Measuring People Power

Research Report on Results from an International Survey

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What we know: Observations on the state of the field and existing research on measuring people power

This project is needed

Across the research and social change sectors, our conversations with stakeholders made clear that there is a pressing need to prove the value of people power and make a real case for investing in non-financial engagements and campaigning. Decision-makers and budget holders globally are recognising the need for new ways of thinking about power, but express concern that people-powered campaigning cannibalises fundraising and resource generation. We must make clear the relationship between people power, engagement, and an organisation's ability to raise money. For many organisations, the "so what" question to investing in engagement is answered by fundraising.

This project should uncover what new metrics exist, and/or provide the basis for organisations and changemakers to create their own. This is supported by the 18% of respondents to our survey who professed a lack of knowledge of any promising approaches to measuring people power:

- *"We are not there yet. We do have a Salesforce database for volunteers but beyond that we are still figuring it out."* –Respondent in a volunteer engagement role with Greenpeace in South Asia
- *"Not sure, there have been some interesting research done on the impact of digital peer support that look interesting but that need more work."* –Respondent in a senior management role at a global health NGO with 25,000–500,000 people on their lists
- *"I'm really confused about how we should be measuring power."* –Respondent working in campaigns/programme for a North American environmental NGO with 25,000–500,000 people on their lists

Existing measurement is often inadequate. "Power" is often poorly defined and poorly-theorized, even among change makers (the fact that political scientists can't agree on a definition doesn't help). Too often, in our thinking and in our measurement, we mistake power for resources (money, fame, or vanity metrics such as list size). We need to push a conversation about measuring people power where power is understood as dynamic, and its meaning is rooted in an organisation's theory of change and goals. For example, when it comes to influencing policymakers, more contact isn't always better. Research shows that a greater volume of policymaker contact from supporters does not always produce better outcomes. Rather, the difficulty of a mode of contact signals seriousness to policymakers, so a smaller number of high-bar authentic contacts is often better.

- *"Regardless of numbers, looking at the nature and characteristics of constituencies of people who to bring about specific changes. This is promising because it recognises that it is not only large numbers that can qualify 'people power'- it is also about who these people are, and what is there sphere of influence"* —Respondent in a campaign/programme role at global multi-issue NGO with 25,000–500,000 people on their lists

Power and measurement come in many forms

One size doesn't fit all. Measuring the right thing depends on alignment with an organisation's goals and theory of change; this should involve a bottom-up component (consultation with and capacity-building for the organisation). Social change makers are in different places in the world, and our audience includes on the ground staff at smaller organisations, measurement geeks, as well as senior executives with little time. We have sought to include in the survey organisations that are quite diverse in vertical, size, location and organising tactics (a possible typology of different people powered approaches could include electoral base building and turnout, electoral persuasion, community organising, arts activism, big organising, direct service volunteer programs, policymaker contact/advocacy, corporate campaigns, culture shift campaigns/social norms, behaviour change campaigns/lifestyle activism, decentralized and distributed organising, mass protest, civil disobedience/non-violent direct action, and strikes/union organising).

Impact is not the same to every organisation or every campaign. Impact does not exist in a vacuum. We must take a step back to engage with an organisation's power analysis and goals. Without context, the smallest wins may actually appear the most impactful. Add in the complexity of the rise of global right-wing populism, and real verifiable wins become much harder to gain and measure. Most projects around power rely on data that can be easily gathered from the perspective of the organisation itself. We are looking not to qualify a single or set of people-powered campaigns as impactful, but rather to determine the indicators of success in power building. Broadly determining metrics in buckets that are predictors of success that move away from vanity metrics, to true indicators that power has been built with examples that can be applied.

- *"First, clearly defining the change you want to see. Identifying what tangible outcomes would appear on the way to that vision being fully realised. Then, identifying measures of those outcomes which can't be cheated / gamed, that don't have unintended consequences, that are practical, playful and precise."* — Rachel Collinson, Unlock Democracy

And power itself comes in many forms: One framework divides social movement influence into three parts: narrative capacity, electoral capacity, and disruptive capacity. Another approach describes "three faces of power": decision-making power, non-decision-making power (agenda setting), and ideological power. Clarifying which one (or more) of these a campaign or organisation is endeavouring to realize in the form of their people power has implications for measurement.

Relatedly, analyses of power and other social phenomena can take as their subject of focus (or "level of analysis") individuals, organisations, actors, and institutions of different sorts at various scales, from the 'micro' individual level, to the 'meso' organisational level, and 'macro' social movement and social/cultural realms of collective power. Thus, measurement of people power could conceivably be carried out by observation of individuals; the relationships and networks among individuals; organisations; communities; institutions and governments; social movements; societies or countries; and inter- or trans-nationally.

Current measurement knowledge

Past research and practice teach us some promising insights on the way forward to measuring people power.

There are various frameworks for the elements of effective community organising and movement building (e.g., relationship building, leadership development, policy wins, change in attitudes, development of organisations), and models for assessing these in evaluations of community organising programmes. For example, the Education Organising Indicators Framework specifies eight indicator areas in which community organising groups work for school change. These feed an overall model in which measurable indicators of leadership development, community power, and social capital; these are seen to mutually support each other in a community system and contribute to community capacity, which in turn can enable the end goal of public accountability. While frameworks such as this will generally be an idiosyncratic process with unique characteristics for each programme—making comparison across them difficult—, community organising is perhaps one of the fields of people powered campaigning where measurement practice is currently the most developed.

To predict who will be likely activists, social science research indicates the broad categories of measurable factors that motivate individuals to engage in protest and other collective action: Identification (as an activist, with a movement); grievances, anger, and sense of injustice; belief in the efficacy (effectiveness) of themselves and the movement; social connection to others (especially other activists). Data scientists have used voter files and big data to create microtargeting models that score every individual on issue-specific action-taking propensity.

Looking beyond the characteristics of individual activists to people power in the context of broader social systems, it is important to realize that there can be tipping points in creating policy and social change; small critical masses of committed, organised, and vocal people are generally more powerful than larger, less-engaged groups, so the strength of attitudes often matters more than the breadth of (shallow) public opinion support. This makes it important not to see people powered social change as a simple (linear) process of gradually accruing popular support or activists until change is achieved. Rather, certain key indicators of power are needed, and focus on these can deliver results in surprising and quick ways.

