9 Ways to Change the World?

Theories of change for engaging people on global issues
A Corelab Briefing

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INTRODUCTION

Organisations, campaigners, and social movement have long sought to leverage the support of **"power-ful"** constituencies in countries of the global north in support of their work for global justice. Initiatives as diverse as KONY2012, the Peace Corps, the Occupy movement, and Make Trade Fair represent distinct assumptions and approaches, contributing to particular kinds of results.

This paper presents nine key theories of change animating efforts to engage northern constituencies on global issues:

- Charity
- Market-oriented aid funding
- Mutual aid and cooperation
- Behaviour change
- Building empathy and global citizenship
- Social mobilisation
- Monitory democracy
- Leadership and international networks
- Meta-movements

These models demonstrate a variety of conceptualisations of where change is located, who the agents of change are and what infrastructure or tactics are required to bring about such shifts. Some models underscore the role of the nation state and domestic formal politics, while others privilege the local, or alternatively, transnationalism and global pathways to change. Some models reflect old realities of the dominant power of the 'north' and large INGOs, while others bypass traditional institutions and rely on direct connections.

Any categorization risks over drawing distinctions and masking overlaps and this one is no exception. However, as is referenced throughout, the theories of change inter-relate and are often deployed together in work for international justice. It is also important to note that many tactics and tools are used across the theories of change. For example, fundraising, while a key tactic in 'charity' is also present in 'market based aid funding', 'social mobilisation', 'building empathy and global citizenship' and 'mutual aid and cooperation' amongst others.

Change processes are highly complex and unpredictable; opportunities open and close through historic, dynamic and iterative processes which further create opportunities and possibilities for collective action and social mobilization of groups and/or individuals (McGee and Gaventa, 2010). The engagement of domestic constituencies in the global north is often many steps away from the end goal of improving justice for people living in poverty (one example is: from awareness to action to policy change to international negotiations to policy changes in another country to implementation to impact on peoples' lives). Any such theories of change 'involve a wide range of actors who pursue their aims according to different incentives and interests' and are embedded in different cultural, political and economic contexts

(Tembo, 2012, 1). There is no linear, guaranteed theory of change that can be applied to the task of engaging northern constituencies in work for international justice.

No matter what theor(ies) of change are developed, the literature reflects the need for them to be based on strong contextual and political analysis (Cox, 2011, Citizenship DRC, 2011), engagement of the constituency itself (Bourn and Brown, 2011; Darnton, 2008) and subjected to 'a continuous process of construction and deconstruction to improve knowledge on what works and what does not, and the circumstances according to which such changes take place' (Tembo, 2012, 4).

This report explores five meta-trends all of which are reconfiguring the relationship between actions for justice in different parts of the world, and then examines the nine theories of change, considering their implications, impacts, and pitfalls.

Our hope is that people trying - in their various ways - to contribute to global justice will find this a useful framework for reflecting on and even reconceptualising their own approaches.

If you want to discuss the ideas further, explore them within your organization, or give us some feedback please get in touch - may@corelab.co.

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FIVE META-TRENDS

A number of key trends are changing the context and dynamics of engaging constituencies in countries of the global north on international development and justice. These trends provide a backdrop to the analysis of the theories of change themselves.

Geo-political shifts

The geo-political context has shifted substantially in the past decade with the rising influence, economically and geo-politically, of countries such as China, India, Indonesia, Turkey, Brazil, Argentina, South Africa and Russia amongst others. This has shifted assumptions about power in international negotiations, for example China's role in the Copenhagen COP 15 negotiations, India's in the COP17 negotiations and the shift from the G8 to the G20 as the key forum of discussion of international aid and finance (Evans, 2011; Trocaire, 2011). It has opened up debates about the role of aid as emerging economies become significant international donors with different approaches to donorship (Evans, 2011, 11) and in addressing inequality when the biggest numbers of poor people live in middle income countries (Sumner, 2010). The international role of countries of the global north, and by extension, the agency of their citizens in influencing that role, is shifting and must be considered very seriously in any theories of change that seek to promote international justice through and with citizens of countries in the global north.

Migration, identity, and connection

Through international migration, displacement and mobility people can become members of multiple communities. Technology is enabling ties to be more easily formed or sustained over geographic distance. This has implications for peoples' access to, experience and expression of citizenship, for their ability to collaborate and act across borders and for their own identity and positioning globally. For people who have been displaced or not accepted by another nation-state there is an inability to draw on citizenship to make demands on the state in which they may be resident (Amisi and Ballard, 2005, 2), however they may continue to exercise influence in their home country (Keane, 2009; Baser, 2011; Newland and Patrick, 2004). The importance of transnational flows of money and information for development is increasing and there are now debates on how governments and civil society on both sides of the equation can help facilitate and augment these people to people efforts (Ionescu, 2006; Newland and Patrick, 2004). In work to connect young people to international issues there is increasing recognition that they are already experiencing globalization through the social pluralism and 'super diversity' around them, resulting from migration (Bourn and Brown, 2011, 21). This interpenetration of geography, identity and relationships serves to breakdown the divides of 'here' and 'there' and, instead, recognises the connections that already exist between communities in countries of the global north and global south.

Interdependence and learning

Many of the most critical issues for international development and justice either reflect our interdependence, such as resource scarcity and climate change, or are simultaneously global and local, such as gender injustice. In both cases there are opportunities for learning, cooperation and exchange to confront such challenges, alongside demands for just actions from countries of the global to redress the overuse of limited global resources. These changes mean that 'old models of the civil society in the north being the charity provider or the service deliverer for the rest of the world will no longer do' (Gaventa in Making Good Society, 2010, 27) and that other forms of connection are possible.

Science and technology

Science and technology innovations will play a role in future development. A key question remains: who will have access to the resulting knowledge in the future? Technology is playing a crucial role in new models of funding, monitoring government action and campaigning. The rise of digital activism has engaged large numbers of citizens in the global north on campaigns with local and global implications. Its use alongside offline mobilisation is now a feature of almost all social mobilisation. For international campaigns it enables wider and more equitable coalitions (Rutherford, 2000) but it also creates challenges of 'coordination, control and commitment' amongst wide and dispersed coalitions which may contribute in diverse ways using varied messages (Hilder, 2007, 73). As with any tools, digital ones are open to abuse and nefarious use, such as authoritarian uses of technology for surveillance. Equally, successful use of technology doesn't necessarily equate to positive impact if the underlying assumptions turn out to not fit the situation at hand (Taub, 2012).

Space for citizen action

The "Arab Spring", Occupy movement, and anti-corruption protests in India were three signs of what seemed like a major eruption of citizen action in 2011. That year more than 88 countries experienced mass citizen action (CIVICUS, 2012, 12). Whereas many peoples' movements in the 1980s were calling for more civil society and less state power, and many of those in the 1990s and 2000s focused on global governance, in and since 2011 the common thread has been calls for better governance by the state in North Africa, Greece, Spain, Burma, Russia, the US and elsewhere (Glasius, 2012). The results of peoples' movements have been a mixed bag of authoritarian regimes collapsing, state backlash against activists and civil society, new powers being established in vacuums with, at times, withdrawals of rights from women (CIVICUS, 2012, 10). The intensity and mixed results raise questions about what role citizens in the global north can play as these peoples' movements continue to develop and emerge in new countries - such as the Ukraine most recently. .

NINE THEORIES OF CHANGE

Charity

What are the theories of change?	Who has agency?	What infrastructure or tactics are used?
Gifts of money and goods help alleviate suffering and poverty. Giving is an ethical obligation of affluent people when it can be used to alleviate suffering.	Individuals and groups in northern countries provide money. INGOs act as trusted intermediaries. Individuals and groups in 'developing countries' receive goods and 'development'.	INGOs as a key mechanism for channeling money and goods Online fundraising Events to engage the public Storytelling

Theories of change

The key assumption underpinning charity is that a transfer of goods and funds between countries of the global north to people in the global south will help resolve issues of immediate need and respond to natural disasters. These theories of change can incorporate civil society and International Non-Government Organisations (INGOs) operating as trustworthy intermediaries between the giving public and the 'beneficiaries'. This theory of change can be based on the ethical imperative for individuals in rich countries to give what they can to help resolve poverty (Singer, 2009). This is not the only theory of change that engages northern constituencies in providing funds. Not all fundraising constitutes charity, although many forms of fundraising may reinforce this understanding of how change happens in the minds of participants and contributors (Darnton with Kirk, 2011).

