Empowered rightsholders are able to express their views and demand their rights for responsive and inclusive societies.
The Voice Theory of Change (ToC) builds on three pathways to *To Empower, To Amplify* and *To Influence*. Experience shows these pathways are non-linear, intertwined and influence each other. The Voice ToC seeks to strengthen the capacity of (informal) groups, organisations and networks to influence, to find strategic allies among powerholders and duty-bearers, and to promote collaboration within civil society to defend rights in an ever shifting civic space.

The first three years of implementing Voice (2016-2019) confirms social change processes follow a complex path where change shifts over time. In many instances, the contextual changes in countries have drastically altered the relationship between civil society organisations and government, demanding a different set of responses. Reflecting on the original assumptions underpinning the ToC and the harvested outcomes, we observe and acknowledge the diversity of empowerment, amplification and influencing processes happening at multiple levels and for different rightsholder groups.

Based on that, Voice has revised its ToC and underlying assumptions to reflect the steps and phases in social change, both in the spheres of control and influence of Voice.

The visual on the first page reflects the revised Theory of Change beautifully starting with at the heart of the programme the personas from the various rightsholder groups. These are inspired by existing rightsholders within Voice (mainly showing the intersectionality Voice aims to support) and the challenges they encounter. These are not meant to be exhaustive but just an illustration.

Through the various grants Voice offers as well as the Linking and Learning, Voice grantees embark on a journey of solidarity, showing that what unites them is bigger than what divides them. The three pathways are visualised by hot air balloons in different sizes, with different statements and activities (again based on the existing grant portfolio). The yellow and green lines illustrate that the pathways are intertwined, not linear and influence one another. While the balloons may be going at different paces and have different audiences, activities and rightsholders they are ALL heading into the direction of our overall goal and contributing to one or more of the Voice impact areas.

The goals, impact areas and pathways are described below.

**GOAL**

Empowered rightsholders are able to express their views and demand their rights for responsive and inclusive societies.

**LONG-TERM OUTCOME**

Rightsholders feel and rightsholder groups/organisations are empowered to use their influencing capacity for their voices to be heard, respected and included.

**IMPACT GOAL**

We dream of a world where rightsholder groups have:

1. **Improved access to (productive) resources (finance, land and water) and employment**: Lift barriers to economic inclusion, which currently mean there is lack of access to land and water,
exploitative or vulnerable employment situations, and limited opportunities to find decent work.

2. **Improved access to social services, in particular health and education:** Make quality services more accessible for rightsholders that are currently left out because of language barriers (e.g. ethnic minorities), distance (rural populations) or neglect. Among the rightsholders, women and youth will gain access to more information and tools that will help them demand better/more services.

3. **Space for political participation and citizen engagement:** Lift obstacles for rightsholders to participate in public affairs and decisions that affect their lives. Civic space is under threat, and rightsholders often face particular obstacles to participation in public debate and decision-making. Indigenous groups and LGTBI persons face the most repression.

**The pathways**

To Empower

**Empowerment** is a process of coming to or finding one’s voice. It is not a given but a process that people need to own and work on. At the same time, ownership leads to confidence building and enhanced self-esteem. We acknowledge organisations are made up of individuals, and hence individual empowerment is a critical entry point. Voice rightsholders have the right to own their own empowerment processes.

**Interventions**

Under the Empower pathway, we will support change at multiple levels; Individual (rightsholder), family, community and organisational (grantees).

- Voice will prioritise applications from groups that are led by the rightsholders themselves instead of having other organisations working on their behalf.
- Applicants who recognise and address multiple vulnerabilities will be given priority.
- Voice will support projects that build and strengthen the capacity of rightsholders leading to their empowerment.
- The creation of safe spaces for rightsholders may need to be facilitated by applicants to exercise their empowerment.
- Support will be provided to individual rightsholders, their families, and communities to acquire new skills to create a more inclusive environment.
- Support will be provided to projects that focus on internal reflection, leadership development, and building alliances with like-minded groups.
- Voice will support applicants to develop their own initiatives based on their relative capacities.
**To Amplify**

**Amplification** is the process of acquiring the means and support to express and raise your voice. For some rightsholders, this may be preceded by a process of coming to or finding one’s voice (the empowerment pathway). The collective amplification of voices can build a critical mass of allies, instrumental for the social change we seek in the Voice impact areas.

