, have the connectedness, access, protection, resources and will to stand up for their rights and those of their communities.

To achieve major, wide-ranging human rights victories we'll focus efforts on supporting the growth of a bigger, stronger, more diverse and inclusive movement of people. People should be at the heart of everything we do – it is here that power, legitimacy and relevance lie. We must continue to engage with the public on human rights issues and our work, but also focus on what people do once they are engaged, not simply on how many of them there are.

We need to better understand how different struggles are interlinked, and use that sense of solidarity to connect with communities.

► **Indicative activities** These are the kinds of activities that will contribute to the achievement of this outcome.

- 1 Community/distributed organising on human rights issues of relevance to impacted communities/groups and their allies.
- 2 Education and training for individuals and groups on using human rights and campaigning to create change.
- 4 Development of internal processes and ways of working that facilitate community-led campaigning on human rights issues.
- 5 Continuing work to make Amnesty International UK an anti-racist organisation across our staff body and our movement.

Strategic Goal 3 – Win human rights victories

By 2030 Amnesty International UK and our allies have fought and won key human rights victories on the way to securing long-term, sustainable change for people in the UK and around the world.

Our analysis and evaluations make clear that while we are winning some victories in the UK and internationally, we

could be doing more to campaign for bigger, longer-term human rights change. Amnesty International is seen as a global guardian of human rights and needs to retain a broad coverage of issues, so we need to be in the story and in the moment. However, to create the ambitious change that is called for, we need to work to impact the key drivers of human rights violations, and build sustained support for our call and action to make them a reality.

► **Indicative activities** These are the kinds of activities that will contribute to the achievement of this outcome

- 1 With rightsholders at the heart of our work we will build campaigns with and for them, focusing on the issues that impact them and their communities. We will deploy distributed organising methods. (Distributed organising activates a network of self-starting supporters in multiple locations. It draws on the initiative and energy of supporters to start groups and lead teams eg locally targeting MPs on a specific human rights issue).
- 2 Build coalitions across the political spectrum to propose positive solutions to the causes of inequality, discrimination and demonisation.
- 3 Advocacy with local and national authorities to ensure human rights are protected and respected.
- 4 Maintain and build new partnerships with human rights defenders and organisations in the UK and internationally.
- 5 Educate and train people to become activists, advocates and campaigners on human rights issues.
- 6 Research and document human rights violations.

How we need to work

We will build long-term campaigns designed to disrupt and challenge the systems that drive human rights violations, as well as the violations themselves. Linked to Outcome 1, we need to develop and push positive narratives about the changes we want to see. These projects would be large in scale and duration, focused on proposing and campaigning for significant, currently out-of-reach changes. This doesn't mean we won't seek to win until the big change is ushered in; but we will link any incremental change to the bigger picture.

These campaigns require research, participation of individuals and groups affected, and flexible planning. They also need effective distributed organising and movement-building, Educational activities will increase support and engagement with the campaigns, particularly at a community level.

We need to build broad, innovative issue-based coalitions, prioritising those who push for radical change and providing support such as training and protest monitoring.

Our strategic communications must frame our work as effective over the long term. To talk about 'changing

systems', for example, can alienate audiences. We need to clarify the links between the big changes we call for and meaningful local actions.

For our work on the structural drivers of human rights violations to be effective, we need to continue with our internal efforts to become an anti-racist organisation, and include an analysis of racism as a driver in our public work.

- ▶ Feedback on this approach has been mixed. We will need to spend time embedding an understanding of this approach to campaigning, and what exactly we mean by 'systems-focused'. Some audiences see this as Amnesty International suggesting we develop ideological campaigns designed to undermine capitalism or neo-liberalism. This isn't the case. Systems-focused campaigning is about shifting power dynamics that block change on a particular issue (eg a weak, uncoordinated civil society that mainly excludes oppressed groups). It is about overcoming the narratives that maintain the status quo, and building up a broad base of support to tackle entrenched ideas and policies that lead to negative human rights outcomes.

