



Report

Consultation with Stakeholders of Amnesty International Thailand

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1. Introduction

Background

Amnesty International next global strategy – and its design process – will answer the question: how does it stay relevant and effective in an ever-changing world?

Amnesty International aims to transform HOW Amnesty functions and better prioritize what it works on. It will create a firm understanding of when it should lead the charge for change, is better placed to support others; and makes Amnesty truly fit for purpose to confront the challenges of AI time.

It plans to start by gathering ideas from the public, from partners, allies and critics, and from within Amnesty about HOW it should operate to create a world in which human rights are enjoyed by all. In the process of Amnesty International's development of a new global strategy, Amnesty entities around the world are asked to submit their inputs.

Therefore, Amnesty International Thailand plans to conduct a series of consultations with its stakeholders. The goal is to contribute to a global strategy which is also relevant to AI work on the ground in Thailand.

Objectives

To provide inputs into the new global strategy development by

1. Conducting consultations with stakeholders
 - To answer the 5 Big Questions provided by Amnesty International and contribute to the new global strategy.
 - To answer any additional questions for the stakeholders provided by Amnesty International Thailand to help with its future planning.
2. Writing consultations' report

Scope of the consultations

A series of consultations and in-depth interviews were conducted with 6 groups of stakeholders: refugees, human rights defenders, students (from Human Rights Education Project), supporters, Amnesty International Thailand's board and staff, and partners. The format of the consultation can vary from focus groups to interviews, as appropriate.

Expected outputs

A report on the series of consultations conducted.

Structure of the report is as follow:

1. Introduction
2. Methodology
3. Findings Human right issues and challenges

4. Findings – Key messages about Amnesty International Thailand

5. Findings – the Five Big Question

- 5.1 Power and systemic change
- 5.2 Narratives & Attitudes
- 5.3 Stronger movement & Partnership
- 5.4 Diversity & inclusion
- 5.5 Amnesty's added value

6. Conclusion

Annexes:

- List of persons consulted
- Agenda of the consultations
- Guide questions for interview

Key Consultation Questions



Amnesty International identified five big questions and are seeking ideas, challenges and solutions. The consultation will make use of Amnesty International's Five Big Questions and its sub-questions to guide the consultations. Additional questions from Amnesty International Thailand was also included.

Both sets of questions are as follow:

The Five Big Questions

1. POWER & SYSTEMIC CHANGE

How could we drive transformational changes that address the root causes of

injustice and suffering?

- How could organisations like Amnesty influence or disrupt existing and emerging centres of power (among non-state actors, corporations, institutions, governments or others)?
- How can we nurture forms of people-power and support institutions to contribute to the fulfilment of human rights and a more just world?

This is about changing where the power lies.

2. NARRATIVES & ATTITUDES

How do we shift attitudes and encourage people to come together in solidarity around a vision of dignity and justice for the future?

- How can organisations like Amnesty meaningfully shift attitudes, behaviours & social norms in increasingly polarised societies?
- What role should human rights play in shaping narratives of dignity, justice and fairness?

This is about winning the battle of ideas.

3. STRONGER MOVEMENT & PARTNERSHIPS

How do we become a bigger, bolder, and more inclusive movement that is better at supporting social change?

- How can we better connect and support partners and emerging movements?
- How can members and supporters of a movement like Amnesty's be empowered to organise themselves with autonomy, while maintaining the capacity for global mobilisation?

This is about building movements stronger than ever before.

4. DIVERSITY & INCLUSION

How do we become an organisation that people from all walks of life can truly feel a part of?

- How can an organisation like Amnesty transform to be more attractive and inclusive to a wide variety of people whose identities are shaped by issues of class, race, gender, age and other realities - including those who are directly affected by human rights abuses and inequality?
- How can an organisation ensure it is a safe, trustworthy and supportive space for everyone involved with it?

This is about feeling that you are truly part of the movement.

5. AMNESTY'S ADDED VALUE

What areas of work should Amnesty be leading on, supporting others on, or dropping – especially in relation to partners and others who are bringing about change in the world?

- What should Amnesty's unique role become in the future?
- Thinking towards 2030:

- In which areas of work should Amnesty take a leadership role, and why? What does that look like in practice?
- In which areas of work should Amnesty support and complement the efforts of other organisations, and why? What does that look like in practice?
- Which areas of work should Amnesty drop in order to focus influence and resources, and why?

This is about priorities.

Key questions for Amnesty International Thailand:

Relate to Stake holders

1. What changes in human rights that you hope to see?
2. What are you doing/or having capacity to do to achieve that change?
3. What are limitations?
4. What are human rights problems that you are facing/or that you and your groups are advocating for?
5. What change do you want to make it happen and how? Who can help you to make those changes?
6. How do you address these issues? Who do you work with? What are challenges that you face? Who are influence actors who can change the cause?

Relate to AI:

1. How do you know Amnesty International Thailand? What kind of organization is it? What does it do? What is its standpoint?
2. How did you get involve with Amnesty International and what parts/activities?
3. What is Amnesty International's roles in supporting you to make changes?
4. In your opinion, does AI Thailand meet your expectation in advocating for human rights issues or creating changes as you want to see?
5. What are AI Thailand's weaknesses?
6. What is uniqueness of AI Thailand? What are the outstanding impact that AI has made that you have seen?
7. What is your expectation towards Amnesty in protecting human rights? What roles that AI Thailand should play in this area? How AI Thailand could work in collaboration with you/your organisations?
8. What issues/problems do you think AI Thailand should work on?
9. What are other recommendations?

2. Methodology

Data will be collected by carrying out three main activities, key informant interviews, focus group discussions and consultation workshops. Desk review of relevant AI documents was conducted at the preparation stage to inform the design of data collection methodology. Agenda of the consultation workshops and interview guides are developed to ensure the consistent data collection process among each target group.