There are a range of other factors that research and practice have linked to people power and social change outcomes and crafted into relatively well-developed concepts and measurement methodologies. These include social capital, public opinion, ladders of engagement, supporter lifecycle, policymaker contact, civic association effectiveness, and "active support" behaviours such as participation in mass protest. For the right organisational context, any one or several of these could provide a useful approach to measuring people power.

Methodology

Data for this report was drawn from a survey of social change practitioners from around the world, fielded from August 14–September 28, 2019. Participants in the survey were recruited via snowball sampling, begun by tapping the networks of social change practitioners known to MobLab, the Climate Advocacy Lab, and the advisors to this project. Additional focused follow up was conducted with associates with networks with higher penetration in under-represented regions of the world, out of concern that traditionally empowered NGO communities in Europe and North America would be over-represented.

The survey instrument included a series of multiple choice and open-ended questions informed by existing research, soliciting respondents' current measurement practices and

insights and preferences for new approaches. In order to ensure the use of language and concepts in the survey that would be appropriate for respondents from around the world, including those for whom English was not a native language, user testing of the draft instrument was conducted with practitioners from the UK, Spain, Africa, New Zealand, and Brazil, and modified according to their suggestions.

The survey was administered online and took approximately 10 minutes to complete. In order to ensure candid assessments, respondents were offered the opportunity to participate anonymously, or to provide their name and organisation. The completion rate of those who initiated the survey was 31%, resulting in 500 completed surveys. Only data from completed surveys was used in analysis. Because this was a non-probability sample, and not a conventional survey administration drawing a random sample from a known population frame, a margin of error is not an appropriate means to represent inaccuracy due to sampling method. But as a general reference and to provide a lower-bound estimate of the inaccuracy of this survey, a random sample survey of the same size as this survey would have a margin of error of ±4.4 percentage points (at the 95% confidence level).

Respondent characteristics

At least 177 distinct organisations are represented by respondents to the survey, based on self-reported affiliations (and substantially more if we were to include those who did not self-report organisation).

Region of respondents

Responses to the survey came from all corners of the globe, with some notable exceptions discussed further below. Respondents were asked, "What region does your organisation or movement work in?" with 11 global regions as options. The leading concentrations included 132 who reported they were global or worked in several regions, 117 in North America, 71 in Sub-Saharan Africa, and 57 in Western Europe.

To understand representation across broad categories of global culture, wealth, and marginalization, 43% (213 respondents) work in what might generally be thought of as "wealthier and Westernized" contexts (Australia and Pacifics, North America, Western Europe), 26% (132 respondents) are global or multi-region, and 31% (153 respondents) work in what can loosely be classified as lower wealth and/or non-Western contexts (Central America, Central Asia, East Asia, Eastern Europe, Middle East/North Africa, South America, South Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa). Completely absent in the results from regions represented above are both Russia and mainland China

Note that because of the way we asked the question, these numbers will classify respondents from international organisations as working in a specific region when they reported as such to us. Thus, the true proportion of respondents from non-global organisations is likely over-estimated. An exploratory investigation of the region of origin indicated that this could be around 30% of respondents currently in the "Lower wealth and/or non-Westernized" category.
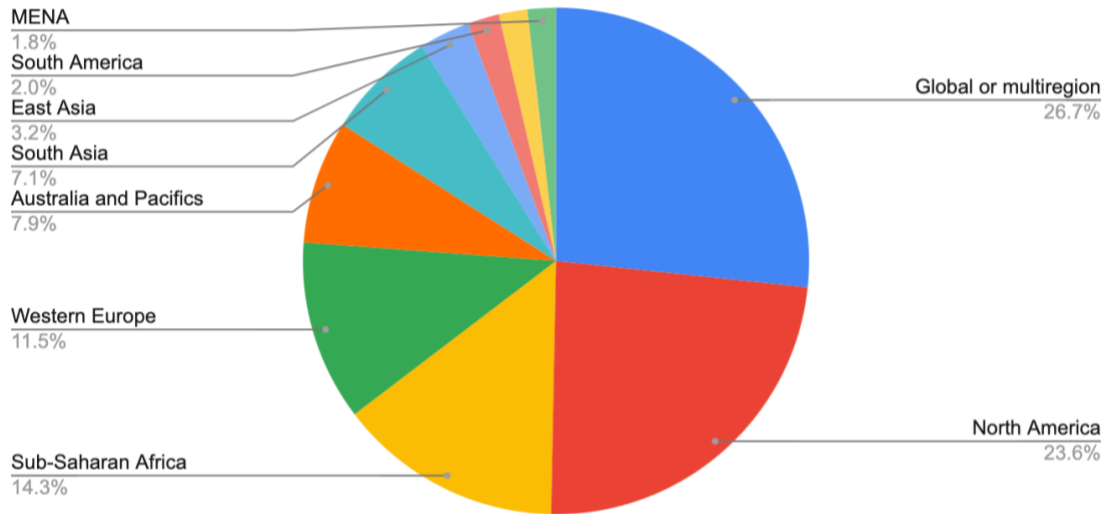
Figure 1 Respondent regions (self-reported)

Table 1 Aggregated respondent regions

"Wealthier and Westernized"

Australia and Pacifics	39
North America	117
Western Europe	57
	213

Global/Multi-region

Global	107
More than one of these regions	25
	132

"Lower wealth and/or non-Westernized"

Central America	1
Central Asia	2
East Asia	16
Eastern Europe	9
MENA	9
South America	10
South Asia	35
Sub-Saharan Africa	71
	153

Across regions, there was a fair degree of similarity in issues, with environment frequently the most commonly cited issue area of focus, and democracy and civic participation also commonly cited (see Table 2). Notably, those respondents working globally or in wealthier or Westernized regions were on average from organisations with larger list sizes.