How we need to work

Over this period, we will work to build a movement that is diverse, inclusive and effective, in which decision-making power will be distributed more evenly through the movement and specifically to activists. We will continue to build a hybrid organising and mobilising model as per the IOM strategy.

Our ambition will be for the majority of our organising to be around our stated priorities and we believe that our work on ESCR, and anti-racism in particular, will provide an opportunity for activists to root human rights in communities in the UK. Where communities or activists want to organise around issues that fall outside of our priorities, these issues will have to be within the parameters of Amnesty International policy and values, including anti-racism and we will organise ourselves to enable this.

This will require significant investments in training for staff and activists and we'll need to build strong frameworks within which people can design and deliver campaigns and activism relevant to their communities.

We will encourage and support leadership from rightsholders and to help activists do that where they aren't rightsholders themselves.

We will become less London-centric as an organisation. Our Head Office being based in London will not be a barrier to leadership and participation of staff and activists based across the UK. We will develop our work

with an understanding of its impact across the whole of the UK, including the whole of England. This will inform what we work on, how we consider power and how we communicate.

Through our strategy we will recognise the different powers and opportunities presented by devolved government and increase the way in which we are able to make our work relevant and effective equally across England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

7 Primary mechanisms for change

We have three primary mechanisms and one cross-cutting mechanism for achieving the strategic goals in the previous section. Some are articulated under activities but clearly spelled out here. In making decisions about resourcing, we should prioritise delivering these areas of work.

Primary mechanisms

- ▶ **Public campaigning with and through the movement, working with and creating leadership roles for the individuals and communities most impacted by the issues at hand.** We will build campaigns that win human rights change now, but also put us on a trajectory of addressing systemic issues and help us build towards a better future. These campaigns will be based on research, advocated for with parliamentarians, civil servants and government, and supported by strategic communications and litigation, and will address the drivers of human rights violations as well as the violations themselves. Under this model we will focus on campaigns that can unlock change on a wider scale.
- ▶ **Community/distributed organising and movement building, including supporting individuals and human rights defenders and organisations.** The strength of the Amnesty International movement and the human rights movement in the UK is central to our theory of change.
- ▶ **Using the law will become an increasingly important tactic to be utilised within a wider public campaigning approach that centres on the voices and action of individuals and communities.** Amnesty International UK is increasingly turning to the law to instigate change on specific human rights issues where our agenda and the government's diverge.

Cross-cutting mechanism

- ▶ **Human rights education.** Directly and indirectly this supports the achievement of the three strategic goals listed above, and supports primary mechanisms for change. Human rights education stands alone as a programme, and also supports, reinforces and enriches our other activities.

8 Supporting mechanisms for change

These supporting mechanisms for change enable us to deliver the activities above. They are also impactful in their own right, contribute to our strength as an organisation, and help facilitate the primary mechanisms for change.

Engagement

Engaging target audiences is key for delivering many of our organisational objectives. We need people to win campaigns. If we want to communicate new narratives about human rights it will be as much through our mass communications channels as anywhere else. We fundraise and recruit through these channels. To bring new and different people into our work and develop them into leading activists, we need to engage them. Engagement should not be an end in itself, but a means to other ends, each of which we should clearly identify when we pursue this approach.

Policy analysis

Policy analysis is incredibly important for the credibility of Amnesty International UK, ensuring our work stands up to scrutiny. It should reinforce our primary mechanisms for change, support our campaigning and organising, and providing the basis for our legal challenges.

Research

The Amnesty International movement underpins campaigning with research, which is key to the success of our theory of change but does not make change happen on its own. To achieve the recommendations in our research reports and briefings, we need to organise, mobilise and campaign.

Media and PR

Media and PR work is critical to Amnesty International's brand reputation, and we are known for doing this well. The media helps us to ensure we remain in the public eye and is often a vital element of our local, national and international campaigns. Our media team is already broadly organised along these lines with some elements of the team focusing on reactive news and IS output, and the other on our strategic campaigning objective.

