DEMOCRACY & POWER INNOVATION FUND

POWER METRICS

MEASURING WHAT MATTERS TO BUILD A MULTIRACIAL DEMOCRACY

Joy Cushman
Democracy & Power Innovation Fund

Elizabeth McKenna
Harvard Kennedy School

In collaboration with:
Miriam McKinney Gray, Tianyi Hu,
and the members of the DPI Organizing Lab

2023

Individual participation in voting and public demonstrations is higher than ever in the US in recent years, but it has coincided with democratic backsliding. Simply mobilizing individuals is insufficient to meet the challenges of our time. We must strengthen the practice of growing strong organizational containers that turn individual leadership and resources into the collective capacities necessary to shift power arenas and win change. This is what power looks like in a multiracial democracy.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since 2020, the Democracy & Power Innovation Fund (DPI) and our learning partners in organizing, philanthropy, and academia have been innovating a new approach to measuring how organizations build power to win change. When we seek out the drivers of progressive change in almost any state, we find a handful of entities that organize bases of people who deliver that power over and over again in legislative and electoral campaigns to win change across issues. The problem is that the work it takes to build and continue growing such an organization's power over time has been largely invisible.

In the spring of 2020, we launched a DPI Organizing Lab with 12 base-building organizing groups to identify the core practices of their power-building work that could be measured and visualized, and that were common across regions and constituencies. These groups explicitly seek to build a base of constituents who can wield long-term independent political power that creates local, state, and national impact. For the last three years, we have been invested in building a culture of measurement that actually tracks advancement on what matters most in our sector: multiracial base-building, long-term organizational governing power, narrative shifts, increased civic participation, and the winning and implementation of beneficial change in constituents' lives — in a word: *POWER*.

This memo covers our progress and key findings in this work so far. We present case studies of how organizations are understanding and measuring the strategies most effective for building their power, and the impact of wielding that power in public. We focus with concrete examples on three core dimensions of power metrics:

- **Base-building:** measuring the depth and scope of *leadership* and *commitment* among individual members of an organized constituency.
- **Collective capacities:** measuring the ability to transform individual resources into collective leverage through shared strategy, structure, and solidarity.
- **Impact and influence:** measuring what an organized base of people can achieve in the world of legislative, narrative, and electoral power arenas.

This report also offers specific, practical recommendations for measuring what matters in democratic practice.

This is an emerging area of study, so we invite others to build and innovate on this framework as we co-develop metrics that promote learning and improved practice in the fields of collective action and participatory democracy.

CONTENTS

THE IMPORTANCE (AND CHALLENGE) OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT METRICS.....3

The Dominant Metrics: Their Origins and Limitations.....4

A Mindset Shift.....6

A Method for Co-Creating New Metrics.....7

Power Metrics: A New Framework for Measuring Power Building.....10

BASE-BUILDING: LEADERSHIP AND COMMMITMENT.....13

CASE 1: Measuring and Visualizing Base Building Relationships | Ohio Organizing Collaborative....16

CASE 2: Measuring Cumulative Member Commitments | Color of Change.....20

COLLECTIVE CAPACITIES.....24

The Interdependence of Collective Capacities: Solidarity, Strategy, and Structure.....26

Measuring Solidarity.....26

CASE 3: Organizing Containers of Commitment | ISAIAH.....28

CASE 4: Building a Culture of Joyful Solidarity and Resilience | Color of Change.....30

Measurement to Enable Strategic Capacity.....33

CASE 5: Using Metrics to Enable Innovation and Strategic Capacity | MOVE.....35

Measuring Structuring Capacity.....39

CASE 6: Visualizing Formal and Informal Social Structures | PICO California.....40

IMPACT AND INFLUENCE.....44

Limitations of Current Impact and Influence Metrics.....44

Measuring Influence and Impact in Dynamic Power Arenas.....46

Three Faces of Power.....47

CASE 7: Shifting Power in Ohio | OOC.....50

CASE 8: Shifting Power in Minnesota | ISAIAH.....58

CASE 9: Shifting Power in Arizona | LUCHA.....64

RECOMMENDATIONS.....72

CONCLUSION.....78

BACK MATTER

Acknowledgements.....79

Works Cited.....80

Appendix.....84



THE IMPORTANCE (AND CHALLENGE) OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT METRICS

Democracy is in peril, but the metrics we typically use to measure its health — such as voter turnout, voter contact, and activism — do not reflect this reality. For the elections held in 2018, 2020, and 2022, voter turnout set new records. In the same period, activism surged: 1.3 percent of the US population participated in the 2017 Women's March. Three years later, 15-26 million Americans took to the streets in nationwide racial justice uprisings after George Floyd was killed by police.[2] Meanwhile, Republicans and Democrats built voter contact operations unprecedented in scale and spending, reaching hundreds of millions of voters in person, by phone, or through the mail.[3]

Still, our democratic institutions face real and grave threats not resolved by these high participation levels alone.[4] Why have these massive levels of voting, protest, and political participation coincided with democratic backsliding?[5]

The problem is: we cannot answer this question by solely relying on the metrics we have traditionally used to measure civic engagement. For years, the political industry — and the researchers and philanthropists in its orbit — focused almost exclusively on single-point-in-time participation metrics like aggregate head counts, digital impressions, contact attempts, and decontextualized voter turnout figures. Founded on implicit neoliberalism, this approach focuses only on downstream individual behavior and not on the ways that collective efforts can shape political narratives and terrains upstream. It incentivizes practitioners to build programs that yield marginal tactical changes in individual behavior, rather than building **long-term collective power** that can shape outcomes year after year. This type of narrow focus on market-based metrics inherited from the electoral industry distracts us from the core purpose of democracy: collective self-governance.[6]

In short, the real work of building democratic power is not being measured, only individual participation. This means strategic investments are tied to and cover only the tip of the iceberg in terms of what has to be done to attain more robust democratic participation. All the work behind the result is invisible, but it shouldn't be. When we make the work visible, we can talk about it across space and time, share strategies and techniques, fund it, and — crucially — improve it.

The intent of this memo is to start a conversation around whether the dominant set of civic engagement metrics is actually the best one to apply to the effort of building and practicing democracy: How can we make visible and measure what matters most?

THE DOMINANT METRICS: THEIR ORIGINS AND LIMITATIONS

In 1998, a Berkeley-based Internet campaign entitled "Censure and Move On" — a response to the impeachment trial of Bill Clinton — went viral. It garnered more than 475,000 signatures in four months, which represented unprecedented speed and scale for the time. The grassroots advocacy group born of this petition subsequently raised millions of dollars and secured hundreds of thousands of volunteer pledges through emails and online forms, launching what political scientist David Karpf termed "the MoveOn effect:" a new generation of political advocacy groups that emerged in the increasingly online media environment in the 2000s and 2010s.[7]

---

[1] Potts 2022. Desilver 2021.
[2] Chenoweth & Pressman 2017. Buchanan et al 2020.
[3] Axelrod 2020. Progressive Turnout Project 2021.
[4] Prokop 2022.
[5] Waldner & Lust 2018. Grumbach 2022. See also: Chenoweth and Marks 2022; Repucci and Slipowitz 2022; Lührmann and Lindberg 2019; Maerz, et al. 2020; Boese, et al 2022.
[6] On the political industry, see Sheingate 2016. On the ways this dynamic reflects larger limitations of dominant metrics frameworks see Muller 2018 and Vincent 2023. 2019; Maerz, et al. 2020; Boese, et al 2022.
[7] See Karpf 2012.

In this digital-first world, the most prized metrics are: voter contact attempts (in person; by email or phone; and, later, SMS), clicks, digital impressions, online or offline petition signatures, protester head counts, and voter turnout. The underlying question behind these metrics was: How many individuals can be activated for quick participation?

This model falls short in three ways. First, the focus of this type of mobilization is largely white, upper-income people.[8] The focus of deep long-term organizing efforts, by contrast, is on ensuring that those most affected by the problems we face are a part of building the solutions through democratic governance.

Second, the digital-first metrics use the additive sum of individual actions as a proxy for movement success. But a bunch of individual actions, disconnected from a collective strategy, is not a movement. Movements that win and defend meaningful outcomes require sustained, organized leadership over months and years. The dominant metrics also overlook the commitments that people must make to each other and ignore the collective democratic capacities that precede the construction of powerful collective agency. The result: Civic engagement metrics are almost always reported as disembodied actions — numbers of petitions signed, protestor head counts, or meeting attendees — rather than at the community or organizational level. The disconnect is jarring for practitioners who work to put people and relationships at the center of their work, but are asked to track and report only dollars, clicks, doors knocked upon, and individual digital impressions.

A third challenge of the dominant metrics: mobilization is most effective as an act of resistance in reaction to an external threat. But winning change requires the power to reshape the political landscape and advance a proactive agenda. Realistically, proactive power requires the organization of people as political agents to determine what they want to achieve and then advance that agenda over a long period of time in multiple arenas. Practice-based evidence and a large body of scholarship show that strong, stable organizational containers–in which civic leaders can align around an agenda, negotiate with one another, develop proactive strategy, and withstand inevitable political terrain shifts–are necessary for winning substantive change.[9] These scaffolded, aligned organizations are also necessary for effective mobilization. Building these containers and groups' collective capacities for solidarity, distributed strategy, and shared structuring is very hard work and the organizations that are driving most successfully toward change have invested in these capacities.[10]

Despite the shortcomings of the mobilization model, it has become dominant in our industry along with the underpinning system of evaluation focused on measuring transactional, single-point-in-time tactics. Thus, we emerged from the political industrial revolution of the last few decades with a culture of microtargeting, hyper efficiency, and scaled reach with little consideration for long-term impact or the ability to drive a proactive agenda. In this frame, citizens are data points, not whole people with complex interests, resources, and behaviors. We measure what is easy to measure behaviorally, and often what is most in the interests of political parties and candidates.



[8] McAdam 1986. Schlozman, et al. 2012.
[9] See, for example, Ahlquist & Levi 2013. Amenta 2008.
[10] Han, McKenna, Oyakawa 2021.

PHOTO: Ohio Organizing Ohio Organizing Collaborative December 2022

A MINDSET SHIFT

If our goal is to have a democracy that works for regular people, we need to measure what actually matters for the building and wielding of the collective power necessary to ensure regular people have a say in public decisions affecting our lives. If we want to get better at the practice of democracy, we have to track and understand the relationship between individuals and the organizations that convert individual agency and collective interests into political power.[11] We also need to examine the power relationships between organizations and government leaders with the positional authority to mandate change.

When we commit to building a healthy democracy in the US, we cannot rely on the transactional nature of the dominant metrics to evaluate our programs, measure our progress, or inform our strategic decision-making. Instead, we need to build a culture and systems of measurement and evaluation that track progress on what we are actually trying to achieve: multiracial base-building, long-term organizational governing power, narrative shifts, increased and sustained civic participation, and the winning and implementation of beneficial change in our constituents' lives. In a phrase, **democratic power**.

This endeavor requires a mindset shift from viewing the citizen as a consumer of politics to the citizen as democratic agent.[12] With this shift, civic organizations become venues for practicing democracy instead of vendors for voter turnout. Legislative campaigns are not elite efforts to change policy, but citizen-based efforts to self-govern. Electoral cycles are no longer focused on the most cost-efficient way to secure 50-percent-plus-one votes for a candidate; they are the fertile ground for recruiting and including those who have been intentionally excluded from our democracy. And, finally, elections themselves become a place for organized power blocs to contest for governing power.

We need to build a culture and systems of measurement and evaluation that track progress on what we are actually trying to achieve: multiracial base-building, long-term organizational governing power, narrative shifts, increased and sustained civic participation, and the winning and implementation of beneficial change in our constituents' lives. In a phrase, democratic power.

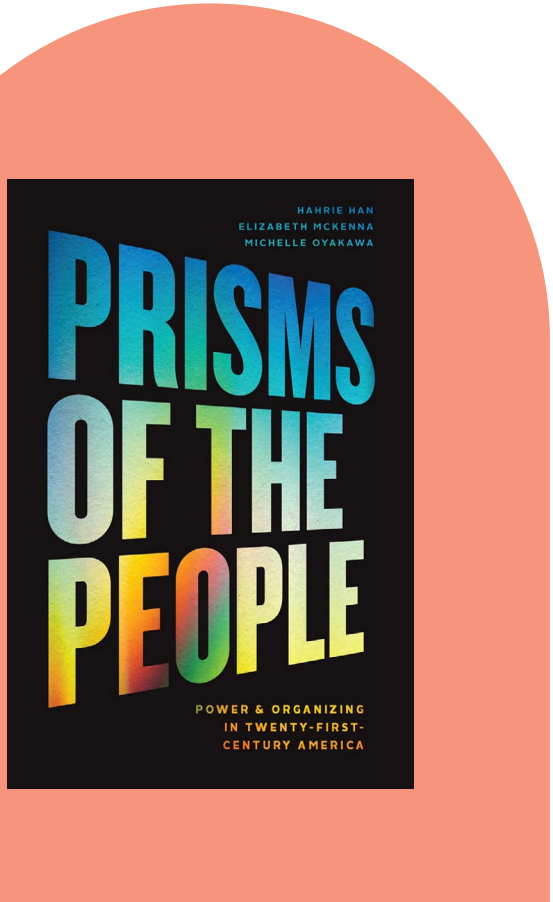
[11] Han 2021.
[12] Alexander 2022.

A METHOD FOR CO-CREATING NEW METRICS

In order to generate a new learning framework for collective power-building, we have been working for three years in the Democracy & Power Innovation Fund (DPI) with a cohort of one national group–Color of Change–and 11 state-based organizing groups: Detroit Action, Florida Rising, ISAIAH (Minnesota), LUCHA (Arizona), MOVE (Missouri), New Georgia Project, Ohio Organizing Collaborative, PICO California, Power Coalition (Louisiana), Voces de la Frontera (Wisconsin), We the People (Michigan).[13]

These organizing groups are distinct from many mainstream nonprofit, civic engagement and advocacy organizations in the United States in that they explicitly seek to build a base of constituents who can wield long-term political power independent of either major political party, and primarily at the state level.

Our work builds on the foundation laid by Hahrie Han, Elizabeth McKenna, and Michelle Oyakawa in their book, *Prisms of the People: Power & Organizing in Twenty-First Century America*. They retrospectively studied six organizations that had won something important to their agendas and revealed what is usually invisible: the dynamic, interdependent relationships required to not just secure a win but to shift the landscape and make more wins possible. They focused on the "prism:" the collective democratic organizational foundation often taken for granted if we look only at individual behavior or electoral and policy outcomes. We see this project as further opening up a view into the day-to-day work of the organizational prism. We do so collaboratively with our cohort members to visualize in real time the building and deployment of power in their unique power arenas.



[13] These groups belong to an emerging current of political thought and practice among progressive organizations that seek to rebalance the right-wing takeover of many state governments. See Blanc & Gerami 2019; and Thigpenn & Liss 2019.

Our methodological approach borrows from the practice-based evidence tradition pioneered in the field of public health, which combines the wisdom and expertise of practitioners and academic researchers to address challenges that cannot be studied in controlled laboratory settings, but only in the chaotic, complex setting of clinics.[14] One way of structuring the collection of practice-based evidence, also innovated in the field of medicine, is Practice Based Research Networks (PBRNs). Through these networks, regionalized or specialty-based practitioners partner with researchers to ask questions, rapidly innovate solutions, and collect evidence directly from clinical practice. Evidence generated by practitioners through daily practice, when found effective, is more easily adopted and adapted by others in similar contexts. In this model, the distance between academia and the field collapses as practice, learning, and research become intricately intertwined. As medical researcher Anne Swisher has said,

> "In the concept of Practice-Based Evidence, the real, messy, complicated world is not controlled. Instead, real world practice is documented and measured, just as it occurs, 'warts' and all. It is the process of measurement and tracking that matters, not controlling how practice is delivered."[15]

To wrestle with the challenges of measuring and improving democratic power-building, we built an Organizing Lab–essentially a Practice-Based Research Network–with our cohort. Each group has different constituencies, contexts, and approaches, but all share a commitment to organizing everyday people into powerful public institutions.

We take seriously Jerry Muller's caution that "measurement demands judgment: judgment about whether to measure, what to measure, how to evaluate the significance of what's been measured, whether rewards and penalties will be attached to the results, and to whom to make the measurements available."[16] The organizing groups we work with provide that ongoing source of clarity and judgment in this project.

DPI launched this Organizing Lab in March 2020 with multiple forms of support. We provided each group with a grant of $75k per year to invest in data and learning capacity, renewed over three years. We hired two data analysts skilled in quantitative social science analysis to work closely with each group and with the network as a whole to capture, analyze, and generate learning from program data on a regular basis. We created monthly learning circles for practitioners to teach each other from the evidence they generated, and an online network for them to support each other in daily practice.

[14] Ammerman, et al 2014.
[15] Swisher 2010, 4.
[16] Muller 2018, 176-177.

1 **In the first year, the Organizing Lab focused on collecting and analyzing data around two questions central to building people-based power: who are your people? And what are they doing over time?** We did not try to standardize data collection methods or tools across the cohort, but instead focused on analyzing the data that was collected at some scale within each group. For example, if a group had large zoom data sets of meetings and attendees, we analyzed those data. If the group had large event data sets, we analyzed those, and so on. Through analysis and conversation between analysts and practitioners, we sought to turn lessons from practice-based data into concepts that others could operationalize elsewhere with whatever adaptations might be required.

2 **In the second year, we turned to helping each group build a dynamic organizing dashboard to track core data points over time.** The goal was to collect larger, more consistent data sets in each organization to allow for more rapid in-program learning and innovation, and to generate longitudinal data sets for deeper analysis. Again, we did not seek to standardize the dashboards. Instead, we asked each group to measure what mattered to them in their practice. Some groups looked at how organizers were using their time and with which member leaders. Others focused on which events retained or lost members. Others continually monitored member outreach and growth demographically and geographically. The concept core to all dashboards was whether the base was growing consistently and strategically.

3 **In the third year, we collaborated with the groups to collect data about, analyze, and dashboard their "power impact."** This includes measuring changes in public and electeds' narratives, measuring the impact on legislative processes and outcomes, and measuring the impact on elections.

As we worked with the 12 groups, we sought to generate a metrics framework that could be used beyond these groups. To do that the framework would need to:

- Capture the building and wielding of power;
- Treat each person as a democratic agent, not a container of extractable resources;
- Treat the organization as a container whose primary work is power-building;
- Treat the power valence of the organization as complex and multidirectional;
- Be operationalizable with different constituencies in different settings; and
- Be based on data collection that could be easy or automated.

POWER METRICS: A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR MEASURING POWER BUILDING

This memo synthesizes the first three years of our learning around visualizing and measuring the practice of democratic power building. We present our findings (depicted in Figure 1) thematically around three key dimensions:

1. **base-building:** the depth and scope of leadership and commitment among members of an organized constituency;
2. **collective capacities**: the transformation of individual resources (emotional, physical, spiritual, and material) into collective leverage through shared solidarity, strategy, and structure; and
3. **influence and impacts:** the external influence that an organized base of people can wield in the world in order to win material change.



Figure 1: A framework for measuring power building

Foundational to the metrics framework laid out here, we define power not as a static resource but as relational and dynamic. As Hahrie, Liz, and Michelle wrote in *Prisms of the People*:

> In defining power, we focus on two key attributes: (a) power is expressed as the interactional relationship between (at least) two political actors, and (b) power has, as theorist Steven Lukes argues, multiple faces, some of which are largely obscured from immediate view (Lukes 2005; Gaventa 1982; Pierson 2015)... Power is not a static good that organizations obtain; instead, it is expressed in relationships that constantly change as the context changes, because it is dependent on a dynamic and situational relationship between an organization and the interests of political decision makers. To obtain power, organizations must negotiate for it (Hansen 1991).[17]

The primary resources groups may leverage into dynamic, public power relationships can be broadly categorized as: physical compliance, votes, and money; or, as Pastor Mike McBride from Live Free USA alliterated them: bodies, ballots, and bucks. Mobilizing efforts often extract these resources from people and aggregate them for use by top staff or political elite. For example, a top staffer sits at a negotiating table with thousands of petition signatures, or a lobbyist claims to represent thousands of members. Organizing efforts aim for resources to remain attached to the individuals who bring them to the table: if I am going to put my body or my vote or my money on the line, then I get to take part in negotiating strategy and taking collective action to leverage those resources with others. The core asset in democracy-building is the ongoing commitment of individuals to bring their resources (bodies, ballots, bucks) and their experience and intelligence into collective effort to achieve change.



We think of power like a body of water, constantly in flux, ebbing and flowing in reaction to the movements of actors in its midst. We need metrics that allow us to understand and visualize power dynamically, over time, and in particular contexts.

[17] Han, McKenna & Oyakawa, 2021; 71-72.

1

The first measure of democratic power-building, then, is whether organizations are, over time, **building the base leadership and commitment** on which their power-building depends. Are organizations' programs consistently recruiting new active members? Are those members growing their participation over time, and are they inviting new people into democratic practice? Are members growing their ability to engage in meaningful political analysis and their capacity to act as citizens (in the broadest sense of the term)? Are they bringing constituents into direct contact and negotiation with elected representatives? Instead of measuring tactical inputs, outputs, or resources, the central unit of measurement here is the recruitment of human beings and their demonstrated capacity and commitment to act with agency in the civic arena.

2

The second measure is **collective capacities for democratic power**, or what Hahrie calls the "magic in the middle" between individual participation and creating real change in the world. This is a well-established avenue of study in fields like education, business, and medicine where researchers seek to understand the conditions under which groups of people can act intentionally, strategically, and effectively together. We, too, need to break from the dominant focus on individuals as solo actors in politics and learn to focus on collective capacities in movement-building that allow people in a group to act strategically together. Drawing on Marshall Ganz's framework for practices of organizing, we focus here on building solidarity, shared strategy and shared structure.

3

The third power measure regards **influence and impact.** The underlying question here is whether people who organize their resources and interests together are actually shifting the external power landscape in ways that allow them to win what they want. *Prisms of the People* pioneered new ways of researching and measuring power impact for organizing groups, including measuring the forces that create the conditions for change, such as shifting elite power networks, changing narratives, influencing legislative efforts, and strategic electoral interventions. We are building on those measures of power to test them in new places and innovate variations to make it easier for more groups and their key stakeholders to gauge their own power impact in real time.

We describe below the conceptual underpinnings of each dimension and use case studies to illustrate how DPI cohort groups chose what and how to measure to improve their real-world programs. We conclude with practical recommendations for organizers and funders as we work together to reorient our metrics toward building power in a multiracial democracy.

With this memo, we hope to offer a starting point for conversations instead of a rigid framework by which organizing groups are assessed and funded. We are still in the early stages of this work. Single-point-in-time participation metrics and "big, flashy numbers that impress funders" have been the norm for decades.[18] Building a new paradigm will not happen overnight. Our metrics work has been in progress for just three years and we expect and hope that our learnings to date serve as a starting point from which this approach can be challenged, adapted, and extended. As a movement, we learn best when we invest in relationships that sow creativity, risk-taking, and a sense of experimentation. In that spirit, we write this memo as an invitation to a much-needed debate on what we measure — and how we should measure it — to improve the practice of democracy and the capacity of regular people to participate in it.

[18] Libby Falk, quoted in Sifry 2021.



BASE-BUILDING: LEADERSHIP AND COMMITMENT

WHEN WE ORGANIZE FOR POWER-BUILDING, WE PAY ATTENTION TO THE RELATIONAL INVESTMENTS WE MAKE IN MEMBERS AND VOLUNTEER LEADERS. THEIR AGENCY, LEADERSHIP AND COMMITMENT ARE THE RESOURCES UPON WHICH ORGANIZATIONS ARE BUILT AND CAMPAIGNS ARE LAUNCHED AND WON YEAR AFTER YEAR, CYCLE OVER CYCLE.

As noted earlier, many of the investments we traditionally measure in our broader movement are tactical inputs: doors knocked upon, calls made, ads placed, mail sent, and so on. These numbers create the impression of scale by sheer volume, often in the thousands, sometimes in the millions. Notwithstanding, they tell us very little about the ways in which real people were engaged or the impact such measures generated.

By contrast, when we organize for power-building, we pay attention to the relational investments we make in members and volunteer leaders whose agency, leadership, and commitment are the resources upon which organizations are built and campaigns are launched and won year after year, cycle over cycle. Individual members are not resources to be extracted; instead, organizers cultivate citizens to actively participate in the shared governance of their communities. We humans do not come naturally to the process of democratic power building. It is a craft that is taught, learned, and practiced.

Each organization in the DPI Organizing Lab invests a significant amount of time and resources recruiting and developing member leaders. A civic organization assesses leaders to ascertain if they have the ability to generate in others a commitment to shared public action. Organizers work to increase local leaders' agency and power to organize bases that shape the electorate, engage with elected officials, shift narratives, and move policy. Public leaders learn and grow over time through training, taking action, reflecting on that action, and eventually developing other people to do the same. This can happen in ad hoc ways or, more effectively, in intentionally crafted development programs. The DPI Organizing Lab is committed to the practice of developing regular people to lead their communities' participation in democracy, creating many opportunities for individuals to enter their organizations to learn and grow their civic skills.

In this vein, organizing groups in the DPI Organizing Lab are all asking similar types of questions, e.g.:

- How many member leaders do we actually have?
- What are their developmental pathways in our organization?
- Which experiences are best for developing agentic public leadership?
- Which experiences grow individuals' commitments to our organizations and which experiences push people away?



PHOTO: ISAIAH 2021

When we launched the DPI Organizing Lab in the spring of 2020, very few of the participating groups were able to easily track this work of building power through the building of organized constituent bases. There are almost no tools that allow organizers to consistently and easily track and learn from their base-building work. All of the daily relational work to develop committed networks of public leaders to engage in collective action was largely invisible, except to the individual organizers themselves. There were also no systems to support the ongoing collective analysis of relational organizing work.