Table 2 Characteristics of respondents, by region

Region	Most common list size	Top issue	2nd place issue	3rd place issue	% of participants
Australia and Pacifics	25,000–500,000	Environment	Democracy, civic participation	Human Rights	8%
Central & South America	1,000–25,000	Democracy, civic participation	Environment	Human Rights	2%
Central Asia & East Asia	Under 500	Environment	Democracy, civic participation	Education	4%
Eastern Europe	1,000–500,000	Democracy, civic participation	Human Rights	Environment/Peace, nonviolence tie	2%
Global	Over 1 million	Environment	Human Rights	Democracy, civic participation	21%
MENA	500–1,000	Human rights	Democracy, civic participation	Several issues tied	2%
More than one of these regions	1,000–25,000	Environment	Human Rights	Democracy, civic participation	5%
North America	25,000–500,000	Environment	Democracy, civic participation	Economic justice	23%
South Asia	Under 500	Environment	Democracy, civic participation	Human Rights/Education tie	7%
Sub-Saharan Africa	Under 500	Education	Human Rights	Democracy, civic participation/Environment tie	14%
Western Europe	25,000–500,000	Environment	Human Rights	Democracy, civic participation	11%

Organisation scale

We reached respondents from organisations of a range of sizes, based on their reports of how "many (non-staff) people are involved in some way with your organisation or movement". Organisations ranged in size from massive global INGOs with supporter bases over 1 million (15%) to small community organisations with supporter bases of under 500 (21%). This includes 75 respondents from groups with a supporter base of over a million, 150 from those with lists of 25,000-500,000 and 275 from groups with a base of under 25,000 (see Figure 5).

Approximately how many (non-staff) people are involved in some way with your organisation or movement (email lists, social media followers, donors, volunteers, activists, etc.)?

499 responses
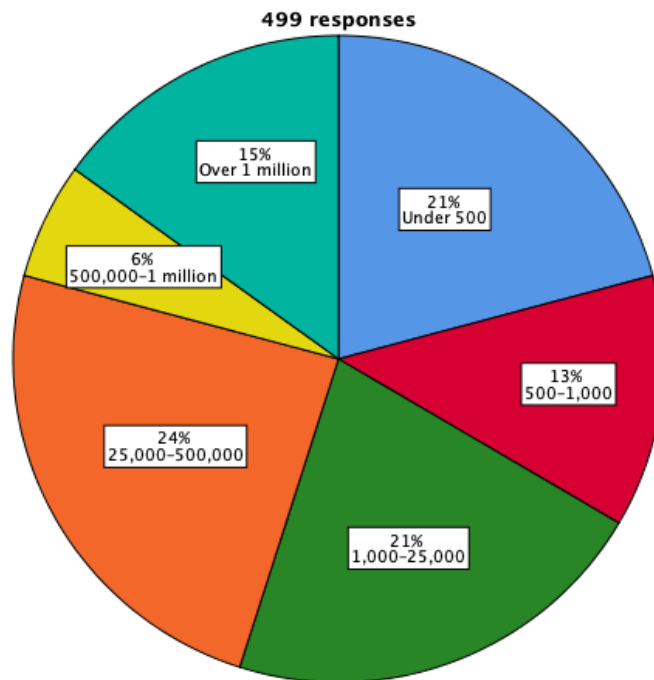
Figure 2 Size of respondents' organisations

Issue areas

Respondents work in a broad range of issue areas, led by the Environment, with Democracy/Civic Participation and Human Rights also commonly cited (Figure 3).
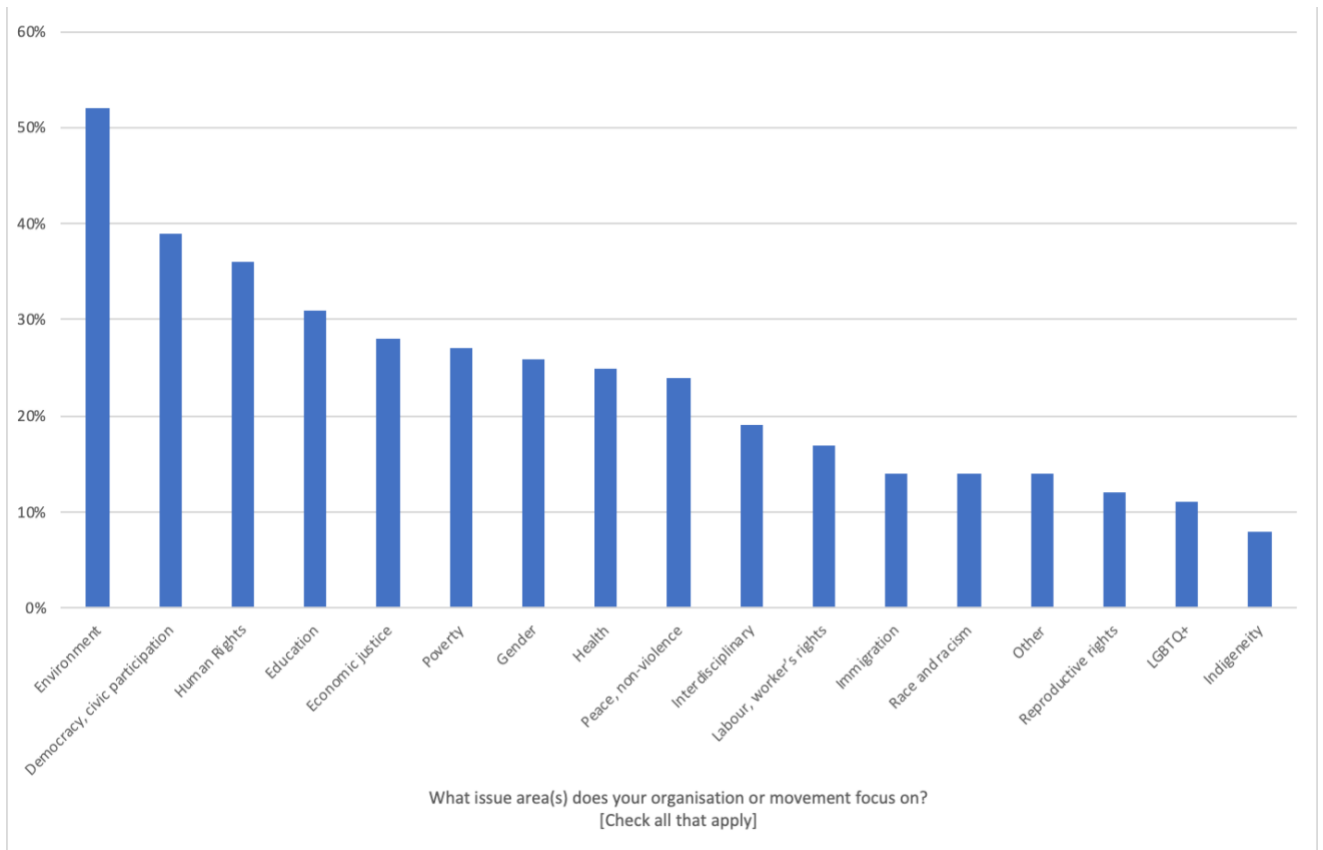
Figure 3 Respondents' issue areas