Initiatives and impacts

Donating is the most common way that citizens engage with international development in the UK, US, France and Germany (InterMedia, 2012, 4). Charitable giving is driven by motivations including '(i) altruism, (ii) the 'warm-glow' obtained from the act of giving, (iii) the receipt of material benefit in return for the gift and (iv) simple morality' (Micklewright and Wright, 2003, 8). A large range of individual, cultural and contextual factors affect this behavior and donating practices differ between women and men, ethnic groups and across countries (Bekkers and Wiepking, 2011, 291).

A recent literature review of 500 journal articles on philanthropy documents 8 mechanisms that drive charitable giving: (1) awareness of need; (2) solicitation; (3) costs and benefits; (4) altruism; (5) reputation;

(6) psychological benefits; (7) values; and (8) efficacy (Bekkers and Wiepking, 2011, 292-3). INGOs draw on these mechanisms in various ways to engage communities in providing financing for development activities. Awareness of need is developed through advertising, engagement with community groups, development education and immersive fundraising such as 'Live below the line' or the '40 hour famine'. Solicitation is practiced through direct mail, approaching people on the streets or cold calling. New online mechanisms that show who has donated and how much has been given in real time tap into reputation (Bog et al, 2012, 18-19). Storytelling is commonly used, taking people through a set of negative emotions in reaction to a problem to positive emotions from the opportunity to donate (Merchant et al, 2010, 760). Feedback from the NGO on the effect of the donation is particularly important in maintaining the positive emotional state of the donor (Merchant et al, 2010, 761).

Charity's main impact and benefit is to contribute to the relief of immediate suffering, particularly in the form of emergency relief, and to provide financing for long term development efforts. A significant amount of private money has been channelled through international non-government organisations, often to local civil society or given at the time of a major disaster to support relief efforts. The work these donations have funded has contributed[1] to progress in reducing poverty in recent decades - where the proportion of people living below the World Bank poverty line has reduced from four in ten people worldwide to one in four (Singer, 2009, 7). By some estimates a doubling of current financing is needed to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (Jones, 2012, 8) and individual donors can contribute to this, alongside official development assistance, remittances and domestic resource development in countries of the global south.

As a theory of change, charity can fail to challenge the status quo that produces suffering and instead may reinforce it (Newland et al, 2010, 4). For example, in theory philanthropy addresses the needs of recipients. In reality donations may be directed towards what donors perceive as needs, rather than needs identified by recipients (Bekkers and Wiepking, 2011, 292). As such, people living in poverty remain subject to the whim of generosity of those in rich countries. INGOs may respond to these perceptions in directing their fundraising campaigns, for example through developing 'products' that allow the public to invest in concrete goods, or, at an extreme end, by overplaying need through 'the pornography of poverty' (Aldashev and Verider, 2009, 200, Darnton with Kirk, 2011). Dependency theorists roundly critiqued charity in the 1970s for its role in reinforcing uneven power structures and creating aid dependencies (Ballie Smith, 2008, 81). Initiatives providing large scale donations of goods to communities

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[1] It is difficult to establish exact contribution, particularly in the context of significant economic growth in China and India.

overseas - dubbed 'Stuff we don't want'[2] have been critiqued for providing goods that are not needed, not being cost effective and stifling home grown industries and local businesses (Freschi, 2011, 1).

While most international development agencies have rejected the idea of charity in their strategic missions it remains a dominant frame in how northern constituencies engage with development. Significant quantitative and qualitative research in the UK found that despite calls for 'justice, not charity' in 2005's UK Make Poverty History campaign, the dominant frame[3] for public understanding remained the 'Powerful Giver' and 'Grateful Receiver' (Darnton with Kirk, 2011, 6). This frame was reinforced by modes of engagement through celebrities, pop concerts and wristbands, which, in tapping into individual and consumer cultures in northern countries may have turned INGOs' relationships with supporters into more of a 'shopping' experience' (Ballie Smith, 2008, 13).

INGO professionalisation has led to a 'follow the money' political economy (Fowler and Biekart, 2011, 12) and INGOs now compete in a global market for donations (Aldashev and Verider, 2009, 198). The rise of online platforms that allow people to donate to or invest directly in projects or create their own fundraising campaigns may challenge the role of INGOs as intermediaries, or could provide new models for INGOs to use. This comes alongside an increased focus on accountability and transparency in both government and civil society aid (Sumner, 2010, 29). There are other trends that could diminish the power of large northern-based INGOS: the decrease in some northern aid budgets, the emergence of large INGOs within the global south and increasing south-south cooperation (Trocaire, 2011, 58), the increase in northern donor governments providing funds directly to southern CSOs instead of through northern INGO intermediaries (CIVICUS, 2012, 15) and the rise of emerging economies as significant international donors with different approaches to donorship (Evans, 2011, 11).

In this context, INGOs face contradictory imperatives between communicating the complexity of what is required to bring about change and creating 'comforting grand narratives in which the North is central' in order to construct their appeals for funds (Ballie Smith, 2008, 13). These narratives continue to paint poverty as something that happens over there, can obscure the role of northern constituencies in creating inequality (Ballie Smith, 2008, 12) and 'work against treating sustainable development as a co-produced socio-political process between people who are (not) poor and those working in solidarity with them' (Fowler and Biekart, 2011, 12). An alternative is communication that taps into deeper values using frames of universalism and benevolence which effectively positions donations as part of long-term work in partnership and supports community fundraising where people are actively engaged (Darnton with Kirk, 2011, 109). This can help generate funds for the kind of changes that are required to bring about significant shifts in power and access to resources (see, for example, lessons from Citizenship DRC, 2011).

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[2] Recent and controversial examples of this practice include the proposal to send 1 Million t-shirts to Africa in 2011, the 15 year long practice of World Vision accepting 100,000 unwanted Super Bowl t-shirts from NFL merchandisers to ship to poor people around the world and, recently, Oxfam Great Britain'the 15Bra Hunt.

[3] tFrames are the mental structures that allow human beings to understand reality 1 Million t-shirts to Africa in 2011,icturee reality ...They structure our ideas and concepts, they shape how we reason, and they even impact how we perceive and how we act. For the most part, our use of frames is unconscious and automatic - we use them without realising it.' (Lakoff, 2006, 25 cited in Darnton with Kirk, 2011, 67). Framing has increasingly been used in political and activist communication to tap into these deeper references and values and therefore reinforce them. In the case of international justice the key frame is universalism.

Market-oriented aid funding

| What are the theories of change?	Who has agency?	What infrastructure or tactics are used?
Understands business and social enterprise as crucial drivers of development. Provides online markets for financing. Venture capital approaches with an acceptance of rates of failure.	Individuals or groups in the global south who have a business or enterprise idea can submit it through a partner organization or directly to the online market. They are funded by individuals or groups overseas through an online market-place. Feedback is provided directly to funders. If finance is paid back funders receive their money back and the interest is forgone as a gift.	Online organisations or banks as intermediaries In country partners in some models Online feedback

Theories of change

These theories of change present businesses and social enterprises as crucial drivers of development. The role of individuals in northern countries is to provide access to funding or loans, in which they accept a certain level of risk that initiatives may fail and from which they expect some feedback or return on investment. Market-like mechanisms are used to allocate and monitor development funds.

Initiatives and impacts

Technology has enabled more direct connections between individual donors in northern countries and individuals or groups in countries of the global south. The connection occurs through social venture funds or banks, market-based grants, peer-to-peer loans, peer funding or direct giving. Initiatives include GlobalGiving, a philanthropic marketplace where individual donors select initiatives managed by grassroots organisations to support; Acumen Fund, a global venture fund investing in social businesses that use market oriented approaches; Charity Bank, a registered bank using deposits to make loans to charitable causes and Kiva which provides a person to person micro-lending marketplace (Jones, 2012, 6). Selection of projects is done in two ways - through partners who meet certain criteria (GlobalGiving and Kiva) or through direct vetting in the same way as commercial financial institutions (Acumen Fund and Charity Bank) (Jones, 2012, 7). There is an element of venture capital in these models where it is expected that there is a risk of failure (Ly and Mason, 2012). In loan-based mechanisms, such as Kiva, if the loan is repaid lenders can use the funds to lend again or withdraw the money (Ly and Mason, 2012). In this model the foregone interest constitutes a donation (Newland et al, 2010, 13). These approaches help

fill a gap in financing for small and medium sized businesses in low income countries who have not been eligible for either micro-finance or private capital markets (Jones, 2012, 8).