Our exploratory analysis with the DPI Organizing Lab revealed that they all sought to categorize members to improve their leadership development programs. All had some event participation information on hand, offering basic data about member commitments. Now, after financial and coaching investments to visualize and analyze that data, nearly every organization we work with has an **organizing dashboard** to track specific, focused metrics about their base-building work and to learn from their leadership development work. No two dashboards are exactly the same. They have all been developed by data managers and organizers with support from DPI analysts to answer the specific questions each group is asking of its own programs.

All the groups we work with seek to differentiate levels of leadership in a similar way, typically with three to four tiers:

1. volunteer super leaders or "member organizers,"
2. volunteer leaders,
3. active members,
4. prospects or supporters,

The titles and exact definitions of the tiers differ by organization, but the theory behind them is the same: grow the inner circle of member leaders and member organizers who are capable of building and leading teams, and they will grow a deeper, broader, organized base to drive campaigns for change. I**n this framework, *civic leadership* is the ability to recruit and build a committed base of others to act collectively over time.**

Here are two cases of organizing groups in the DPI Organizing Lab measuring their relational power-building efforts around leadership development and commitment.

1) volunteer super leaders or "member organizers"

2) volunteer leaders with followings

3) active members

4) prospects or supporters

CASE 1: MEASURING AND VISUALIZING BASE-BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS OHIO ORGANIZING COLLABORATIVE

QUESTION:
Which member leaders are organizers investing in and why?

METHOD:
- Track members and their leadership status in a templated Google spreadsheet.
- Track how organizers invest their time with TimeTackle plugin for Google and Outlook calendars.

FINDING:
Organizers initially found it easier to do one-to-ones with other staff than with member leaders.

LEARNING:
Organizers need to be consistently trained and coached to work their member lists every week: to invite new prospects into membership, to do one-to-one meetings with those prospects, and to invest relationally in a set of those members who are willing to organize their friends and family to join them in public action.

In 2019, Prentiss Haney and Molly Shack took over leadership of the Ohio Organizing Collaborative (OOC) as Co-Executive Directors. Over multiple electoral cycles, OOC had built a robust and sophisticated voter registration and electoral program. In 2016 and 2018, this independent power organization registered more people to vote than the Ohio Democratic Party, with a total of 155,284 in 2016 and 142,744 in 2018. In spite of the successful scale of the program, Prentiss and Molly felt OOC was not building sufficient independent political power to actually win the change they wanted to see in the material conditions of their constituents' lives.

In the spring of 2020, OOC committed to rebuild their member leader bases across the state with a focus on organizers' efforts to organize four constituencies: students, people of faith, people affected by incarceration, and workers and families affected by the need for childcare. Their questions were:



How do we make this base-building work visible internally and externally?



How can we help organizers focus on using their time most effectively to grow their bases?



How do we cut through all the other metrics we could pay attention to and help our team focus on relationships with and development of member leaders?

Prentiss and Molly had learned from past experience and from Liz's "purple line" analysis with ISAIAH that growing a group of highly committed volunteer member leaders was key to scaling further membership growth and reach. Investing organizers' time in identifying and developing the right volunteer leaders would be key to their power-building efforts.[19] Unfortunately, the tools

[19] The "purple line" analysis refers to a visualization charting the growth of ISAIAH's volunteer leader base over a ten-year period. The chart disaggregated the organization's membership into high, medium, and low commitment members, determined by a mix of quantitative (number of participation records) and qualitative (type of event participation and role) indicators. When the chart was first produced, the highest commitment leaders — which were fewest in number and slowest to grow — were plotted in purple. Thus, the purple line became a moniker for the most critical but often overlooked set of leaders in an organization. The chart and the context in which it was produced is further detailed in Shrantz, Oyakawa & McKenna (2020, Winter).

they had for tracking members were not intuitive or easy to use. The databases available to them felt like black holes — places to put information they could not easily see or use again. Their various platforms for tracking participation did not integrate well with each other so, for example, a member who participated online might not show up as a prospect for offline action, or vice versa.[20]

Through the winter of 2021, the OOC team met weekly with Joy Cushman from DPI and Tianyi Hu from the State Power Fund to design a simple data collection and dashboard system that the organization could use over a long period of time to coach organizers in using their time most effectively to identify, recruit, and develop member leaders. The measurement and tracking system the team built focused on helping the organization answer two questions on a regular basis:

- Who are our member leaders?
- How are organizers prioritizing their time for member recruitment and development: who are they investing in and why?

Organizers needed a simple way to track their top leaders and many were already using Google spreadsheets to do it. Derrick Smith, OOC's Data Manager, created a standardized Google spreadsheet with one tab for each organizer to track top leaders. Figure 2 shows a section of one of their bases, Building Freedom Ohio's member leader list. Derrick set up a mirror structure in Every Action, their database of record, so he could backup organizer intel regularly. The organization reviews this spreadsheet at regular all-staff meetings, and organizing managers use the spreadsheet to coach organizers on member leader development.

OHIO ORGANIZING COLLABORATIVE

Please update this spreadsheet regularly and be as complete as possible with leadership contact info!

First Name	Last Name	E-Mail	Phone	Zip Code	City	Chapter Affiliation	Leadership Status	Text opt in	Incarceration Status	Facebook	Instagram	Join BFO
Alonzo					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☑				☑
Azel					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☐				☑
Steven					Maple Heights	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☑	Returning citizen			☑
Mark					Cleveland Heights	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☑	Returning citizen			☑
David					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☑				☐
Jean					Shaker Heights	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☑				☐
Alex					Cleveland	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☑	Returning citizen			☑
John					South Euclid	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☑	Returning citizen			☑
Malcom					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☐	Family incarcerated			☐
Kalen							1-Prospect	☑				☐
Merelene					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☑				☐
Joy					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☑				☐
Alex					Richmond Heights	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☐	Returning citizen			☑
Paul					Cleveland	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☑				☑
Marquis					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☐	Returning citizen			☐
Damar							2-Volunteer	☐				☐
Brotha Sincere					Cleveland	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☑	Returning citizen			☐
William							2-Volunteer	☐				☐
Kenneth							2-Volunteer	☑				☐
Tionna					Cleveland	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☑				☑
Delores					Cleveland	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☑	Returning citizen			☐
Timothy					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☑				☐
Monroe							2-Volunteer	☐				☑
Randall					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☑				☑
Latrice					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☑				☐
Reginald					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☑				☐
Glenn					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☑				☐
Patrick					Cleveland	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☑				☐
Marco					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☑	Family incarcerated			☐
James					Cleveland Heights	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☑				☑
Shon					Cleveland	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☐				☐
Tony					Cleveland Heights	Cleveland	2-Volunteer	☑	Returning citizen			☑
NMaurice					Cleveland	Cleveland	1-Prospect	☐				☐

Figure 2: OOC Google leadership-tracking spreadsheet (Personal information has been grayed out to protect member privacy.)

[20] This common problem was documented in Kalchik, 2023.

In addition to maintaining member leader lists, OOC organizers also needed a simple way to track how they were spending their time, especially in one-to-one meetings with member leaders. Derrick, Prentiss, and Molly developed a simple process that made data entry quick and easy for organizers. First, they set up Time Tackle, a plug-in for Google and Outlook calendars, with standard event types that Derrick mirrored back to Every Action. Then they trained organizers to set up Google calendar events for their one-to-ones and other meetings using the Time Tackle event tags. The system could then automatically capture important participation data every time an organizer set up an event in their calendar. Derrick pulls that data weekly from Time Tackle and uploads it to Every Action, their database of record.

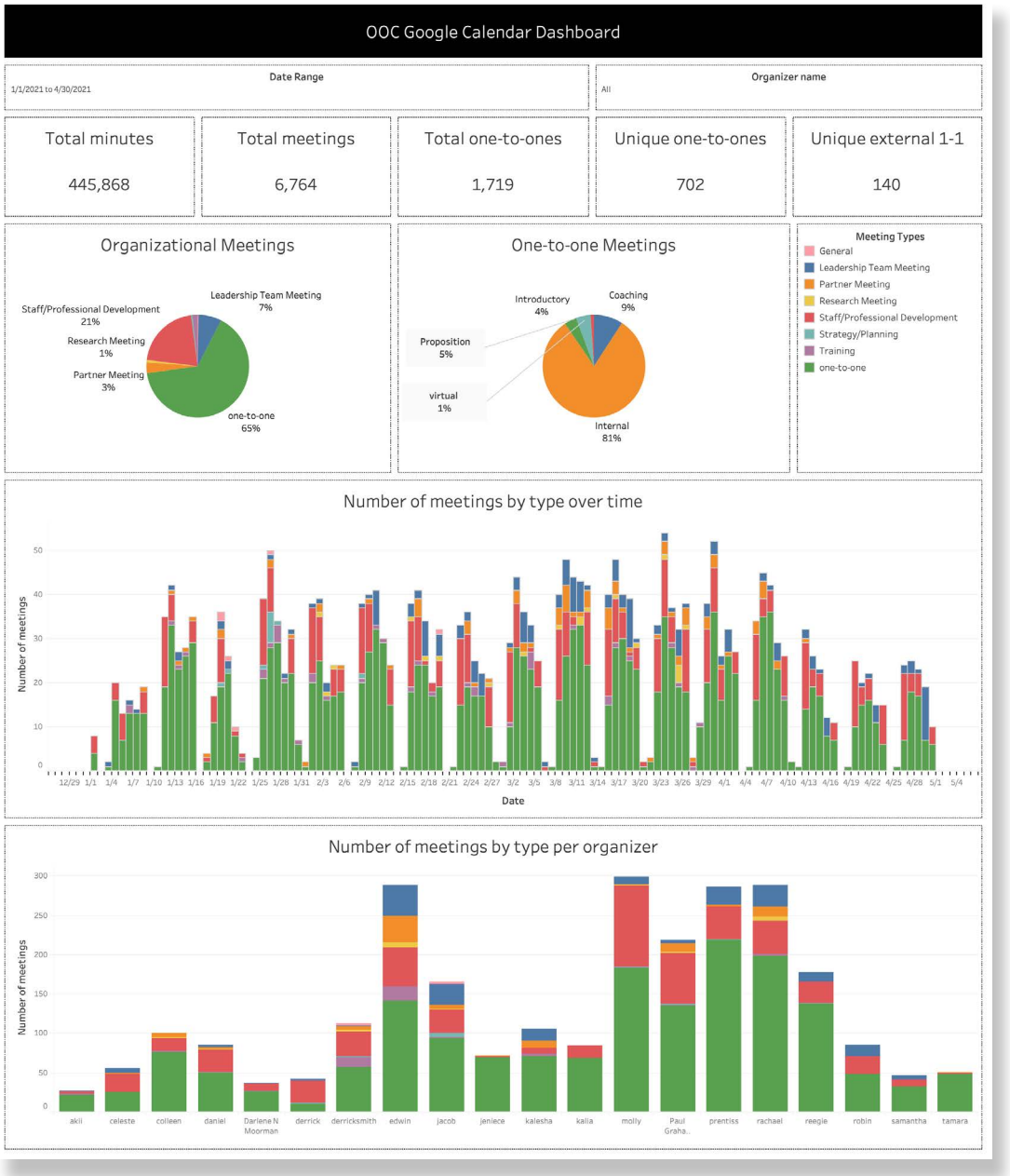


Figure 3 shows the dashboard Derrick and Tianyi built to help OOC attend to what matters most to them: staff investment in member leaders.

Early analysis from the dashboard revealed that organizers were having easier meetings with paid staff inside and outside the organization rather than doing the harder work of identifying and recruiting volunteer member leaders. Consequently, Prentiss and Molly coached their organizers to more proactively identify and meet with new member leaders rather than paid staff. They also added two metrics to the dashboard: "unique external one-to-ones" and another to clarify the type of one-to-ones organizers were having — introductory, coaching, or propositional (inviting members to higher levels of leadership). The use of these categories helped organizers focus their attention on what really mattered: investing relational effort in growing their base of volunteer members through introductory one-to-ones and developing members through coaching and propositional one-to-ones.

Two years later, OOC is still reviewing this data on a weekly basis to track core member leader engagement and leader development. The leadership-tracking Google spreadsheet and the Time Tackle dashboard are straightforward and easy to read and understand at a glance. The dashboard is about mutual accountability; its transparency across the organization creates that effect. But just as importantly, the dashboard is a tool for learning and strategizing about OOC's base-building. An organizing manager can sit with an organizer and say: "tell me what your strategy is to grow your base. Are you seeing that reflected in the way you use your time? Where do you want to improve?" Or: "I see you're meeting with these 3 people regularly. Tell me about them, the people they're recruiting and how the time spent with them is growing their leadership. Who are the next 5 people you could invest in regularly and why?" The dashboard helps organizers and their supervisors be the on-the-ground relational power-building strategists they need to be.

MAKING BASE-BUILDING VISIBLE

In 2021, the systems OOC organizers set up helped them visualize and quantify for the first time the base-building that undergirded their public wins. They saw that they spent 5,700 hours building relational power in Ohio. Across their campaigns they deepened their base and reached thousands of supporters. The member-based power that the OOC team built, tracked, and measured in their Google leadership-tracking spreadsheet and Time Tackle dashboard built the foundation for two big wins by the end of 2021: "We developed 587 leaders who built power and delivered transformative wins on police reform, school funding, maternal health, childcare and democracy," Prentiss said.

Specifically, with their allies in labor, OOC achieved a bipartisan fair-school-funding plan in the state budget. OOC also worked with allies to win a charter amendment ballot measure in Cleveland–Issue 24–that provides community oversight and reform to the police department. "Through 1,644 intentional one-to-one conversations to coach and deepen relationships with member leaders, we saw these leaders take action, including engaging 13,090 people for our Safer Cleveland campaign," Prentiss said.

This work by OOC is an example of measuring what matters in a way that helps them diagnose, coach, and get better at doing what matters. Once they decided that what mattered was the way organizers invested their time in leader development, we were able to work with them to find relatively easy ways to collect this data and to dashboard it, thereby making their relational work visible. Measuring how organizers use their time in a longitudinal way helps OOC stay focused on the relational investments they are making to grow a base of civic leaders over time.

CASE 2: MEASURING MEMBER COMMITMENT THROUGH ACTION COLOR OF CHANGE

QUESTION:
How do we use the election cycle to identify members willing to join collective action, and then train them to be long-term member organizers or squad members?

METHOD:
Track leadership levels by event participation in Mobilize, their event management system.

FINDING:
About one in three active Color of Change members were participating regularly in campaign programs during the election season.

LEARNING:
If organizers followed up with those regular campaign participants and propositioned them to join local squads, then they could sustain high levels of participation in legislative and issue campaigns the year after the election.

Color of Change, a national digital-first organizing program, followed a path similar to OOC. In previous programs, Color of Change's metrics had focused almost entirely on electoral inputs: doors knocked upon, calls made, texts sent. Electoral strategies have proven successful for Color of Change as a key leader in the criminal justice reform effort to elect new district attorneys. However, electoral inputs alone did not measure the conditions it would take for a DA campaign to succeed, or for a newly elected DA to be successful in shifting the local criminal justice system. Like OOC, Color of Change was interested in tracking and measuring the leadership growth and commitment of their base over time. Color of Change leaders knew from their own experience that volunteer teams who were learning, finding purpose, and having fun would provide more leadership over the long term than those who were just grinding out voter contacts.

Furthermore, leaders Arisha Hatch, Kwesi Chappin, and Shannon Talbert saw electing a new DA as only the first step. In order to achieve real reform that Black people could feel in their lives, Color of Change volunteers had to follow through with court watch programs, DA accountability programs, and other local legislative reform efforts focused on judges and city councils. In Color of Change's structure, staff organizers do not lead that work; squads of local member leaders anchor campaign after campaign in their local contexts. Their questions were:



How can we identify good leadership prospects for our squads?



How can we know where geographically we have strong long-term member leadership and where we need to grow it?



How do we grow member leaders who join collective action regularly and can be trained to lead actions themselves?

In summer 2020, for what was arguably one of the most pivotal national elections of a generation, Arisha made a bold choice to prioritize measuring and growing, not just voter contact, but member leadership and commitments during that cycle. She and the organizing team developed a member leader rubric with tiers defined through action.

MAKING BASE-BUILDING VISIBLE

Color of Change data leaders Mahelet Fekade and Olivia Robinson built an organizing dashboard to track 2020 leadership tiers based on participation data from their Mobilize event system. As a result Color of Change identified and grew the commitment of 18,600 people through their 2020 program, including 2,140 individuals who volunteered at more than three events. These individuals were top prospects for their organizers to invite to join or form local squads. The organization left the election season with a stronger, more active volunteer base and with clarity around where their base was willing to exercise civic leadership.

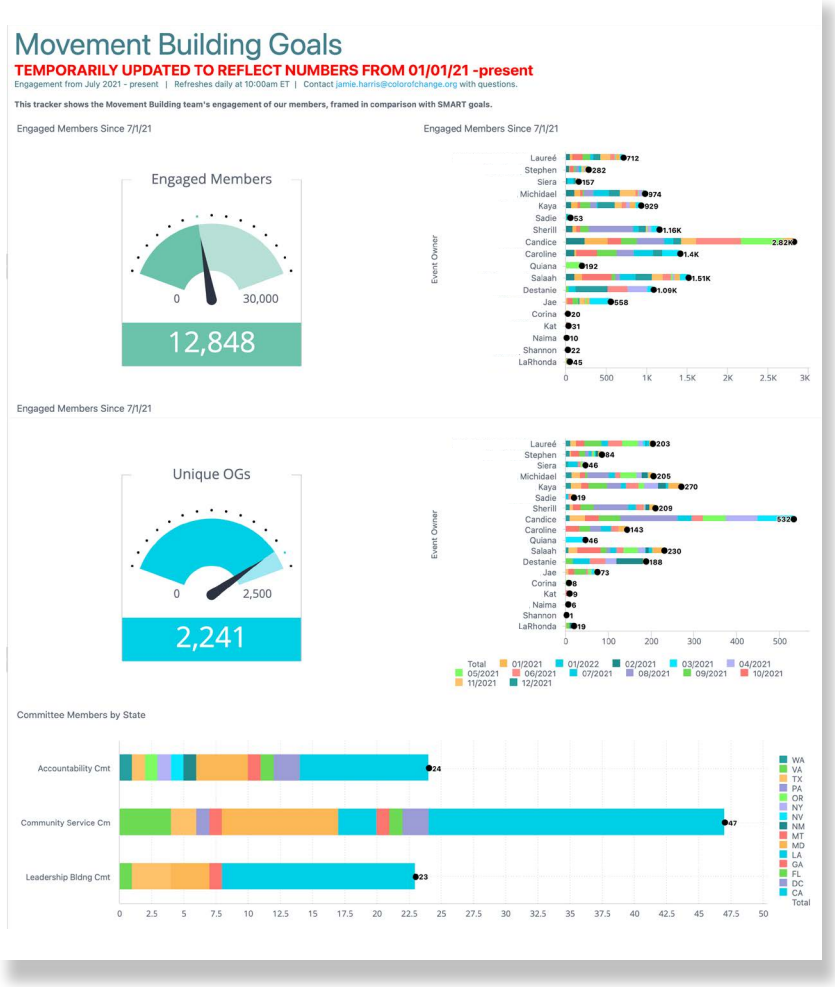


Figure 4: Color of Change Member Leadership Dashboard in 2021

After the election, Color of Change doubled down on these metrics in their legislative and corporate campaign work. In 2021, data leaders Jamie Harris and Junji Shang developed another dashboard to track member leadership groups over time, by organizer and by geography, shown in Figure 4. This dashboard tracks how many members have been active in a given time period, how many OGs (active members who have been propositioned into greater leadership) are participating in public accountability committees, community service committees, and leadership building committees in their local squads. This dashboard reveals how power is being built relationally in Color of Change's base: it shows which organizer is responsible for developing which leaders, how many people take action together publicly in each state, and what types of public actions members are taking. Clear data on where the organization has active local leadership enables Color of Change to strategize about where to grow new teams, where to support local campaigns, and where to leverage local work into national narratives and campaigns.

Color of Change also created a dashboard for events and attendees to help make their base-building efforts more strategic, shown in Figure 5. This dashboard shows that in 2021 the program had 2,560 events in which over 29,900 people joined in civic action, with an average of just over 11 participants per event. A third of participants attended multiple times, demonstrating the growing commitment of an emerging leadership

base. This dashboard enables the organizing team to ask questions, form hypotheses, and test those hypotheses over time to improve their programs.

Color of Change's work exemplifies a key learning across the DPI Organizing Lab: the single most important information to track for leader development is event participation. When an organization consistently tracks the same basic information for event participants, they can see the pathways of growth that individuals forge through the organization, and make judgments about how to shift programs to grow and deepen member leadership. (See Appendix B for a list of key data points for tracking event participation.)

The single most important information to track for leader development is event participation.

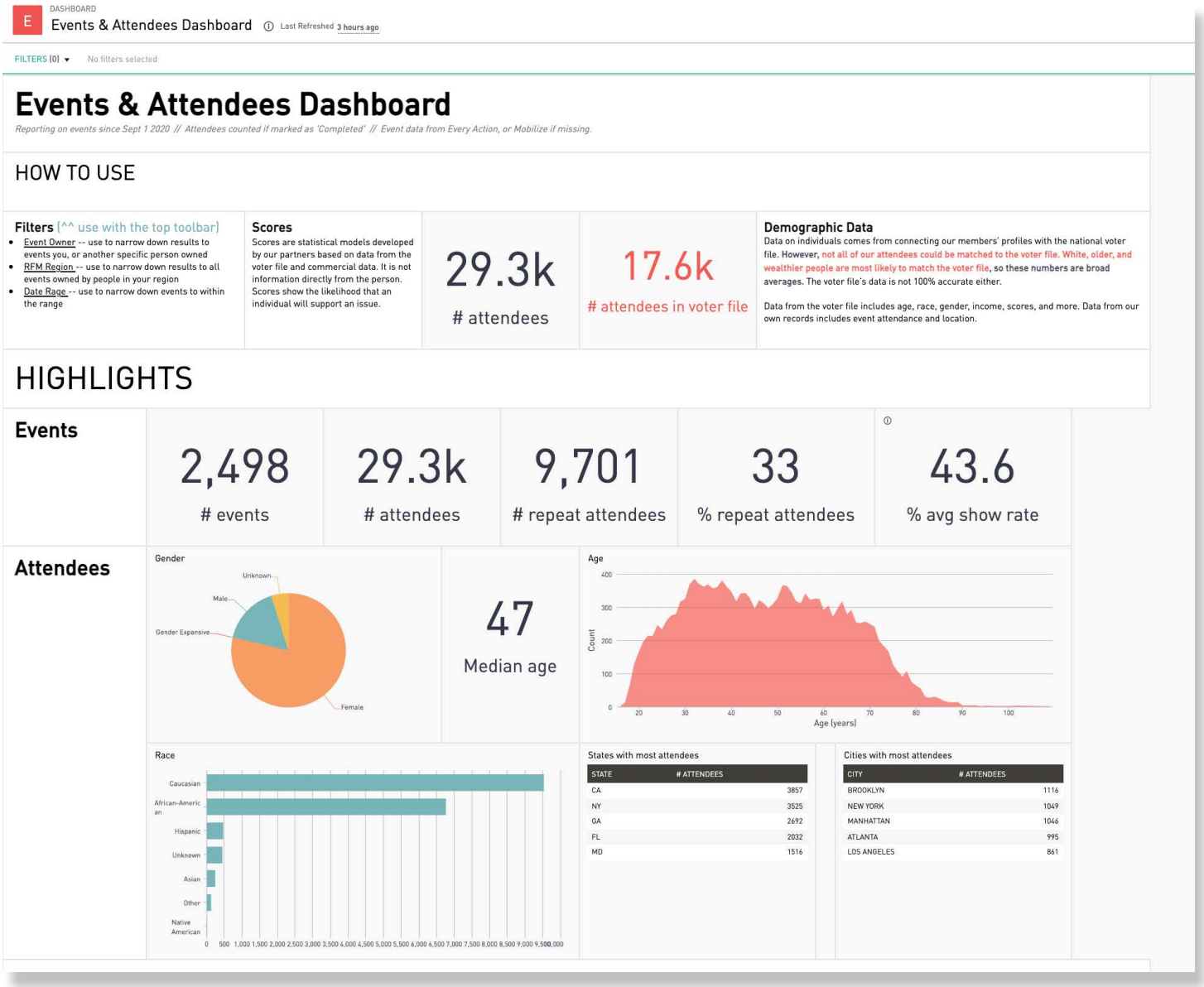


Figure 5: Color of Change Events & Attendees Dashboard 2021

TAKEAWAYS ON MEASURING BASE-BUILDING

OOC and Color of Change measure the same underlying power-building metric: the depth and scale of member commitment and leadership. In fact, all organizing groups in the DPI Organizing Lab have found that, if they double down on collecting event participation data, they can see in real time their membership bases taking shape and answer many programmatic questions. Critically, this is not a set of vanity metrics like email list size, or social media following. **This is a metric revealing how many and which people have decided to take public action with the organization over time. This can inform organizers about how best to use their most valuable resource — time — to grow the civic leadership that underlies their organizational power.**



COLLECTIVE CAPACITIES

ORGANIZATIONS PRACTICE THE TRANSFORMATION OF INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS AND RESOURCES INTO COLLECTIVE CULTURES, STRATEGIES AND STRUCTURES THAT CAN DRIVE CHANGE. THESE ARE “COLLECTIVE CAPACITIES.”

Collective capacities housed in organizations are the bedrock of people-powered social and political change.[21] Yet when we interviewed dozens of seasoned practitioners and scoured the academic literature for tools and frameworks to assess whether, where, and to what extent democratic organizations are building group-level capacities, we came up short. As mentioned in the section on dominant metrics above, scholars and practitioners often resort to summing individual actions taken, a thin proxy measure for collective transformation. Practitioners tend to intuit the presence or absence of the alchemy that happens when a group of people becomes more than the sum of its participants.