There are different dimensions of amplification, which are mutually reinforcing and interdependent. Each has their own dynamic. [visualise by a bullhorn]. The amplification efforts depend on the following factors:

- **Sphere of influence:** This is the closest to the rightsholder’s personal life. This can also be the toughest and most challenging circle to realise the amplification. Within this sphere, one may find the strongest allies.
- **Other organisations:** This is the next domain of amplification which can create the groundswell needed to build a movement and realise social change for the rightsholder.
- **Public authorities and private sector:** These actors make formal decisions reflected in policies, regulations and laws, affecting the lives of the rightsholders.
- **Societal leaders:** Traditional leaders, social media influencers, religious leaders and chiefs play a significant role in changing social norms and what stories are amplified.

**Interventions**

- Voice will select grantees which enable the rightsholders to amplify their voices.
- The Linking and Learning Connectors will bring grantees, rightsholders and other organisations together to facilitate change agendas.
- The Linking and Learning Connectors will organise learning events that strengthen grantee and project participants’ capacities in multimedia documentation and use of (social) media to amplify their own stories.
- The Linking, Learning and Amplification Officers will initiate and leverage the amplification at the local and national level both offline and online.
- The Communications Hub will amplify the local and national voices at global level, mainly online.
To Influence

**Influencing** is the process where rightsholders and their representatives will use a range of lobby and advocacy tools to influence individuals, families, communities, private business, religious leaders, (social) media, and other decision makers’ policies, practices, and behaviours.

Ultimately, the combined interventions will lead to rightsholders:

- claiming their rights as equal citizens;
- having meaningful participation in political, economic, and social spheres, and;
- accessing services and resources.

Influencing should happen and move across multiple levels from individuals to communities to (sub-) national to international. Actions at the individual level can reinforce actions at other levels. Their impacts happen in many different directions.

**Interventions**

- Rightsholders and their representatives will develop and implement their own influencing strategies as grantees.
- The selection process is based on the country context analysis, responding to issues and opportunities important to and identified by the rightsholders.
- Grantees will acquire skills and capacities to implement these. They are encouraged to include ways to build alliances and to expand their networks.
- Voice will facilitate meetings, organise events, and provide (digital) platforms where grantees and other like-minded civil society organisations can exchange and learn from each other’s experiences in influencing.
- Voice connects grantees to practitioners, tools, and instruments to further support their influencing abilities and power. This is especially true for Influencing grantees as recommended in the MTR.
- Provide access to an integrated tool to guide and inspire grantees to build their own Theory of Action based on the Voice ToC.

**Assumptions**

During consultations with grantees and rightsholders as well as the context analysis updates, we realised that the previous assumptions needed to be changed, modified, and/or clarified. As such, the revised Voice Theory of Change is based on a related but different set of assumptions:

1. Most rightsholders can freely access and use tools such as radio, theatre, art, social media, mobile phones, etc. that help them amplify their voices and influence others.
2. Rightsholders and their representatives are able to find and identify role models and allies within government bodies, (other) civil society organisations, and/or local authorities.
3. Individual change leads to social change, including political and cultural change.
4. Individuals, families and communities have the necessary skills, supportive structures, and safe spaces to raise their voice, beyond their comfort space/personal sphere.
5. The rightsholders and their representatives are ready to work on their own empowerment and influencing process.
6. Rightsholder groups become empowered and are willing to influence through sharing experiences and forming new alliances based on aligned values.
7. The rightsholder has the capacity to amplify, maintain access, and control over their stories for amplification even beyond the lifetime of Voice.
8. Individuals, families and communities understand and appreciate the role of safe spaces in supporting discriminated and excluded rightsholders, including the possibility of isolating other rightsholders at times.
9. Individuals, consortium partners and grantees have self-reflected before amplifying.
10. Grantees and Voice Coordination and Country teams are able to create circumstances in which it is safe to amplify