Alongside these are peer-peer mechanisms. In models such as Kickstarter.com, Indiegogo.com and Start-somegood.com[4], members of the public (and most often members of existing networks or offline communities) can contribute funds to an artistic, community or social enterprise. In exchange for financing the initiative donors receive something back - such as gifts or personal contact and feedback. This kind of fundraising allows for cheap and instantaneous feedback from the community of peers that can increase giving (Bog et al, 2012, 18-19). Other platforms, such as Ashoka's changemakers.org and the fund for young feminists, FRIDA, engage donors and members in voting on the initiatives that receive funding. An even more direct form of sending money is GiveDirectly where individuals donate through a webpage and the organisation transfers the donation to a recipient's cell phone in parts of Kenya designated as the poorest in census data. The recipient can use the funds 'to pursue their own goals'.[5]
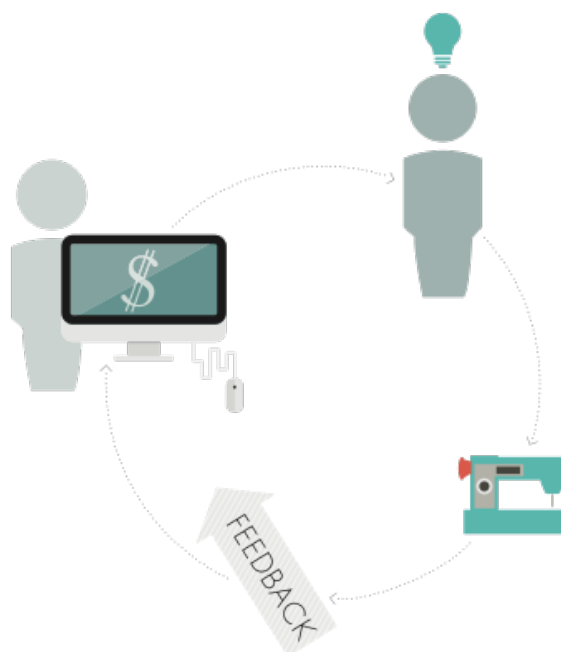
These mechanisms have made a significant amount of money available to enterprises: in 2011 alone, Kiva.org provided 110,256 loans of a total of $89,481,825 with funds provided by 457,739 individuals (Kiva, 2012). This model provides greater connections between individuals as donors decide which initiative to fund, rather than contributing to INGO general funds, and feedback is given directly from the entrepreneur. This can unbundle the funding of projects from their design and implementation thereby reducing political interference and enhancing transparency (Jones, 2012, 12). However, individual donor preferences have a strong influence over which projects get funded. Research using Kiva's data has found that donors are more likely to fund health and education projects, to give to women and groups and to fund social groups that are similar to them in terms of gender and occupation (Ly and Mason, 2012). This risks preferencing donor perceptions of need over needs identified by community members (Bekkers and Wiepking, 2011, 292).

In themselves, these models do not attempt to address significant economic and political structures that create poverty and injustice, and can reinforce them. In addition they are not suited to financing complex and long term challenges such as public institution and capacity building (Jones, 2012, 9) or the kind of work that underpins strengthening active citizenship (Citizenship DRC, 2011). These market-place based mechanisms do not address existing and complex challenges in aid - such as sustainability - and replicate established problems such as 'fragmentation, a supply-side bias and an extreme focus on quick results' (Jones, 2012, 2).

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[4] Disclosure: My brother is the co-founder of startsomegood.com.

[5] See http://www.givedirectly.org/index.php.

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Mutual aid and cooperation

What are the theories of change?	Who has agency?	What infrastructure or tactics are used?
Exchange creates mutual benefit, confronts common problems, or produces alternatives to dominant forms of exchange. Characterised by a belief that mutual aid is a basic urge that already underpins a lot of economic exchange (eg in the care economy).	Agency on both sides of the exchange - individuals and groups in both the global north and south. State provides enabling environment. Networks and organisations create the means and conduit for ongoing exchange.	Existing relationships, eg for diaspora communities Networks and organisations Online cooperation

Theories of change

Engaging individuals in mutual aid and cooperation is based on an expectation of reciprocity, collaboration, or exchange in which both parties benefit. These theories of change are characterised by a belief that mutual aid is a basic human urge[6] that already underpins a lot of economic exchange (for example in the care economy) (Tully, 2010, 32-3). In some initiatives cooperation is required to confront common problems (the transition town movement detailed in the 'behaviour change' section is an example) or create alternatives to dominant forms of exchange (for example through fair trade).

Initiatives and impacts

Diaspora networks

Members of diaspora or trans-national communities[7] are engaged in mutual aid and cooperation with communities in their 'home countries' (see Newland and Patrick, 2004; Newland et al, 2010; Busumtwi-Sam and Anderson, 2010; Ulf Johansson (ed), 2007; Ionescu, 2006). There are many forms of exchange that flow between transnational communities including remittances, trade and investment and involvement in peace, reconciliation, and political processes. Home town associations have been critiqued for

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[6] These underpinnings are similar to those in 03/coreng empathy and global citizenshipto those in 03/c

[7] tRather than viewing diaspora as comprising only two sites (nships and her than viewing diaspora as comprnk of diaspora occupying multiple sites/localities and to examine the connections between them… a diaspora includes members of a community dispersed to many diverse localities across and within state borders around the world, who retain more-tor-tless distinctive identities (fluid and contingent) vis-is-ivis a host society, have an interest in a 'home ', and are linked via networks of social organization (adapted from Kearney 1995:559; Brubaker 2005:5-a6). aBusumtwi-Sam and Anderson, 2010, 1-2)

setting priorities separate to the desires of communities they seek to benefit (Newland and Patrick, 2004) - and can be seen as a form of charity when operating in that manner. As well as remittances of cash (which constitute a higher proportion of financial flows than overseas development assistance) communities also transmit 'social remittances' including 'ideas, behaviours, identities and social capital' (Levitt cited in Newland and Patrick, 2004, 18). A lesser-known example of transnational links of mutual cooperation are networks to support scientific and technology exchange between communities, for example the Chinese American Association for Science and Technology connects Silicon Valley with entrepreneurs in China (Ionescu, 2006, 48). Government policies in both home and host countries have an impact on the significance of these connections for development for example, policies on the treatment of migrants and refugees in host countries and policies to match or augment remittances, such as in Mexico (Ionescu, 2006 and Newland and Patrick, 2004).

Fair trade and ethical consumerism

Fair trade or ethical consumerism is an exchange in which the northern consumer receives a product and contributes to a fair price being paid to producers (Scholte and Timms, 2009, 87). The fair trade movement has established significant market growth in the UK, Australia, Europe and the US (Making Good Society, 2010, 43; FLANZ and Oxfam Australia, 2010). They have used student movements (eg US Students for Fair Trade), campaigns targeted at certain businesses (eg Starbucks), established their own markets (eg shops) and facilitated access to mainstream outlets (eg Sainsbury's). Fair trade is a way of making the connections between consumers and producers clear and can provide an entry point for further engagement (Scholte and Timms, 2009, 87). Others critique ethical consumerism as 'superficial platitudes' as it integrates into and therefore reinforces problematic consumer culture (Lewis and Potter, 2011).

Within the fair trade and cooperatives movements worldwide there are opportunities for relationships to be developed and support provided from groups in northern countries to those in southern countries. For example, the World Council of Credit Unions provides financial services where there is demand but little supply and links US based credit unions with those in developing countries to exchange knowledge and provide support (Surber, 2005, 4). There is evidence that being part of a fair trade cooperative improves the incomes and lives to families that form part of the cooperative (FLANZ and Oxfam Australia, 2010). While benefitting those in the cooperative, fair trade does not necessarily protect the labour rights of non-cooperative members such as day labourers. At a systemic level, there are limits to the impacts of fair trade as an alternative when unfair trading rules persist. Its transformative political potential is potentially limited by the fact that it is embedded into the market system (Lewis and Potter, 2011).

Science and technology exchange

Technological innovation will continue to have significant impacts for health, agriculture, access to information and many other areas of life. Biotechnology, for example, is likely to affect human beings' ability to 'process information, manipulate chemicals, fabricate materials and structures, produce energy, provide food and maintain and enhance human health and the environment in the future' (UK Royal Academy of Engineering quoted in Evans, 2011, 19). There are significant questions about who will have access to future technological innovation and who will benefit (Evans, 2011, 20-1). The open source movement is one example where dispersed individuals across the world developed software that is open for use and future development - including by groups and individuals in the global south who have re-shaped it for their own purposes (Making Good Society, 2010, 44). This model is being applied to other areas such as biotechnology (Making Good Society, 2010, 44). Dispersed digital coders support organisations through developing targeted software through 'digital hacks of kindness'. As governments are increasingly trying to repress dissent through blocking internet, there are emerging collaborations for people in northern countries to help activists get around blocks and filters by using their bandwidth.[8]

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[8] See, for example, http://www.movements.org/how-to/entry/how-to-support-syrian-internet-users-by-setting-up-a-tor-relay.