Roles within their organisations

Respondents represented a broad range of roles, professional specialisations, and departments in the organisations and groups they work with (Figure 4). The top three of these self-identified roles were:

> **29% of all respondents indicated that they were members of senior staff within their organisation**

- 39% Campaign/programme staff
- 29% Senior Management
- 24%/25% tie: Communications and Volunteer engagement
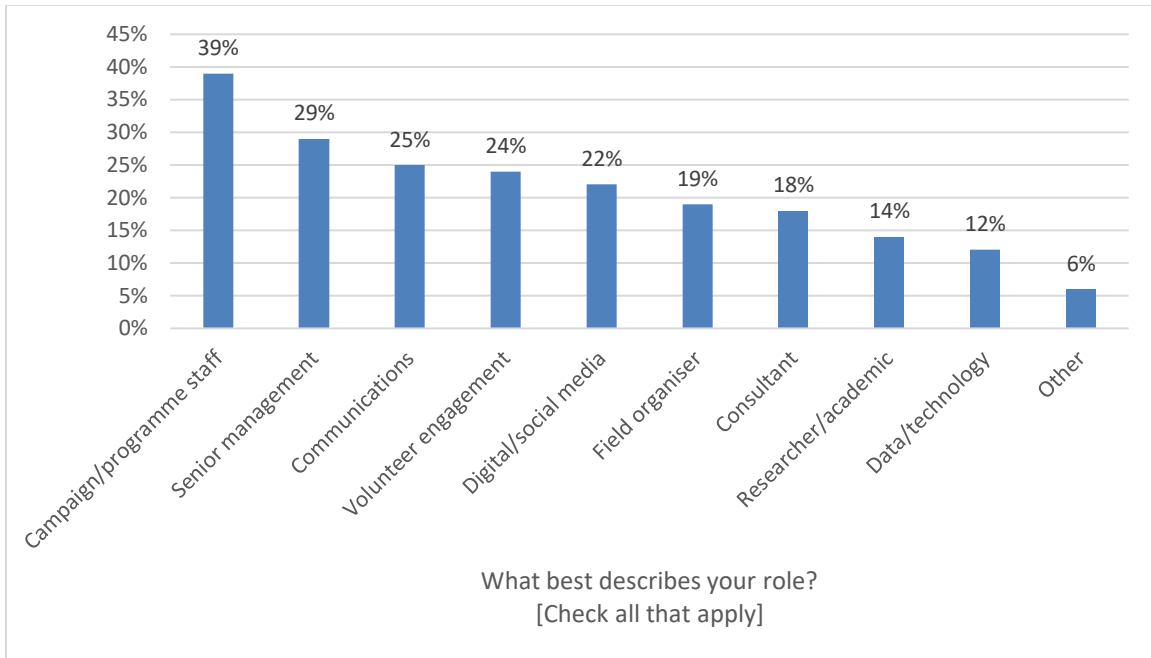
Figure 4 Respondent roles in their organisations

Close-ended results

Current measurement practices

To understand the state of current practice, we asked respondents about the extent to which their organisation was engaged in a number of approaches to measurement of supporters and people power. The list of such practices was derived from a combination of knowledge of existing common practice and a review of research, innovative approaches, and theory. It is important to note that this list of practices was not intended to represent some hypothetical complete or gold standard of people powered measurement best practice. In fact, some of the items in this battery (such as "Track basic/core metrics such as list size and open rate") were purposefully included to assess practices such as vanity metrics that are not likely to prove viable as measures of people power. Doing so provides a more comprehensive picture of the range of practices across our field.

Results are presented in Figure 5 (see full results in the appendix). Several interesting patterns emerge.

- **We aren't there yet.** Across all surveyed practices, a sizable number of respondents (often greater than half) were dissatisfied, indicating that were engaging in the practice to some extent—but not enough. And for only one of the practices did even a majority indicate they were sufficient—doing enough (or too much) of this kind of measurement. This points to the need for attention, resources, training, and/or organisational support to realize the level of people power measurement that practitioners recognize they need to be doing.
- **Back to basics.** A broad pattern emerges across these responses suggesting that measurement practices which might broadly be considered more straightforward to implement and/or well established in the field were indeed those that respondents

were most likely to report doing enough (or too much) of. This included tracking basic/core metrics, involvement levels, decisionmaker contact, and surveying supporters.

- **Works in progress.** Several practices saw fairly large proportions of respondents indicate they engaged in them not at all (or that they were not relevant to them). Perhaps predictably, these tended to be areas where more complex or bespoke methodologies could be required. Such practices included tracking burnout among supporters, computing a money-savings value for volunteers, and monitoring the social network connections among supporters. This suggests that some potentially important and innovative approaches remain sparingly utilized.