Measuring, let alone visualizing, collective capacities is difficult, because the processes that turn people into organizations are hard to see at a single point in time. We must lean into this challenge, though. As Alexis de Toqueville wrote when he visited America almost 200 years ago, "in democratic countries, knowledge of how to combine is the mother of all other forms of knowledge; on its progress depends that of all the others."[22]

In what follows, we lay out some preliminary evidence and analysis of collective capacities for organizing, including building collective emotional capacity for belonging, hope, resilience, and solidarity; building shared strategic capacity within a constituency and across multiracial constituencies; and learning to build structures that enable representation and collective decision-making.

Of the three parts of the power metrics framework we present in this memo — base building, collective capacities, and impact — collective capacities remain the least developed. Further innovation and research are necessary to make visible the transformation of individual interests and resources into collective cultures, strategies and structures that can drive change. We welcome feedback from practitioners and researchers who can share insights into ways we can empirically document and measure collective capacities in the context of organizing for power.

> In democratic countries, knowledge of how to combine is the mother of all other forms of knowledge; on its progress depends that of all others.
>
> ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

[21] See Voss & Williams 2012. Also Speer & Han 2018.
[22] De Toqueville 1835.

THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF COLLECTIVE CAPACITIES: SOLIDARITY, STRATEGY, AND STRUCTURE

In our preliminary work with the DPI Organizing Lab, we explored three core collective capacities for organizing and movement-building groups:

- relational solidarity;
- strategic capacity; and
- the capacity to structure collective action.

These three capacities mirror the "heart, head, and hands" investments that leaders make when they organize.[23] In this frame, heart refers to an emotional set of capacities like courage, dignity, solidarity, anger, and hope. Head refers to an intellectual set of skills like power analysis, strategizing, discernment, sequencing, planning, negotiation, and compromise. Hands are actions (and the organizational structural scaffolding that supports them) — like protests, door-knocking, phone-banking, signature collection, legislative visits, training, debriefs, deliberation, data entry and analysis. Power building in a democracy requires the development of each of these capacities at the individual and collective levels.

But how do we move from heart, head, hands to actually measuring collective capacities? As with base-building, we started by asking groups in the DPI Organizing Lab what they wanted to understand and visualizing data they had readily available. In this memo we look first at measuring solidarity and event "stickiness," with two illustrative cases from the lab. Next, we discuss social movement strategy and metrics-based approaches to enable strategic capacity, including a DPI cohort case on developing organizing and program dashboards. Finally, we present current work on measuring structure, including a case study about formal and informal member networks.

MEASURING SOLIDARITY

Of the three primary collective capacities we highlight in this memo, we have made the most progress on visualizing and measuring relational solidarity. This requires observing where and how well groups create conditions for collective solidarity to emerge.

Relational solidarity is a precondition that enables individuals to bring their full selves and full resources to the collective table. Their commitment is not to the organization or to an issue in the abstract, but to other people — the organizer and other members or volunteer leaders. Long-term organizers and campaigners know that such bonding is a critical precursor to public action in high stakes campaigns. A group that is relationally bound to each other can move as one, resist attempts by opponents to divide them, and sustain collective action over time to secure a policy win and its full implementation.

The academic literature shores up this practitioner-level knowledge, showing that emotional bonding is a precursor to strategic and structuring capacities.[24] Nonetheless, until now we have lacked data-driven ways to detect patterns that reveal where and how relational foundations are most effectively being built within an organization.

With regard to solidarity, groups in the DPI Organizing Lab asked these sorts of questions:

- What types of events generate positive emotional experiences for participants that encourage them to return?
- Where can we see commitment growing between and among member leaders?
- What networks of solidarity are becoming visible over time and who is at the center of each network?

[23] Ganz & Lin 2011.

An organization that builds democratic power develops new member leaders who can recruit and lead others to shape the organization's agenda, and to take public action. **People and their leadership skills are the most valuable resources in the organization**. Given the work it takes to recruit, develop, and retain people, the DPI Organizing Lab groups are naturally interested in which parts of their programs generate new commitments and relationships among members. One strong signal of group-level bonding happens at events when members are with each other. Of these types of events organizers ask:



Do people who participate in a particular program or event want to come back?



How high is the attrition rate for this type of event?

For many groups in the lab, the majority of people in the databases are marked as having attended only one event. This is understandable, if undesirable, given the depth of investment that goes into recruiting a single committed member-leader. Through our analysis of event return and attrition rates, **we found that events with the highest "stickiness" — the likelihood to generate further interest and commitment from the people who attended – were the organizing and community-building events.**

Here are two cases of groups in the lab that explored questions relating to building collective solidarity.

People and their leadership skills are the most valuable resources in the organization.

[24] See, for example: Han 2016.

CASE 3: ORGANIZING CONTAINERS OF COMMITMENT ISAIAH

QUESTION:
How did current member super leaders with ISAIAH begin their journey? What events brought them and kept them in the organization?

METHOD:
Build a list of member super leaders. Analyze the first events in which they participated to look for themes.

FINDING:
Top member leaders had been developed early in their public leadership through a mix of organizing and mobilizing activities. But the ongoing program of organizing meetings and trainings were the holders of human capacity - the place members came from and returned to over time as they grew their public leadership.

LEARNING:
While power-building organizations need to have mobilizing events to engage a broader constituency and public officials, the core pathway to public leadership is built primarily through organizing events focused on generating solidarity and shared analysis across a base of members.

ISAIAH is an institution-based organizing group in Minnesota, working with faith congregations, childcare centers, barber shops, and other community institutions to drive local and statewide campaigns. ISAIAH programs have two types of events: mobilizing and organizing. Mobilizing events are rallies, public actions, legislative visits, and so on. Relational organizing events are one-to-one meetings with an organizer or member leader, small group house meetings, trainings, or team meetings where public leadership is developed. To determine which sequence of events helped onboard and retain ISAIAH superleaders, we first downloaded the event history data for all members and supporters. Next, we used ISAIAH's own coding ("Event Type") and our qualitative knowledge of the organization's programs to collapse event categories into mobilizing (red) or organizing (blue) events. We looked at the first five events of ISAIAH's "super leaders." On average these super leaders had participated in 21 events with the organization.

The results: ISAIAH's organizing events were "stickier" than mobilizing events. Organizing events led to more sustained participation and the development of ISAIAH "super leaders." These super leaders were the members who agreed to be "faith delegates" to Minnesota caucuses in 2018 when ISAIAH's partner organization, Faith in Minnesota, ran a sophisticated political program to elevate their bases' agenda during the gubernatorial primary.



PHOTO: ISAIAH

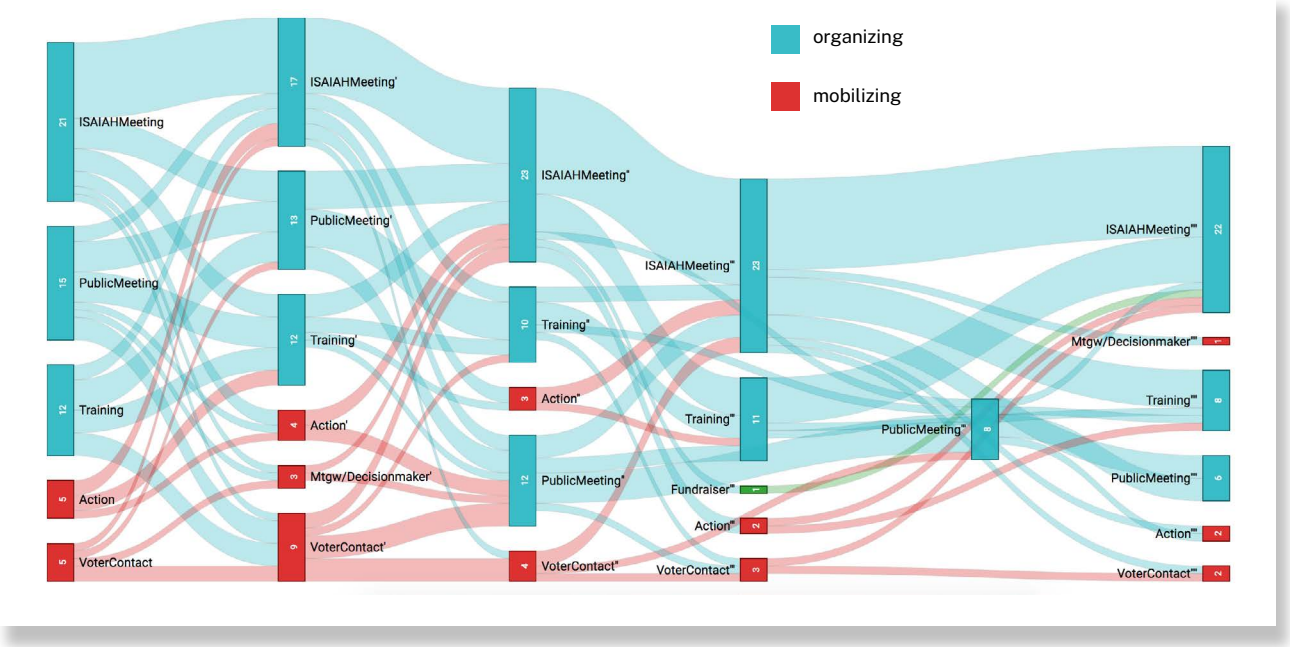


Figure 6: Early Superleader Engagement Linked to Organizing (vs. Mobilizing) Events

Figure 6 shows the sequence of the first five events that ISAIAH's strongest public leaders participated in when they first joined the organization. It reveals that people who started in mobilizing events (the red lines at the bottom) were soon recruited into organizing meetings and trainings where they could meet other members and join the larger conversation about the direction of the organization as a whole. The thick blue lines show that organizing events retain people and capacity at ISAIAH. These events include internal organizing meetings, trainings and large public meetings across their organized bases. This chart shows how an organization like ISAIAH can sustain human capacity over time by building leadership through internal organizing meetings and training, deploying that leadership through public action and voter contact, and then bringing people back into the internal "political home" that is their core leadership development program.

We only see the investment in the human capacity on which the organization's public power depends when we make relational organizing events visible.

It is important to note that with standard movement metrics focused on public participation or voter activation the only part of ISAIAH's work that would have been visible are the red lines showing participation in external mobilizing events. We only see the investment in the human capacity on which the organization's public power depends when we also make relational organizing events visible.

CASE 4: BUILDING A CULTURE OF JOYFUL SOLIDARITY AND RESILIENCE COLOR OF CHANGE

QUESTION:
Which events generate participant sentiment associated with solidarity?

METHOD:
Collect and analyze over 14,000 event feedback forms submitted during 2020 programs, using Natural Language Processing sentiment analysis.

FINDING:
Color of Change members had overall positive sentiment about the events they participated in, but comparatively more positive than negative for organizing events versus mobilizing events. Community events were associated with words like: joy, trust, engaging, sisterhood, solidarity, and a plethora of family-themed sentiments.

LEARNING:
Community events like Black Women's Brunches generate the culture of solidarity and connection that underlie the large volunteer program Color of Change runs. This culture and positive sentiment around it is carried through into voter mobilizing and action events on campaigns.

More than a decade after its founding in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, several top staff at Color of Change, the largest digital-first racial justice organization in the world, had a radical insight. Beyond counting the volume of actions members were taking, they needed to find ways to track the experience that their members were having in collective settings, especially their base-building program called Black Women's Brunches.

For staffers, it was clear that brunches and other organizing events strengthened commitment to the organization and deepened ties among participants,[25] whereas other types of events felt more transactional and had higher attrition rates. However, they did not have the data systems or personnel in place to test this hypothesis.

The first significant step the organization took to address this was to invest in internal data capacity and leadership. Strengthening their in-house data team to build capacity for internal hypothesis testing was a key strategic shift away from data staff simply managing voter lists.

MAKING SOLIDARITY WORK VISIBLE

Data scientists Jamie Harris and Mahelet Fekade, together with DPI senior data analyst Miriam McKinney Gray, set out to analyze members' reactions to different events. Participants answered an evaluation survey after every event they attended, which in 2020 yielded a dataset of more than 14,000 individual responses. More than a dry post-event evaluation, the survey asked participants to reflect on what they felt when they attended a Color of Change event.

Jamie, Mahelet, and Miriam conducted a series of sentiment analyses of the textual data generated by the regular post-event surveys. *Sentiment analysis* is a natural language processing (NLP) technique to assess peoples' emotions, viewpoints, or beliefs as expressed in a corpus of text.[26]

---

[25] Color of Change 2018.

[26] As with biases inherent in much Artificial Intelligence research, NLP is not a value-neutral computational approach. Which dictionaries are used in sentiment analysis, for example, can have implications for the analysis and how the findings are interpreted. After seeing multiple words mislabeled as positive, negative, or neutral given the researchers' and Color of Change staffers' qualitative knowledge and lived experience of what many Black respondents were expressing in the text, the team conducting this research concluded that Black-centered NLP dictionaries are needed.

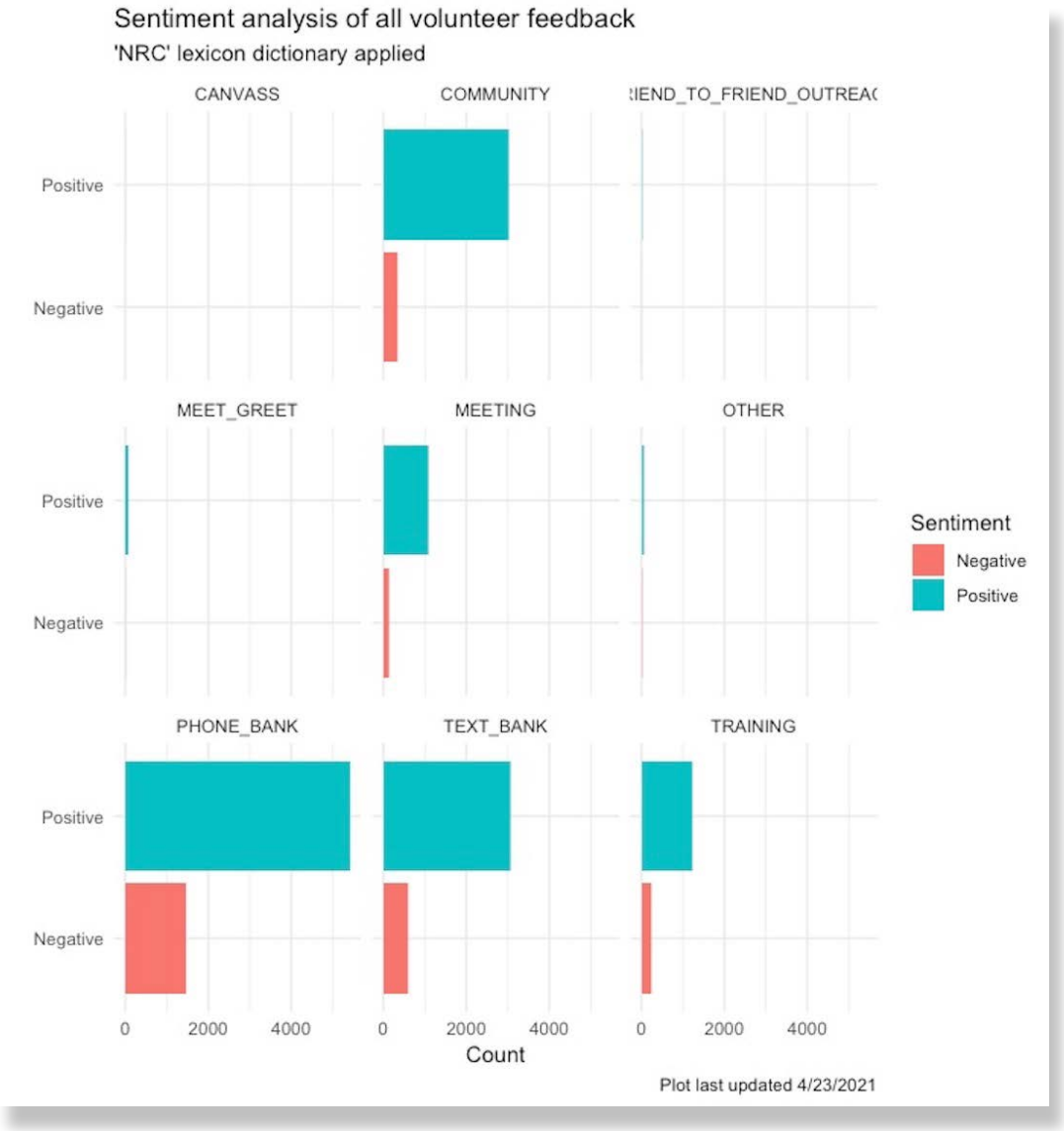


Figure 7: Sentiment Analysis of All Color of Change Volunteer Feedback in 2020.

Results from the sentiment analysis show that, overall, the organization's text-a-thons and phone banks had higher rates of participation but more negative feedback, as shown in Figure 7. The majority of the negative sentiments were about voter contact technology and lists. One staffer concluded "It's not our stickiest pathway of engagement." In contrast, community events like the Black Women's Brunches fostered sentiments of joy, trust, and multiple ways of seeing community in one another. Family-oriented terms are a notable pattern in the feedback: "child," "childhood," "grandchildren," "brother," "brotherhood," and "mother" came up repeatedly. Family terms reflect how deeply relational community events are. Also of note: participants began to invite their family members into Color of Change's social and political community.

Black Women's Brunches fostered sentiments of joy, trust, and multiple ways of seeing community in one another.

```
  [1] "accomplish"    "accomplished"  "accounts"      "achieve"       "admire"        "advice"        "advocacy"      "advocate"
  [9] "agreed"        "ally"          "amazingly"     "ambition"      "angel"         "appreciation"  "art"           "assist"
 [17] "attorney"      "authentic"     "award"         "baby"          "ballot"        "bank"          "basketball"    "beach"
 [25] "beautiful"     "beauty"        "believer"      "bless"         "blessed"       "blessing"      "blessings"     "brother"
 [33] "brotherhood"   "calls"         "celebrated"    "celebrating"   "celebration"   "center"        "ceremony"      "child"
 [41] "childhood"     "clean"         "collectively"  "comfort"       "committed"     "committee"     "communication" "completing"
 [49] "confident"     "confirmation"  "content"       "continue"      "cop"           "county"        "create"        "credit"
 [57] "crucial"       "dance"         "daughter"      "delicious"     "deserve"       "determination" "eager"         "educational"
 [65] "effective"     "elders"        "elect"         "encourage"     "engaged"       "engaging"      "enjoy"         "enjoying"
 [73] "entertained"   "entertaining"  "entertainment" "enthusiasm"    "equality"      "establish"     "excellence"    "excellent"
 [81] "exchange"      "excited"       "exciting"      "expect"        "experienced"   "fact"          "facts"         "fairly"
 [89] "familiar"      "favorite"      "feeling"       "fellow"        "fill"          "finally"       "food"          "found"
 [97] "friend"        "friendly"      "fun"           "gate"          "general"       "genuine"       "gift"          "glad"
[105] "god"           "good"          "governor"      "grandchildren" "greatness"     "grow"          "guard"         "guidance"
[113] "happy"         "heartfelt"     "helpful"       "holiday"       "honor"         "hope"          "hopeful"       "humanitarian"
[121] "humanity"      "important"     "improve"       "improvement"   "inclusion"     "influential"   "inform"        "innocent"
[129] "inspiration"   "inspire"       "inspired"      "instruction"   "instructions"  "instructor"    "integrity"     "intelligent"
[137] "invite"        "inviting"      "joy"           "joyful"        "jump"          "justice"       "kind"          "kudos"
[145] "larger"        "laugh"         "laughter"      "leader"        "leading"       "legislature"   "level"         "love"
[153] "lovely"        "loving"        "lucky"         "magnificent"   "majority"      "manage"        "merry"         "moderator"
[161] "money"         "mother"        "music"         "nation"        "nurse"         "obvious"       "offering"      "operation"
[169] "organization"  "outstanding"   "partake"       "passion"       "passionate"    "pay"           "peace"         "peaceful"
[177] "perfect"       "perfection"    "personal"      "pertinent"     "physician"     "planning"      "pleasant"      "pleased"
[185] "pleasurable"   "police"        "policy"        "poll"          "powerful"      "praise"        "pray"          "prefer"
[193] "prepared"      "present"       "president"     "pretty"        "prevalent"     "pride"         "privileged"    "professional"
[201] "progress"      "proud"         "provide"       "providing"     "real"          "receiving"     "recommend"     "related"
[209] "relevant"      "reputable"     "resources"     "respect"       "respectful"    "responsible"   "retirement"    "rule"
[217] "safe"          "salute"        "save"          "school"        "senate"        "series"        "share"         "shining"
[225] "show"          "signature"     "sincere"       "sisterhood"    "smith"         "solidarity"    "soothing"      "special"
[233] "star"          "strength"      "structure"     "succeed"       "success"       "successful"    "suggest"       "sun"
[241] "supporter"     "supporting"    "supremacy"     "surprise"      "sweet"         "system"        "taught"        "teacher"
[249] "team"          "thankful"      "therapeutic"   "thoughtful"    "thriving"      "top"           "treat"         "truck"
[257] "true"          "trust"         "truth"         "understanding" "unexpected"    "united"        "unity"         "uplift"
[265] "usual"         "victory"       "volunteer"     "volunteers"    "vote"          "voucher"       "wealth"        "weight"
[273] "welcomed"      "white"         "wisdom"        "wonderful"     "wonderfully"   "word"          "worthy"        "young"
[281] "youth"
```

Figure 8: List of Mentioned Terms Associated 'Positive' Sentiment in Color of Change's Community Events Feedback

Color of Change used this analysis to inform "Belonging, Believing, Becoming," a new framework they have created for tracking member experiences and their pathways to powerful collective action. This analysis of member experiences confirmed organizers' hypothesis that the Black Women's Brunches were critical entry points for new members - places to begin to forge new relational bonds and the solidarity that engenders. As with ISAIAH, these types of events were the generators of human capacity in the organization, the holders of the relational power later deployed at textathons and public actions.



PHOTO: Color of Change Black Women's Brunches

MEASUREMENT TO ENABLE STRATEGIC CAPACITY

There is a rich literature on social movement strategy, and an even more robust research tradition on strategy in management science.[27] Marshall Ganz's participant observation research on the California farmworkers movement defined **strategic capacity in organizing — the ability to routinely select an effective mix of targeting, timing, and tactics to outmaneuver opponents** — as the property of a group rather than a single visionary leader or a disembodied planning process. He showed that strategic capacity is a function of a leadership team's "access to salient information about the environment, [the] heuristic use they made of this information, and their motivation."[28]

In other words, a group's ability to consistently best their chosen targets, respond to counterattacks, and navigate the always-uncertain terrain on which movements operate is tied to specific characteristics of the leadership team and how they function. One of Ganz's core insights, then, is that the way a strategy is developed, rather than the strategy itself, tends to determine its efficacy. Moreover, an individual or organization who is part of a strategizing process in a meaningful way is much more likely to commit time, resources, and risk-taking capacity to move the strategy forward and see it through.[29]

This insight has important implications for how we measure strategic capacity in democratic organizations. Instead of creating metrics to evaluate a particular strategy (most simplistically by assessing whether or not it achieved a discrete goal), we ought to examine the group-level mechanisms and processes that produced the strategy by asking questions like:

- Who (specifically) developed the strategy, based on what assumptions and heuristics?
- In what kind of deliberative setting was the strategy discussed and debated (if at all)?
- How diverse was the range of resources on which the strategy's success depended?
- To what degree were these resources rooted in a constituency base, as opposed to an external actor (elite decision-maker, foundation funder, corporate ally, political party committee, etc.)?
- How well did the leadership team engage in real-time iteration as they implemented the strategy?

One way of answering these questions would be to undertake a deep, qualitative study of an organization or, even better, engage in more than a decade of participant-observation, like Ganz did as organizing director of the United Farm Workers. This kind of in-depth research would allow us to trace leaders' biographical trajectories, map the strength and density of ties that make up their networks, get a granular sense of the composition of the resource base, assess how transparent the deliberation processes are, and observe whether the decisions that come out of those deliberations are actually put into practice. While we wholeheartedly encourage research that takes this approach, it is extremely time-intensive, requires extraordinary levels of trust with and access to an organization's leadership team, and is a difficult research methodology to scale.

[27] See, for example, Martin 2015; Mackay and Zundel 2017; Booth-Tobin, et al 2021.
[28] Ganz 2000.
[29] Black and Gregerson 1997.

At the time of this writing, we are aware of two alternative approaches to begin to evaluate a group's level and type of strategic capacity — and we welcome input on other methods.

The first alternative approach is the P3 Lab's recently published "agitational assessment,"[30] a companion tool to the Lab's literature review on strategic capacity in constituency-based organizations.[31] The 44-question survey is designed to be fielded with all members of an organization's staff and member leaders. The process should take place over a four-week period and conclude with a day-long facilitation session to reflect back and discuss results with respondents. The instrument asks open-ended, qualitative questions about how the organization navigated specific unexpected challenges and a battery of questions related to governance and accountability structures, team diversity, use of data to learn, operational flexibility, organizational culture, and collaboration in movement networks.

When responses are analyzed and discussed following the suggested facilitation process, the findings help paint an honest and shared picture of an organization's strategic capacity. They also signal to leaders how and where to prioritize collective investments going forward.