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Behaviour change

What are the theories of change?	Who has agency?	What infrastructure or tactics are used?
Changing people's behaviour can have a significant impact, alongside or separate to formal politics. Behaviour change can operate at the individual level (eg fair trade purchasing), community level (eg transition towns movement) and society level (eg urban design, energy pricing to change consumption patterns). It is underpinned by a range of disciplines including psychology, economics and sociology. It is often a contributor to other ToCs eg behaviour change as an entry point into social mobilisation.	People in the global north changing their own behaviour or self-organising to change practices in their local community. Organisations, networks and the state can play a role in promoting, enabling and sustaining changes in behaviour	Social marketing and communications Processes to generate commitments Economic incentives or disincentives Opportunities for action Research Education and engagement Legal compulsion Networks and organisations

Theories of change

Theories of change in this area focus on changing people rather than seeing formal politics as the primary route to change (Hilder, 2007, 7). Most theories of change draw on multiple ways of understanding human behaviour, drawn from a range of disciplines including psychology, economics, and sociology (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, 97, Robinson, 2011, CBMS and Krznaic, 2007). Behaviour change can operate at the individual (eg fair trade purchasing), community (eg transition towns), and society (eg urban design, energy pricing) levels. Increasingly theories of behaviour change recognise that peoples' behavioural options are circumscribed by their physical, social, and cultural contexts (Lucas et al, 2008, 458). Behaviour change can be incorporated into broader theories of change, for example, using individual energy consumption as an entry point for engagement in formal politics around climate change (Ballie Smith, 2008, 14-15). Changing patterns of consumption in communities of the global north can be seen as a form of 'do no harm' action that recognises the role of northern communities in creating unequal access to resources and seeks to redress it in countries of the north (Green, 2008).

Initiatives and impacts

Climate change and other issues of constrained global resources present opportunities for people in northern constituencies to contribute by changing their patterns of behaviour and consumption. The environmental movement has used campaigns to try and change patterns of behaviour and consumption of people in the north. There is a paucity of evidence on the actual environmental impact of these efforts - and, in fact, where there is evidence that attitudes or behavior has changed, in many cases this is not accompanied by evidence of environmental outcomes (Csutora, 2012, 148).

There are many theories of behavior change and much debate around their effectiveness. A common weakness of behavior change initiatives in public health and environmental areas is a reliance on linear models of behaviour also known as information deficit models. In such rational models, 'information generates knowledge, which shapes attitudes, which lead to behaviour' (Darnton, 2008, 10). However, there is significant evidence that information is insufficient to lead to action, although it can have a significant influence over attitudes (ibid). This is backed up by research on citizenship which has found that awareness of rights is not sufficient to lead to action on its own and needs to be combined with opportunities for action (DRC Citizenship, 2011, 9).

Other theories position behavior in a social context - as needing an enabling or supportive environment made up of social, cultural, ethical, legal, political, and resource features to occur (Victorian Government, 2). In contrast to linear models, Prochaska and DiClemente identify five stages which individuals cycle through, often with periodic relapse: precontemplation (no intention to change), contemplation (awareness of a problem and consideration of action), preparation (intention to change and minor behaviour changes), action (individuals modify behaviours, experiences or environment), maintenance (prevent relapse and consolidate gains) (Victorian Government, 1-2). A significant UK Government review of the lit-

erature relating to behaviour change found that there is no one model that works best (Darnton, 2008). However, it did conclude:

> 'Both Lewin's Change Theory and systems thinking approaches focus on resistance to change, and suggest that lasting change requires a process of engagement, in which audience groups are included as partners in the process (in the language of agency, as 'actors'). The principles of action research, and reflective practice, suggest that this process of engagement should involve learning through doing. This review recommends that this is the most effective way for audiences to undertake change, but also that such an approach is the most effective way for policy makers to develop and deliver interventions that help to bring about lasting change.' (Darnton, 2008, 68).

In practical terms, there has been some success with strategies use peoples' own commitments and starting from peoples' own concerns at as a way to lead to behaviour change (Robinson, 2011). The practice of "nudging" people towards behaviour change has been successful in experiments and initiatives to get hotel guests to reuse their towels, and encourage citizens to pay their taxes (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008).

Behaviour change can be initiated at the communal level, such as in the transition towns movement. The aim of transition is 'To support community-led responses to peak oil and climate change, building resilience and happiness' (Hopkins and Lipman, 2009, 7). There are transition towns in the UK, US, Australia, Japan, Chile, and other countries. The movement focuses on reskilling, food, energy, transportation, land use and cultivation and community building (Barry and Quilley, 2009). A small number of studies have found that they are taking 'positive climate actions' with some effect (Lockyer, 2010, 198). The transition movement can be seen as 'a form of hands-on, DIY politics, which may have the potential for actual transformation of local communities and preparing them practically for the adaptation to the twin challenges of peak oil and climate change' (Barry and Quilley, 2009).

A weakness of behaviour change is its inability to, on its own, address underlying structural causes of unequal access to resources - fundamentally an issue of power and politics. Furthermore, in the environmental area at least, individual behaviour change will not be able to match the 'radical' change in consumption required to effectively address climate change (Csutora, 2012, 146). This will require broader changes in policy and practice at all levels of society.

Building empathy and global citizenship

What are the theories of change?	Who has agency?	What infrastructure or tactics are used?
Drawing on peoples' empathic tendencies to develop a sense of global citizenship that will influence attitudes and actions. These theories of change share a) a belief in the transformational power of connection and direct experience, b) a focus on learning, as well as action, in engaging people in issues of international justice, c) presents empathy and understanding as a starting point for further deliberation and action.	Individuals in the global north participate in learning and then direct their own action. Government plays a role through education policy. INGOs provide access to volunteering, immersions, informal education. For profit businesses provide access to volunteering. Often unclear on role and agency of people in other countries.	Formal education through curriculum development Informal education and youth engagement Volunteering Immersions Exchanges Storytelling Online engagement and exchange

Theories of change

A long-term theory of change underpinning many exchange, immersion, volunteering, and education programs is to build understanding and empathy between people across contexts. This is grounded in evidence from cognitive science and psychology that points to the urge for humans to help their peers (Darnton and Kirk, 2011, 72) and draws on theories including Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory, Bennett's (1993) developmental model of intercultural sensitivity, and Mezirow's (1996) transformative learning theory (Sherraden et al, 2008, 412-3). The most basic invocation of this theory is through storytelling using text, video, and pictures to generate empathy for how others' live and their perspectives. As well as generating empathy, such storytelling is used to raise funds and encourage action as part of social mobilisation or behaviour change (Merchant et al, 2010).

The empathy and global citizenship theories of change involving significant engagement share a) a belief in the transformational power of connection and direct experience, b) a focus on learning, as well as action, in engaging people in issues of international justice, c) presents empathy and understanding as a starting point for further deliberation and action. In many cases, this 'theory of change' acts as an entry point for people engaging in more depth in social mobilisation or mutual cooperation, behaviour change or charity (Ballie Smith, 2008 and Think Global, 2011).

A more radical vision for empathy is contained in Rifkin's *The Empathic Civilisation* that calls for drawing on these tendencies to develop a global consciousness in order to confront humanity's common chal-

lenges (Rifkin, 2009). A recent scenario for 'a great transition' developed by the Tellus Institute envisions in the period until 2020 'a values-led change in the guiding paradigm of global development ... catalysed by the 'push' of deepening crises and the 'pull' of desire for a just, sustainable and planetary civilisation' (Evans, 2011, 32-33).

Initiatives and impacts

Volunteering

There are a plethora of international volunteering programs aimed at engaging community members in countries of the global north in international development. These range from short term volun-tourism to longer term placements overseas as well as volunteering in organisations based in countries of the global north. Research on international volunteers from North America and Europe finds that the demographic is young, white, affluent, and educated (Sherraden et al, 2008, 398). There is evidence of positive impacts for volunteers' own knowledge, experience, and skills, including critical thinking and problem solving (Sherraden, 2008, 409). Equally, there is hope for the development of global identities and ethics (ibid). Shorter term, often commercial, volun-tourism reinforces a simplistic and linear view of development for individual volunteers which legitimises the young unskilled international volunteers as a development 'solution' (Simpson, 2004, 682).

The impacts for host communities can include improvements in health, education, language and work skills but it remains 'unclear under what conditions International Voluntary Service has a positive impact on jobs, poverty reduction, women's lives or the environment' (Sherraden et al, 2008, 407). Negative impacts include volunteers taking jobs from local people who are better able to provide the same services or social benefits, reinforcing dependences and power imbalances and exposing communities to security and political risks (Sherraden et al, 2008, 407-8, Simpson, 2004 and Sin, 2010, 991).