2.1 Profiles of the stakeholders

Stakeholders participating in the consultations include:

1. Refugees
2. Human Right Defenders
3. Partner organisations
4. Human Right Education participants
5. AI board members and supporters
6. AI Thailand's staff and intern

At the preparation phase, the consultant and Amnesty International Thailand agreed upon key stakeholders to be interviewed, and to joint consultation workshops. Target populations and methods for consultation are as follow:

Table 1: Target populations and methods for consultation

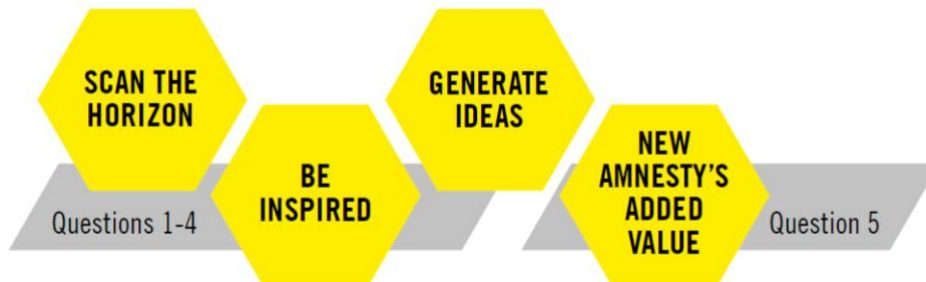
Stakeholder groups	Methods of consultation	Date & time
1. Refugees	Consultation workshop	Friday 21 st June
2. Human rights defenders	In depth interview (interview respondents one by one. 1 hour per person)	17 th – 30 th June
3. Students (from Human Rights Education Project)	In depth interview	17 th – 30 th June
4. Supporters (inc. Board)	Consultation workshop (one day (6 – 8 hours))	Sunday 30 th June
5. Amnesty Thailand's staff + interns	Consultation workshop (one day (6 – 8 hours))	Thursday 27 th June
6. AI partners	In depth interview	17 th – 30 th June

2.2 Consultation workshops

The consultations follow some of the process as suggested by Amnesty International's Facilitators' Guide on Developing Amnesty's Next Strategy. Suggested approach to guide idea generation are as follow:

- Start with a conversation on the NOW: what is it that we have, what is happening out there
- Move into a conversation about the FUTURE: what do we want to plan for and build for.

The process was designed in four moves.



2.3 Interview with key respondents

At the preparation phase, the consultant and Amnesty International shall agree on key stakeholders to be interviewed. Guide questions for semi-structured interviews are listed in the Annex 3.

3. Findings - Human rights issues and challenges

This chapter provides an overview of human right issues and challenges faced from the perspective of stakeholders. In undertaking the interviews and consultations, and writing this Report, some key message areas have been identified, which are presented below. Many of these matters are well known and have been canvassed previously in many forums and in papers. But they remain important in laying background for developing actions for AI's future strategy.

Key findings from the consultations are presented as the following:

3.1 Human right challenges

The military government taking over the administration in the last five years was cited to be a major threat for human right protection, as stated by a stakeholder: *“This results in the shrink of civil society movement – both left and right wings.”*

As a result, human right defenders, movements, and organisations including AI were bullied, threaten and undermined through negative narrative of human rights, the military government's information operation (IO), as well as legal tools and their enforcement that legalise human right abuse.

Some of the overall and cross-cutting challenges identified by stakeholders are:

- **Legal barrier was cited by a stakeholder as less significant than legal enforcement.** As it was said, “some laws do not have bad contents, but they were used to hamper the human rights effort. For example, traffic law sometimes is used to stop people to protest on the street”.
- **Human right movements/organisations in Thailand are still fragmented,** issue based, and therefore not united.
- **Gender discrimination and sexual harassment persists** within human right movements that was very much based on patriotist approach.
- **Knowledge and awareness of the general public** on human right issues are still limited.
- **The concept and narrative of human rights** was made to become abstract, difficult to understand and negative: According to stakeholders, it is a foreign concept, it is not aligned with Thai values¹, and rights already exist in all the Thai laws. As a result, human right defenders are therefore seen by the military

¹ For example, campaign against death penalty is against the Buddhist belief on karma caught up people who did bad things.

government and conservative population as people who are aggressive, do not love the country, always protest against everything and protect the bad people.

3.2 Priority human right issues

Political Rights and Right to Freedom of Expression

Violation of political rights and the right to freedom of expression emerged as an underlying message in the consultations under the military government regime as cited in 3.1.

The stakeholders supported a view that **political right and the right to freedom of expression are basic rights for voicing out and demanding other human rights**. According to varied views of stakeholders, these two rights are related to each other. They see that people have right to involve in the administration of a government not only through the democratic mechanism of election (which did not occurred in the past five years) but also exercising this right through freely express their opinion against unfairness and misconducted policies of the government through people uprising and protest on the streets. The exercise of these rights was not allowed. Freedom of expression is only allowed on speaking out issues not affecting governmental power such as LGBT rights but not issues on rights of community over forest land.

Those who are brave enough to voice out, protest, issue letters or even express opinions were charged against and had to fight in court. This created fears among the people.

Stakeholders indicated that **freedom of expression is limited in the expression of gender among LGBT people** especially in the three southernmost provinces.

It was pointed out that **freedom of expression is also considered both off-line and online**, as censorship of online contents opponent to the government was a normal practice.

Refugees & migration

Human right of refugee is considered a global problem. In Thailand, there are cases of human right abuse of refugees including lack of access to basic rights, family separation, long term detention, and deport of political refugees back to the government of original countries.

According to Asylum Access, there are two main approaches addressing refugee problem in Thailand: legal aid to refugees and advocacy for policy changes – especially provision of legal status for refugees while they are staying in Thailand; review Thai immigration law to be more refugee friendly. On the other hand, capacity building activities were conducted for the refugees so that they can gather and voice out their concerns on their rights.