Figure 5 Frequency of Current Measurement Practices

Category	None OR Not Relevant	Some, but not enough	Enough, or too much
Survey or otherwise listen to those involved with you	4.868	56.80	38.34
Have a measure of the depth of people's involvement (that is, levels of observable activity or engagement beyond list size)	6.275	65.18	28.54
Track basic/core metrics such as list size and open rate	8.740	41.06	50.20
Track anything among those involved with you that predicts more involvement in the future	14.29	62.58	23.14
Track retention rates or sustained or repeated activity over time by those engaged with you (such as rate of those on your lists taking action on a quarterly basis)	14.72	56.85	28.43
Track progression along a ladder of engagement, supporter journey, member lifecycle, or similar model of progress	15.56	58.38	26.06
Track if people involved with you are spreading your messages (on social media, word of mouth, etc.)	16.43	61.66	21.91
Track the contacts your activists make with targeted decision makers	20.04	50	29.96
Track the relationships you build through organising (such as their number, strength, diversity, or connection to each other)	20.08	55.38	24.54
Rank or score those on your lists based on how involved they are or predicted to be	28.25	51.83	19.92
Track if people already involved with you have recruited others to be involved	31.24	51.93	16.84
Measure the social networks among those involved with you (how many of your supporters/activists know each other, which supporters/activists know the most others, etc.)	34.76	49.59	15.65
Look at how much money volunteers or activists save your organisation	40.85	44.47	14.69
Predict, track, or account for burnout/overwork among volunteers or activists	45.25	42.83	11.92

Legend
- Enough, or too much
- Some, but not enough
- None OR Not Relevant

Factor analysis of current practices

Amongst these measurement methods, are there any underlying patterns suggesting which approaches are practiced together? Statistical modelling[1] of the survey responses related to change agents' current measurement practices identified two principle dimensions on which they tended to vary (Table 3). The first dimension represents "Core practices" of measurement, such as tracking list size, open rates, and general engagement. The other dimension represents "Advanced practices", such as measuring burnout, word of mouth recruitment, social networks among supporters, and listening via surveys of supporters. Other practices fall along both dimensions, such as measuring retention, and developing methods to predict engagement.

Interestingly, though the list of measurement practices provided in the survey included items that could be seen as related (such as various practices related to understanding social networks, or sustained engagement), these did not in fact demonstrate an interrelationship in this analysis.

Surveys as starting point for advance practices? While respondents reported fairly low levels of adoption for many of the items associated with the 'advanced practices' factor, surveying and list listening saw fairly widespread adoption, and very low levels of those reporting it was something not relevant or in which they did not engage at all. This raises the possibility that surveying/listening practices may be both fairly accessible to a wide range of organisations, while also related to more nuanced means of measuring people power. In this way, survey and listening approaches deserve investigation as a potential "*gateway practice*" in an organisation's evolution of people powered measurement.

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[1] Principal Components Analysis and Exploratory Factor Analysis with Varimax and Promax rotations. See the Appendix for a visual depiction of each of the survey items positioned according to its scores on each factor.

Table 3 Dimensions of measurement practice, determined via Exploratory Factor Analysis

"Core practices"	Mixed practices	"Advanced practices"
Track basic/core metrics such as list size and open rate	Track retention rates or sustained or repeated activity over time by those engaged with you (such as rate of those on your lists taking action on a quarterly basis)	Track if people already involved with you have recruited others to be involved
Have a measure of the depth of people's involvement (that is, levels of observable activity or engagement beyond list size)	Track anything among those involved with you that predicts more involvement in the future	Measure the social networks among those involved with you (how many of your supporters/activists know each other, which supporters/activists know the most others, etc.)
	Track progression along a ladder of engagement, supporter journey, member lifecycle, or similar model of progress	Track the relationships you build through organising (such as their number, strength, diversity, or connection to each other)
		Track if people involved with you are spreading your messages (on social media, word of mouth, etc.)
		Predict, track, or account for burnout/overwork among volunteers or activists
		Look at how much money volunteers or activists save your organisation
		Survey or otherwise listen to those involved with you
		Rank or score those on your lists based on how involved they are or predicted to be
		Track the contacts your activists make with targeted decision makers

Measurement and organisational operation

Senior management

Anecdotally, people power can be seen as something of more concern to organisers and others 'closer to the ground' in an organisation, and less the focus for senior management, who are sometimes seen as needing convincing to invest in people powered approaches. Findings in

this survey shed a different light on the situation, however, illustrating how senior management can be supportive of people power and its measurement[2].

Well over 50% of all respondents felt that their senior management was providing a moderate to great deal of support for the work of measuring people power (Figure 6), though only a quarter report a 'great deal' of support from senior management.
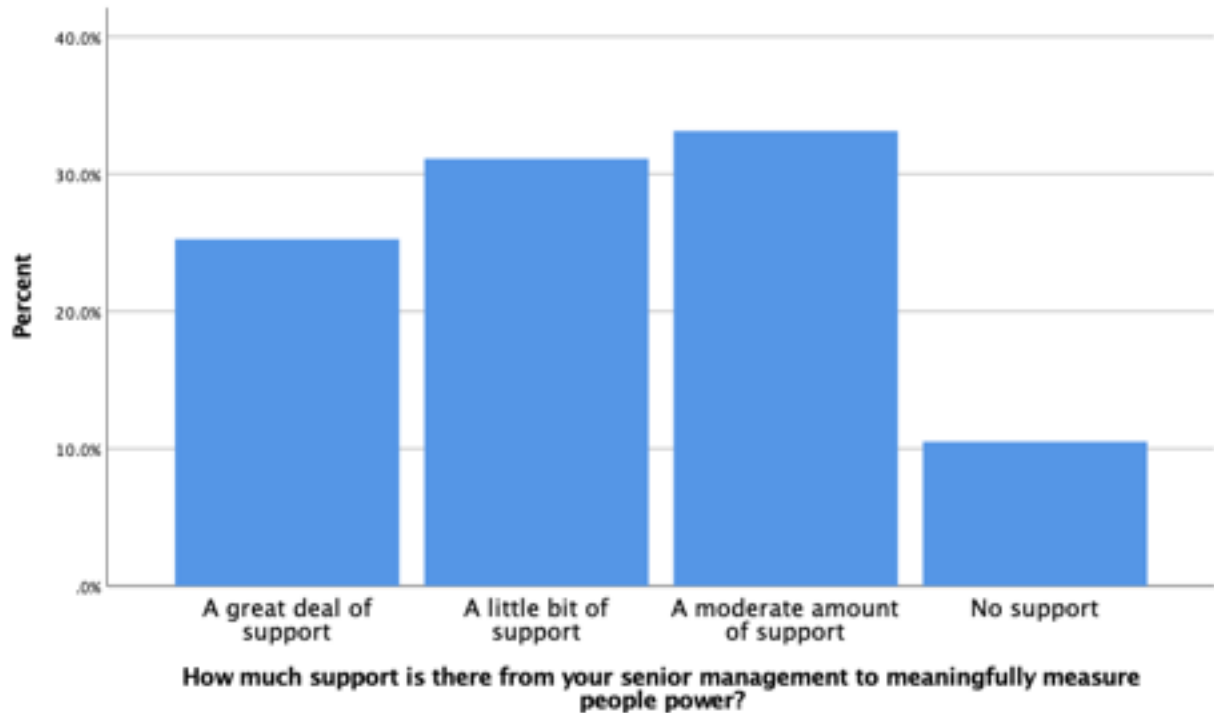

Figure 6 Perceived senior management support for people power measurement

How do the perspectives of senior management compare to other staff? A little less than one-in-three (29%) of all survey respondents reported being part of senior management within their organisation.