Immersions

Immersions are promoted as 'a practical and powerful way to experience someone else's life and to make a personal connection with the issues they have to deal with on a daily basis' (Ruparel, 2007, 36). Most current immersion programs focus on building the understanding and empathy of northern citizens who have roles in government, academia and civil society. As such they can be seen as part of an 'enlightened elites' theory of change seeking to shift how people with influence understand poverty. Action-AID worked with IDS to develop immersion programs for donor and NGO staff, in which many DfID staff participated. These immersions last 5 days during which time participants stay with a host family for three days (Ruparel, 2007, 37-8). Impacts of immersions can be 'personal change through experiential learning, both emotional in how things are felt and intellectual in how they are framed; to institutional change through what participants do later in their organisations; and with decision-makers to changes in policy grounded in the realism of the experience' (Renwick, Chambers and Eyben, 2004, 19).

Evidence of impact relies on personal testimonials of participants for example, in 1999, Ravi Kanbur from the World Bank's World Development Report team undertook an immersion in India to ground his work on the report, found it 'one of the most educational and moving experiences of my life' and used the

experience to inform the focus on risk and vulnerability in the resulting 2000 WDR (Renwick, Chambers and Eyben, 2004, 20). There are no material benefits to the host community, although the process may raise expectations of benefits (Renwick, Chambers and Eyben, 2004, 18). ActionAID believes that communities and hosts benefit through a rich two-way learning process (ActionAID, 4).

Global Education

Global education occurs in formal and informal settings. Since 2008, the UK secondary school curriculum included a requirement that a 'global dimension' be incorporated in all subjects by addressing a variety of global issues such as 'interdependence, diversity, human rights, peace, social justice and sustainable development' (Bourn and Brown, 2011, 6). Finland has taken a comprehensive approach to global education by seeing it as a necessary consequence of globalisation (Ministry of Education, Finland, 2010, 4). There is evidence that formal global education has an impact on future action: IPSOS Mori research in the UK found that learning about global issues at schools makes individuals much more likely to be involved or interested in getting involved in any form of positive social action (DEA, 2010, 3).
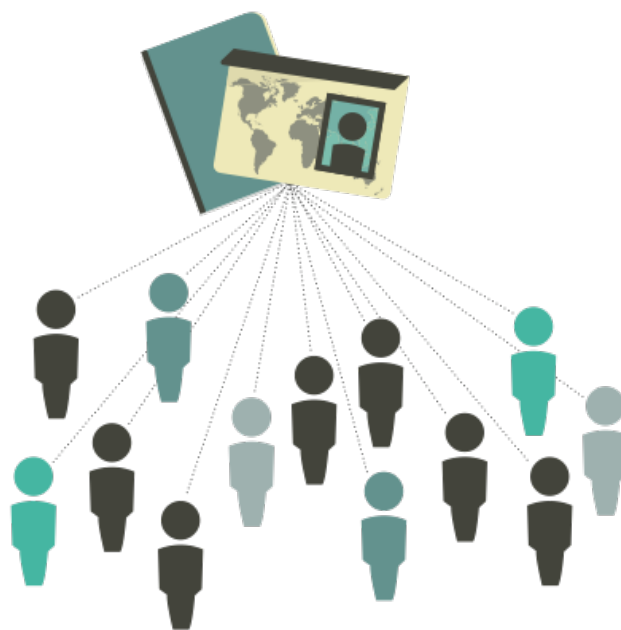
Informal education on international issues engages young people to encourage 'a critical understanding of the links between the personal, local and the global and [seek] their active participation in actions that bring about change towards greater equity and justice' (Bourn and Brown, 2011, 16). Programs start by either engaging young people in learning and discussing international issues or engaging them in practical action with each route leading to the other. A German study found that young people who learnt about globalisation and development through volunteering outside of school as opposed to discussion in school had greater certainty in their knowledge and developed 'a self-image of being active' (Bourn and Brown, 2011, 22-23). An evaluation of the work of the NGO People and Planet found that 'engagement with students at both colleges and universities has been most successful where it started from their needs and interests' (quoted in Bourn and Brown, 2011, 25).

A critique of this approach is that, again, it privileges the interests and perspectives of northern constituencies over those in the south. The advocates of framing, who call for more use of deep values frames around universalism, raise some concerns on engaging people on their own interests - as this can feed into self-interest frames (Darnton with Kirk, 2011, 63). Despite this tension they see engaging people first 'on the things they care about the most (or most often)' as one route to developing empowered campaigners (ibid). More crucially, the benefit for people living in poverty from increased empathy is even further removed than in the impact chain than that of charity or social mobilisation.

Social mobilisation for international justice

What are the theories of change?	Who has agency?	What infrastructure or tactics are used?
A dynamic interaction between people and formal politics to address systemic causes of injustice by changing policies or practices. State and formal politics is central to change and best influenced by citizens of that nation. Mobilisation aims to change the policies and practices of one or more states, change international rules, or build a widely distributed consensus.	People in the north take action individually, in informal groups, through formal organisations and in national and international networks and coalitions. Formal politics with strong agency for politicians, political parties, and citizens through elections and interaction with state-based reformers. The media plays a role in how messages are communicated and understood.	Coalitions and networks Leadership and coordination Radical- elite cooperation Mass education using existing social structures - eg churches, schools, local groups Use of media; traditional and new. Key messages & agreed policy positions Use of online organising and campaigning Outside and inside pressure

Theories of change

Theories of change based on social mobilisation recognise that collective organisation outside of traditional party politics can have a major impact on policies and practices of the state (Krznaric, 2007, 13) and, increasingly on non-state actors such as corporations. There is a dynamic interaction between social mobilisation and reform within state structures; mobilisation can create political space for state-based reformers to drive change within formal structures, and political opportunities can allow change to be driven from without (McGee and Gaventa , 2010 and Citizenship DRC, 2011, 14). Nation states remain 'critical both as arenas of policy and authority, and as actors who can shape the success or failure of citizen action' (Citizenship DRC, 2011, 27). Social mobilisation for international justice relies on harnessing the power of citizens in one country to influence conditions in another country through changing the policies and practices of one or more states or changing international rules. It can also focus on building a widely distributed consensus, among elite or broader groups in society in order to grow and succeed (ME Price, 2008, 46). As with any social mobilization, there is a complex interaction between different actors and change cannot be guaranteed. Rigorous political and contextual analysis is central to this theory of change (Tembo, 2012; Citizenship, 2011 and Cox, 2011).

Global campaigning raises issues of accountability and representation as international civil society repre-sentatives can be placed in powerful positions of speaking for those who are affected by the policies be-ing discussed (Citizenship DRC, 2011, 14). While critics argue for the local as the primary focus for social change (Scholte and Timms, 2009, 80), the literature suggests that action at global and local levels is needed to bring about lasting change: 'we can win global change but it will not have teeth unless it is rooted locally. The challenge is now to develop new forms of citizenship which connect the dots from the local to the global' (Gaventa quoted in Making Good Society, 2010, 10). A crucial issue is who mediates in diverse movements so that they do not produce new forms of exclusion and patronage (Citizenship DRC, 2011, 27).

An analysis of social campaigning since the late eighteenth century in the UK, US and Europe, distin-guishes four contexts in which it has been used to generate social change - most of which can be ap-plied to both domestic and international issues:

1. 'People may come together to campaign on a single, isolated issue (e.g. asking to re-peal a particular law). When that issue is resolved or otherwise laid to rest, the organisa-tion often dissolves.

2. Sustained campaigns are similarly focused, but are carried forward over a long period of time - sometimes over decades, as with the campaign against slavery – and require more of an institutional infrastructure.

3. Wider social movements tend to be more extensive and distributed in their organisa-tional landscape, with greater emphasis on individual action and affiliation. They may also focus on more issues, and encompass many campaigns as well as developing alternative forms of social and economic organisation.

4. Revolutionary moments such as 1848, 1968 and 1989 [and potentially 2011] are open-ings in the constitutional order when people rise up in many places, express compre-hensive dissatisfaction, and demand change.' (Hilder, 2007, 23).

Social mobilization, as discussed in this section here, incorporates the first three categories while the last is explored in the section on meta-movements.