Challenges faced include discriminating attitudes of government officials and general public towards refugees. Climate change crisis was also cited by stakeholders to increase magnitude of refugees and migration.

Human Right Defenders (HRD)

As already mentioned, the **political environment under the military government in Thailand has hampered human right movement and put human right defenders into fragile situation**. As cited by one of the stakeholders, *“human right defenders fight alone in a difficult-to-win fight. They need more supports from human right movement and NGOs in terms of funding, technical advises and network to back up.”*

According to one stakeholder, students who are active in fighting for human right protection should also be considered young human right defenders and should get support from “adult” human right movements. *“Sometimes there is a grey area if these students are considered human right defenders. Usually, they are considered volunteers and were not taken seriously until they were arrested and assaulted,” said one stakeholder.*

Safety issue is one of the key concerns pointed out by many stakeholders especially those who are human right defenders themselves. They need supports to ensure that they and their families are safe. Safety concerns of HRDs are especially an issue in the three southernmost provinces in Thailand. LGBT activists are not only confronted by officials but also conservative general public.

Human right defenders’ wellbeing was also cited by many stakeholders. Due to unfavoured political environment, they have faced with despair in their fights and burnt out. As a stakeholder explained, *“there is a high cost of fighting for human rights due to workload, unhealthy and unsafe environment which create stress. People take in all problems and do not have skills to rehabilitate their mind. They also lack skills on emotion management, deep listening, and conflict management”*.

HRDs also have limited language and fund-raising capacity which make it difficult to access funding sources and continue to fight for human rights on an ongoing basis.

Gender equality and LGBT rights

LGBT right was raised in a number of interviews and consultations. As stated by one of the stakeholders, *“discrimination against LGBT people results in a number of human right violation including unfair payment, violence, discrimination at work place and hate crimes”*.

Thailand is in the stage of advocating for the rights of LGBT people through proposal of new laws including same-sex marriage and gender title in official documents.

The movement has been successful in advocate the Ministry of Education to revise the health and well-being curriculum in school to change the definition of LGBT people into a more positive term. It still has to advocate for other related rights such as bullying against LGBT people, the rights of the LGBT inmates and rights to access inclusive health services.

Community and environmental rights

The interviews and consultations indicated a strong interest in the rights of ethnic population of Thailand to citizenship and over the forest land that they have been living.

Rules of law

ICJ – a stakeholder has a mandate to strengthen rule of law in Thailand. It especially focuses on the laws that are enacted under the military government regime which did not go through the democratic parliament and were not participated by public.

Other issues

Other issues mentioned by stakeholders include: sexual harassment, violence against children by school management.

4. Findings - Key messages for Amnesty International Thailand

In addition to provide inputs into the new global strategy development of Amnesty International by answering the 5 Big Questions provided by Amnesty International (Chapter 5), this study also aims to answer additional questions provided by Amnesty International Thailand to help with its future planning.

Key topics presented in this chapter are: 1) stakeholders' involvement with AI Thailand 2) Images of AI Thailand in their perspective 3) Impact and contribution of AI Thailand up to present 4) AI Thailand's Strengths and weaknesses and 5) Recommendations for AI Thailand's strategic direction.

4.1 Stakeholders' involvement with AI Thailand

Stakeholders participating in the interviews and consultations are those who have worked with AI Thailand on different aspects in advocating for human right issues. They participated in some of AI Thailand public events or training and benefit from AI Thailand actions or campaigns. They can be categorized in six groups as follow:

1. Urban refugees – this group of stakeholders participated in capacity building/training sessions on human rights
2. Human Right Defenders – HRDs were individually supported by AI Thailand through campaigns and they participated in AI's training on human rights conducted for young HRDs. AI also support some HRDs during their court cases.
3. Partner organisations – AI Thailand supports several local human right NGOs in issues that they fight for through conducting campaign on those issues. Stakeholders also indicated that they utilize research studies conducted by AI as an evidence to support their causes.
4. Human Right Education participants – University students participated in human right education courses conducted by AI. Many students have been active in human right activities and remained involved with AI afterwards.
5. AI board members and supporters
6. AI Thailand's staff and intern

Some stakeholders wear more than one hat in their relationship with AI Thailand – such as being AI members/supporters as well as working in an NGO partnering with AI. Supporters get news update from AI regularly through newsletter. They are also invited to public events conducted from time to time.

4.2 Images of AI Thailand

To answer the question: How stakeholders know and view AI Thailand, participants in consultations and interviews have comments that can be categorized in the following sub-topics:

International organization & global movement

Amnesty International Thailand is seen as an international NGO, a global movement, and an English-speaking organization. According to some stakeholders, Amnesty International was not easy to access by local and grassroots organizations.

As some of the stakeholders said:

“AI does not work directly with human right organisations on the ground but work more with university students. It works more on policy advocacy and human right campaigns in the city”.

“AI, as an international organization, always uses human right terms in its announcement that were translated from English, therefore, it is not easy understood by the Thai public.”

“AI Thailand has adopted the perspective of seeing the world through an eye of people from the first world – who want to see an absolute freedom without relating it to economic, social and cultural context of different parts of the world. This way the people whose rights were abused could not internalize human right concepts through HRE. While focusing on the big issue such as freedom of expression, issues about human right violation related to marginalized groups in Thailand such as people with disability affected by the economy do not have space in AI’s priorities”.

Being an international body, on the other hand, it has a benefit of supporting local human right organisations on campaign and voicing out issues that are harder for domestic NGOs to do so. For example, the campaign on Article 112 of the Criminal Code on Lese-majeste.

Good with campaigning events

AI Thailand is perceived to be good at conducting campaigning materials and events with attractive design for young generation. It was cited to be successful in capturing media attention.

Among others, stakeholders had good impression on World Refugee Day; A Campaign on Who is Human Rights Defender? And Be My Guest (AI Thailand’s showcase event, May-June 2019).