Divergent views: We found evidence[3] that those *in* senior management perceive greater senior management support for measuring people power than those who do not occupy those roles (Figure 7).

2 Though of course this finding, along with all others derived from this survey, must be contextualized by the fact that respondents were self-selecting, and may thus disproportionately represent organisations in which senior management is unusually amenable to people power.
3 Comparisons of senior management to those in other roles in our survey should be interpreted with caution as they do not control for possible confounding factors that could instead explain the observed differences (for example, survey respondents in senior management may happen to come from systematically different types of organisations than non-senior respondents; and indicators of such potential differential self-selection bias may not be reflected in any other portions of the dataset, and therefore cannot be statistically controlled for).
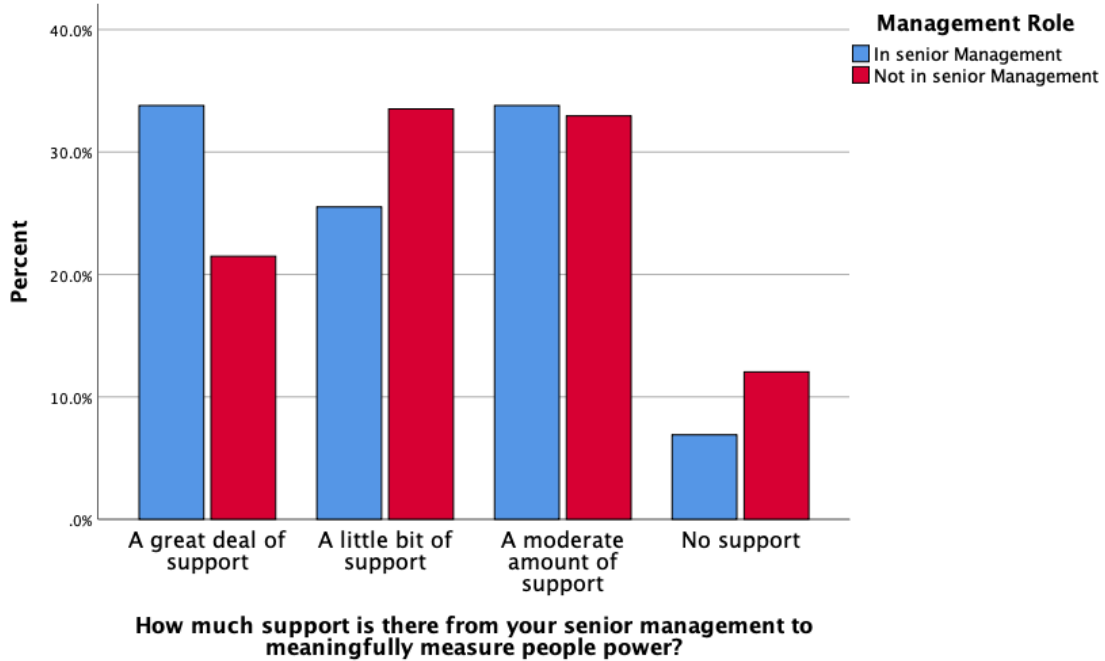
Figure 7 Perceived senior management support, by respondent's management role

As grassroots organising is often perceived as a program area in which the views of senior management can diverge from more junior staff, we examined if such a divergence also existed in our survey's respondents. Indeed, those in senior management have a rosier view of their organisations' measurement of organising work than others (Figure 8).
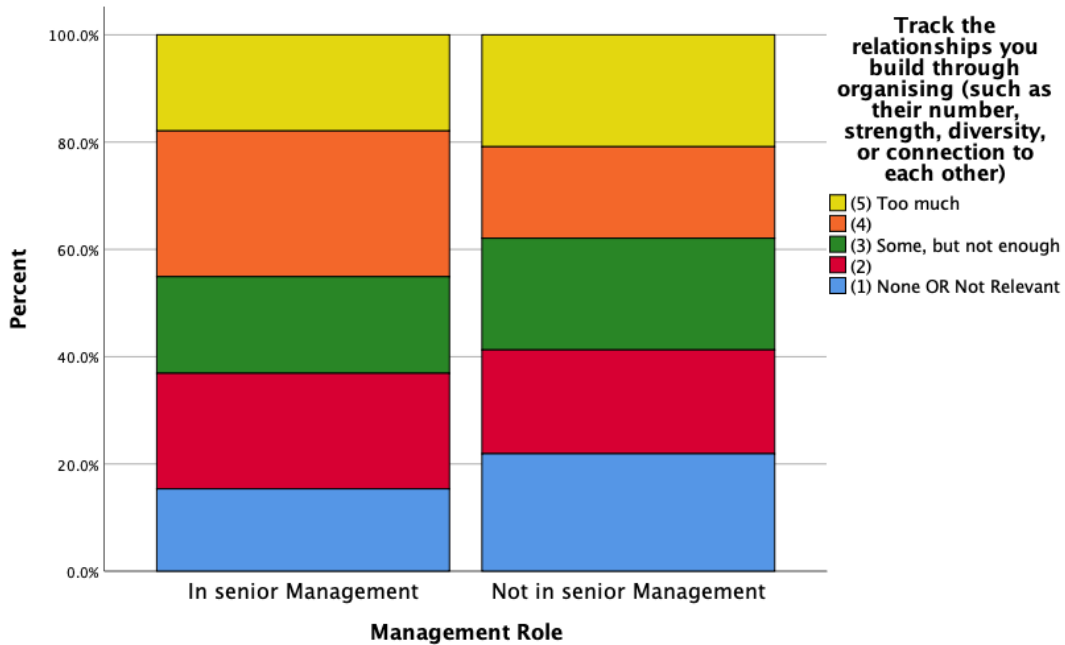

Figure 8 Extent of organising measurement, by respondent's management role

Purposes and utility of measuring people power

Measuring people power has an impact

Adopting an appropriate metric of people power and successfully implementing a measurement procedure are only half the battle. The ultimate goal is for the whole process to result in tangible improvements in the work of an organisation or movement, and impact on their strategic goals. We asked respondents about benefits they may have seen thanks to people power measurement they have conducted (Figure 9, Figure 10, and Figure 11). **Majorities agreed that measuring people power helped them identify points of failure, assisted in evaluating new approaches, and, resulted in changes at the organisation.** And very few respondents actively disagreed that they had experienced these benefits. Given that (as discussed above) most respondents indicated that they are doing none or not enough of many of the battery of measurement practices we asked about, this suggests that even those without fully realized measurement programs may be seeing the benefits of assessing their people power.