Initiatives and impacts

Coalition based international campaigns

Northern constituencies have engaged in a range of social mobilisations to advance international justice. Brendan Cox's review of international justice campaigns in the period 1991-2011 highlights both the diversity and similarity of campaigns including International Campaign to Ban Landmines, Jubilee 2000, Make Trade Fair, Make Poverty History, and tcktcktck. Success is rooted in particular and contextual theories of change and political strategies. Some of these campaigns have achieved significant in-ternational policy changes including an international agreement against the use of landmines and the cancellation of $100bn USD of debt owed by 35 governments (Cox, 2011). In other cases, such as

Make Trade Fair and tcktcktck the wins were more modest and the overarching (large) ambitions of the campaigns have not (yet) been achieved (Cox, 2011).

While the International Campaign to Ban Landmines and Make Trade Fair took a mostly elite-level strategy backed up by some social mobilisation the other campaigns primarily relied on broad based public mobilization in order to pressure governments. To do this they used a combination of direct pressure through marches, petitions, letters to MPs and lobbying with indirect pressure through altering public opinion, publishing research and shifting the media presentation of issues (Hilder, 2007, 38). The infrastructure behind these approaches includes mass education (for example through church groups in Jubilee 2000), unlikely alliances, and platforms to connect state-based reformers with social activists (DRC Citizenship, 2011, 39). 'Elite-radical' cooperation has been crucial to success in many international social movements (Murphy, 2005, 70). Radical groups have significant success in 'trailblazing, shifting the political centre of gravity and investing in controversial policy areas and making them safe over time' whereas getting policy change over the line can take 'campaigns willing to balance ideal policy objectives with political strategy' (Cox, 2011, 5).

Cox's study found that the most successful campaigns are coalitions, and generally big ones with structures to suit the context (Cox, 2011, 4). Increasingly, effective coalitions are harder to form by civil society due to 'high transaction costs, the growing need for clear attribution and organisational differentiation, and the fact that many NGOs are now internal coalitions' (Cox, 2011, 4). There are calls for INGOs to sacrifice their own institutional interests to work together for political impact through networks and alliances, including with academia, government, and business (Trocaire, 2011, 67).

The UK Make Poverty History campaign in 2005 generated particular debate around the breadth or depth required in building constituency for international development. MPH achieved remarkable levels of outreach - with 87% of the public aware of the campaign in the UK and over 500 coalition partners (Darnton with Kirk, 2011, 31-33). Its policy wins included commitments on aid and debt at Gleneagles, only some of which were eventually met (Cox, 2011, 15). It did not achieve its aims on trade (ibid). Despite the wide outreach the mode of engagement did not displace the existing dominant frame of Powerful Giver and Grateful Receiver (Darnton with Kirk, 2011, 39). The support generated for overseas aid in Make Poverty History did not have depth and reduced from its peak relatively quickly (Henson and Lindstrom, 2011).

There are critiques in the social movements literature of INGOs becoming 'protest businesses' where professionalisation has led to members and supporters having a more distant and transactional relationship based on donating or clicking on a petition (Jordan and Maloney, 1997). In a 'protest business' supporters provide income, do not connect or interact with each other and policy and political action is undertaken by professional staff centrally (ibid). The expected role of supporters is to occasionally partici-

pate, in a fairly passive way, in a way that mirrors the expectation that citizens will only participate in the nation-state only by paying taxes and voting every few years (Evans, 2011, 39).

Two arguments for how to build a stronger, long-term constituency for issues around international development are a) to use framing to tap into and reinforce deeper values of universalism and justice, rather than self-interest, drawing on George Lakoff's work (Lakoff, 2004; Lakoff, 2008; Darnton with Kirk, 2011) and b) creating an agenda for concern using diffuse channels over the long term' by engaging with people in a 'joint search for answers to answer questions over which no NGO has a monopoly of wisdom - how to secure sustainable development, for example' (Edwards, 1999, 30). This last approach relates closely to the building empathy and global citizenship theory of change explored above and the social movements and meta-movements approaches detailed below.

International social movements

International social movements, such as the international labour, peace, environmental or women's movements are less focused on individual campaigns and instead represent longer term and more diffuse efforts to transform relationships of power. Successful international egalitarian social movements have included five elements in their strategic mix: 'model mongering, elite-radical cooperation, a transnational leadership cadre, cross-regional learning and using international institutions' (Murphy, 2005, 69)

In the labour movement, the international dimension has been found to represent three aspects of solidarity: 'a shared assessment of possible actions within existing limitations (i.e., structural realities), an identifiable assemblage that is potentially ready to take such actions (i.e., a mobilising network), and a possible coalescence of subjective commitments into a unified vision (i.e., a commonly forged identity)' (Fundt, 2005, 20). The labour movement has used diverse strategies to support international justice including solidarity strikes, consumer campaigns, international campaigns against particular transnational corporations, legal action in one state in support of workers in another, and international monitoring and certification. Transnationally linked women's movements have focused on achieving a focus on women's empowerment in the agendas of intergovernmental agencies and have linked national struggles for gender equity, allowing lessons to be transferred leading to significant legal changes and substantive gains for women (Murphy, 2005, 66-7).

As part of global social movements, the role of individuals and NGOs in countries of the global north is as equal members of emerging international movements who work predominantly in their own societies, eg on climate change (Edwards, 1999, 33). Social movements may not achieve the short-term wins by which the 'policy success' of advocacy campaigns are often measured (although, they also often do). However, they may create the longer-term, less obvious outcomes that underpin lasting change such as popular awareness, increased capacity of organisations and stronger leadership which are needed to maintain gains that are made and to lead and sustain future campaigns (Citizenship DRC, 2011, 27).

Foreign policy campaigns

Prior to the recent engagement of large numbers of Americans through #Kony2012, the Save the Darfur Coalition was considered the most successful mobilisations on a foreign policy issue in the US. Both used large grassroots mobilisations to raise marginal foreign policy issues up to the limelight. SDC used

faith and campus groups, vigils and speaking tours and, eventually, large rallies (100,000 people in Washington DC) and a petition signed by a million people. Invisible Children spent years building a net-work of college groups and then launched a highly emotive online video that became the most viral video ever achieving 112 million views in a week.[9] Both campaigns were successful in mobilisation terms or, in the case of #Kony2012 in engaging people in the internet-information age 'attention economy'[10] (Woj-ciechowski, 2012). In both cases, the campaigns highlight the tensions between two forms of success in campaigning:

> 'Effectiveness can fail at two points. First, you can have an advocacy campaign that doesn't gain traction. Nobody watched your video, tweeted your tweets, or signed your petition. Your hashtag never trends, and no one pressures Congress to do something about it. That's the ob-vious way to fail. You can also fail by advocating for something that won't work. You might get several million signatures for your petition, and see the legislation you supported fly right through the House and the Senate. But if your proposed solution doesn't actually address the problem, you've got nothing.' (Shaikh, 2012, 122)

In the cases of both Save the Darfur Coalition and #Kony2012 the proposed solutions were based on political analysis and theories of change that a) all that was needed was military or other action by the USA and that b) all that was needed to generate that was the awareness of US College students. Both did prompt foreign policy rhetoric (in the case of SDC there were a series of pronouncements and some action by the US Govt - see Cox, 2011, 24, and in the case of #kony2012, the US Senate and Congress signed resolutions to continue involvement in efforts to capture Joseph Kony) but were blind to the need for other kinds of change and to the views of local groups in Darfur or Uganda. These campaigns posi-tion the US military in an unquestioned positive rescue role despite the potential for significant harm from military intervention.[11]

Online activism and the dot-orgs

Technology has and is changing how communities in the north and south are engaged in social mobilisa-tion. A particular feature of modern campaigning is the re-tooling of petitions online. In the UK the num-ber of people who had signed a petition increased from 23% to 81% between 1974 and 2000 (Hilder, 2007, 11). The vanguard of this approach have been 'dot.orgs' which were established in the late 1990s and 2000s, such as Moveon.org, Avaaz.org, Getup.org, 38degrees.org, allout.org, thesumofus.org and do-it-yourself (for profit) site, change.org. These organisations (many of whom share funders and swap staff; Micah, 2010) specialise in quick, targeted social mobilisation. Increasingly, dot-orgs allow members to initiate their own petitions, some of which are supported by professional staff in a form of distributed campaigning. The key tool is 'blast email' which draws on direct marketing techniques in its wording, images and testing of different versions to see which lead to action (Marshall, 2012, 10). This model is 'network-centric campaigning' driven by distributed individual actions, supported by interactive plat-

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[9] See http://newsfeed.time.com/2012/03/12/kony-2012-documentary-becomes-most-viral-video-in-history/.

[10] This was termed by Michael H. Goldhaber to describe the economics of the information age as bringing its own kind of wealth and class divisions based on what is scarce - namely, attention. (Wojciechowski, 2012).