Strong commitment to Human Rights

AI was seen as an organization with strong stance on certain human right issues with its clear message. The (in)famous issue consistently cited by stakeholders is campaign against death penalty which has made the issue well known among the general public and at the same time has a backfire on the image of AI Thailand itself.

Human right education

AI Thailand was in favour of stakeholders on its human right education programme. Human right education camps for students are fun and charming. Stakeholders feel strongly that HRE should be a core for AI Thailand and should be further expanded and developed.

Support those whose rights are abused

Stakeholders feel that AI Thailand is empathized of the plight of abused human right defenders and it always takes a step forward to support them. Interviewed human right defenders mentioned that their cases were benefited from AI Thailand's campaigns that made public know about the violation, follow up of court cases and some training sessions that AI conducted for them.

Negative image

Stakeholders mentioned that they are aware of negative perception of the general public towards AI Thailand which hamper the increased number of supporters. Further discussions on this can be found under 5.2 Narratives & Attitudes.

4.3 Impact and contributions of AI Thailand

To answer the question: What Amnesty International's roles is in supporting them to make changes; and if AI Thailand meet their expectation in advocating for human rights issues or creating changes as you want to see, participants in consultations and interviews have the following comments:

- 1) In depth understanding on human rights concept especially among young human right activists participating in HRE programme.

As one of the stakeholders said, "Training on human rights conducted by AI is very successful. It made me know how what is included in human rights and how our rights are violated. Schools' regulations on hairstyle and uniform can also be considered as human right violation".

Another stakeholder said, "AI actually opened the world of human rights for me. After the training, I was thinking – ok, this is what it means by human rights. I deeply understand now why exactly we do need to campaign for the protection of human rights of refugee and LGBT people. I would have a reason to explain that in principle".

Diversity workshops on refugee was cited to have an impact on awareness of human rights by both students and refugees themselves.

"A programme organizing for refugees and Thai students to meet with each other also create a big impact. At first, I support the refugee rights by principle. I thought yes, we need to help them but maybe we should give priority to the Thai population. But after

the event, I have become to know them as a human being and realized that human rights are not limited by who they are and what nationality they have.”

2) Awareness on some issues such as death penalty and anti-torture

As one of the stakeholders said, “AI has made the issue of death penalty well-known among the Thai public although it was not the best timing to say”.

“Campaign against death penalty has made AI Thailand known, although not in a positive way. The phenomenon that Thai society outrageously discussed death penalty reflected that how much work that AI needs to do. AI Thailand Fanpage also has had an increasing number of followers after this campaign,” reflected another stakeholder.

AI Thailand’s evaluation the implementation of recommendations submitted to the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) also raise awareness of the media and general public of human right violation issues.

However, it was also cited by stakeholders that awareness raised by AI Thailand on those issues has not yet resulted in policy and structure changes as expected.

3) Empowered young human right defenders in their fight for rights

4) As one of the interviewed human right defenders said, “AI helped me by making my case known among different embassies and international organisations. It issued statements for my court case and conduct trainings for human right defenders”. Strengthen movements of young human right activists through AI club and seed fund.

From human right education targeting the young people, AI also support them to practice the activities through establishing AI Clubs in some universities and seed funds for human right actions.

As one of the stakeholders reflected, “I had an opportunity to become a facilitator during human right training sessions.”

“AI criteria and application for seed fund is also simple and suit the capacity of students, and without complex impact measurement as human right impact are not easy to measure,” said another stakeholder.

4.4 SWOT Analysis of AI Thailand

This Section links the messages from the consultations in relation to perceptions about AI Thailand. They are complementary to the key messages outlined in the previous Section in that Strengths of AI.

SWOT analysis is used to identify strengths and weaknesses of the organization and its programmes. The SWOT analysis is presented in both: 1) Strengths and weaknesses which

are internal to the components of AI Thailand itself; and 2) Opportunities and threats which are external environment. SWOT analysis of AI Thailand is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: SWOT Analysis of Amnesty International Thailand

	Internal to the organization & strategies	External environment
Positive	<p>Strengths</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research and information as strong evidence support for campaign. One example is the research conducted in Thailand for a campaign against torture. • Strong element on youth participation and youth empowerment, network and decision making including have youth board members • Linking global human right issues with local issues • Staff is dedicated • Expertise and knowledgeable about human right trends and approach • Resources and funding are secured • Supported by global mandate, international network and solidarity • Good branding and image on human right campaigner. Easy for public to remember. • Expertise and experience in campaign. Strong campaign strategies and understanding of media needs, attractive public events, attractive campaign materials. • Strong advocate skills • Strong human rights education programme • Good at working with the youth (for example – seed fund has friendly methods for reporting) – making human right issues fun for young generation. • Outspoken and have clear message 	<p>Opportunity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater oppression resulting in more interests in human rights • Social media as a tool for exchange of information and mobilization • New ideas about economics have close linked to human right • Young generation start to be more interested in human rights

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impact on changed situation. Many cases had been helped by AI². • Can collaborate with other organizations that are issue-based, and can support from local network. 	
Negative	<p>Weakness</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too small number of members and supporters • Mobilising resource among members is difficult • Too westernised way of human right concepts and issues therefore does not get support from local context • Campaign does not address human right principles • Campaign fails to influence the opposers • Staff turnover • Lack of diversity in the board member. • Human resource system within the organisation is still weak • Are not accessed by communities and grassroots organisations • Short of researchers for a few years • Cannot translate human right issues to match with local context. • Does not continue the campaign on one issue on an ongoing basis • Do not have its own database about situation in Thailand • Campaign activities can draw only interested people but fail to draw attention of the non-supporters • Work on many issues and programmes • Do not have staff at regional and provincial level 	<p>Threat</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human right situations in Thailand has not been improved • Increase magnitude of physical assaults on human rights defender • Human right defenders are burned out, depressed, and desperate due to the situation. • Laws and government policies hamper the exercise of right • Negativity of public towards human right narratives and some issues • Hate speech and IO • Social media as source of misinformation, disinformation and distraction. • Anti- human right government; the government ignores human rights violation. • Nationalism, xenophobia and contempt for truth is increasing.