A complementary approach to enable the growth of strategic capacity in movement groups is to create organizing program feedback loops in the form of what we call "**learning dashboards.**" There is no strategic capacity without an accurate, real-time, and data-informed picture of how an organizing program or campaign is actually going. Anecdotal data, emotional data, and experiential data are all important contributors to strategic capacity building in complex political environments. For a group to strategize together effectively, though, they also need to be able to see and interpret trends in their program on a regular basis, and to generate and test hypotheses that go beyond their own individual experiences. The development of a learning dashboard requires a group to clarify what matters most in their collective program, to develop systems for collecting that data, and to create the structures and processes for leaders across the program to interpret that data together regularly. The intent here is to put in the hands of organizers and member leaders the type of tools and analyses typically only accessible to the political elite. Our focus in year three of the DPI Organizing Lab was to help organizing groups build learning dashboards for their public-facing electoral and legislative programs. We asked groups what they thought mattered most to measure and did not assume it would be standard tactical program metrics. The case that follows shows how MOVE reimagined their political metrics to enable deeper strategic capacity among the staff and members who participated in innovating a new approach to their political program.

There is no strategic capacity without an accurate, real-time, and data-informed picture of how an organizing program or campaign is actually going.

[30] Booth-Tobin, et al, 2021c.
[31] Booth-Tobin, et al, 2021b

CASE 5: USING METRICS TO ENABLE INNOVATION AND STRATEGIC CAPACITY | MOVE

QUESTION:
Which measurement and report-back systems enable collective strategizing in a pilot canvass program?

METHOD:
Generate a dashboard tracking all program data in the canvass. Look for metrics that generate meaning and impact, and revise dashboard to focus on those. Use a correlation matrix to look for strong relationships between pilot's priority metrics and qualitative indicators from canvassers' notes from each canvass conversation.

FINDING:
The metrics that mattered most to the team in this pilot were the volume of complete conversations, and average movement between a first and second self-rating in each complete conversation. The dashboard of this data, combined with analysis of qualitative metrics in complete conversations provided the pilot team with a daily and weekly feedback loop for learning and adjustment.

LEARNING:
Staff and member leaders can be strategists and innovators if they are equipped with quantitative and qualitative feedback loops from their own program, and a structure for shared reflection on those data.

This case focuses on a learning dashboard created by Tianyi in partnership with Kaelyn Seymour, Julie Terbrock, and the Missouri Organizing and Voter Engagement (MOVE) Collaborative during their spring 2022 deep canvassing pilot program. The intent of the dashboard was to use daily qualitative and quantitative program results to enable greater strategic capacity across MOVE's pilot program, including staff, canvassers and volunteers.

In a state where Black and white voters are both critical to building a progressive majority, MOVE was running this pilot program as an innovation lab to test and refine:

- Conversations with Black voters informed by DPI's research with Black-led groups in other states,[32] and
- Conversations with conflicted white voters informed by Race Class Narrative research.[33]



PHOTO: MOVE

[32] DPI Fund 2022.
[33] We Make the Future 2021.

Across the pilot project MOVE decided to focus on two metrics that mattered most to them: the number of complete conversations with people at their doors, and the average movement of a respondent on a self-rating scale from the beginning of the conversation to the end. (See Figure 9.) They rejected the vanity metrics of volume of contact attempts in order to zero in on the question driving their pilot program: how best to move Black and white voters through canvass conversations toward multiracial progressive solidarity. (See Figure 10.)

The MOVE team initially started the pilot with a persuasion script for white voters and a mobilization script for Black voters. Once Tianyi added a breakdown by race to the dashboard the program leadership could immediately see that, while they were getting some traction with conflicted white voters, the program with Black voters was reporting no movement or even sometimes slightly negative movement.

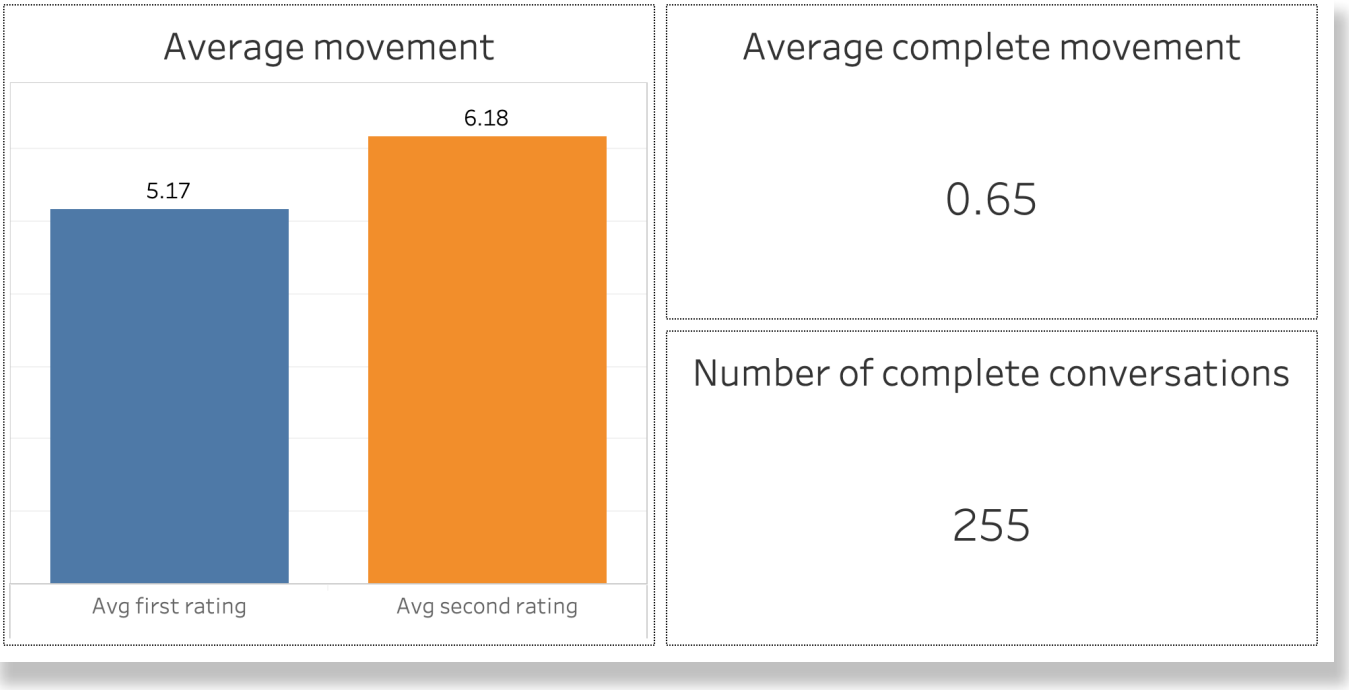


Figure 9: Topline Metrics from MOVE's Deep Canvass Pilot in 2022

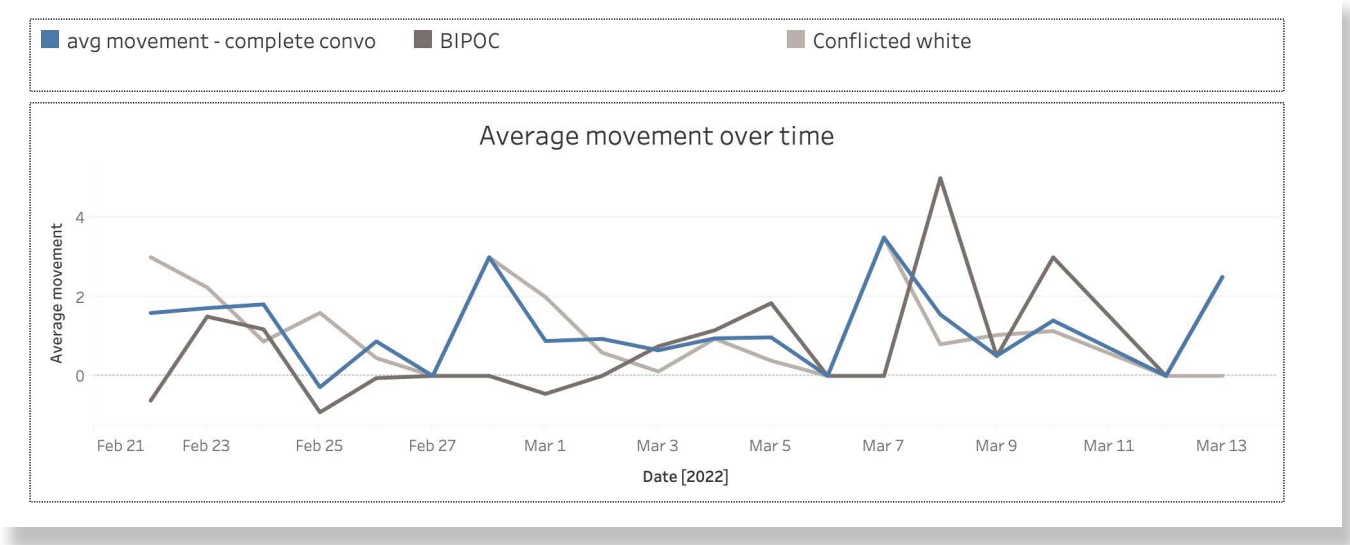


Figure 10: Average Self-Rating Movement Over Time in Complete Conversations in MOVE's 2022 Deep Canvass Pilot

In a strategy conversation, the program leadership and organizers looked at the two scripts and found a major difference. The script with white voters asked about their support level for Medicaid expansion if immigrants were included, a proxy for multiracial solidarity. This was an opinion question with a wide range of possible answers on a scale of 1 to 10, which provided canvassers lots of room for testing and moving people through the conversation. In contrast, the script with BIPOC voters asked whether or not they would vote in November — a theoretical question that many movement researchers have discredited because of the well-documented self-reporting bias it elicits. This was true in MOVE's program as well. On average, self-rating Black voters said they were highly likely (9 out of 10) to vote in an election eight months away. There was nowhere to move but down. Furthermore, the question told the organization very little about Black voters' belief systems and narratives, and allowed canvassers little room for connection and persuasion.

Once they identified this problem, the MOVE team revised the script for Black voters to focus on their sense of individual and collective power, drawing from DPI's research with the New Georgia Project and HIT Strategies. MOVE started using the new power script on March 7th and immediately saw change. Now Black voters were using the full spectrum of self-ratings, and organizers could then see movement over the course of a conversation. Canvassers practiced telling their personal stories and the stories of wins that they and other Black leaders had achieved with MOVE including Medicaid expansion and criminal justice reform. Within days of this shift, MOVE had new information and ideas for talking with Black voters.

MOVE was also interested in learning which program choices correlated with movement among voters. For the pilot, program director Alice Chamberlain set up a reflection spreadsheet where canvassers would put their qualitative notes after each deep conversation with a voter. Of the 435 conversations MOVE had with voters in the pilot, 361 (83%) had accompanying reflections written by the canvasser on a whole range of factors.

In addition to sentiment analysis, Tianyi created a correlation matrix to see which factors most correlated with self-rating movement. In Figure 12, BIPOC universe conversations are reflected in the box on the left. The conflicted white voter universe is reflected in the box on the right. Blue shades show positive correlation, and red shades show negative correlation.

Interestingly, a conversation in which voters and canvassers both shared their stories correlated moderately with movement in the BIPOC universe, but almost not at all in the white voter universe. MOVE shared this back with canvassers and invited them to create hypotheses about why this could be — a topic they will explore more in their next round of canvassing.

The data points and analysis Kaelyn and Tianyi created proved much more strategically valuable than the topline "self-rating movement" metric alone. By developing a daily feedback loop, Kaelyn, Julie and Alice helped the entire MOVE team strategize together about what they were learning, generating new hypotheses to test along the way. In this way, they were able to develop the shared strategic capacity to innovate in-program rather than having to wait for an analysis completed by an external evaluator long after the program was over.

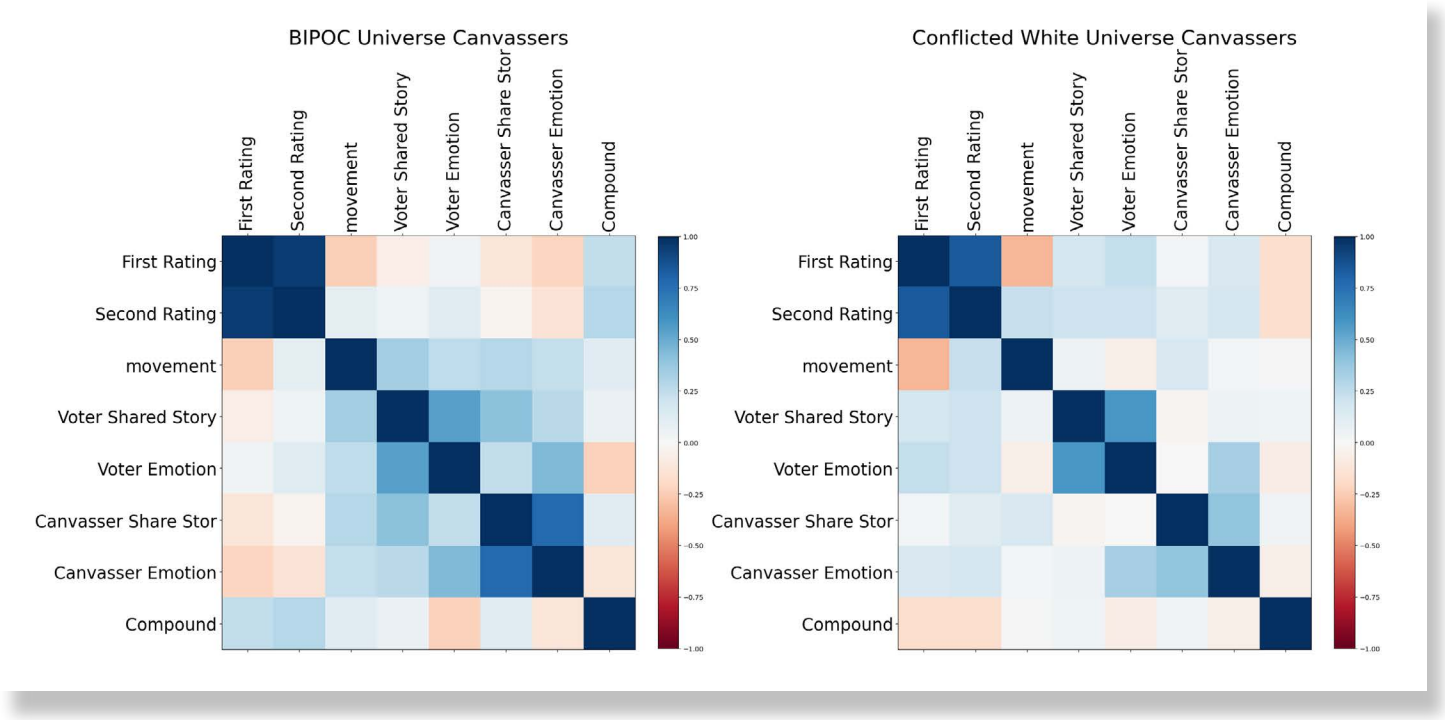


Figure 11: Correlation Matrix Showing Relationships Between Variables in MOVE Canvass Conversations with BIPOC Voters (Left) and White voters (Right)

The MOVE team collected both qualitative and quantitative data on how people talk with each other to find the best ways to persuade both white and Black voters toward greater multiracial solidarity. Their approach allowed everyone on the team, from canvasser to director, from volunteer to staff, to programmatically strategize to improve the quality as well as the volume of their conversations. **Since canvassers were entering the data themselves and debriefing about it together daily, they became agentic strategists collaborating to improve the program, not just field hands to someone else's political agenda.**



PHOTO: MOVE

MEASURING STRUCTURING CAPACITY

The capacity to create structures, or containers, for collective capacity is what sets the organizing of groups over long periods of time from the mobilizing of individuals in movement moments. In democratic practice, structures are the routes through which individuals exercise agency, build relationships with others and have a say over how their resources can be joined together with others to shift power arenas and win what they need.

In the 1970s feminist and scholar Jo Freeman did foundational work on the hazards of exalting structurelessness in movement settings, and laid out principles of democratic structuring.[34] However, research, methodological instruments, and even theoretical frameworks on democratic organizational structure are far less developed than the body of work on strategy. There are virtually no metrics on how groups internally organize information and resource flows, the extent of their accountability to a base (versus an external benefactor), rubrics for assessing decision-making patterns, or indicators of the health of collaborative relationships. Indeed, in her book, *No Shortcuts*, labor organizer Jane McAlevey argued that while movement organizations spend a great deal of time analyzing their external power landscape:

> "What is almost never attempted is the absolutely essential corollary: a parallel careful, methodical, systematic, detailed analysis of power structures among the ordinary people who are or could be brought into the fight."[35]

Organizers need ways to make visible the informal and formal relationships that are the backbone of their base's collective capacity to wage public campaigns.

Organizers need ways to make visible the informal and formal relationships that are the backbone of their base's collective capacity to wage public campaigns.

Jane's book, and recent research by Melanie Brazzell has made significant progress in starting to fill the gap. Melanie's deep dive into six movement organizations (three of which — Color of Change, Florida Rising, and ISAIAH — are also DPI Organizing Lab members) revealed the tight link between how an organization structures its work, the strategies it pursues, and therefore the power it wields in the world. Brazzell developed a typology of six "structure shapes" that correspond with organizational types. A second major contribution of Brazzell's report was to develop a definition of **structuring capacity: a group's ability to scaffold relationships and work in organizations, among members, and across movement ecosystems**. Our analysis builds on this work by making visible to organizations the health of their internal networks and structures.

[34] Freeman 1972.
[35] McAlevey 2016, 4.

CASE 6: VISUALIZING FORMAL AND INFORMAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES PICO CALIFORNIA

QUESTION:
What informal social networks structures are emerging in our base? How can we track the strength of formal network structures in institutional teams?

METHOD:
Track event participation consistently. Analyze co-attendance at events over time to identify emerging informal social networks. Build a dashboard that tracks attendance at all meetings and events by institutional team to track participation in formal team structures.

FINDING:
Analyzing co-attendance at events can help organizers identify emerging civic leaders - those who have a following or are capable of building a following. Tracking participation in teams can help organizers diagnose which institutional or neighborhood or issue bases are strong and growing, and which need deeper organizing.

LEARNING:
Tracking event participation consistently can help organizers 1) identify emerging civic leaders to proposition into greater leadership inside their organization, and 2) diagnose the relative health of the various teams that form the formal structure of their organization.

PICO California is a structure of structures. It is a network of nine local, faith-based organizing groups across 18 counties in California that work with over 500 congregations to build and advance racial and economic justice agendas. As in other groups, the organizers' main job is to identify member leaders, bring them into teams, and help them identify and then lead shared strategic campaigns. This is not a command and control structure; each local team is autonomously rooted in its own faith congregation or school setting. Each local organization–made up of institutional teams–is an independent organization with its own board. The structures create avenues for local member leaders to work deeply inside their own institutions and across institutions to collectively generate their local, statewide and federal agendas.

In 2021, PICO California's leadership wanted a picture of how their local and regional structures were turning individual participation into collective agendas and action. When asked why, Executive Director Joseph McKellar said,

> "Teams are the lifeblood of people-centered power organizations in the PICO California network. Teams are the places where everyday people who experience many forms of exclusion get to learn and practice developing strategy. Teams are where people practice making commitments and being accountable to others in service to the bigger "we," where they practice building bridges of kinship and accountability, and where they gain courage to lock arms and step together into the public square to confront power and make change."

Teams are the containers for collective capacity building, for solidarity and belonging, shared strategizing and shared action.

To examine the health of PICO California's teams, Miriam worked with Lisa Thornton, PICO California's Data and Research Director, to do two analyses. Both analyses turned event data from the Los Angeles organization, LA Voice, into visualizations for

organizers and leaders. The first analysis was a network chart that would make visible informal relational structures in the organization. This analysis used event participation data to show bonds where two people were both present at the same event. Mapped over many events, the chart began to show how individuals became bonded with each other and to an organization through repeated co-presence at organizing meetings and actions. The central node of a cluster is a member leader who is most consistently coming to events with others. The smaller dots are people coming with them. The thickness of the lines shows how many times those two people joined an event together. Figure 13 is a snapshot of one small part of LA Voice's network chart. It shows Alexandria Yawata to be a leader consistently bringing other people to events with her. This is someone an organizer could proposition and support to turn her informal relational network into a formal stable team inside LA Voice. This analysis helped organizers see with new eyes who the real member leaders were in their organization - those with followings - to inform their team building strategies.

This network analysis revealed to LA Voice and PICO California what was happening structurally in the present: which members were recruiting others and to which types of events. It showed them what was. It did not show them what could be. To do that, Lisa worked with Miriam and organizers across the state to build a consistent data collection infrastructure for every PICO member institution. The dashboard shown in Figure 13 shows team level commitment and participation in ways that allow leaders to see the teams that are active and the teams that are weak or not yet active. The team dashboard reflects both the base-building work of the team through events like relational meetings and training, and the influence and impact work of the team through events like research actions with public officials, or town hall type meetings. It documents the way that member teams are the bridge between the base-building work and the impact and influence work of their power-building organizations.The type of granular analysis in the dashboard in Figure 14 shows where the organization has built structured collective capacity and where it still has to build. It allows PICO California and the local organizations in its network to make strategic choices about how to best leverage the teams that are strong, and where to put organizer time into building new teams for their long-term power agendas.

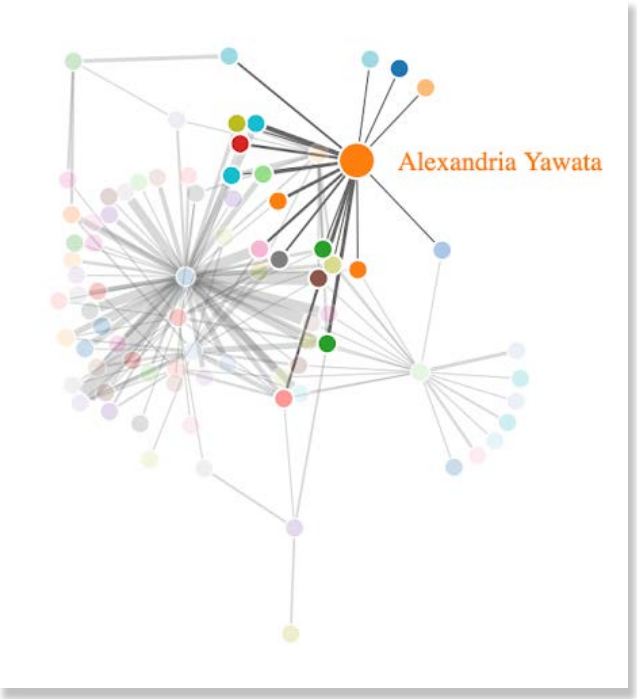


Figure 12: Informal Network Event Ties in LA Voice

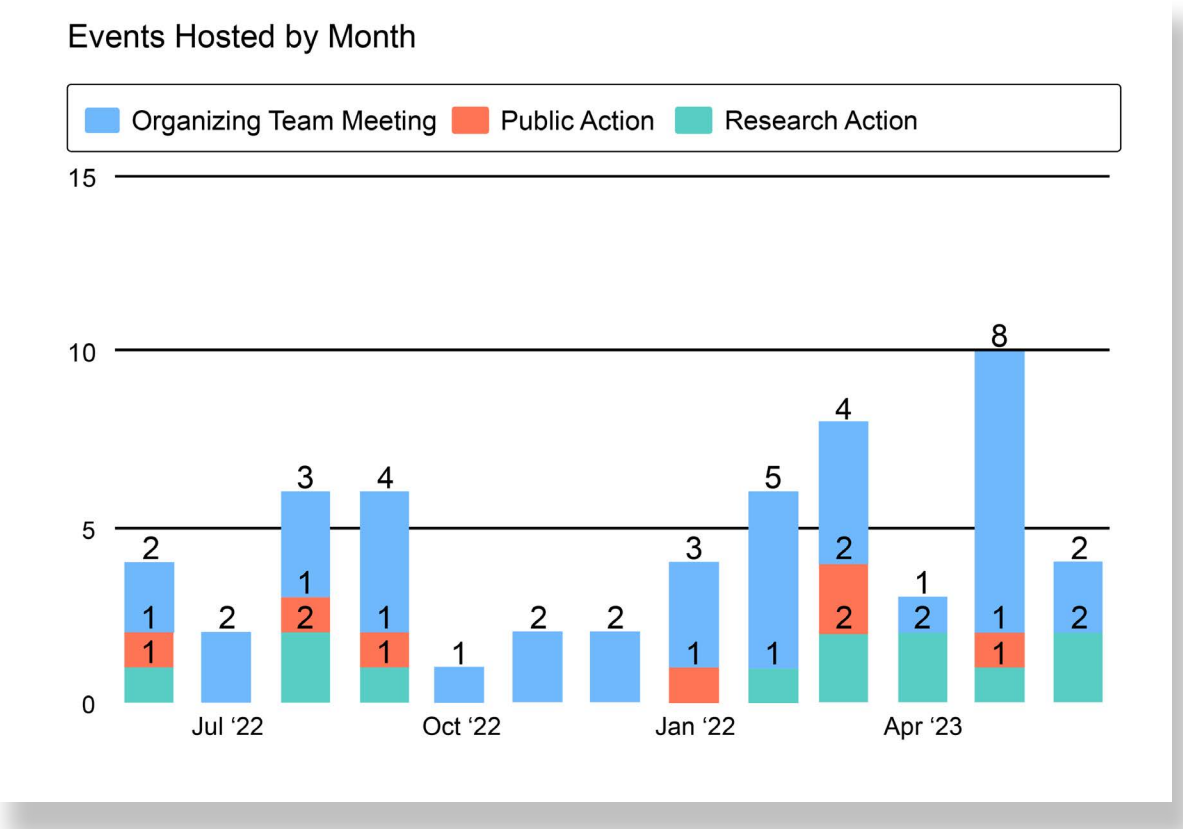


Figure 13: Dashboard Showing Faith in Action Bay Area's Redwood City Organizing Committee events, June 2022-June 2023

OrganizingTeams_2023-7-21_0957

team_name	team_type	organizer	team_leaders	leaders	members	orgainzing_meetings	resarch_actions	rm_attend	action_attend
LB Community / TJ Team	Organizing_Team	Dawn Modkins	4	6	84				
LOC - Congregation Or Ami	Organizing_Team	Jocee Hudson	2	3	7	3	4	10	2
LOC - Dolores Mission	Organizing_Team	Angel Mortel	1	5	20	12	4	18	15
LOC - IKAR	Organizing_Team	Andrea Vocos	1	3	29	1	1	9	5
LOC - Islah LA	Organizing_Team	Aliyah Shaikh		1	12			3	2
LOC - LA CORE	Organizing_Team	Angel Mortel		5	3	5		6	5
LOC - LALMA	Organizing_Team	Aliyah Shaikh	1		4			2	1
LOC - Leo Baeck Temple	Organizing_Team	Yvonne Figueroa	1		17		5	4	1
LOC - St. John The Baptist	Organizing_Team	Beatriz Sandoval	1	1	18		2	12	6
LOC - Stephen Wise Temple	Organizing_Team	Jocee Hudson		1	1			2	1
LOC - Temple Israel of Hollywood (TIOH)	Organizing_Team	Alyssa Perez	3		10		4	3	1
LOC - UUCLB	Campaign_Lead_Team	Aliyah Shaikh	2		11		3	4	5
LOC — First Baptist Church of Pasadena	Organizing_Team	Andrea Vocos	1	2	11	2		4	4
Phone Bankers - Paid	Campaign_Lead_Team	Ebani Abram	2		29				1
Power Campaign Listeners	Campaign_Lead_Team	LAV Organizers			16			8	7
Prospective - All Saints Church Los Angeles	Prospective	Aliyah Shaikh		1			3	1	1
Prospective Team - Blessed Sacrament Church	Prospective	Angel Mortel		2	3		1	2	2
Prospective Team - Chosen Generation	Prospective	Dawn Modkins			2			1	
Prospective Team - Homeboy	Prospective	Angel Mortel	2		5		2	1	1
Prospective Team - Nefesh - Tikkun Collective	Prospective	Angel Mortel	1	1	5	1	2	7	5
Prospective Team - New City Church	Prospective	Angel Mortel			6			3	4
Prospective Team - Our Lady of Guadalupe Rose Hill	Prospective	Angel Mortel		2	1			1	2

Figure 14: Team Dashboard for LA Voice

TAKEAWAYS ON MEASURING COLLECTIVE CAPACITIES

Collective capacities are the art of organizing: the craft of turning individual interests and resources into the organized culture, solidarity, strategic capacity, and structures that enable collective action over a sustained period of time. We are in the early stages of making these capacities measurable and visible, which requires mixing quantitative and qualitative methods based on the data an organization can realistically collect. The practice is easier when an organization commits to one tracking method over a long period of time to generate enough volume for analysis (for example, event feedback forms at Color of Change, and regular programmatic dashboarding at MOVE and PICO California). One way to learn more about collective capacities is for organizing groups to double down on building their learning capacity to collect and track quantitative and qualitative member experiences over time.