Fundraising

Fundraising makes all of our other work possible. Amnesty International UK is also one of the largest funders of the global movement.

9 How we should deliver our work

Throughout the consultation period, we have talked about how Amnesty International should deliver our work in order to create the desired change. The quality indicators below are the ones that came up most consistently among different audiences.

We need to learn to be rightsholder-led

We have a lot to learn about creating campaigns and projects that enable safe and effective rightsholder leadership. We need to reflect on the power dynamics that exist between us and those we would seek to partner with and platform'.

Projecting a positive vision for the future and telling positive stories about change

There was strong support for more positive and hope-based communications from Amnesty International. This theory of change sets out that people want something positive and exciting to get behind, rather than simply calling out human rights violations. Much of the most effective organising around the world provides a large and exciting vision people can rally behind.

Centring human voices and stories in our communications

This comes through in our fundraising proposition work, and is something we are known for. To deliver our theory of change we need to keep talking about the people who make our work real and whose lives our work has an impact on.

We need to engage people's feelings and beliefs...

Young people will play a leading role in our work. Over the strategic period we will prioritise engaging, inspiring and enabling young people to participate in all forms of Amnesty International's work.

Non-party political but entirely partisan about the issues we care about

Not party-political but unequivocal about the change we are building towards. Where possible we will seek to build consensus on issues that matter to us. In calling out inequality and injustice, we will be bold in our demands for change, even if they alienate some audiences.

Relevant, welcoming, inclusive and accessible

The need for Amnesty International to be all of these things runs through our external audience analysis (potential and existing supporters, young people, activists) and IOM strategy. Our work needs to be relevant to people's lives, from an activist perspective, and to issues that affect them. Strong feedback from the Activism Sub-Committee said that Amnesty International is almost entirely absent from marginalised faith and ethnic minority communities in the UK. On the need to be more welcoming, the feedback showed that for many, Amnesty International is seen as 'distant' with high bars of entry for activists. Inclusivity, accessibility and relevance are closely linked.

Credible and evidence-based

Amnesty International's strength, for many, comes from our research and evidence and across audiences this was seen as critically important.

Ethical and effective

Our work has to be ethical and safe, portraying individuals and communities in ways that respect their dignity and agency, puts them at no risk; and is as effective and impactful as possible. We need to continue to embed our ethical framework and support deep and continual learning from our campaigning and activism.

Sharing power and platforms with human rights defenders

Our external work over the past five years has shown the enormous impact in the lives and work of human rights defenders that Amnesty International support and solidarity can bring.

Challenging our own internal biases on issues like race – and also our own ideas of human rights campaigning

To be a modern movement we need to continue to address our own blind spots and biases, in policy and campaigning, as well as our internal cultures and practices.

Addressing power imbalances within the Amnesty International UK movement

We have a huge amount of power and this creates a dynamic in our interactions with others – this is reflected in our internal structures and activists.

Innovative and take risks

All audiences consulted want Amnesty International UK to be more innovative. Staff want more time and space to be given to innovative projects, recognising that with room to breathe unorthodox ideas can take hold and make big changes. Activists want to be empowered to innovate on their own terms and to try things, fail and learn.

10 Our key enablers

Across the above activities, Amnesty International UK has a set of supporting policies, practices and approaches that enable us to deliver our work ethically and effectively. Investing staff time, energy and resources into understanding and confidentially using these enablers will be key to achieving our vision.

Our ethical framework

As we increase the breadth and depth of our work with rightsholders and impacted communities we'll work jointly to create research and communications that tell their stories and platform their concerns. Our ethical framework for active participation and informed consent helps to ensure we do this safely and responsibly.

Monitoring, evaluation, and learning

As we develop and implement our new strategy, we must apply the right approaches to monitoring, evaluation and

learning across the organisation. We must learn from our work and fully understand the impact we if we are to be effective.