² Some of the cases include: a campaign to free Hakeem al-Araibi - the refugee footballer from Australia who was detained by the Thai government; Free Pai Campaign; and AI solidarity action for Granpa Kor-ee.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of impact assessment mechanism to measure results of each campaign activity • Do not have systematic follow up of impact after events • Staff members do not have strong technical knowledge on human rights • Is seen as polarize with political ideology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Climate change crisis worsen human right situations.
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4.5 Recommendations for strategic direction of AI Thailand

To answer the questions:

1. What is your expectation towards Amnesty in protecting human rights? What roles that AI Thailand should play in this area? How AI Thailand could work in collaboration with you/your organisations?
2. What issues/problems do you think AI Thailand should work on?

Participants in consultations and interviews have the following comments:

- 1) AI should work more on the field level and outreach to the grassroots human right movement to support and empower those who have least power
- 2) AI Thailand should adapt the international strategic direction and strategies into the Thai context.
- 3) AI Thailand should have local stakeholders participating in the process of strategy development
- 4) AI Thailand should further develop more innovative and creative ways to conduct campaigns to create stronger impact
- 5) AI Thailand should draw and extract lessons and experiences from AI in other countries
- 6) The importance of human rights education comes out strongly in responses, AI Thailand should continue with human right education programme and further expand into wider target population
- 7) AI Thailand should focus on conducting campaign on freedom of expression as a core mandate because this right will lead to the exercise of other human rights
- 8) AI Thailand should continue to support young HRD through, for example, promoting and supporting AI Club, initiate a course on emotional management with focus on mental wellbeing of human right defenders, as well as risk assessment for their safety
- 9) AI Thailand should focus its strategy to increase number of members/supporters

- 10) AI should still follow up progress of its campaign on death penalty and torture
- 11) AI Thailand should consider expanding support to other human right issues including: Racial discrimination; integrate human rights issues into other arenas including social and economic problems and environment issues; increase work on social and economic rights; human rights for urban people; LGBT; digital rights; and climate change.
- 12) AI needs to develop a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation mechanism with focus on impact assessment of its work to contribute to planning for next step and reporting of success and lessons learned.
- 13) AI Thailand should support local movement and organisations in fundraising for human right campaign activities
- 14) AI Thailand should improve effectiveness in public communication, especially on certain campaigns on human right issues. Messages for communication should be clear and precise with small number of recommendations. Staff members feel that AI Thailand should focus on working on one issue at a time to make it precise for its message. Stakeholders suggested that AI should review its campaign materials to be less printed but more online materials.

4.6 Some remaining issues for AI Thailand needs to agree upon

Attach to politics or not?

Although some stakeholders thought that AI Thailand should be neutral and not taking side of any political polar or parties, some stakeholders supported a view that demanding human rights could not complete without touching upon politics. In the Thai context the military government that ruled the administration in the past five years has worsen the human right protection in the country, there for AI should stand for democracy.

Evidence based or not?

AI Thailand was seen as a successful campaign organization. There were discussions among stakeholders on whether AI Thailand should have its own research to back up its campaigns or using data, information and research already conducted and collected by other organization.

5. Findings - The Five Big Questions

In this Section, views and opinions from the consultations and interviews on how to achieve the Strategic Challenges and large-scale initiatives are outlined. The section provides feedback on the Five Big Questions. Each subheading refers to a question identified by the IS.

During consultations, participants were constantly challenged about implementation.

5.1 Power and systemic change

To answer the question: How AI could drive transformational changes that address the root causes of injustice and suffering, participants in consultations and interviews provide the following recommendations:

Influence or disrupt existing and emerging centres of power

- 1) **Question the existing structures and mechanisms** and advocate for changes
- 2) **Advocate for changes in laws and regulations that violate human rights.**
Constitution of Thailand that is not promoting participation of citizen including people's network, to delete the condition for military government to continue its power, and Article 112 Law.
 - a. In the next three years, AI Thailand should analyse which law needs to be changed. For example, torture bill that it has advocated for and was now shelved, and public gathering related laws.
 - b. Cyber law
 - c. Security laws
 - d. AI needs to assess its expertise and capacity and choose which law to advocate for
- 3) Advocate for adoption of international conventions
- 4) Promote the establishment of human rights policy in all political parties, and educate politicians in parliament
- 5) Assess the structure of power in Thai society and develop a strategy, because training for PMs and changes of law will not work if there is no practice and law enforcement.
- 6) Issue statement on cases of human right violation on a timely basis to create discussion in the society
- 7) Make use of international community to pressure the government

Nurture forms of people-power and support institutions to contribute to the fulfilment of human rights

- 1) **Empower human right defenders and young human rights** – which AI is good at and has done this for sometimes. One activity could be giving award to outstanding human right defenders to raise their profiles and empower their power in advocate for their rights.

“To change power structure, we need to empower those whose rights violate to aware of their rights first. Human right education is the first tool to raise their awareness. Then AI could conduct a public campaign for the people to support their causes”, said one stakeholder.

“AI should stand beside human right defenders who are threatened or abused or when they had to fight the case in court. This could build confidence that they will be safe,” said one stakeholder.

- 2) **Strengthen capacity of movements and groups that already working on human right issues** especially land and community rights. AI can do it by supporting them with campaign and education for the public

“AI cannot change power structure all by itself. It has to support closely the existing network. It has to be a watch dog monitoring human right abuse situation, issue statement and continue to follow up. AI should continue to lobby for changes through mechanism like UPR which local organisations are not in a position to do so. AI should be the link between local human right organisations and international mechanism,” - said one stakeholder.

- 3) Knowledge about human rights among the community people is a base to empower them. AI should therefore conduct training on human right principles with communities and people whose rights are violated to ensure that they have rights

As one of the stakeholders from an ethnic community reflected that “we did not know before that we have rights over the land that our ancestors lived for generations. Before this we thought that the authorities have to final say on if we can stay or should move out”.