IMPACT AND INFLUENCE

FOR POWER TO BE REALIZED IT MUST BE EXERCISED EXTERNALLY, IN RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER POWER ACTORS, TO ACHIEVE REAL WORLD MATERIAL CHANGE WITH AND FOR CONSTITUENTS.

Movement groups need an organized and growing base and collective democratic capacities to move power in the world, but **for power to be realized it must be exercised externally, in relationship with other power actors, to achieve real world material change with and for constituents.** So how can we see and measure impact and influence?

LIMITATIONS OF CURRENT IMPACT AND INFLUENCE METRICS

In *Prisms*, Hahrie, Liz, and Michelle made visible the power impact and influence of a set of groups. Their work was groundbreaking because, before that, our movement's measures of groups' power tended to be either very tactical or very policy driven, typically measured at a single point in time. Observable wins — a historic law passed or struck down, an overhaul in the rules of the game, expanding or restricting the franchise, seismic shifts in taken-for-granted cultural frames — are *lagging indicators* of often decades-long power struggles that unfold dynamically, and well before the ultimate outcome of interest becomes apparent. The forty-year long assault on reproductive rights, the Federalist Society's conservative takeover of the judiciary, and the regressive anti-tax movement exemplify the long-term nature of truly significant power shifts initiated by the Right.[36] We currently lack the methodological tools needed to measure and make visible the shifts in influence that precede the watershed victories or losses that make the headlines.

Standard movement tactical measures of influence and impact (e.g., the volume of voters contacted or calls/faxes/emails to legislators), actually measure programmatic inputs. The unstated assumption is that volume of inputs is a stand-in for power in these contexts: the more voters an organization contacts the more impact they could have in an election, or the more contacts constituents make with their legislators the more influence they have with those legislators. However, these are very rough measures, something like using a ruler to measure the artistic value of a mural.

In the electoral arena, cyclical meta-analyses have consistently shown that scale alone does not equal electoral impact. In fact, tactics that are deeper and more relational can achieve higher impact on voter turnout with lower scale. In the legislative arena, anyone who has successfully moved legislation, not just to a vote but to a win through implementation, knows that the process is complex and relationally dynamic, based on a set of multi-directional negotiations of interests and resources, and the ability to shape public events and to react opportunistically. The number of emails sent to a legislator is only a tactical measure, not a measure of the impact a group is having on a highly dynamic legislative process.

As a movement, we need ways to see whether groups are engaged in the power to-and-fro, reacting to and generating reactions from other power actors.

As a movement, we need ways to see whether groups are engaged in the power to-and-fro, reacting to and generating reactions from other power actors. Rather than use inputs as a proxy for the outcomes we seek, we need to develop systems for visualizing the impact of electoral, legislative, and corporate campaigns, and the influence it takes to secure those wins over time.

Over the past many years we have improved as a movement in measuring the ultimate impact of the work: material changes associated with

[36] See: Amenta 2022. Ziegler and Tsai 2021.

legislative or ballot initiative wins. For example: the number of new teachers funded with a school levy; the number of underpaid workers who will see wage increases from a minimum wage hike, the number of formerly incarcerated people who will be able to get housing or jobs with a ban-the-box policy, and so on. These impact measures on real peoples' lives are critically important.

The question is how do we make visible the power influence that precedes such wins? Causal links to policy outcomes require a nuanced analysis. These types of wins are often credited to the policy shop or lobbying firm that worked on a bill because they are easily visible to legislators and the media and are quick to take credit. However, the process of winning a policy or an electoral outcome, particularly at the state or federal level, usually requires many individuals and groups working together toward the outcome, with varied agendas and capacities. The work of everyday people to craft a policy, to advance it through a ballot initiative process or a legislative fight, and to follow through to implementation is invisible when the only measure is the policy outcome. **Impact and influence measures need to make visible the contributions an organized constituency group is making in the context of a collective effort.**

A power landscape is not separated by legislative or electoral or corporate influence; all of these interests are operating all of the time, year-round.

Meanwhile, relying on policy outcomes alone as the measure of impact also means power is only visible in a context where a win is possible. In many states, movement groups are doing the hard work of breaking new ground, organizing bases, shifting narratives, registering voters, recruiting candidates for office, and organizing proactive legislation even when they do not yet have the votes to win: all the work it takes to make the legislative or electoral field ripe for a range of wins. **Measuring power impact only by policy output undervalues the long-term work done through organizing to shift the entire power landscape in which electoral and legislative fights happen.**

In the last decade alone we have seen this type of long-term strategy work in California, Georgia, Arizona, Minnesota, Michigan, and many other states where organizers have been doing sustained work over many years to reshape their power arenas long before policy wins were possible. We need methods for making this landscape-shifting influence work visible and for tracking it over time.

MEASURING INFLUENCE AND IMPACT IN DYNAMIC POWER ARENAS

When we measure power influence and impact, we are asking: Is a particular base or organization successfully shaping a power arena to make it possible to win concrete change?

Since **power is relational and dynamic**, the power an organization is building needs to be measured in terms of its capacity to move other actors in the power landscape. Actors could be political or corporate elite, elected officials, the media, other movement groups, opposition actors, donors, or a broader constituency beyond the base. Critically, a power landscape is not separated by legislative or electoral or corporate influence; all of these interests are operating all of the time, year-round.



Clearly, what happens in a legislative environment affects what happens in an electoral environment and vice versa. Just as a physician looks at the health of different systems in a patient (nervous system, cardiovascular system, etc.), we need to be able to visualize and track over time the overall power influence and impact of an organization or coalition across legislative, electoral, and corporate campaign actors in their own power landscape.

The measurement of power cannot be abstracted beyond the context in which it operates, nor systematically measured across organizations without regard to context. **Each power arena is unique.** For example, building a reformed criminal justice system in Philadelphia is different from trying to do the same in New Orleans or Minneapolis, Cleveland, Houston or Los Angeles. Each arena has a unique tax base, city-to-state relationship, political context, corporate actors, and so on.

PHOTO: LUCHA July 2023



THREE FACES OF POWER

A useful starting place for making visible the complex relational power dynamics and the capacity to navigate them to achieve impact is Steven Luke's framework for ***three faces of power*: concrete wins, setting the agenda, and shifting hegemonic worldviews.**[37]

The three faces of power are not isolated, sequential, or hierarchical. To build the capacity for ongoing power influence and impact, groups need to build the strength to operate on all three faces of power consistently. We are looking for evidence that base-building groups can achieve concrete public wins, set and move agendas with elected or corporate leadership, and shift deeper worldviews. Table 1 presents some examples of indicators for each face of power.

We are not looking to see if a group can replicate the strategies and tactics proven to work in another place. Instead, we are looking at whether an organized base can act with agency, strategically and proactively in its own dynamic power context.

[37] Lukes 2004.

FACE OF POWER	EVIDENCE OF POWER INFLUENCE & IMPACT
1st Face of Power Indicators - Concrete Wins	• Ability to regularly move scaled public collective action • Initiating a policy campaign and getting it passed through a legislative body • Stopping bad legislation from moving forward • Initiating a ballot measure and mobilizing voters to pass it • Electing to office someone aligned with an agenda • Securing administrative action from a Mayor, Governor, corporate leadership, etc.
2nd Face of Power Indicators - Setting the Agenda	• Organized bases are regularly aligning their interests with each other to act in their power arena collectively to drive multi-constituency, multiracial, multi-issue agendas • Key decision-makers meet with leaders from an organized base, respond to their pressure, and negotiate with organized bases regularly and on a range of issues • Clarity on division of labor to achieve strategic outcomes. Top leaders share an analysis of power arenas and targets and can operate interdependently and autonomously on that analysis • The recruitment or placement of aligned leadership in different roles or positions in the landscape • Formal or informal strategic formations are operating to align inside/outside/media/money strategies in a shared direction • Multi-cycle efforts to shape and shift an electorate are succeeding (and may be provoking direct or indirect opposition attacks) • Organizational resources (people and money) are directed toward shifting the power landscape for multiple wins; not pitting one constituency or issue against another • Co-governing, inside/outside approach to major structural decisions like budgets or revenue
3rd Face of Power Indicators - Shifting Hegemonic Worldview	• Widespread worldview shift over time (for example from a frame of illegal immigrant to DREAMer, or from a worldview of economic scarcity to one of abundance that has been mal-distributed) • In the media and among key decision-makers the question is not whether particular changes will happen but how • Key media, elected and corporate leaders have adopted and show evidence of operating on the values frame advanced by organized bases

The following cases demonstrate our attempts to measure power with three organizing groups in the DPI Organizing Lab who seek to create impact through the influence of their bases in their power arenas. For each case, we describe the impact the organization is aiming to create and some key actors in the respective power landscape. We provide a network map that captures three elements of dynamic power relationships: the positionality of each person/node in the power network; whether the relationships between nodes are operating primarily at the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd face of power; and how this is shifting over time. Finally, we share how this visualization of power informs the strategic choices of the base-building organization. Our intent is that this type of power metric could inform organizations and their stakeholders' external power choices in real time.



PHOTO: OOC at the White House with other Ohio leaders, September 2022

CASE 7: OHIO ORGANIZING COLLABORATIVE SHIFTING POWER IN OHIO

QUESTION:
How can we see the shifts in OOC's core power relationships over time?

METHOD:
Create a simple survey to collect for each public actor their public role, rough base size, and the nature of their relationships with other actors. Field the survey with multiple people on the list. Build a network map from the results at three points in time.

FINDING:
OOC's power arena over seven years is very stable with a set of core actors. However, it is also very dynamic, with those actors changing roles and organizations, growing bases, and shifting in the nature of their relationships to each other.

LEARNING:
The OOC's influence and relationship with an elected official like US Congressman Landsman is rooted in three interrelated power strategies: the base building work of leaders like child care provider Kathleen Tyler; the scaled relational electoral outreach of community leaders like Ebony DeLoach; and the operative-type relationships held by OOC core staff with other public actors.

In Case 1, we documented how Prentiss and Molly made a choice to re-center base building at the OOC. In the 2020 cycle, they also made some critical choices about how to shift their external power work to be more in line with their organizing. In previous cycles, they had achieved record scale in the state with their voter registration, turnout, and ballot measure work. But that was not enough to win the criminal justice reform, school funding, and other agendas at the state level for which their bases were organizing.

In the recent past the national theory for progressive wins in Ohio was largely to elect more Democrats. However, after significant Democratic Party divestment from the state following Donald Trump's win in 2016, and with Republican control in the State House and State legislature, the limits of that theory have become clear. It is not that who is elected is irrelevant to moving the OOC's agenda; clearly it matters. But a predominant emphasis on mass voter mobilization focused on candidates in the last two decades has proven deeply insufficient for countering the increasingly successful structural power moves of the right.

Case in point: Prentiss and Molly knew that the Secretary of State's office purged hundreds of thousands from the rolls in recent cycles in an undisguised power grab, including 235,000 in advance of the 2020 Presidential election.[38] They estimated by 2020 there were at least 2 million "missing voters" — eligible voters who were either missing or listed inaccurately in the voter file, a large segment of whom were Black and young voters.[39] These Ohioans were pushed to the sidelines of democratic life by direct exclusion on the right, but also by a progressive infrastructure on the left that largely ignores them outside of Get Out The Vote programs. Tactical cold voter registration alone was not going to be enough to shift the landscape when the Secretary of State was purging voters faster than the OOC could register them.

---

[38] Casey 2019.

[39] This problem is not specific to Ohio. In 2021 Jackman & Spahn found that 40% of eligible voters of color are unreachable using current voter files, compared with 20% of white eligible voters. Jackson & Spahn 2021.

Molly and Prentiss's theory of a path to power now has three parts:

- Organize deeper bases of people directly impacted by racial, social and economic exclusion along with their allies in key regions of the state. With their bases organize a proactive, hopeful issue agenda focused on clear material gains through legislative and ballot measure fights at the local and state level.

- Find innovative ways for these member leaders to more effectively engage, register and turnout to vote the two million "missing voters" through relational and institutional networks.

- Catalyze a mindset shift with key progressive actors in Ohio to reshape the infrastructure to accelerate movement on the first two priorities.

Table 2 sums up the OOC's power agenda in recent years.

FACE OF POWER	OOC OBJECTIVES
1st	• Wage local and state campaigns to deliver concrete change on child care funding, schools, policing, sentencing reform, health care and more • Engage in the state budget process to expand school funding, child care and other family-oriented policies
2nd	• Build deep alignment with other key actors with organized bases (like Ohio Education Association, local base-building groups with reach into different constituencies like Red Wine and Blue) • Expand the electorate through organizing at depth and scale the relational networks of their base, and especially young Black people • Create the conditions for a fair fight through structural democracy reforms (redistricting, automatic and same day voter registration) • Build inside-outside governing capacity at the city, state and federal levels to move their agenda through year-round grassroots legislative capacity
3rd	• Shift the mindset among Black and young people in the state about their own power and agency through organizing • Shift the mindset among political elite about the power, rights and role of Black and young people in public life • Shift the dominant political narrative from us (white) and them (Black and immigrant) to us (multiracial Ohioans) and them (the 1%) • Shift the political story from one where Ohio is treated as a red state to a longer-term view that shows Ohio to be a politically volatile state that has to maintain robust progressive infrastructure to contest for long term governing power

Table 2: OOC Power Agenda by Face of Power

The Ohio story is one that demonstrates the complexity of building and wielding power over time. OOC has at least three power vectors operating here: base building constituencies fighting for beneficial material change; scaled electoral programs to achieve a degree of accountability leverage with elected officials; and staff operative-style relationships. The challenge is to find a way to visualize and make sense of those forces in relationship to each other in a dynamic power arena, and not as separate tactical programs. This case also shows how impact (material wins secured by a base) is dependent on the power of their influence.

MAKING POWER ARENAS VISIBLE

We first wanted to find a way to make the dynamic, multidirectional relationships of a state power arena visible. To do that Liz generated a network map based on interviews and notes from our work with OOC in the past several years. She also developed a survey (in Appendix C) that she fielded with OOC directors and allies. This is a small subset of OOC's full power relationships, narrowed here to simplify for those not immersed in Ohio's story. This lens into OOC's power arena is around their child care and education interests, constituents and campaigns.

The network map in Figure 15 reflects four dimensions of Prentiss and Molly's power relationships:

Base: The size of each node reflects their relationship to a base. Are they an individual simply representing their own interests? Someone leading an organized and durable member base? Or an elected official elected by and accountable to a mass base?

Positionality: The color of the node reflects each person's official public position as leader of an organized base, elected official, operative, and so on.

Relationality: The nature of the ties between people reflects their primary power relationship at each point in time. For example, a first face of power relationship is focused primarily on live campaigns. A second face of power relationship is focused on actively shaping the power landscape to move a collective agenda across organizations. A third face of power relationship is grounded in efforts to create critical mindset shifts among political elite and/or the general public.

Time: This chart shows three moments in time to reflect how the power landscape is shifting over time.

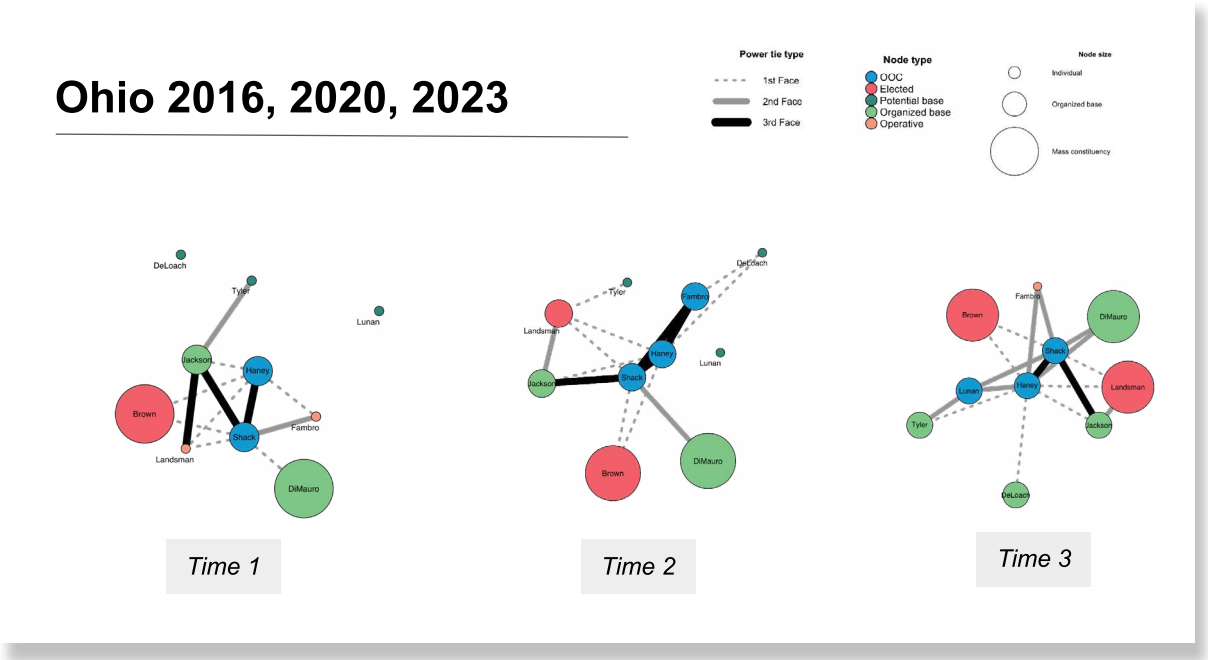


Figure 15: OOC Power Networks Map

By time 1 in 2016 Prentiss and Molly had forged first, second and third face of power relationships with each other (represented by the thick black line) as organizers in OOC. They had first face of power ties with US Senator Sherrod Brown based on recognition of OOC's years of voter engagement work and relationships with previous OOC leadership. Molly had developed a first face of power relationship with Scott DiMauro through local school campaigns when they were both local leaders in Columbus, which continued later when he became Ohio Education Association (OEA) President and she became OOC co-director. The relationship with then-activist and leader Greg Landsman was forged in Cincinnati by Rev. Troy Jackson as Director of the OOC affiliate, AMOS, which provided significant leadership on the Preschool Promise ballot measure that Landsman was moving that year.[40] During that fight Kathleen Tyler, a child care provider, became a volunteer with AMOS through her congregation. Keizayla Fambro was a staff person for Cincinnati City Council.

By 2020 Molly had deepened her relationship with OEA and Scott DiMauro through a state budget fight for school funding. Greg Landsman was elected to Cincinnati City Council, where Kathleen Tyler and others worked with him on implementation of the expanded preschool funding ballot measure win from 2016. Troy Jackson had left OOC staff, but remained connected to this power landscape as he built new bases for racial justice in evangelical congregations in the state. And in 2020 Prentiss and Molly launched their new relational voter outreach program, led by Keizayla Fambro who had come on staff at OOC. Through that program Prentiss and Keizayla formed working relationships with Ebony DeLoach, about whom we write more later.

By 2023 the power map has shifted again. Molly and Prentiss hired Tami Lunan to join OOC in 2021 to lead the building of a constituent base through child care centers. Through that work she supported Kathleen Tyler to build her own base of 20 child care providers in Cincinnati. Also note Keizayla Fambro went from OOC staff to an ally working inside the Cincinnati mayor's office. Greg Landsman went from Cincinnati City Councilor to US Congressman.

Note the dynamic nature of this map. Actors are shifting roles and relationships all the time. There is no linear increase in power, because it is not something someone can own or stash away. It is relational and dynamic; the map is always in flux, as actors in this arena change roles over time. What proves quite durable, however, are the person-to-person relational power ties initially forged through shared public campaigns.

This map reveals how local, state and federal power arenas collapse when viewed from the bottom up, or from the local out. The bases Molly and Prentiss are building in OOC, like those led by Kathleen Tyler and Ebony DeLoach, are the same people pressuring Cincinnati City Council for investment in early child care providers, pressuring state legislators for expanded school funding in the state budget, and pressuring US Congressman Landsman and US Senator Brown to secure more progress on child and family issues in Congress.

[40] Documented in Han et al. 2021.

STORY OF A LEADER: KATHLEEN TYLER



One of the greatest challenges in this memo about power metrics is making clear how base building and collective capacities are connected to an organization's ability to build and move relationships with elected officials. We are drilling down here to make that clearer through the story of two key member leaders: Kathleen Tyler and Ebony DeLoach.

In 2016 Kathleen Tyler joined AMOS's effort to secure expanded preschool funding through a citywide ballot measure. She joined as a volunteer through her congregation. After the campaign she continued to participate in the effort to implement the win by keeping pressure on Cincinnati City Council.

In 2021 when organizer Tami Lunan joined the OOC to build out a base of child care providers she met with Kathleen. Kathleen told her that while the win in 2016 was great, she did not feel she had more power to advance her interests as a child care provider. As Prentiss put it, "she was the beneficiary of a win, but not the recipient of power." She did not have a constituency vehicle that was not simply a short term campaign vehicle. Tami worked with Kathleen and other child care providers to clarify their interests. The child care sector had been decimated by COVID and shutdowns in 2020. After the American Rescue Plan Act passed at the federal level in spring 2021 the team launched a campaign to get Cincinnati City Council to invest $1 million of that money in workforce development and other provisions to rebuild a healthy child care workforce in the city. This was after Greg Landsman had been elected to City Council. They won in 2022.

Through Kathleen's relationship with Tami and experience of solidarity with other child care providers in that campaign, she decided that she wanted to do more than just participate. She wanted to organize and lead a base of child care providers in her network so that they would have their own power vehicle to drive agendas. Now in 2023, Kathleen has built a core team of 20 child care providers in Cincinnati who are taking responsibility for organizing others. In April Kathleen and some of her base met with the Director of Ohio Jobs and Family Services Department to press for better access to child care and better wages, benefits and licensing for child care providers. And in May they visited the state house to lobby their reps for stronger child care provisions and protections in the state budget.



PHOTO: OOC meets with Ohio Director of Jobs and Family Services, 2023

When Kathleen wrote an op-ed about this effort in the Cincinnati Enquirer,[41] it was not in a position as paid staff, and it was not in a position of victim vis-a-vis Governor DeWine. Kathleen wrote as the leader of a strong and growing constituent base that is clear about their agenda and the people who can deliver it. This base and those relationships are one of the core sources of OOC's constituent power for driving child care and education reforms at the local, state and federal levels.

STORY OF A LEADER: EBONY DELOACH

Another source of OOC's power is their scaled political outreach program. In past cycles that took the form of voter registration and voter contact metrics respected by elected officials and operatives in the state. For OOC, voter registration and voter turnout were not the primary objective alone, but a strategy to ripen the political environment to make the OOC issue agenda easier to win. In 2020 they wanted to focus that program even more on identifying and turning out a segment of the 2 million missing voters in their state.

After a smaller pilot project in 2018, in 2020, Prentiss and Molly built a relational voter outreach program focused on engaging Black and young people to build lists of their own friends and family to contact during the election cycle. They called these base leaders Democracy Builders. Keizayla Fambro came on staff to lead the program.