Risk assessment, due diligence and safeguarding

Our ambitious new strategy proposes relinquishing control and collaborating widely. To deliver this safely and responsibly, it is essential that we undertake careful risk assessment on new projects, due diligence on potential partners, and safeguarding of our staff.

Our brand

Amnesty International's brand was constantly referred to as a key enabler of our successful work. 'Trusted', 'respected', 'prominent' were words repeated in describing our organisation. External respondents say our research, media work, and uncompromising position on important matters give us this credibility, which is recognised by the public, the media and political figures.

The human rights framework

Throughout the consultation period, a question arose about our understanding of and use of the human rights framework. It is core to our mission but little understood internally.

Partnership building

Running across the above approaches is the need to keep fostering and developing new and innovative partnerships to support the delivery of our primary mechanisms for change.

11 External barriers to achieving our theory of change

These are some of the many barriers articulated by respondents across all sessions.

- ▶ **An uninterested or oppositional public.** External analysis and work with Opinium and the NCVO highlighted a public increasingly disengaged from human rights or actively opposed to them. In many cases this manifests as a feeling that human rights 'aren't for me', and are primarily there for the benefit of prisoners or terrorists. The increase in conspiracy theories, belief in 'fake news', and distrust of the BBC and 'mainstream media' combine to leave sections of the public distrustful of our message and of outlets that amplify our messages.
- ▶ **Free speech.** Several stakeholders identified freedom of speech as an aspect of human rights law that is increasingly problematic. The lack of understanding (or agreement) on boundaries of free speech has made it harder for Amnesty International and other human rights organisations to respond to the media, a populist critique of human rights law,

and the regulation of hate speech. With freedom of expression likely to be a major strategic direction, we will need to address this challenge.

- ▶ **Structural racism and white supremacy.** Amnesty International UK has taken steps to acknowledge the issues of white supremacy and structural racism – but it is also acknowledged that our current analysis of the drivers of human rights violations often does not take these into account. Many respondents argued that without this analysis, we will not be able to pursue meaningful change, particularly on UK issues.
- ▶ **Polarisation.** Amnesty International is viewed by many as a left-wing organisation, even though we aim to be firmly apolitical. Given the current and increasing schisms in the UK (remain/leave; left/right, etc) finding a platform that can bridge these divides will be a challenge.
- ▶ **Current political reality.** The current government was discussed by many participants as a major barrier to winning human rights changes and, indeed, preventing a regression.
- ▶ **Challenging resource context.** The Covid-19 crisis and recession will impact us financially and in terms of how we deliver our work.

12 Internal barriers to achieving our theory of change

Throughout the consultation, respondents raised barriers and challenges to this proposed theory of change. These barriers should be addressed as part of the strategy development process.

- ▶ **Our struggle to prioritise and organise behind priority issues and areas of work.** Staff would like to see a clearly set and agreed group of priorities that we commit to as an organisation. There are many competing ideas about what should be prioritised, from issues to projects and strategies.
- ▶ **We do not have a consistent understanding of what campaigning is and is not.** This will need clarifying.
- ▶ **Among activists there is a feeling of frustration around how committed Amnesty International UK is to handing over meaningful decision-making and implementation power, an important step in realising this theory of change.** An implementation priority should be on establishing the processes and/or trialling ways of working with Community Organising to enable activists to organise meaningfully.
- ▶ **We do not have a culture of embedded evaluation and learning and our current processes are not well understood or followed.** This is flagged primarily by staff but it also impacts on our activism – where we not collecting information systematically. To effectively implement this theory of change we need to do more to embed and improve these processes.