- 4) Expand human right education into high school level

5.2 Narratives & Attitudes

To answer the question: How we shift attitudes and encourage people to come together in solidarity around a vision of dignity and justice for the future, participants in consultations and interviews provide the following recommendations:

Shifting attitudes, behaviours & social norms in increasingly polarised societies

- 1) Human rights education is a fundamental approach for changing narratives and attitudes of people. Human right education should also target opponents of AI such as the military people and should target teachers.

- 2) **Narrow target population by influencing young people's attitudes** - AI should focus on working with the young generation who are interested in human rights through the channel popular among them such as twitter instead of physical protest on street. Organize events/workshops that can raise awareness of the young people. An example was an interactive workshop conducted for the students to meet with refugee, and strengthening Amnesty school club in schools.
- 3) AI could become an agenda setter. It must go with the flow, conduct assessment of the situation and strategise its position especially on how to communicate. In the Thai context, AI should formulate its statements in a more constructive and diplomatic way.
- 4) Work more on local human right issues. Find linkage of human right issues and benefits to the lives and wellbeing of people.

As reflected by a stakeholder, "political violence in the three southernmost of Thailand as introduced as human right issues by AI Thailand when incidents were linked with torture and abduction of human right defenders. The people have known AI better."

Roles of human rights in shaping narratives of dignity, justice and fairness

Thai people have negative attitudes towards the term "right" and "human right". It was perceived to be a western concept and it is attached to a political agenda. The Thais feel that those who come on to protest on the street were "disrupting national peace and security". As a result, AI has been viewed as an organization that is western and alienated to the Thai society.

Recommendations are as follow:

- 1) Continue to work on human right education with international concepts
- 2) Simplify the language to explain human right concepts
- 3) Integrate some human right concepts that are align well with Thai values such as some Buddhist teachings. For example, "not killing other lives is Buddhist principle".
- 4) Disseminate more positive messages such as pointing out that human right is equal to "people's power" to have a good life
- 5) Drop some issues that emphasise the negative perception of general public such as campaign on death penalty. On death penalty, for example, AI may not have to work on public campaign, but it could advocate on policy and law change with policy makers quietly.
- 6) Develop strategies to address fake news and IO

5.3 Stronger movement & partnership

To answer the question: How we become a bigger, bolder, and more inclusive movement that is better at supporting social change, participants in consultations and interviews provide the following recommendations:

Challenges for stronger movement and partnership as identified by stakeholders include: 1) Human rights movements in Thailand has been weakened in the past five years; 2) Human right movements in Thailand are issued based and not united and; 3) Human right network has been meeting regularly but it was more like updating the human right issues and problems but not reaching out solutions. Therefore, the recommendations for AI to build stronger movement and partnership are as follow:

Better connect and support partners and emerging movements

- 1) Continue to focus on young generation through human right education
- 2) Continue and expand the seed fund for young human right activists to conduct activities
- 3) Outreach to existing movement especially at the community level and empower movement that it works closely to. For example, AI should
 - Invite human right defenders and/or those whose rights were abused to voice out their issues at the international platform and
 - Support issue-based movement in sharing experience through conducting a forum and platform for them.
 - Encourage the link of NGOs and movements with individuals and communities whose right are abused to meet and support each other
- 4) Explore new partners outside CSO and NGO movement such as private sectors, IT industry
- 5) AI could act as watchdog in the field to monitor human right abuses to support the fight of local movement. This can be done through human right volunteers

Amnesty's be empowered to organise themselves with autonomy, while maintaining the capacity for global mobilisation

- 1) Conduct assessment on why the number of AI supporters decrease and develop a strategy to regain trust and favour of the Thai public especially through the use of social media
- 2) Increase number of members. For AI in other countries, membership is the base for human right movement and public campaign. Focus should be on young generation, students.

- 3) AI should start with young people with the human rights that they relate to such as school rules on haircut and bullying in the form of Rab Nong.
- 4) Introduce the concept of “being citizen” to go along with the concept of human rights
- 5) Involve organisations working on AI priority issues (refugee, human right defenders, human right education) to plan strategies.

5.4 Diversity & inclusion

To answer the question: How we become an organisation that people from all walks of life can truly feel a part of, participants in consultations and interviews provide the following recommendations:

Transform to be more attractive and inclusive to a wide variety of people - including those who are directly affected by human rights abuses and inequality

- 1) Communicate with different target populations with different communication methods that interest them.

“Younger generation may not want to joint a structured movement or platform. They might prefer a looser network that they can individually express their opinions and identities. Online platform might be an answer, and Write for Right might have to be considered dropping if it is proved that it is not an effective way to get attention from the people,” said one stakeholder.

- 2) As not all human right issues are not in favour of the Thai society, AI should strategically select human right issues that can gain local people’s empathy.

As one of the stakeholders said, “we can emphasise on the term “people’s power” instead of democracy. We can focus on the rights that are closest to their lives and as direct benefit such as rights to healthcare and education.

- 3) Make use of local events to integrate and promote human right concept and issues.
- 4) Expand communication channel to increase the dissemination of positive stories relating to human rights.
- 5) Continue to build good relationship with media people to access variety of population
- 6) Continue its human right education project for accessing new target population
- 7) Organise events in public spaces where can be easily accessed by general public.
- 8) Create innovative and attractive activities and simplify the concept of human right to draw attention of new target population

- 9) Using public figures or influencers to become AI ambassador to influence general public
- 10) Be aware of gender diversity within the movement. Ensure that there is no gender discrimination within human right movement and be sensitive to specific needs and concerns of female and marginalized groups of human right defenders
- 11) Expand network of movement into the regional level – north, northeast, south and etc.