Tianyi and OOC Data Director Derrick built several analyses to help everyone involved see on a weekly basis whether they were reaching the right people and whether they were reaching them at sufficient scale. Figure 16 shows one of the main analyses, a bubble plot mapping the relational contacts by race (dot color), vote propensity (y axis), age (x axis) and whether they matched to the voter file (those who did not are in gray-scale at the bottom).

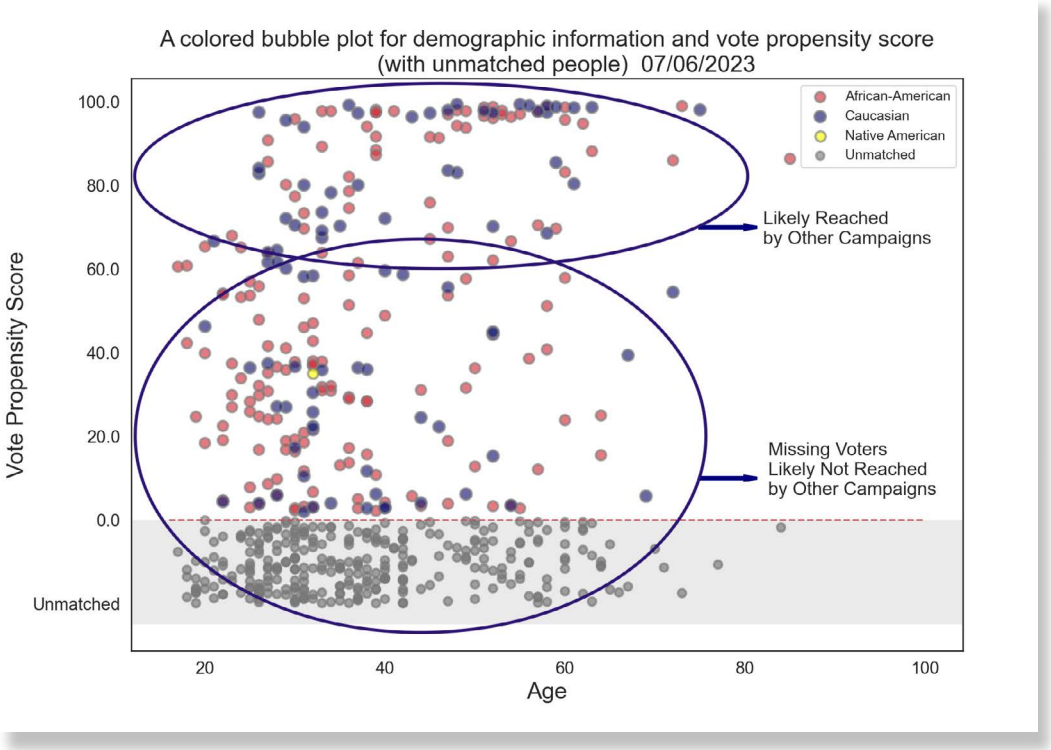


Figure 16: OOC Colored Bubble Plot Showing Race, Age, Voter Match and Vote Propensity of Contacts on Democracy Builders' lists October 21, 2020.

[41] Tyler 2023.

The results were immediately promising. They were reaching primarily young Black eligible voters, about 80% of whom were either not on the voter file with current contact information, or if they were on the file were assessed as less than 60% likely to vote in the voter file models. The relational outreach program was succeeding at finding and reaching out to current and potential voters other efforts would likely ignore. Just as importantly it was beginning to surface community leaders, or Democracy Builders, willing to engage their friends and family in public life.

In 2022 OOC decided to stop using relational apps and transition to pen and paper with QR codes to create a high-trust, low-tech experience for Democracy Builders. As a result they quintupled the scale of this program, recruiting 2,503 Democracy Builders who reached out to 63,573 unique friends and family. An evaluation of their program showed that they were successful in finding and reaching "missing voters." However, it also showed they needed to start the program earlier in future cycles to focus more on registering those voters and engaging with them more frequently.

If OOC were only concerned with the impact on voter turnout, the metrics analysis would stop there. However, they were interested to see as well how the Democracy Builders were influencing their social networks to take civic action by contacting their friends and family about the election. Mid-program Derrick generated a network map of the Democracy Builders and those they had recruited, shown in Figure 17.

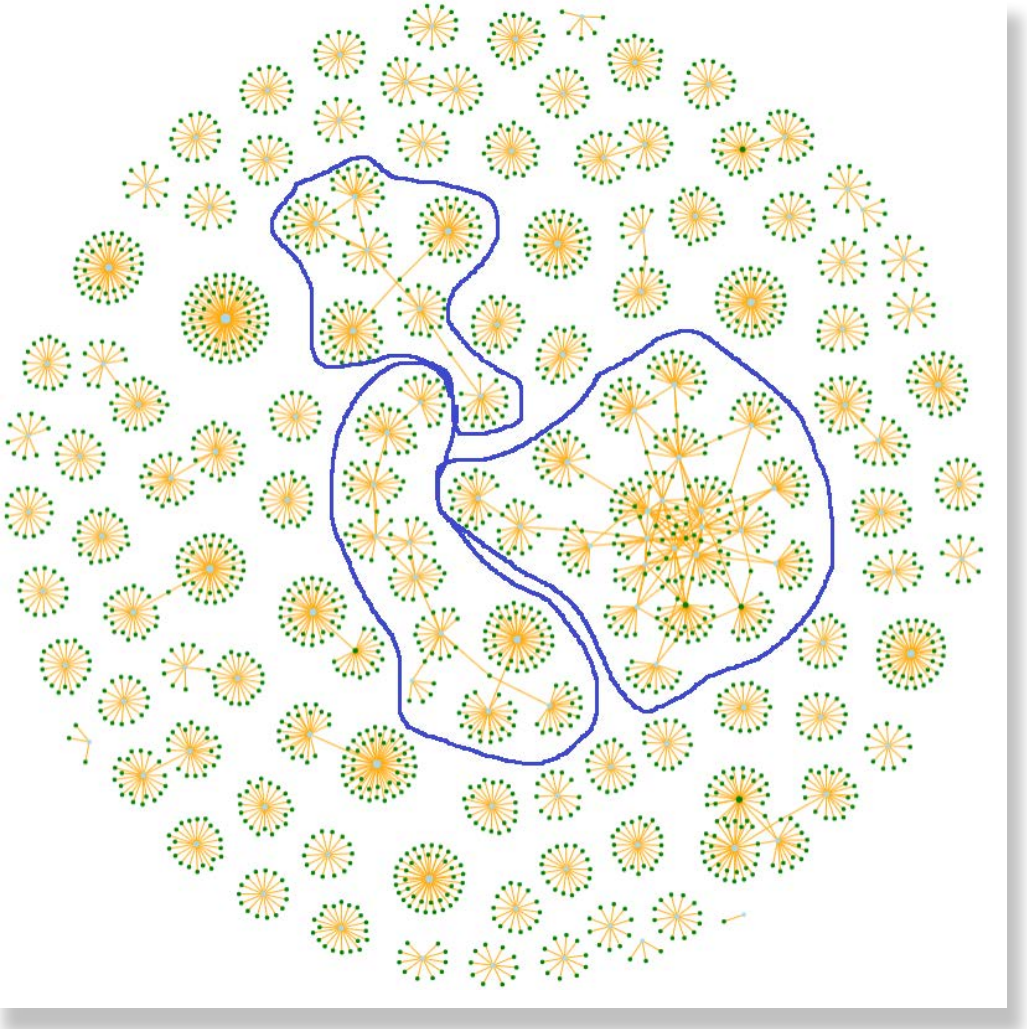


Figure 17: Network Map of OOC 2022 Democracy Builders Mid-Program. Blue lines outline the DeLoach family network.

When the team dug into the network map further, they realized that one large family, the DeLoach family, was at the heart of the Cincinnati relational networks they were reaching. Ebony DeLoach had been a Democracy Builder in 2020 and built a relationship with Prentiss and Keizayla then. But in 2022 she was on fire. Together she and her family recruited 1,295 unique friends, family and neighbors as Democracy Builders who then built and contacted lists of 24,863 people! To put this in perspective, first-time US Congressional candidate Greg Landsman won his race in Cincinnati in 2022 by 2.5% or just 7,216 votes.



So another source of OOC's power in relationship with officials like Greg Landsman and Sherrod Brown is Ebony DeLoach and her expansive base.

SOURCES OF POWER

The power map at the beginning of this case reflects the triangular dynamic of constituent-organization-elected official relationships. Kathleen and the DeLoaches do not have independent power relationships with their elected officials. Those relationships are made possible through the collective power of the OOC. Similarly Molly and Prentiss's sometimes operative-style relationships with those elected power players do not stand independently; they are rooted in the leadership and networks of Kathleen and the DeLoaches. Molly and Prentiss, Kathleen and the DeLoaches are mutually dependent on each other for the power they want to leverage publicly to advance their shared agenda.

The map also surfaces opportunities for growing OOC's power influence. It raises some strategic questions for Prentiss and Molly and all the staff and member leaders of the organization:

- Which members could be supported to build deep and broad bases as Kathleen and the DeLoach family did?
- What organizing and training programs could bring top member leaders into second and third face of power relationships with each other across cities and bases?
- In the coming year can they translate their first face of power relationships with federal officials Landsman and Brown into concrete legislative campaigns and eventually material wins?
- What could the 2nd face of power relationships look like with Keizayla at the Cincinnati Mayor's office, or with Congressman Landsman or Senator Brown if they were advancing an aligned local/state/federal agenda together with organized constituent bases in the OOC?
- What could the 3rd face of power relationships look like if those same actors were enrolled in the struggle to shift the Ohio political industry to see Black young people as a critical constituency for long term power, rather than Get Out The Vote targets?

The power network map template from this case reflects the ongoing juggling act that is building and leveraging organized bases into high-level power arenas with elected and corporate officials, media and operatives.

CASE 8:
SHIFTING POWER IN MINNESOTA ISAIAH AND FAITH IN MINNESOTA

QUESTION:
How can we make visible over time the shifts in the nature of the organization's power relationships with their bases, allies and public officials that contributed to significant legislative wins in 2023?

METHOD:
Field questionnaire in Appendix C with top leaders of the organization to build an egocentric network map. To gain an external perspective, analyze tweets of MN legislators and public use of campaign hashtags.

FINDING:
There is evidence of increased 2nd and 3rd face of power ties over time with their base and with allies and public officials. Twitter analyses showed evidence of relative influence with DFL legislators, and sustained capacity for public pressure vis-a-vis legislators over multiple years.

LEARNING:
In the last 5 years ISAIAH (c3) and Faith in Minnesota (c4) have broadened their bases while at the same time shifting the nature of their public power relationships to be more agenda-setting, infrastructure-building and ideology-shifting.

As we publish this memo, the Minnesota legislative session recently ended after passing more ground-breaking policy reform than the state has seen in 50 years. In about 100 days, Democratic majorities passed, and Governor Walz signed, legislation that substantially expands funding for schools, universities, roads, housing, transit, child care, health care and social services; expands child tax credits; provides paid family leave and paid sick leave; grants undocumented people the ability to sign up for public health insurance and get a driver license; restores the vote to incarcerated people as soon as they are released; legalizes marijuana; protects the right to abortion and other forms of reproductive and gender-affirming care; provides for 100% clean electricity by 2040; and puts in place critical democracy reforms.[42]

Those who take an elections-only approach to power would credit all of this to Minnesota's current Democratic trifecta. That is certainly one condition, but if it were the only one necessary, we would see similarly large waves of progressive policy reform in every state with a Democratic majority — yet we do not. By this same logic, the state could have seen the same level of progress in their last trifecta a decade ago — yet they did not. Democratic trifectas are not the only, or even necessarily (as in Ohio and Arizona) the primary condition for proactive change that benefits regular people in states.

Conversely, states with Republican trifectas do not automatically foreclose the possibility of progressive change — as widespread teachers' strikes in places like Oklahoma and West Virginia, and Medicaid expansion in red states like Missouri attest. In all of these cases independent organizations with multiracial bases of workers, students, women, and people of faith are behind the long-term efforts that have secured wins. Furthermore, Democratic trifectas may be helpful–but are certainly not sufficient–for promoting racial equity, as the raft of recently-passed policies in Minnesota do. With this case in Minnesota, we are interested in understanding the less visible forms of influence that base-building organizations wield as

[42] Coolican 2023. Dionne 2023.

a critical condition for creating political terrain shifts that allow for significant material change to be won.

As with Prentiss and Molly in Ohio, Doran Schrantz, Executive Director at ISAIAH, similarly had what she describes as a "dark night of the soul" a decade ago when she realized the professional apparatus on the left for communications, fundraising, and election work was taking over the heart of her democratic member-based organization. Faced with a choice about whether to drift further toward dominant nonprofit management models or change course, Doran decided to re-center organizing structurally, to programmatically double down on base-building within ISAIAH, and to build long-term relational strategic capacity with a set of other groups in the state, as Melanie Brazell documented.[43]

Table 3 summarizes ISAIAH's and Faith in Minnesota's power agenda over the last several years.

FACE OF POWER	ISAIAH AND FAITH IN MINNESOTA OBJECTIVES
1st	• Paid family leave and paid sick time • Expanded funding for schools, health care, child care and transit • Democracy reforms • Restore the vote to formerly incarcerated people • Drivers licenses and health care for undocumented immigrants • 100% clean electricity
2nd	• Build deep alignment with other key actors (like Education Minnesota, SEIU) • Build infrastructure for independent political power through robust base-driven participation in caucuses, primaries and elections • Build infrastructure for long-term strategic capacity: for example, campaign vehicles for multiple groups to advance their policy agenda collaboratively over time • Build inside-outside governing capacity at the city, state and federal levels to move their agenda. This includes year-round grassroots legislative capacity, and the capacity for ongoing inside-outside negotiation
3rd	• Race Class Narrative: Shift the dominant political narrative from us (white) and them (Black and immigrant) to us (multiracial Minnesotans) and them (those who benefit from dividing us) • Shift the narrative inside and outside the state: from "Minnesota is a white state" to "Minnesota is a multiracial state where all can thrive"

[43] Brazzell 2021.

One way of illustrating ISAIAH's power shifts since Doran led its strategic and structural pivot is shown in Figure 18. These network graphs differ from OOC's. They are egocentric (also called "personal" or "local") network visualizations, taking into account the perspective of a set of key leaders (labeled in the graphs "ISAIAH core") and their direct connections.

Having learned from our approach to diagramming OOC's changing power networks, we asked ISAIAH leadership to fill out a survey that we could turn into network data.[44] The resulting graphs show the nature of the power relationships that ISAIAH's and Faith in Minnesota's core leaders cultivated with 29 key actors in the state at three different points in time: 2018, 2020, and 2023.

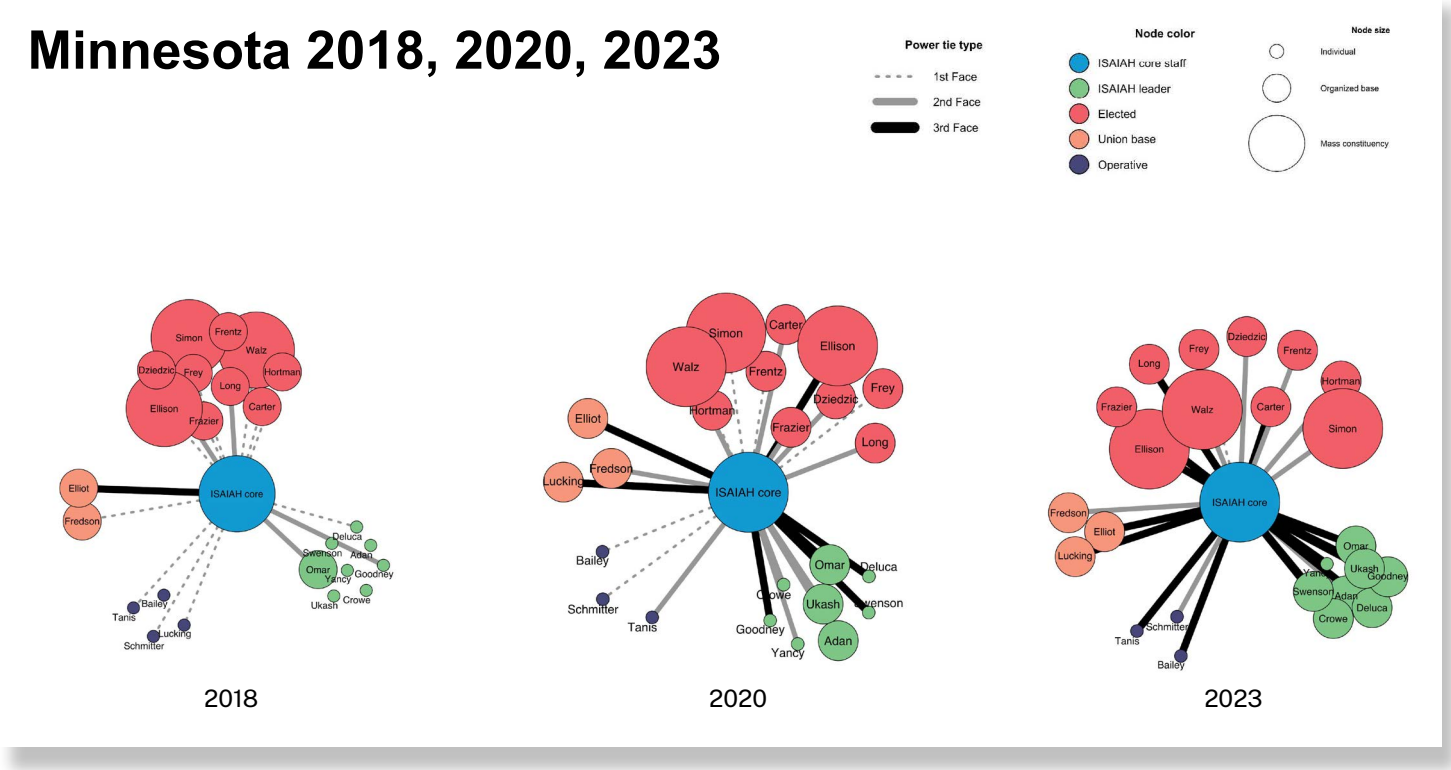


Figure 18: ISAIAH and Faith in Minnesota core power relationships over time.

[44] See Appendix C for the survey instrument we used — and which we will continue to refine — as we develop this approach with other groups.

An advantage of an egocentric network map is that it allows for in-depth analysis of key individuals' relationships longitudinally.[45] A disadvantage is that this approach does not take into account the connections that the other nodes in the network have with one another, nor connections they may have with people outside of the ego's network.[46] These kinds of analyses also depend on the people completing the survey to have realistic judgment of their own public relationships. Given the pros and cons, on balance, we have found this to be a pragmatic approach to observing the dynamism of power shifts because it is free, easy, replicable, and relational. An organization could collect and visualize this data on a monthly or quarterly basis very easily. They could also ask allies or other key actors to do the same in order to have a multi-dimensional understanding of power relationships and networks in their terrain.

Observing the three graphs, we see clearly the shifts in both quantity and quality of power ties that ISAIAH's core leaders held in the state over this five-year period, paralleling changes in the organization's power-building strategy. In 2018 we observe many more first-face-of-power ties (dotted lines). By 2023 many of those ties have transformed to become deeper, more long-term, and more strategic second- and third-face-of-power ties (thick gray or black lines). For example, ISAIAH leaders reported moving from a first-face to second-face-of-power relationship with Kris Fredson (peach-colored node), the former AFL-CIO political director and current leader at Minnesota's largest infrastructure union (LiUNA). Similarly, they went from engaging in concrete policy fights (first face) to working together to develop permanent member infrastructure (second face) with member leaders in the Muslim Coalition of ISAIAH (MCI) like Raaho Adan and Fadumo Ukash (green nodes). They also strengthened their tie with Imam and ISAIAH volunteer leader Mohamed Omar to a third-face of power tie by 2020.

At the same time, comparing the 2018 and 2020 networks, we can see how ISAIAH leaders grew their own bases. For example, we see that Adan and Ukash went from individual nodes to organized-base-sized nodes as they deepened and expanded their own leadership with ISAIAH over this same period. This pattern of ISAIAH member leaders growing their base becomes even more marked in the 2023 network, where all of the green "ISAIAH leader" nodes — Adan, Crowe, Deluca, Goodney, Omar, Swenson, Ukash, and Yancy — have expanded in size, as they too built power with their constituencies.

Finally, Figure 18 makes clear that ISAIAH organizers and member leaders are now embedded in second and even third-face-of-power relationships with political power brokers, like the governor's chief of staff, and elected officials in Minnesota. Doran regularly meets with statewide decision-makers to align their interests with those of ISAIAH's base to drive multi-issue agendas. Other top ISAIAH staff and member leaders intentionally hold similar relationships. The ongoing power relationships represented in the network graphs stand in stark contrast with the kinds of measures typically used to understand accountability relationships with politicians, which tend to rely on thinner metrics like approval ratings or incumbent turnover.[47]

The critical dynamic in these network maps is that we can see ISAIAH moving two core power strategies at the same time: 1) deepening and growing the volume and sophistication of their bases, and 2) shifting into deeper, more

---

[45] More complete networks — like OOC's (which is itself still a partial network, since it relied on data from three rather than all ten actors) — attempt to reveal the connections among all nodes. Given the many dimensions we are analyzing in these maps (base size, positionality, relationality, and time), we decided to experiment with responses from only ISAIAH core leaders — the central node — to manage the complexity of the graph. Of course, future iterations could field the survey (Appendix C) with all actors in the field for a more comprehensive — albeit more difficult to analyze and interpret — view of all relationships and interactions.

[46] The set of core ISAIAH leaders represented in this analysis are: Doran Schrantz, Abdulahi Farah, Alexa Horwart, Brian Fullman, JaNaé Bates, Vivian Ihekoronye, and Laura Johnson.

[47] See literature review in Arnold and Carnes 2012.

strategic relationships with elected officials and other power players at the same time. Many organizations will fall to one side or the other of that balance. Either they focus heavily on base building, but fail to move their bases into public arenas to drive an agenda and contest for power, or they focus heavily on staff operating in an elite power arena without any relationship to a strong and growing base. These network maps show what both ISAIAH insiders and those outside the organization recognize to be central to their effectiveness: that staff and leaders are both organizers and operators, both base-builders and power-movers at the same time.

Again, the intent here is to provide base-building organizations and their stakeholders with a measurement tool that allows them to evaluate a set of complex, dynamic power relationships on a regular basis. This is a tool that enables strategic capacity inside the organization for navigating public power arenas. It provides simple visualizations that can anchor conversations among key stakeholders in an organization about which relationships to prioritize when and why.

But what about those limits of a network map based on self-reported relational ties? To get another view on ISAIAH's relative position in their power landscape, we also used larger-scale data sets that were independent of the organization. Figure 18 shows a word cloud Tianyi developed by analyzing a corpus of text composed of all of the Twitter feeds of 98 Minnesota DFL legislators from January 1 to May 31, 2023, for a total of 16,575 tweets. This graphic shows the top 500 words used by DFL Party legislators in their tweets, in which ISAIAHMN appears 56 times — more often than words like legalize, workforce, economy or Republican, and more than other independent organizations. Clearly ISAIAH was on the radar of Minnesota DFL lawmakers, and they were publicly responding to ISAIAH's power influence.

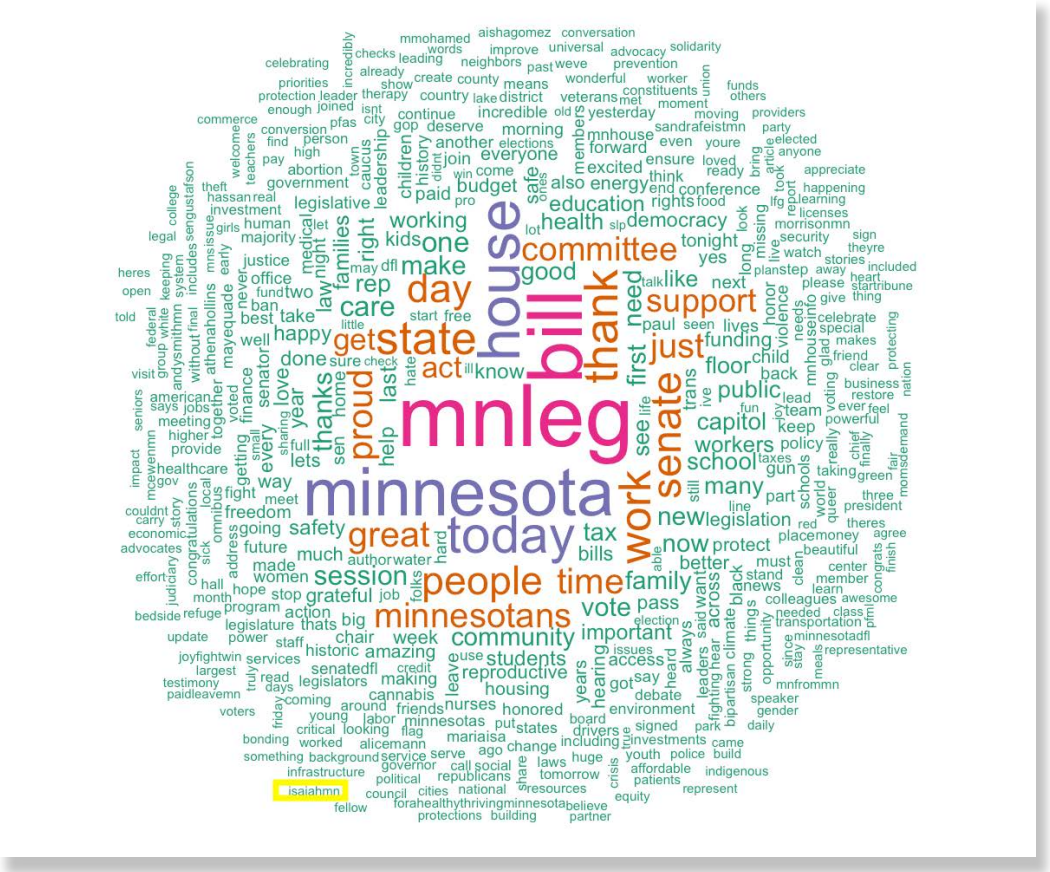


Figure 19: Top 500 words in DFL Legislators' Tweets During 2023 Legislative Session

Further analysis of hashtag use by the general public during the legislative session (Figure 20) shows the difference between an infrastructure driven by long-term organizing capacity and one driven by shorter-term mobilizing. The fight for paid family leave in Minnesota — a major program requiring new systems and significant investment from the state — and a broader agenda for care workers was organized and sustained over many years, peaking during constituent visits with their legislators in the months leading up to the vote. By contrast, the campaign to legalize marijuana in Minnesota — an issue with minimal impact on state budget and revenue — peaked only during online mobilizing pushes by organizations leading that campaign. While both policies ultimately passed in the 2023 legislative session, it is interesting to observe differences in campaigns that rely on sustained public capacity to keep a major piece of structural reform alive week to week, year over year (#PaidLeaveMN), as opposed to campaigns focused on punctuated mobilization moments (like #LegalizeMN).