In with the new. Of those three broad categories of potential impact, respondents were most likely to report the benefits of measuring people power when it came to helping them tell if something new they were trying was working (as compared to evaluating existing activities or making changes to what they already do). So, measurement is more likely to show its value when paired with program innovation and experimentation. This could also be a sign that entrenched programs and practices may be less amendable to revision based on people power measurement than new areas of work are.
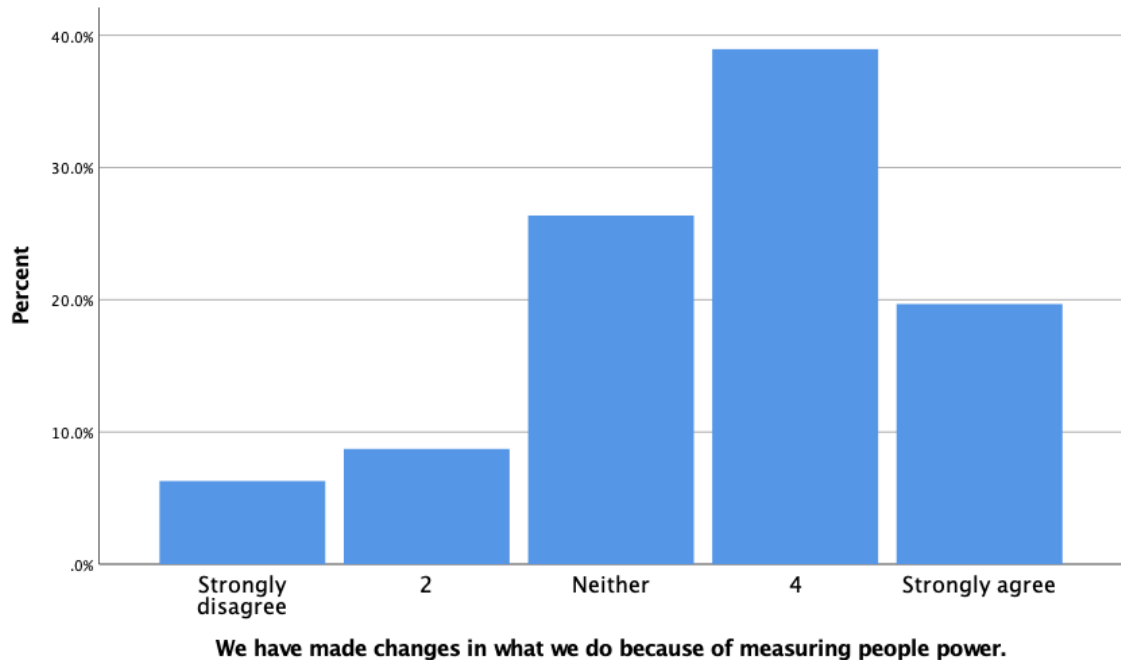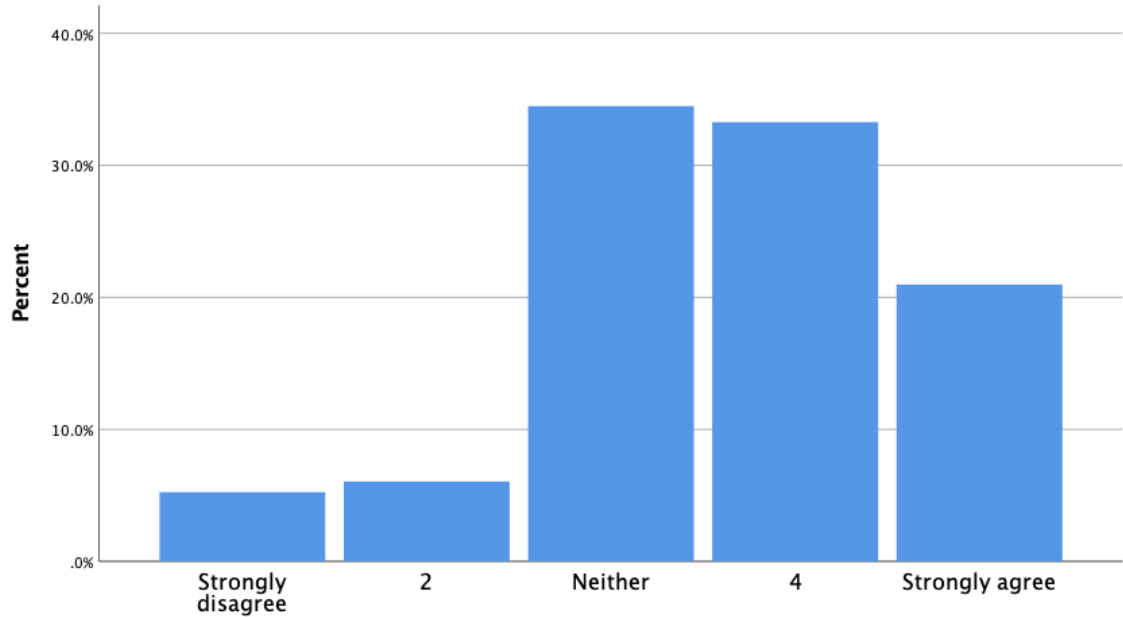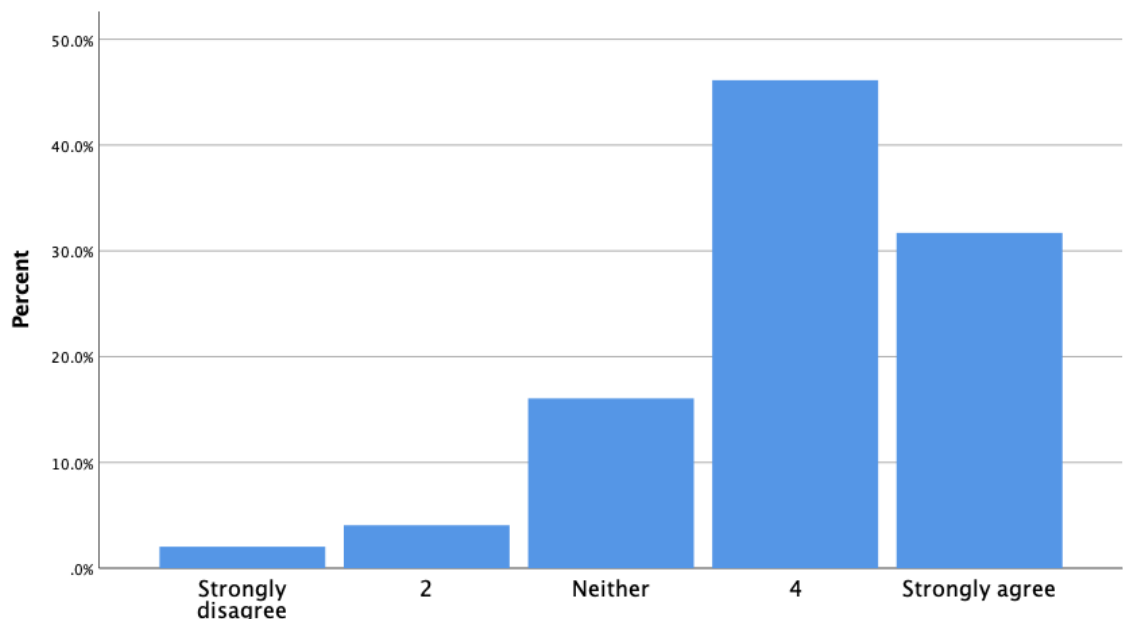