- ▶ **We currently lack policy and analysis on the structural drivers of human rights violations.** There is a strong desire to work on racism and its impact on policy making in the UK, for example, but as an organisation we do not currently have policy or analysis on this. A substantial investment of time and resources is needed to establish this.
- ▶ **The internal ‘class structure’ at Amnesty International UK was raised in feedback sessions.** There is a belief among staff that certain teams are privileged with more power and influence than others.
- ▶ **Among staff there is a sense that there is a lack of understanding internally about what human rights actually are.** It was noted by several teams that we also do not have a common, widely understood definition of campaigning or community organising.
- ▶ **Staff and activists fed back a belief that we are struggling to bridge the gap between online engagement and deeper activism.** This is something we need to address in the development of the next strategic plan.
- ▶ **Tech.** This issue came up repeatedly. Amnesty International UK was seen as behind the curve in terms of how we use tech. The IS tech team were held up repeatedly as a good example of using new tech to tackle human rights violations. Amnesty Decoders and the use of open-source data were both cited as things we could learn from.
- ▶ **Retaining a long term strategic focus.** This can be a challenge with an annual democratic process that can alter or shift our limited campaigning resources onto new issues on a yearly basis.

13 Putting our theory of change into practice

If within a systemic issue – let’s say racism – we can identify broad areas of public policy (also called systems) influenced by racism that do not properly protect human rights or within which rights are routinely violated – let’s say the immigration system – then we have a ‘way in’ to that systemic issue.

Working with impacted communities and rightsholders we will identify positive alternatives to the current system that are rights respecting and fair – let’s say an immigration system that ‘by 2030 puts people first, is no longer racist, and treats all people fairly, equally and humanely’. ‘The current immigration system is racist and de-humanising. We’re working to build one from the ground up that puts people and their rights first.’

Working with rightsholders we can then start to talk publicly about how that system could be better re-designed, and

build support for our ideas among supporters, human rights defenders and NGOs. We can start to network these groups, and support them directly through training, finance, and access to decision-makers and bigger platforms.

We can find out what people – the ‘public’, politicians, journalists – think about our ideas, and establish baselines of support and opposition among the key target groups. With those baselines, we can target those who think our plan is great and try to get them active on the issues. For those who do not support our ideas, we can figure out why and try and change their minds.

The Amnesty International movement can organise events in communities, constituencies, and in parliament to build support for the change we propose, acknowledging that it will take many years to realise our big vision. We will look at what needs to change on the road to the horizon. We will use the law to force change, and educate and organise people to understand why and how the current system is not fit for purpose, and what they can do to change it. We will forge partnerships with organisations, individuals, and groups who work in the same spaces as us, or share our drive for change. We will work to leverage their platforms and profile to reach an ever-widening circle of engaged people.

We will develop tangible, powerful ways in which communities can help us work towards those ultimate objectives, bridging the gap between the system change and local action. We will support their organising with research and skills. When partner movements are threatened or persecuted we will support them, show solidarity and fight for their right to protest.

Over time, our proposals will go from being new and radical, to politically salient, to mainstream, to reality. We will be persistent and committed, keeping the horizon goal as a rallying cry.

We will record what we think is and is not working. We will note down significant developments and celebrate them.

14 In short – our proposed theory of change

Amnesty International and the wider human rights movement are winning incremental victories through ‘insider’ approaches to creating change – winning changes within the boundaries of what is currently considered possible. However, overall, we are not seeing widespread positive changes in human rights protections because our efforts are limited to what is considered achievable.

To reverse this trend and start to win more, we will:

- ▶ Develop, communicate, educate, and campaign for positive solutions to systems and practices that violate human rights, working with those affected at the centre.

So that:

- ▶ We can engage people in those solutions – individuals, current and future political figures, journalists, and human rights defenders.

So that:

- ▶ A sustainable, powerful, organised network of people and organisations calling for these changes emerges.

So that:

- ▶ The scale and breadth of people calling for change is bigger and stronger than those opposing it.

So that:

- ▶ Those with the power to make the changes we are calling for are compelled to act to bring about these changes or new political power holders are in place who are prepared to.