We hesitate to offer this twitter analysis as an example of power influence metrics, lest organizations start orienting toward the metric rather than the underlying influence it is measuring. In this analysis, the tweets of legislators and the general public are *indicators* of relational influence, not influence in and of themselves. We are not interested in whether a group can simply act on their power arena if there are no indications that such action generates influence on or reactions from key decision-makers. We aim to continue to find new ways to document in real time the dynamic, relational, interest-based negotiations that shape a power arena over time.

In fact, one of the best indicators of influence came from Governor Tim Walz when he signed the Paid Family and Medical Leave bill.

> "As I get ready to sign this, you see the power of this, and I'm glad that we closed with the coalitions, the folks that care about working folks, and [Minnesota AFL-CIO] President Burnam. For some of you out there looking for an expose and wondering how did Minnesota get such good stuff, a protection of reproductive rights, inclusion, equity, all of those things. I'll tell you that story never strays far from Doran, and I say that because Doran read a little bit and said a sermon, but here's the big difference and something I've learned from her too, and you expect this of your leaders. You don't need us to give you sermons, but you should expect us to live one. And I have watched ISAIAH and the others attempt to live one, and that is exactly what they've done."

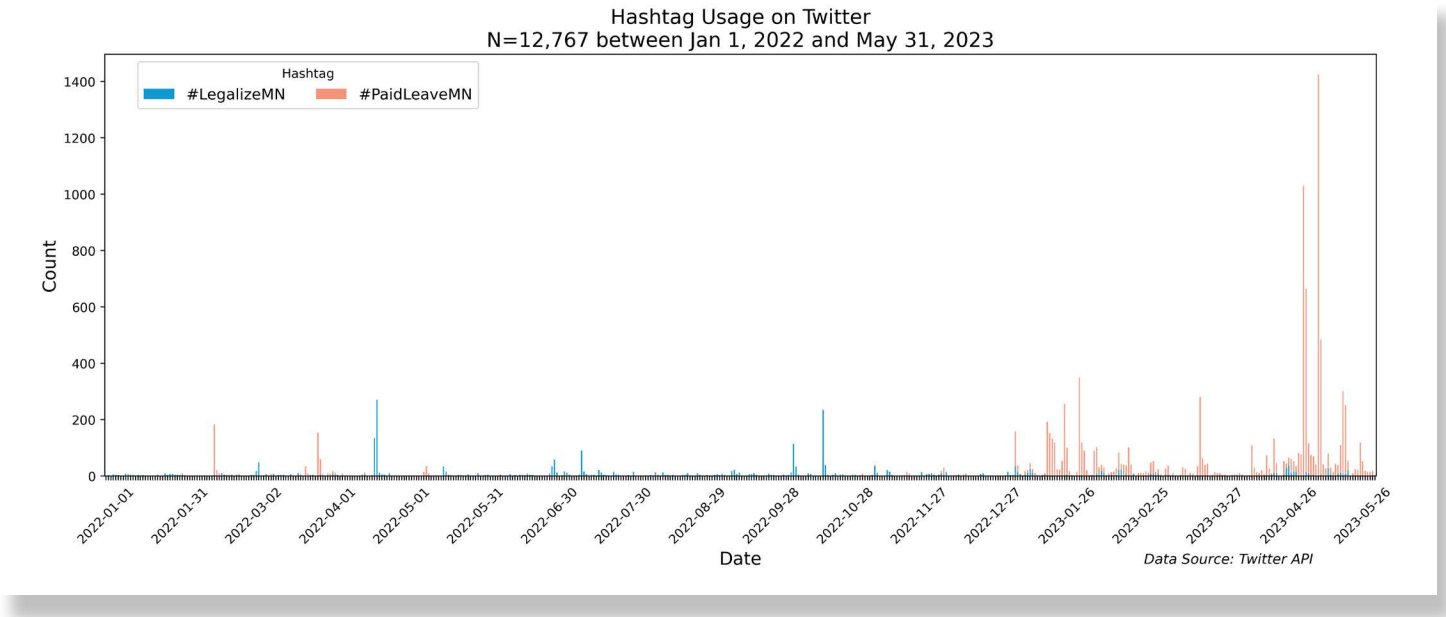


Figure 20: Comparing Paid Leave and Legalize Marijuana Hashtag Use in the General Public Legislative Session

CASE 9: SHIFTING POWER IN ARIZONA LUCHA

QUESTION:
How do the relationships between LUCHA, its allies and opponents shift over time? How can we make visible the action/reaction cycle of public life?

METHOD:
Conduct group interviews with LUCHA leaders to capture the power moves and countermoves of a set of public actors over the last decade. Rate and chart each actor on scales of support and power at three points in time.

FINDING:
LUCHA and its allies are part of a relentless first face of power action/reaction cycle with opponents, drawing on a range of strategic and tactical skillsets. There is also evidence of second-face-of-power relational clustering and aligned agenda setting on both sides of the support scale.

LEARNING:
A full mapping of power influence and impact necessitates inclusion of opponents. Visualizing a public arena over an extended period of time can make clearer the power waves moving through a landscape that go beyond individual interests or campaigns.

Just twelve years ago, the progressive movement treated Arizona as a deeply red anti-immigrant state without much hope for change. Until 2020, Arizona voted only twice for Democratic presidential candidates in over seven decades: first when Harry Truman was elected in 1948 and then in Bill Clinton's re-election campaign in 1996. Now in 2023, things look quite different. Arizona is a battleground state, progressive policies like increasing the minimum wage have passed statewide due to the work of organizing groups like LUCHA, and the new Democratic governor, Katie Hobbs, is beginning to advance policies in alignment with outside base-building groups. How can we explain this shift?

The demographics-as-destiny line of thinking would posit that increasing numbers of Latino and Black people in Arizona alone would shift the electorate. However, the math does not add up. While there was certainly an increase in Latinx, Black, Native, and AAPI people in Arizona in the last decade, it was a relatively small increase. Census data show that respondents identifying as "Hispanic or Latino" in Arizona increased by only one percentage point (from 29 to 30) between 2010 and 2020, and those identifying as Black by less than a percentage point (from 4.05 in 2010 to 4.7 in 2020). The number of Arizonans identifying as mixed-race increased by 10 percentage points between the last two censuses, from 3.42 to 13.9, but are still a relatively small proportion of the population.[48]

So how did the power of a virulent anti-immigrant right-wing regime deteriorate in the last decade? How did Arizona become more contestable, from local to statewide and national races? How do we understand the rise of a proactive network of progressive bases in the state over time? In *Prisms*, Liz, Hahrie, and Michelle documented the emerging power of an aligned set of organizing leaders, operating in organizational concert in Arizona between 2010 and 2020. In this case we seek to update the power analysis in partnership with one organization, LUCHA, and to use tools that others could use easily in their own states for their own power analyses.

[48] See America Counts 2021.

The Minnesota and Ohio cases made visible the relationship between organizations' growing leadership bases and growing influence among progressive allies and elected officials over time. But clearly none of this work happens in a vacuum. Most organized bases have organized opponents. This case with LUCHA brings the opposition into clearer view to focus more on the relative power relationships between bases and their opponents over time.

A common organizer's maxim is "The action is in the reaction." This means that the best laid plans could be for naught, depending on whether or how a target or an opponent responds. Their responses will help determine the next appropriate action, which will happen in a dynamic relational power landscape, not in a vacuum. A couple questions for students of power, then:

- Is an organized base acting proactively in their landscape in a way that generates reaction from opponents, or are they only reacting to others?

- Is an organization growing its power alongside other power players in the landscape, or are they acting in an isolated way?

Figures 21 and 22 show two continuous, but also distinct periods of power movement. In the first (Figure 21), from 2010 to 2016 we see LUCHA and its allies reacting to their opponents, but also driving proactive campaigns that help them broaden their bases, organize issue agendas (such as the minimum wage fight in 2016), and mobilize voters for increasing power. In the second period from 2016-2023, LUCHA and its allies are moving closer toward a co-governance power map. They have a proactive, multi-pronged legislative and issue agenda, their elected allies are in more powerful positions for setting agendas, and new opponents to their agenda are beginning to emerge.

When we look at these figures, we first see clusters of actors rising and falling together on the power axis over long periods of time. No one actor, even one as powerful as a governor or a U.S. Senator, has absolute power in a state terrain. Their relative power is dependent on the power of others moving with them. In this case, the initial wave of anti-immigrant actors fell in their power between 2010 and 2016, at the same time a network of allies began to grow in theirs, including LUCHA, the members of the Arizona Wins table, and labor leader Raquel Teran.[49] These aligned leaders were growing their power through a combination of resistance and proactive base building. Now, in 2023, a new cluster of potential opponents is emerging and growing in their power in-state when it comes to economic and immigrant issues, including State Treasurer Kimberly Yee and Juan Ciscomani, freshman member of Congress for the GOP.

Noticeably, these shifts did not happen all at once, or in a single direction. Table 4 captures some of the strategic moves and counter moves in Arizona that defined the last decade in that power landscape among these actors. The positive power shifts for LUCHA and its allies are not only the result of increasing voter registration and mobilization, although those have been important. Each of these moves has required proactive leadership and proficiency with a range of strategies and tactics, including sustained and organized protest, voter registration and turnout, launching and driving ballot measures, sophisticated legislative engagement, running base leaders for office (with c4 or PAC organizations), legal routes, and more.

[49] Raquel Teran was elected to the Arizona State House in 2018. She was then elected Democratic Party state chair and in 2021 was appointed to an empty seat in the Arizona State Senate, where she was elected minority leader by her party caucus. As of mid-2023, she is exploring a run for U.S. Congress, in Arizona's 3rd congressional district.

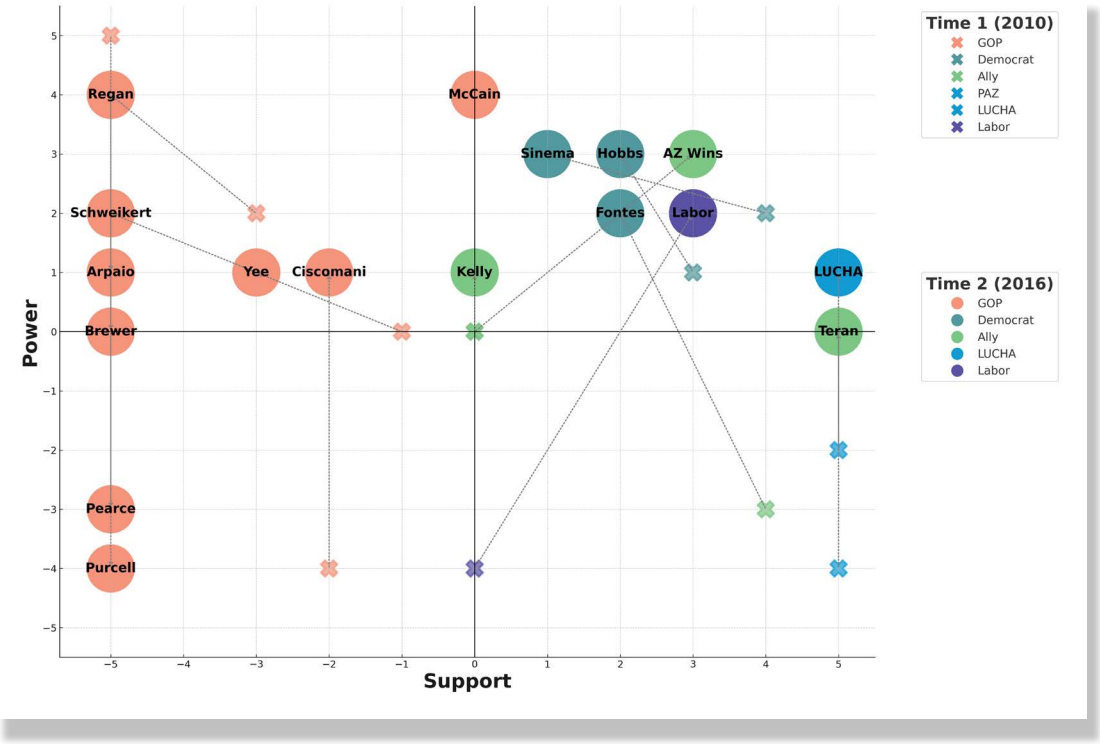


Figure 21: Evolution of Power Relationships in Arizona from LUCHA's Perspective, 2010-2016.

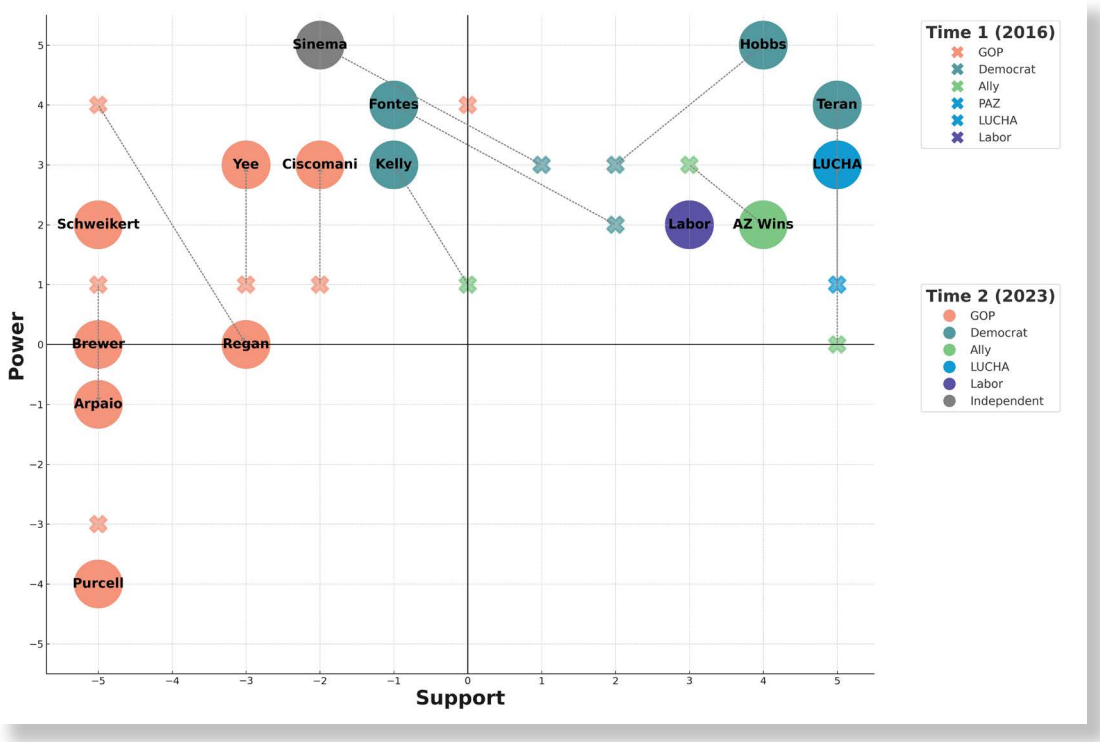


Figure 22: Evolution of Power Relationships in Arizona from LUCHA's Perspective, 2016-2023.

ACTION/REACTION CYCLE IN ARIZONA, 2010-2023

KEY: Latino bases and allies | Opposition

PRE-2010

- Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio actively over-policing immigrants in Phoenix, building a culture of fear.

2010

- Latino leaders launch a sustained prayer vigil at the capitol to protest the bill & organize their base.
- Begin voter registration drive.
- Lobby Obama DOJ for intervention.
- AZ Senate President, Russell Pearce, drives SB1070 through the legislature and Governor Brewer signs it.

2011

- Organized constituency delegations of affected families, priests and pastors, Chambers of Commerce to lobby legislators to vote no on anti-immigrant omnibus bill. The bill fails, movement leaders' first legislative victory.
- Organize recall of Russell Pearce, which succeeds. The first recall of a state Senate President in US history.
- Russell Pearce shepherds 13 anti-immigrant bills into state legislature in an omnibus package.

2012

- Movement allies Promise Arizona and CASE lead "Adios Arpaio" campaign and register 34,000 voters.
- Maricopa County Recorder Helen Purcell slows ballot counts and challenges thousands of ballots.
- Arpaio wins re-election but in his closest race to date.

2013-2014

- LUCHA and allies lay groundwork for the Fight for $15, organizing workers and LAZOS - a small business coalition.

2015

- LUCHA leaders convene sympathetic legislators.
- New state Rep Reginald Bolding joins with them, which helps begin a new phase of Black & Latino base alignment.
- AZ Legislature takes up more anti-immigrant bills.

2016

- Movement political groups again work to oust Sheriff Arpaio in Basta Arpaio campaign and win.
- Support for Adrian Fontes to challenge Helen Purcell for Maricopa County Recorder. He wins.
- LUCHA and allies move statewide minimum wage ballot measure and win.
- They also start work on democracy reform measure for future use.
- AZ legislature bans the collection and delivery of mail ballots by anyone but family, undercutting Latino community vote drives.
- Joe Arpaio and Helen Purcell lose their re-election campaigns.

2017

- LUCHA strengthens their legislative capacity to fight these bills and protect minimum wage win. Begin LUCHA lobby days.
- LUCHA launches proactive paid family leave campaign to expand the 5-day leave policy approved in the 2016 ballot measure.
- Goldwater Institute tries to limit minimum wage success by exempting young people.

2018

- Raquel Teran runs for AZ House and wins.
- LUCHA Listens campaign launches. 1700 members & their networks participate in small group meetings. Their top issues become the People First Economy agenda: paid family medical leave, temporary assistance for needy families, affordable housing, adult & childhood education investments.

2019

- Katie Hobbs leads effort for Elections Procedures Manual to systematize how elections are run in the state.
- Launch People First Economy table.
- LUCHA begins working with legislators to add amendments to bills, to negotiate around budget.
- LUCHA supports Regina Romero to be elected mayor of Tucson.

2020

- Lobbying, testimony, direct action at legislature leads to defeat of SB1070 Plus bill.
- After COVID starts, allies work with SOS Hobbs to set up accessible voter registration.
- AZ elects Mark Kelly to US Senate.
- SB1070 Plus bill - Governor Ducey sends anti-sanctuary city message.
- AZ legislature passes bills targeting ballot measure process and Permanent Early Vote List, undermining LUCHA and allies' voter engagement efforts.
- Attempts to pass further attacks on protesting and democratic rights fail.

2021

- Allies start the Undocumented Worker Relief Fund.
- LUCHA drafts individual paid family medical leave policy.

2022

- Prop 308 - instate tuition for Dreamers passes.
- Katie Hobbs elected as Governor of Arizona.
- Adrian Fontes elected as Secretary of State.
- Mark Kelly officially elected to Senate.

2023

- Defeated major democratic threats (voter ID, defeated GOP attempts to end permanent early voting list).
- Defeated Taxpayer Bill of Rights bills.
- LUCHA works with Governor's office to secure $225 million for Housing Trust Fund in budget.
- $40 million for Promise Scholarships for Dreamers.
- Katie Hobbs expands medical leave for state employees.
- R leaders pass voucher expansion in state legislature, which tees up future deficit to force Governor to make more budget concessions going forward.



PHOTO: LUCHA Registering Voters

Table 4 reflects the action/reaction cycle through which LUCHA and its allies are growing their power. They are not simply reacting to opponents. They are also going on proactive offense over and over again on local and state agendas, often losing early rounds until they win in later rounds.

Note that often LUCHA and its allies have been leading parallel strategies at the same time: 1) keeping their base proactively organized around an agenda rooted in their own interests, while 2) directly challenging their most extreme opponents through protest, legislative and electoral tactics.

This vibrant and relentless in-state power dynamic and growth of a proactive organized base is a large part of what has reshaped the Arizona political landscape in the last decade.

What the charts and the table show in this case is a mix of first, second and third face of power dynamics. The first face of power is most evident in the table where we can see a series of individual legislative, electoral, judicial and other moves where actors are publicly taking action with, on or against each other.

The second face of power–agenda-setting–is apparent where we see the clustering of a set of increasingly powerful actors with a mix of inside and outside government power driving a proactive multi-interest, multi-issue agenda in alignment. In our interviews with Alex and LUCHA leaders they emphasized repeatedly the importance of building structures for collaboration across organizations to move an aligned agenda.

The third face of power is harder to see, but it is the one that defines the spectrum of support, and that holds a set of actors in the neutral middle. For example, from 2010-2016 Sheriff Joe Arpaio and Russell Pearce had set an agenda rooted in a worldview that immigrants needed to be policed and expelled. For many, including powerful elected Democrats, that was a compelling enough worldview to hold them firmly in a neutralized power stance over many years. The building of organized progressive bases in Arizona is being led by people who have a very different worldview about who benefits from the status quo and fundamentally who belongs.

The worldview that LUCHA is proactively working to build is one where everyone belongs, where all in the state can thrive. As Alex Gomez said in one of our interviews:

> "We wanted to have a worldview that we organized our folks around. So we created a curriculum that named white supremacy, patriarchy, and capitalism as the root causes of oppression of our communities. And then a part of the solution was creating a framework around money and politics. And so the idea was like build, educate, and run our communities."

As the organization enters a new phase of proactive co-governance, Alex went on to describe how this third face of power work was dependent on second face of power relationships and negotiations with those surrounding elected officials.

> "But what it's really turned into, you know, this iteration, is co-governance is much deeper actually than an elected official. It's the people that are in there, next to the elected official that are actually moving the policy, the policy work, and now helping us with implementation."

What keeps Alex and LUCHA firmly grounded in the current work of co-governance with elected officials and their staff is the listening work LUCHA did with 1700 members of their base back in 2018. Those 1700 people were not simply polled then dismissed. They were invited into meetings at members' homes for food and conversation, to share the stories of their families and shape what became LUCHA's People First Economy agenda. Then they were invited to actually lead the campaign work necessary to advance that agenda as member volunteer leaders. The clarity of purpose this provided has allowed LUCHA over the last five years to work with allies to draft proactive policies on paid family medical leave and other issues. When they meet with Governor Hobbs and her staff, LUCHA has its own proactive agenda to move with her.

When we look at this case as a whole, it is easy to think that the Arizona landscape has evolved on a directed ten-year power plan. In fact, it has been driven by opportunistic relational alignment rooted in a set of growing bases who have grown the strategic capacity to engage in their power landscape dynamically year to year. This core group, including LUCHA and its allies, has been relentlessly organizing the interests of their constituencies and seeking to advance those interests proactively through a range of strategies with increasing power impact.

What this case captures is how important it is for organizing groups to remain proactive, even in the most difficult circumstances. Staying on offense allows them to weaken the power of opponents, organize their own base, and drive proactive issue agendas that matter to their constituency.



PHOTO: Gov. Katie Hobbs meets with community activist groups on Feb. 22, 2024.
Photo courtesy Huberto Paz, published in the Arizona Mirror.

TAKEAWAYS ON MEASURING INFLUENCE AND IMPACT

As a movement, we are at the very beginning of making visible the second and third faces of power influence that are necessary to shift whole landscapes in ways that make it easier to win on a range of issues. These last three cases–and a similar forthcoming set of cases from Liz on Georgia and Michigan–reveal the ongoing, multi-cycle work it takes to transform a dynamic power landscape over time. The timeline for influence and impact is in years, or even decades, not the months or weeks that most evaluators use to measure program progress.

Our goal here has not been to measure power as a static resource that can be aggregated unidirectionally over time. Rather, our intent is to find measurement methods that allow organizing groups, their allies and stakeholders to easily collect and visualize the qualitative and quantitative data they have, so they can more clearly see the dynamism of the power terrain around them, and inform their campaign and power-building strategies in real time. As *Prisms* documents, changes in the power maps are due to collective strategic capacity: the capacity for an organized base to act purposefully on and in an ever-shifting political landscape to advance their own interests.

While our power analysis with each group differs, they all reveal the dynamic nature of power arenas, including changes in base building, positionality, and issue support levels over time. At the center of each analysis are relationships: power relationships that are being constantly formed, advanced and tested multi-directionally all the time. **Navigating these power arenas and relationships–acting and reacting to other power players–is the fundamental work of helping a base wield their power in public.** When we talk about "measuring power," this is a large part of what organizers seek to measure and make visible.

During this relational power analysis work, we learned that there are some preconditions for visualizing a group's power, influence, and impact:

Condition 1: Is the group's base clear about what they want to win (the agenda)?

Condition 2: Can the group name and map powerful actors in the arena where things related to their agenda will be decided?

Condition 3: Is the group proactively engaging other actors in the environment to drive their agenda?

If the answer to any of these questions is no, then it is difficult to measure that group's power, influence, and impact. In fact, the group may only be reacting tactically to the power of others. For many groups, the first step indicated by this memo would be organizing listening campaigns with their constituencies to build a proactive issue agenda, to meet with and map other actors in their landscape, and to launch at least one proactive campaign.