Ensure safe, trustworthy and supportive space for everyone involved with AI

- 1) Campaign or advocate on issues with credible sources of information and evidence to retain trust among stakeholders
- 2) Refer to global trends and international standards to back up its principle and in-country campaigns
- 3) It was noted by one stakeholder that in the past five years under the military government, public events on human right issues have become unsafe and unlawful. AI should collaborate with other international organisations and embassies to promote a safe space for freedom of expression
- 4) Apply give and take model when collaborate with local organisations and movement to build trust. For example, AI obtains information on human right abuse issues from them and takes action to advocate for changes in return.
- 5) Promote and utilize risk assessment practice among human right movements and human right defenders at both individual and organizational level.

As one stakeholder said, “mindset about risk and safety assessment is not well cultivated in the Thai society. In my organization with 5 staff members, we have assessed our resources and capitals on who are more ready to act at the frontline and can sacrifice themselves if they are arrested and be jailed. Those who have family to care for can play a backup and supporting role at the back. Another area to play safe is being watchful of how you use mobile phones and social media accounts”.

5.5 Amnesty’s added value

To answer the question: What areas of work Amnesty should be leading on, supporting others on, or dropping – especially in relation to partners and others who are bringing about change in the world, participants in consultations and interviews provide the following recommendations:

Priority areas of work that Amnesty be leading on

- 1) Strengthen human rights mindset among young people, create global citizen
- 2) Expand stakeholders in human right defense into private sector

- 3) Continue to be bold and sharp in its messages for campaigning on human right issues
- 4) Involve human right partners, stakeholders and staff members in identifying issues to work on to ensure that they meet the interest and needs of the people and respond to the situation.
- 5) Continue with campaign on death penalty, refugee rights and promote human right education.

Amnesty's unique role in the future

- 1) Being a leading campaigner for human rights with attractive and innovative campaign materials, workshops and activities
- 2) Being a pioneer on human rights education and curriculum with creative and innovative approaches on an on-going basis

Areas of work that amnesty should drop

It was apparent from most of the interviews and consultations that AI should not drop any work as all of them are important. Some stakeholders, however, suggested areas that AI should drop to use resource more effectively. They include:

- 1) Write for rights. A letter is outdated campaigning tool and does not match with behavior of young generation.
- 2) Capacity building programme for refugees. The training programme has reached very limited number of refugees each year. AI is seen by the public as a campaign organization, not organization that provide direct services to the right holders. It should focus its resources on conducting public campaign and policy advocacy.
- 3) Effort to build Amnesty activists. Human right activists should not be labeled as AI.

5.6 Additional question from IS

Identify ways concrete way or legal change that should address/solve their problems

To this question, stakeholders have the following responses:

- 1) Revise the Constitution, especially cancel the Section 44 of the Interim Constitution of 2014, which was promulgated by the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) on 22nd July 2014, has been heavily criticized for its dictatorial nature and the absolute power solely consolidated into the Head of the NCPO.
- 2) Revise the laws concerning the control and enforcement of public assembly including the Assembly Act

Type of supports from international solidarity that they want

- 1) Fundraising for in-country campaigns and activities
- 2) Exchange programme for human right defenders abroad which would help them to learn and share experiences and strengthen in country movement
- 3) Provide an online platform to update and consolidate information on human right situations around the world
- 4) Support Thailand's campaigns on ad hoc human rights issues
- 5) Provide case studies and reports on human right situation to back up the country cases
- 6) Speak up for some sensitive Thai human right abuse cases such as those include cases related to the lèse-majesté law.
- 7) Backup and support human right campaigns in Thailand with international trend and movement such as campaigns on LGBT rights which is global movement.

6. Conclusion

Set out below are overarching matters that arose once and again during the interviews and consultations of stakeholder. These were seen as important for AI to move forward with its international and Thailand's strategy development.

Human rights education

As observed earlier in the Report, continuing and improving human rights education emerged as a very strong message in the interviews and consultations. It was identified as an area where AI Thailand should continue to do as a tool to raise awareness of general public, change narratives of human right concepts, gain collaboration from young generation, empower those who are powerless, and strengthen movement in Thailand.

Focus on working with young people

As similar to human right education, stakeholders consistently emphasise that AI should work with younger generation more than the older ones. Increase seed fund for young human right activists are among activities that AI should continue, as well as develop more innovative and attractive campaign materials and events.

Support movement and Human right defenders

It was identified by stakeholders who are HRDs themselves that they need AI to support them in terms of technical know-how, campaign and fundings.

Conduct situational analysis and assessment

It was suggested by many stakeholders for AI to conduct a baseline study and need assessment of human right situation and needs of stakeholders to support its development of strategies as well as involve stakeholders and movements in the process – especially those working at grassroot level.

Impact assessment

AI needs to develop a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation mechanism with focus on impact assessment of its work to contribute to planning for next step and reporting of success and lessons learned.

Annexes:

Annex 1: Work Plan

Inception Phase:

The work will start with the desk review of relevant documents including The Big Five Questions, Facilitator's Guide for Developing Amnesty's #NEXTSTRATEGY, The World Around Us: Human rights challenges on the horizon and the future of Amnesty International by Kumi Naidoo, Secretary General, as well as other relevant documents relating to Thailand's strategies.

This phase includes initial meetings with Amnesty International Thailand's Director and M&E Officers who manage and support this consultancy - in order to discuss stakeholders and methodology.

The Inception phase concluded with the draft concept note to be agreed by AI Thailand

Data Gathering Phase

The data gathering phase starts after the concept note has been approved. It consists of consultation workshops, interviews, and focus group discussions as designed during the Inception Phase.

Reporting Phase

The reporting phase starts after the data collection process and consists of data analysis and categorise the themes of key messages derived from interviews and consultation workshop under each of the Five Big Questions. The draft report will be shared with AI Thailand, and comments received from AI will be included into the final draft.