[11] See: http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/apr/19/hunt-joseph-kony-kill-innocents

forms, relationship management tools, and email lists (Hilder, 2007, 6). Much successful online campaigning has involved offline engagement - for example MoveOn.org set up hundred of local leadership councils across the US who have become more involved (Brandzel, 2010 and Darnton with Kirk, 2011, 29). Many have also been able to quickly generate significant amounts of funding from supporters for particular campaigns including to bring activists to meet with decision-makers and buy advertising space in the mainstream media..

The dot-orgs, or their tactics, have had success in bringing about changes in policy or practice including: the withdrawal of the original Ugandan bill that applied the death penalty to homosexual acts (Marshall, 2012, 12), action by the South African Government to address the rape of lesbians (Mui, 2012) and pushing Hershey's to adopt fair trade cocoa (Mui, 2012). These tactics are increasingly used by INGOs and even by governments themselves for example in the Australian inquiry into same sex marriage or Downing Street's regular e-petitions (Marshall, 2012, 12). The effective use of online technology, social media and its integration with 'offline' social mobilisation has become a given in any organisation seeking to reach a wide public.

These tactics and technologies enable social movements to reach out to audiences that have never considered the issues and to build a stronger constituency for a range of international justice issues. As with any tactics or tools, this does not guarantee that a successful campaign in reaching more people will necessarily lead to positive outcomes, such as in the examples of #Kony2012. Online activism has been critiqued from two further quarters: for adopting the tactics of marketing and leading to disaffection when clicktivism doesn't lead to real change (Micah, 2010) and for disregarding the lessons of history where effective activism was based on strong hierarchies and strategic risk-taking by highly motivated people with close personal bonds, at odds with the weak ties promoted by social media and online activism (Gladwell, 2010).

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Monitory democracy

| What are the theories of change?	Who has agency?	What infrastructure or tactics are used?
Many different forms of power scrutinising mechanisms are influencing politicians and governments within and across state borders.	People-centred agency not confined to where they themselves hold citizenship. Organisations, networks play a crucial role. The state is still central to change but can be influenced across borders.	Monitoring mechansims include civil society, the media and use of state, quasi-state and non-state institutions Alternative media and use of online communications and other technology International networks and coalitions Think tanks and research

Theories of change

John Keane's *The Life and Death of Democracy* argues that we have moved past a Westminster form of democracy into a new era of 'monitory democracy' (Keane, 2009a). This is defined by the rapid growth of many different kinds of 'extra-parliamentary, power-scrutinising mechanisms' that are extending influence downwards and sideways - including across borders (Keane, 2009a). This has loosened the grip of elections, political parties, and parliament; 'by putting politicians, parties and elected governments permanently on their toes, they complicate their lives, question their authority and force them to change their agendas' (Keane, 2009b). This is happening across the world and creates opportunities for citizens in the global north to contribute to accountability of governments other than their own.

Initiatives and impacts

Global public opinion and cross-border influence

Countries are no longer just subject to constraints that can be imposed through domestic politics but also to 'informal but consequential global constraints' (Price, 2008, 20). This includes not only the expanding web of international agreements, a diminishing ability to control flows of information and opinion and the need to take into account not just local public opinion but 'global public opinion' (Price, 2008, 20-1). The UK Foreign Policy Centre holds that 'global public opinion' is an increasing strategic concern for governments in their deliberations (ibid). This is reflected in the Obama administration's approach to foreign policy that emphasises engaging whole societies, as much as governments, in order to build

publics who are receptive to the US in a low level way.[12] Even China is tracking global public opinion and investing in cultural diplomacy.[13] One example of successful influence using monitory democracy was the work of the Kurdish diaspora in influencing Turkish Government policy through work in the EU to apply pressure through negotiations on Turkish accession into the EU (Baser, 2011).
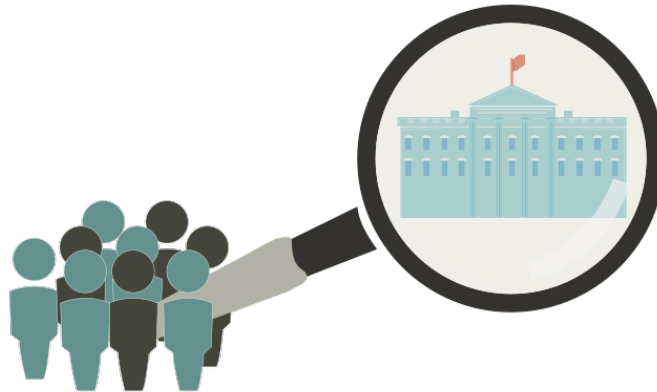
Information and research

A range of old and new technologies are used by diaspora groups, NGOs and social movements in both north and south to ensure that information is available to citizens of states where its flow is being controlled. For example, audio-cassettes were used to introduce ideas into an otherwise closed market in Iran, a radio station operated by a London-based group of Zimbabwean exiles was routinely jammed by the Zimbabwean authorities and they used text service as an alternative, email listservs like BurmaNet, Freedom News Group distributed news that would otherwise be inaccessible in these countries (ME Price, 2008, 53). Technology like ushahidi.org is being used to monitor particular situations transparently.

In 1999, in the lead up to the World Trade Organisation Ministerial Meeting in Seattle, a group of alternative media groups established the Independent Media Centre to ensure there was independent coverage of the event. Since then IMC or 'indymedia' has established independent media centres on every continent (Making Good Society, 2010, 106). This is seen as challenging the concentration of media power and potential for control of mainstream media outlets by political elites (Bob et al, 2008, 198). Citizen journalism has continued to grow and develop, playing a key role in citizen action in places like Egypt where videos on youtube, bloging, social media are all used to document what is happening and monitor actions of the government. In many ways, social media is not just being used as a tool but as a civic space, in and of itself (CIVICUS, 2011, 62).

Monitoring of human rights abuses including through fact-finding missions and the development and dissemination of research by think-tanks, academics, NGOs and research networks can work to apply pressure and make government actions visible. For example a range of women's organisations and as-

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[12] See http://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/31/05/2012/how-us-slowly-cultivating-conditions-renewed-international-order.

[13] See http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/19/opinion/falling-out-of-love-with-china.html?ref=todayspaper&_r=1&.

sociations have documented and analysed how poverty disproportionately and differently affects women (Scholte and Timms, 2009, 86).

Alternative venues for representation

A different example of generating monitory democracy is the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples' Organisation, which has Indigenous and ethnic minority member groups encompassing 57 peoples on six continents - all of whom feel they lack representation in mainstream global governance institutions such as the UN. Members use UNPO as a platform for participation in global politics and to connect with each other and campaign collectively for greater inclusion in global institutions and for Indigenous Rights (Scholte and Timms, 2009, 90-1). They played a role in the negotiation of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Leadership and international networks

What are the theories of change?	Who has agency?	What infrastructure or tactics are used?
Individual leaders as well as networks and coalitions are critical in shaping institutions and policies. Investing in their development can have a significant impact on international issues. Programs invest in 'leader development' to enhance the intrapersonal competence of selected individuals or invest in 'leadership development' to develop interpersonal networks and cooperation within social systems. Leadership can challenge or reinforce the status quo - for example feminist leadership explicitly aims to transform structures of inequality.	Individual leaders and entrepreneurs drive change in north and south. Networks and coalitions of individuals and organisations exercise leadership together to contribute to change in and across north and south. The state, the market and civil society are key sites of leaders and leadership.	Leader and leadership development programs Networks and coalitions Conferences Funding and patronage Tertiary education and student movements Research

Theories of change

The agency both of individuals and also of groups, communities, networks and coalitions in contributing to significant change is evident in work on bottom-up politics (Glasius et al, 2012), civic-driven change (Fowler and Biekart, 2011) and developmental leadership (Leftwich, 2010). There is a key distinction in theories of change and strategies between investing in 'leader development' to enhance the intrapersonal competence of selected individuals and investing in 'leadership development' to develop interpersonal networks and cooperation within social systems (De ver and Kennedy, 2011, 7). Forms of leadership can be more or less status-quo oriented; feminist leadership, for example, aims to 'challenge and transform the structures and ideologies that justify and perpetuate gender inequality and other forms of discrimination' (Batiwala, 2008, 6).

Initiatives and impacts

Leader development

Programs focused on 'leader development' operate through a theory of change where significant individuals (rather than social groups or the state) drive change. Programs based on individual leaders creating change include many based in the US and Europe providing funding, learning and networking opportunities. Some blend this with supporting social entrepreneurs who are 'individuals who possess the vision, creativity and extraordinary determination of a business entrepreneur, but who devote these qualities to introducing new systemic solutions to societal problems' (Ashoka's definition cited in Greiner, 2005, 123). Ashoka's Fellowships provided funding to the individual rather than the project, building on the historical tradition of patronage in the arts. Others, such as the Schwab Foundation, connect already successful social entrepreneurs into international networks, such as the World Economic Forum (Greiner, 2005, 123).