For groups already driving proactive agendas, we (and others) need to continue to innovate new ways to make visible their power influence and impact over time, judge in real time whether their strategic and tactical interventions are having the desired impact on the power arena, and support strategic power influence work with others in their environment.

The timeline for influence and impact is in years, or even decades, not the months or weeks that most evaluators use to measure program progress.



RECOMMENDATIONS

Our intent with this memo is to accelerate the shift in our movement from metrics and evaluation that atomize individuals as consumers of politics in short-term time frames to a program of metrics and evaluations that enables collective action and power building for the long term. These are our recommendations for leaning into this transition to power metrics.



1. START WITH THE POWER QUESTIONS AND INSIGHTS OF ON-THE-GROUND ORGANIZERS.

We recommend research and metrics for power building start with the immediate hypotheses and needs of people organizing democratic participation on the ground. In the last three years we have seen that when we treat on-the-ground organizers as innovators and strategists, and when the data analysis is honed for them as the primary audience, programs improve, in-practice innovations can be seen and studied, and the organizational culture around data and metrics shifts from one of dread and fear to one of anticipation and learning. Collecting and analyzing the data listed in this memo is not useful in a vacuum and can be counterproductive. Data are only valuable if organizations interpret them to generate insights and apply them. This memo advocates for organizing groups to have their own human capacity to research, measure, and implement in line with their strategy.



2. CHOOSE RESEARCH METHODS THAT CAN HELP ANSWER ORGANIZERS' QUESTIONS.

In this three year pilot, we have used a mix of quantitative and qualitative metrics and methods, including text analysis, sentiment analysis, longitudinal quantitative analysis, network mapping, and interviews. In the last decade since Donald Green and Alan Gerber's seminal work on increasing voter turnout,[47] many researchers' methods have narrowed to include only randomized controlled trials. This method can be useful for evaluating one tactic against another using the same easy to measure variable like voter turnout. However, most situations in public life are complex, dynamic, and not at all controllable. We need to grow capacity to use research methods that are rigorous, but can also allow organizations to create and test hypotheses about their programs regularly.



3. INVEST IN ORGANIZATIONS' IN-HOUSE DATA AND LEARNING CAPACITIES.

In order for a base-building organization to collect and analyze data and make sense of it to improve program and impact, it needs staff with the expertise and orientation to facilitate this learning. Two key roles are a Data Director committed to building strong organizing data systems and, in larger organizations, a Research Director who can crystallize learning questions, help the organization test hypotheses, and anchor more rigorous research partnerships.

The feedback loop between data and organizing created through data visualization is what turns the collection of data and metrics from an accountability project into a learning project for organizers and member leaders. This requires data managers to step into leadership themselves — to set up systems for data collection and organization, to dashboard program data to equip organizing leaders to make strategic decisions, to develop analyses and make recommendations, and to share the organization's learning externally. Data managers need to be equipped for these responsibilities. It is not easy, but for long term power-building it is essential to have highly skilled analysts very close to and in service to the day-to-day organizing work on the ground.

[47] Green and Gerber 2004.



4. FOCUS, SIMPLIFY, AND AUTOMATE DATA COLLECTION

We recommend that groups commit to consistent, high-volume collection of a very small number of data points. When we started the DPI Organizing Lab, we tracked over 40 possible metrics to see which generated consistent learning across multiple groups. Our findings: collecting a few data points consistently over long periods of time generates the strongest analysis and potential for new insights about power-building work. **Again, the single most informative metric for base-building organizations turned out to be event participation.** Maintaining a simple sign-in process for every meeting or event can quickly become a large dataset that enables many visualizations and analyses of base-building and collective capacities.

Organizations tracking event data points like those in Appendix B can see their base growing or contracting, they can map active and inactive members for targeted re-engagement, they can coach organizers on where best to focus their time, they can tell which programs deepen or diminish their bases, they can start to see the building of collective capacities, and much more.

All of this data can be collected systematically regardless of event type or platform with a standardized data-tracking form. In Google, Zoom and other online tools, much of this data collection can be automated to remove the burden of manual data entry.



5. BUILD A CULTURE OF REAL-TIME INNOVATION, ANALYSIS AND LEARNING

Once a group is collecting power-building data it needs to lean into establishing a culture of looking at and making sense of the data on a daily or weekly basis. The Executive Director, Organizing Director, and core funders must commit together to reward innovation and experimentation — and by necessity failure and risk — to establish a culture that surfaces new and better ways to build bases and move power.

There are ways both small and large to build a culture of research and experimentation. For example, Organizing Directors can integrate into regular staff and member meetings the opportunity to look at and learn from the data their team has collected in the past week. Some of our greatest learning in the last two years has come from Organizing Directors and Data Directors looking together at analyses of their data and asking questions like: “what happened there?” and “Why this and not that?” or “What do you think would happen if we tried this instead?” Creating an experimental culture where organizers, member leaders and the whole team can ask questions, test hypotheses and innovate together over time requires leadership and intentionality. It will be a mindset shift for some executive directors, organizing directors, and funders to move from a focus on metrics-based accountability to a learning culture around innovation for impact.

Additional Point: Do not reinvent the wheel with new tools-use what is tried and tested.

Our movement has often sought technical solutions to problems that require human leadership. Measuring and tracking base-building efforts is one example. Over the last two years, we found that groups are able to collect high volume data sets if they use the tried and tested tools already available, often for free or at low cost. These include Zoom, the Google suite (calendar, forms, spreadsheets) — if standardized across an organization by a data manager, and CRMs like Action Network or Mobilize. For analysis, these tools need to be synced back to a database of record, but this is possible if the organization limits the data fields and systemetizes them across tools. This can be done by a data staffer or shared data tech table. **We recommend shifting away from high volume investment in new — often unproven — tools and toward human learning and data leadership using well-established and well-supported tools.**

TABLE 5: SUMMARY OF METRICS USED IN THIS MEMO

CASE	PURPOSE	METRIC
MEASURING BASE BUILDING		
Case 1: OOC	Coach organizers on identifying and developing member leaders	One to ones and relational meetings
Case 2: Color of Change	Identify current and prospective squad leaders and members in distinct geographies	Cumulative member commitments demonstrated through action, by geography
MEASURING COLLECTIVE CAPACITIES		
Case 3: ISAIAH	Clarify what flow of events maximizes long-term member commitment and leadership	First five event types of people who are now top member leaders
Case 4: Color of Change	Understand which event types generate positive feelings of solidarity and trust among members	Sentiment analysis of member event evaluations
Case 5: MOVE	Enable strategic capacity of staff and member leaders in a programmatic canvass pilot	Movement (persuasion) and complete conversations over time for two constituencies
Case 6: PICO California	Identify leaders of informal networks. Evaluate strength of formal member structures over time.	Co-attendance at events (informal networks). Team leadership, meeting type and action over time (formal networks)
MEASURING IMPACT AND INFLUENCE		
Case 7: OOC	Visualize the relationship between their base and other actors in their power arena over time to enable strategy	Relationship type, position type and relative size of base over time
Case 8: ISAIAH		Type of relationships (1st/2nd/3rd face of power) and relative size of bases over time
Case 9: LUCHA		Support & power levels of public actors relative to base's agenda, over time

CONCLUSION

Individual participation in voting and public demonstration is higher than ever in the US in recent years, but it has coincided with democratic backsliding. Simply mobilizing individuals is insufficient to meet the challenges of our time. We must strengthen the practice of growing strong organizational containers that turn individual leadership and resources into the collective capacities necessary to shift power arenas and win change. This is what power building looks like for regular people in a multiracial democracy.

The intention behind the DPI Organizing Lab is to document and improve how we build collective democratic power, which requires making the work behind the results visible. The relational and capacity-building work to build the power that undergirds a policy or electoral outcome is often done quietly, and too slowly to be interesting to the media or many donors. But when we make the work visible with metrics, we can then talk about it across space and time, share strategies and techniques, fund it, and — crucially — improve it.

The organizers and researchers advancing these new metrics are just at the start of the process of re-setting the table to focus on building power rather than simply mobilizing people. We could not capture every finding, every failing, every organization of our work in this limited memo. There is much more to study in all aspects of power metrics. As more organizing groups increase their capacity for power measurement and exploration, and there is more investment in strategic capacity, we are confident that we will together make great strides on building the power necessary to win the issues that matter most to our communities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project has benefited significantly from the curiosity and talent of our senior data analysts, Miriam McKinney Gray and Tianyi Hu, and from the data and research directors in the DPI Organizing Lab: Adolfo Solorio (LUCHA); Alan Nichols (Voces de la Frontera); Alejandro Navarette (Detroit Action); Amity Foster & Liam McMahon (ISAIAH); Derrick Smith (OOC); Donique Sinclair & Michael Ingram (Florida Rising); Dynisha Hugle (Power Coalition); Friday Guilbert & Ranada Robinson (New Georgia Project); Kaelyn Seymour and Jimmy Lappe (MOVE); Junji Shang, Jamie Harris and Mahelet Fekade (Color of Change); Lisa Thorton (PICO California); and Sargeant Donovan Smith (We the People Michigan).

We are also grateful to all those who took time to read drafts of this memo, offered recommendations, and asked hard questions: Julie Fernandes, Ethan Frey, Hahrie Han, Marshall Ganz, Doran Schrantz, Miya Woolfalk, Marisha Kirtane, Prentiss Haney, Molly Shack, Alex Gomez, Chris Gilfillan, Regina Schwartz, and Jane Booth-Tobin. Tanaya Srini helped launch this writing project, Anna Glass provided top-notch editing, and Mohammed Memfis brought us home. Ruby Western turned a black and white Google document into the beautiful memo in front of you.

As children's author Mo Willems would remind us, we are thankful to you, our readers. We are very early in the process of developing new, more robust ways of measuring progress over time in democratic power building. We trust that your own work and iterations on these themes will advance this line of study even further.

WORKS CITED

Ahlquist, J., & Levi, M. (2013). *In the Interest of Others: Organizations and Social Activism.* Princeton University Press. https://press.princeton.edu/books/hardcover/9780691158563/in-the-interest-of-others

Alexander, J. (2022, March 16). *Citizens not Consumers or Subjects | Othering & Belonging Institute.* Othering & Belonging Institute - Berkeley. https://belonging.berkeley.edu/democracy-belonging-forum/papers/citizens-not-consumers

Amenta, E. (2008). When Movements Matter: The Townsend Plan and the Rise of Social Security. https://press.princeton.edu/books/paperback/9780691138268/when-movements-matter
—2022. "Why U.S. Conservative Movements are Winning: It's Not Trump—It's the Institutions." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly 27*(1):27–45. doi: 10.17813/1086-671X-27-1-27

America Counts (August 2021). "Arizona Population More Than 7 Million in 2020, Up 11.9% Since 2010." *United States Census Bureau.* https://www.census.gov/library/stories/state-by-state/arizona-population-change-between-census-decade.html

Ammerman, A., Smith, T. W., & Calancie, L. (2014). Practice-based evidence in public health: Improving reach, relevance, and results. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 35, 47–63. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-publhealth-032013-182458

Arnold, D. and N. Carnes. (2012). "Holding Mayors Accountable: New York's Executives from Koch to Bloomberg." American Journal of Political Science. Vol. 56(4) 949-963. https://people.duke.edu/~nwc8/arnold_carnes_holding_mayors_accountable.pdf

Axelrod, T. (2020, October 23). *Republicans surpass 150 million voter contacts.* The Hill. https://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/522399-republicans-surpass-150-million-voter-contacts/

Black, J. S., & Gregersen, H. B. (1997). Participative decision-making: An integration of multiple dimensions. *Human Relations,* 50, 859–878. https://doi.org/10.1177/001872679705000705

Blanc, E., & Gerami, P. (2019, July 28). *The Left Needs a Statewide Strategy*. Jacobin. https://jacobin.com/2019/07/statewide-strategy-socialists-dsa

Boese, V. A., Lundstedt, M., Morrison, K., Sato, Y., & Lindberg, S. I. (2022). State of the world 2021: Autocratization changing its nature? *Democratization*, 29(6), 983–1013. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2022.2069751

Booth-Tobin, J., Munis, J., Smithson-Stanley, L., & Han, H. (2021a). *Strategic Capacity*. Johns Hopkins University. https://www.p3researchlab.org/strategic_capacity_blog

Booth-Tobin, J., Munis, K., Smithson-Stanley, L., & Han, H. (2021b). *Understanding Strategic Capacity in Constituency-Based Organizations*. The P3 Lab, Johns Hopkins University. https://climateadvocacylab.org/resource/understanding-strategic-capacity-constituency-based-organizations

Booth-Tobin, J., Munis, K., Smithson-Stanley, L., & Han, H. (2021c). *Assessing Your Organization's Strategic Capacity.* The P3 Lab, Johns Hopkins University. https://drive.google.com/file/d/14AodzQXv9aRY5C5E6h-0Cx5-uS1zQ1m8F/view

Brazzell, Melanie. (2021). *Building Structure Shapes: What Structure Reveals about Strategy from Six Movement Organizations in Transition*. Realizing Democracy Project and P3 Lab at Johns Hopkins University. https://www.p3researchlab.org/building_structure_shapes

Buchanan, L., Bui, Q., & Patel, J. K. (2020, July 3). Black Lives Matter May Be the Largest Movement in U.S. History. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/03/us/george-floyd-protests-crowd-size.html

Casey, N. (2019, October 14). Ohio Was Set to Purge 235,000 Voters. It Was Wrong About 20%. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/us/politics/ohio-voter-purge.html

Chenoweth, E., & Marks, Z. (2022, February 8). Revenge of the Patriarchs. *Foreign Affairs, March/April 2022*. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2022-02-08/women-rights-revenge-patriarchs

Chenoweth, E., & Pressman, J. (2021, December 7). This is what we learned by counting the women's marches. *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/07/this-is-what-we-learned-by-counting-the-womens-marches/

Color of Change (2018, November 5). Empowering Black Joy: The 2018 Color of Change PAC Story, *Voting While Black*. https://votingwhileblack.com/2018-coc-pac-thank-you-email/

Coolican, J.P. (2023, May 23). Democrats Made a Big Bet on Themselves, *Minnesota Reformer.* https://minnesotareformer.com/2023/05/23/democrats-made-a-big-bet-on-themselves/

Democracy & Power Innovation Fund (July 29, 2022). Black Narrative Research One Pager. https://community.dpifund.org/files/nz2sy8r13f4g3baxkbknxp8m7elj

Desilver, D. (2021, January 28). *Turnout soared in 2020 as nearly two-thirds of eligible U.S. voters cast ballots for president*. Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2021/01/28/turnout-soared-in-2020-as-nearly-two-thirds-of-eligible-u-s-voters-cast-ballots-for-president/

De Toqueville, A. (1835, 1840). *Democracy in America: Volumes 1 and 2.*

Dionne, EJ. (2023, June 4). The 'Minnesota Miracle' Should Serve as a Model for Democrats, *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2023/06/04/democratic-party-minnesota-legislature-progressives/

Freeman, J. (1972). The Tyranny of Structurelessness, *The Second Wave*, 2(1), 20-33.

Ganz, M. (2000). Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(4), 1003–1062.

Ganz, M. (2009). *Why David Sometimes Wins: Leadership, Organization, and Strategy in the California Farm Worker Movement*. Oxford University Press.

Ganz, M. (1994, January 1). Voters in the Crosshairs. *The American Prospect*. https://prospect.org/power/voters-crosshairs/

Ganz, M., & Lin, E. (2011). Learning to Lead: Pedagogy of Practice. In *The Handbook for Teaching Leadership: Knowing, Doing, and Being* (pp. 353–366). SAGE. https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Learning-to-Lead%3A-Pedagogy-of-Practice-Ganz-Lin/44a4b3db1ef67f36f1b4083d8b004a74a01ad30f

Green, D & Gerber A. (2004). *Get Out The Vote! How to Increase Voter Turnout.* Brookings Institution Press.

Grumbach, J. M. (2022). Laboratories of Democratic Backsliding. *American Political Science Review*, 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055422000934

Han, H. (2016). The Organizational Roots of Political Activism: Field Experiments on Creating a Relational Context. *American Political Science Review,* 110(2), 296–307. https://doi.org/10.1017/S000305541600006X

Han, H. (2021). An Approach to Understanding and Measuring People Power. Democracy & Power Innovation Fund. https://community.dpifund.org/files/h7kvuzom9dwcr2g647kggsyb9usm

Han, H., McKenna, E., & Oyakawa, M. (2021). *Prisms of the People: Power & Organizing in Twenty-First-Century America*. University of Chicago Press. https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/P/bo68659118.html

Jackman, S., & Spahn, B. (2021). Politically Invisible in America. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 54(4), 623–629. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096521000639

Kalchik, C. (2023). Surveying the Landscape of Data Integration for State and Local Organizing Groups. Democracy & Power Innovation Fund. https://community.dpifund.org/files/88orff6xtjrt0sadhp4fxm20kejz

Karpf, D. (2012). *The MoveOn Effect: The Unexpected Transformation of American Political Advocacy.* Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199898367.001.0001

Liss, J., & Thigpenn, A. (2019, October 17). *The Left Needs a United Front in Every State.* Convergence. https://convergencemag.com/articles/the-left-needs-a-united-front-in-every-state/

Lührmann, A., & Lindberg, S. I. (2019). A third wave of autocratization is here: What is new about it? *Democratization*, 26(7), 1095–1113. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2019.1582029

Lukes, S. (2004). *Power: A Radical View*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Mackay, D., & Zundel, M. (2017). Recovering the Divide: A Review of Strategy and Tactics in Business and Management. *International Journal of Management Reviews* 19(2):175–94. doi: 10.1111/ijmr.12091

Maerz, S. F., Lührmann, A., Hellmeier, S., Grahn, S., & Lindberg, S. I. (2020). State of the world 2019: Autocratization surges – resistance grows. *Democratization*, 27(6), 909–927. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2020.1758670

Martin, R. (2015, April 27). *Strategy Is About Both Resources and Positioning*. Harvard Business Review.

McAdam, D. (1986). Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer. *American Journal of Sociology*, 92(1), 64–90. https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/228463

McAlevey, J. (2016). *No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age*, Oxford University Press.

Muller, J. (2018). *The Tyranny of Metrics*. Princeton University Press.

Potts, M. (2022, November 15). *Turnout Was High Again. Is This The New Normal?* FiveThirtyEight. https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/turnout-was-high-again-is-this-the-new-normal/

Progressive Turnout Project. (n.d.). *Interactive Impact Report*. Retrieved May 22, 2023, from https://impact.turnoutpac.org

Prokop, A. (2022, January 25). *American democracy is under threat. But what is that threat, exactly?* Vox. https://www.vox.com/22798975/democracy-threats-peril-trump-voting-rights

Schlozman, K. L., Verba, S., & Brady, H. E. (2012). *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy.* Princeton University Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7sn9z

Schrantz, D., Oyakawa, M. & McKenna, L. (2020, Winter). *People Power*. Stanford Social Innovation Review https://ssir.org/articles/entry/building_political_bases_to_make_multiracial_democracy_work

Sheingate, A. (2016). Building a Business of Politics: The Rise of the Political Consulting Industry and the Transformation of American Democracy. Oxford University Press.

Sifrey, M. (2021, May 25) "Big Flashy Numbers That Impress Funders," *The Connector* Substack. https://theconnector.substack.com/p/big-flashy-numbers-that-impress-funders?s=r

Slipowitz, A., & Repucci, S. (2022). *The Global Expansion of Authoritarian Rule*. Freedom House. https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2022/global-expansion-authoritarian-rule

Speer, P. W., & Han, H. (2018). Re-Engaging Social Relationships and Collective Dimensions of Organizing to Revive Democratic Practice. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 6(2), Article 2. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v6i2.929

Swisher, A. K. (2010). Practice-Based Evidence. *Cardiopulmonary Physical Therapy Journal*, 21(2), 4. https://journals.lww.com/cptj/Citation/2010/21020/Editorial__Practice_Based_Evidence.1.aspx

Tyler, K. (2023, May 1). *DeWine Must Allocate More Funding for Child Care*. The Cincinnati Enquirer. https://www.cincinnati.com/story/opinion/contributors/2023/05/01/opinion-dewine-must-allocate-more-funding-for-child-care/70153360007/

Vincent, J. (2023). *Beyond Measure: The Hidden History of Measurement from Cubits to Quantum Constants*. W. W. Norton.

Voss, K., & Williams, M. (2012). The local in the global: Rethinking social movements in the new millennium. *Democratization*, 19(2), 352–377. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2011.605994

Waldner, D., & Lust, E. (2018). Unwelcome Change: Coming to Terms with Democratic Backsliding. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 21(1), 93–113. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050517-114628

We Make the Future (2021). The Race Class Narrative. https://www.wemakethefuture.us/history-of-the-race-class-narrative

Ziegler, Mary and Robert Tsai. 2021. "How the Anti-Abortion Movement Used the Progressive Playbook to Chip Away at Roe v. Wade." *Politico*. https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/06/13/anti-abortion-progressive-roe-v-wade-supreme-court-492506

APPENDIX A

CONVERSATION GUIDE FOR ORGANIZERS, RESEARCHERS AND DONORS

Note: We recommend starting with the first set of questions here. It is more important to get started than to try to do everything. As a point of reference, it has taken us three years to start to get answers to the questions below. None of the organizations we work with have answered all of them. If you are starting at the beginning, we recommend starting with consistently collecting event participation data for the first 1-2 years to create a baseline and see what you can learn about the programs you are already running. Then you can choose another 1-2 questions to dig into to advance your learning over time.

OVERALL

- Do you share the theory that our democracy is stronger if regular people have robust organizations through which to advance their collective agenda in the democratic process?
- What are you trying to learn right now about building and wielding the power of an organized constituent base?
- What simple data are you/could you be collecting that would help you see traction on that question over time?
- Who could help you analyze that data?

BASE-BUILDING

- What do you know about who the people in your base are? What do you know about what at the most basic level they're doing? What do you want to know or explore?
- How are you currently trying to deepen the leadership and commitment of your current base? Which of your programs are most effectively doing that?
- How are you currently trying to expand your constituent base? In what ways (demographic, geographic, etc)? Why? How will you track that expansion over time?

COLLECTIVE CAPACITIES

- Which of your programs are most effectively generating solidarity within and across bases in your organization? How are you "measuring" or tracking the evidence of solidarity?
- Is there evidence that you are growing the strategic capacity of your member leadership base? Are more people engaging in crafting strategy at the appropriate levels? How are you using data and feedback loops to strengthen that capacity?
- What structures are you establishing to enable collective action? How are you testing those structures and what are you learning from those structure tests?

INFLUENCE AND IMPACT

- What specific material changes (impacts) are you trying to win with your constituency? What changes will your constituents experience in their lives (how will you know you have won)? (first face of power)
- What does the map of your power arena look like? Who is on the map? How are you trying to reshape that map to make more wins possible? How will you make visible your base's influence on those people? (second face of power)
- What ideological or narrative shifts are you trying to make through your organizing? How can you make that visible and measure it? (third face of power)

DATA COLLECTION

- We learned that the single most important data set in an organization for learning purposes was an event participation data set. What data systems do you have or want to have in place to follow basic event participation inside your organization?
- What top one to two indicators are the very most important to tell if your program is building and wielding the power of a base? These are the ones you should dashboard for real-time in-program learning.

APPENDIX B

BASIC EVENT DATA POINTS FOR REGULAR TRACKING

In the first year of the Organizing Lab we tracked over 40 possible metrics. We found that for the most part the more metrics groups tracked the less they knew! Through dozens of analyses we found the most important metrics to track are those for event participation.

Tracking a few very basic data points for every member at every event can produce a robust data set over time that makes possible many different types of power-oriented analyses.

These are the core event data points we would recommend every base building organizing group track.

EVENT TYPE

- [ ] Date
- [ ] Team/Squad
- [ ] Type (Keep the list simple - one to one, training, strategy meeting, research meeting, direct action, voter contact)

PARTICIPANTS

- [ ] First name
- [ ] Last name
- [ ] Cell phone
- [ ] Email
- [ ] Street address or zip code
- [ ] Race
- [ ] Age
- [ ] Gender or Pronouns
- [ ] Who invited you?

OPTIONAL

- [ ] Social media handles
- [ ] Institution (congregation, school, workplace)
- [ ] Role played at event

APPENDIX C

THREE FACES OF POWER MAPPING SURVEY (PILOTED WITH ISAIAH AND THE OOC)

Please reflect on the nature your relationship with each person listed below *[at three points in time: select appropriate dates and list of actors for your case].*

Specifically, we want to understand how you would characterize the nature of your power relationship with these actors on the following scale:

0 = No (power) relationship. A score of zero indicates no power relationship. You may not know this person; or you may know them but not in the context of building or contesting political power (i.e. this could just be an acquaintance you knew or know socially or professionally).

1 = First face of power. A 'first face of power' (1FP) relationship is one in which you engage with this person around concrete policy or legislative battles (including stopping legislation that harms your constituency), ballot measures, electing an ally to office, or securing administrative action from a decision-maker.

2 = Second face of power. A 'second face of power' (2FP) relationship is one in which you and the person named work together to set a political agenda. In 2FP relationships, organized bases are regularly aligning their interests with each other to drive multi-issue agendas. Indicators include key decision-makers regularly meeting with leaders of a base, holding formal or informal strategy sessions to align inside/outside/media/money resources in a shared direction, and co-governance around major structural decisions like budgets or revenue fights.

3 = Third face of power. A 'third face of power' (3FP) relationship is one in which you consider the person named a co-conspirator in shifting widespread worldviews, for example recasting 'illegal immigrants' as DREAMers, or moving from a worldview of economic scarcity to a frame of abundance that has been mal-distributed. You both operate and make decisions from a shared value frame that has been developed and cultivated alongside an organized constituency base.



DEMOCRACY & POWER
INNOVATION FUND

dpifund.org