Deliverable and Timelines:

Activity	Deliverables	Date	No. of work day
1. Development of concept notes and methodology.	Concept note of consultancy with methodology and tools for data collection	By 14 June 2019	1
2. Preparation and arrangement of consultation workshops and interview schedules with supports from AI	Final workshop agenda and process support planning	13 th – 17 th June 2019	1

3. Data collection including conducting workshops and interview	Workshops' and interview notes with list of people consulted	17th – 28th June 2019	6
3.1. Refugees - In depth interview (4-6 persons/sessions)	Interview notes	Between 17th – 28th June 2019	(1)
3.2. Human rights defenders - In depth interview (6 - 8 persons/sessions)	Interview notes	Between 17th – 28th June 2019	(1.5)
3.3. Students (from Human Rights Education Project) - In depth interview	Interview notes	Between 17th – 28th June 2019	conducted by consultants
3.4. Supporters (inc. Board) – consultation workshop	Consultation workshop note	Sunday 30 th June	(1)
3.5. Amnesty Thailand's staff + interns – consultation workshop	Consultation workshop note	Thursday 27 th June	(1)
3.6. AI partners - In depth interview (6-8 persons/sessions)	Interview notes	Between 17th – 28th June 2019	(1.5)
4. Data analysis and report writing	1 st draft report	29 th June – 15 th July 2019	5
5. Share report with stakeholders for feedback	Notes on stakeholders' and AI's feedback	15 th July – 30 th 2019	1
6. Finalising the report for submission.	Final report	31 st July 2019	1
		Total day	15

Annex 2: Guide interview questions

Human rights Situation

1. What are the trends, challenges or opportunities we see today that might affect the future at the global, country and local level?

Relate to Stake holders

2. What changes in human rights that you hope to see?
3. What are you doing/or having capacity to do to achieve that change?
4. What are limitations?
5. What are human rights problems that you are facing/or that you and your groups are advocating for?
6. What change do you want to make it happen and how? Who can help you to make those changes?
7. How do you address these issues? Who do you work with? What are challenges that you face? Who are influence actors who can change the cause?

About Amnesty International Thailand

8. How do you know Amnesty International Thailand? What kind of organization is it? What does it do? What is its standpoint?
9. How did you get involve with Amnesty International and what parts/activities?
10. What is Amnesty International's roles in supporting you to make changes?
11. In your opinion, does AI Thailand meet your expectation in advocating for human rights issues or creating changes as you want to see?
12. What is your expectation towards Amnesty in protecting human rights? What roles that AI Thailand should play in this area? How AI Thailand could work in collaboration with you/your organisations?
13. What are AI Thailand's weaknesses?
14. What is uniqueness of AI Thailand? What are the outstanding impact that AI has made that you have seen?
15. What issues/problems do you think AI Thailand should work on?
16. What are other recommendations?

The Five Big Questions

1. POWER & SYSTEMIC CHANGE (*changing where the power lies*)

- How could organisations like Amnesty influence or disrupt existing and emerging centres of power (among non-state actors, corporations, institutions, governments or others)?
- How can we nurture forms of people-power and support institutions to contribute to the fulfilment of human rights and a more just world?

2. NARRATIVES & ATTITUDES (*winning the battle of ideas*)

- How do we shift attitudes and encourage people to come together in solidarity around a vision of dignity and justice for the future?
- How can organisations like Amnesty meaningfully shift attitudes, behaviours & social norms in increasingly polarised societies?

- What role should human rights play in shaping narratives of dignity, justice and fairness?

3. STRONGER MOVEMENT & PARTNERSHIPS (*building movements stronger than ever before*)

How do we become a bigger, bolder, and more inclusive movement that is better at supporting social change?

- How can we better connect and support partners and emerging movements?
- How can members and supporters of a movement like Amnesty's be empowered to organise themselves with autonomy, while maintaining the capacity for global mobilisation?

4. DIVERSITY & INCLUSION (*feeling that you are truly part of the movement*)

How do we become an organisation that people from all walks of life can truly feel a part of?

- How can an organisation like Amnesty transform to be more attractive and inclusive to a wide variety of people whose identities are shaped by issues of class, race, gender, age and other realities - including those who are directly affected by human rights abuses and inequality?
- How can an organisation ensure it is a safe, trustworthy and supportive space for everyone involved with it?

5. AMNESTY'S ADDED VALUE (*priorities*)

What areas of work should Amnesty be leading on, supporting others on, or dropping – especially in relation to partners and others who are bringing about change in the world?

- What should Amnesty's unique role become in the future?
- Thinking towards 2030:
 - In which areas of work should Amnesty take a leadership role, and why? What does that look like in practice?
 - In which areas of work should Amnesty support and complement the efforts of other organisations, and why? What does that look like in practice?
 - Which areas of work should Amnesty drop in order to focus influence and resources, and why?

Annex 4: Agenda of the consultations³

Time	Session
10.00 – 10.30	<p>Overview and objectives of the workshop</p> <p>Agenda</p> <p>Expected outputs from the workshop</p> <p>Introduction of participants</p>
10.30 – 11.30	<p><u>Group discussion</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights situations and challenges • Expected changes • Challenges and needs
11.30 – 12.00	Presentation: Amnesty International Thailand Now and Then
12.00 – 13.00	Lunch break
13.00 – 14.00	<u>Groupwork</u> : SWOT Analysis of AI Thailand
14.00 – 15.00	<p><u>Groupwork</u>:</p> <p>Recommendation for Strategic Direction for AI and AI Thailand based on the themes from the Five Big Questions.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How could AI disrupt the existing power that abuse human rights and nurture people-power to contribute to the fulfilment of human rights? 2. How does AI shift attitudes and encourage people to come together in solidarity around a vision of dignity and justice for the future? 3. How could AI build stronger Human Rights movements and better support partners? 4. How does AI become an organisation that people from all walks of life can truly feel a part of? 5. Amnesty's Added Value: What areas of work should Amnesty be leading on, supporting others on, or dropping?
15.00	Closure of workshop

³ For supporters and refugee groups