Leadership development

The alternate view is that 'developmental leaderships and coalitions are critical in shaping the kind and quality of institutions and state-building processes, and hence are central to achieving the goals of economic growth, political stability, security and inclusive social development'. (Leftwich, 2010). A focus on building coalitions and relationships to shape institutions in support of social development is present in leadership programs such as LEAD on environmental sustainability, the Development School and the Henry Crown Fellowship in the US which promotes ways to 'meld the demands of globalisation with local values' (Greiner, 2005, 123). These programs identify leaders who have an impact on development in a range of contexts- who can connect local and global opportunity structures to pursue their causes. As such, they are rooted in a locality, but are engaged with transnational networks and international structures. As noted in the social mobilisation section, it is exacting this kind of bridging between local and global, and mediating with integrity that has been necessary to bring about change on both levels (Citizenship DRC, 2011). A study of 67 Leadership Development Programs globally found that women-specific LDPs '(i) tend to see leadership as a political process, (ii) are more often based around concrete objectives and are, as such, vehicles for change, (iii) work together more frequently as a movement' (De Ver and Kennedy, 2011, 19).

Higher education and exchanges

Higher education, particularly in the humanities and especially when it includes access to extra-curricular activities or involvement in student governance or student movements can lead to greater respect, awareness, critical analytical skills, and likelihood to take civic action (Brannelly et al, 2011, 1). Similarly, involvement in international networks has been seen to build relationships, perspectives, and experiences that develop understanding and awareness of difference (De Ver and Kennedy, 2011, 15-6).

Enlightened elites

Another related theory of change is 'enlightened elites' whereby elites in a range of countries have a broad, global perspective and are able to drive change due to their formal or informal positions of authority or power in both public and private spheres (De Ver and Kennedy, 2011, 14). Engagement in exchanges and international networks can be a way of engaging current or future elites in northern countries in order to build their developmental leadership. This can also provide a sub-strategy to social mobilisation, noting the role of elites, particularly if they cooperate with more radical forces, in bringing about social and policy change (Hilder, 2007, 38; Cox, 2011, Citizenship DRC 2011, Ballie Smith, 2008, 12).

A key critique of leader and leadership development is that it can reinforce existing power inequities by supporting existing elites.

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Meta-movements

| What are the theories of change?	Who has agency?	What infrastructure or tactics are used?
People engaging in direct deliberation to demand significant structural changes in society. Change is achieved by doing things differently.	People-centred view of agency. People doing things differently leading to broader changes. The institutions of the state are broken and require significant change therefore the use of formal politics is not as strong as in social mobilisation.	Doing democracy in the square Not speaking for others Use of social media including as a civic space in itself Loose networks and coalitions

Theories of change

Umair Haque termed the phrase 'the meta-movement' to describe the 'movement of movements' emerging across the world in 2011 - including the "Arab Spring", the London Riots, the anti-corruption protests across India, massive demonstrations in Israel and the Occupy movement (Haque, 2011, 1). The thread that ties this together as a meta-movement are a common sentiment - 'a sense of grievous injustice, not merely at the rich getting richer, but at the loss of human agency and sovereignty over one's own fate that is the deeper human price of it' (ibid). The underlying theory of change is about peoples' direct engagement, deliberation, and power. The form of many of these movements are not at specific changes in policy or practice, such as in most social mobilisations, but rather at achieving transformation through direct action and modelling alternatives.

Initiatives and impacts

CIVICUS's report on the State of Civil Society also sees the mass citizen action across at least 88 countries in 2011 as having interconnected roots: 'protest was driven by the inability of states to address the fallout of the economic crisis, making serious income inequalities and corruption more acute, and compounded by demographic shifts giving rise to more urbanised, unemployed, frustrated young people' (CIVICUS, 2012, 12). Marius Glasius highlights that a distinguishing feature of the movements emerging in the 2010s from those of the past is whereas many of the movements of the 1980s were calling for more civil society and less state (for example Solidarity in Poland and other movements in the USSR) and many of those of the 1990s and 2000s were focused on global governance (for example
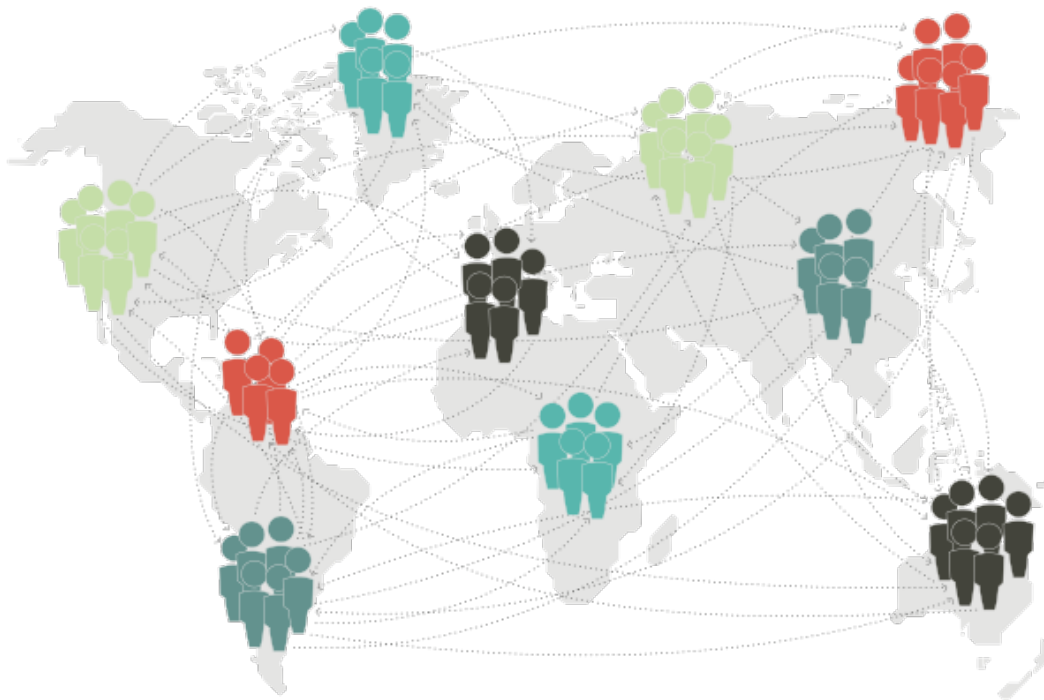
debt and trade movements), today they seem focused on better governance by the state across North Africa, Greece, Spain, Burma, Russia and the Occupy movement (Glasius, 2012). While INGOs, like Oxfam had funded some groups who played significant parts in some meta movements - particularly in the Arab Spring, these movements have not had significant, direct support or engagement from established INGOs.

A feature of these movements is a focus on 'doing democracy in the square' and not speaking for others, thereby rejecting traditional 'democratic representative forms' for processes of deliberation (ibid). Despite their attention to power structures, Arab Spring and Occupy movements have been critiqued internally and externally for their reproductions of privilege - particularly class, race and gender.[14]   The lack of hierarchy makes movements like Occupy less effective at presenting policy platforms and engaging with formal politics or the media - elements of success in social mobilisation (see Coe and Kingham, Hilder, 2007, Cox, 2011). Nonetheless there is evidence that the occupy movement has influenced the political debate in the US - particularly President Obama's tax policy and messaging for the 2012 election and beyond. This is an example of more radical groups 'trailblazing, shifting the political center of gravity and investing in controversial policy areas and making them safe over time' (Cox, 2011, 5). The overall success of this consensus-based decision-making and direct democracy will be in their endurance and influence as models for alternatives (CIVICUS, 2012, 13).

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[14] See, for example, http://disoccupy.wordpress.com/.

CONCLUSION

Social change is a complex and non-linear. Nonetheless, there are good reasons to be clear about your theories of change and the assumptions that underpin them. They can help you learn, adapt, and react to changes in the context in which you are working, or even can reveal assumptions that make you question your whole approach..

The analysis of the nine theories of change above shows that they have distinct assumptions, and particular implications. None provide any guarantee of success. All have pitfalls and problems.

Hopefully in engaging with them, you can think in new ways about change initiatives - whether you are receiving an email asking you to sign a petition, hosting a gathering in the town square, or writing a report scrutinising a government or corporation operating overseas.

If you have feedback or would like to discuss the report, or how it applies to your work, please get in touch.

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