Figure 9 Degree of changes made as result of measuring people power

Figure 10 Evaluation of current work as result of measuring people power

Figure 11 Evaluation of new work as result of measuring people power

Measurement plays a role in a range of specific organisational functions

The uses of measurement can be siloed within certain organisational functions (such as retrospective program reviews, formative campaign planning research, etc.), or be broadly socialized across a range of activities in an organisation-wide culture of empirically driven decision-making. While all these roles have the potential to add value, there is always the risk for measurement to be relegated purely to roles that limit how much organisations can leverage

its contributions, be that employing measurement for passive tracking divorced from active decision-making, retrospective analysis but not prospective planning, or tactical incrementalism but not broader strategy. We asked respondents how their organisations utilised people power measurement along each of these dimensions (Figure 12, Figure 13, Figure 14).

Many use measurement of people power across functions. Though the question was positioned as an either/or, we did provide a "both" option, to which many respondents gravitated across all three questions, tying or exceeding the number of those who choose either binary option. This suggests a strong practice among many respondents.

Risk of measurement silos for some. Slightly more respondents indicated their organisations employed people power measurement more to track progress (vs. guide decision-making) and to evaluate the past (vs. inform day-to-day work). This indicates that measurement practice may in those cases be siloed into retrospective analysis and passive monitoring organisational functions which limit the full potential of people powered measurement to be employed in proactive decision-making and planning. On the other hand, slightly more respondents did indicate that people powered measurement played a strategic (vs. tactical) role in their organisation, which is an important sign that these organisations are employing measurement insights in high-leverage broader planning conversations, and not restricting them to small-bore tactical optimization contexts.
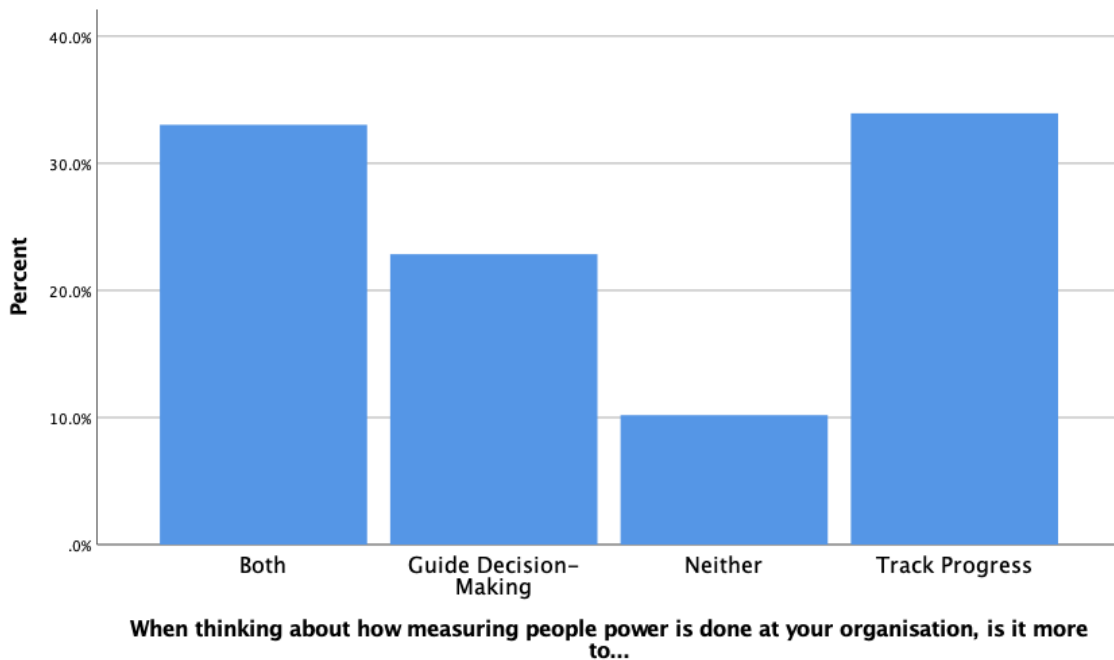

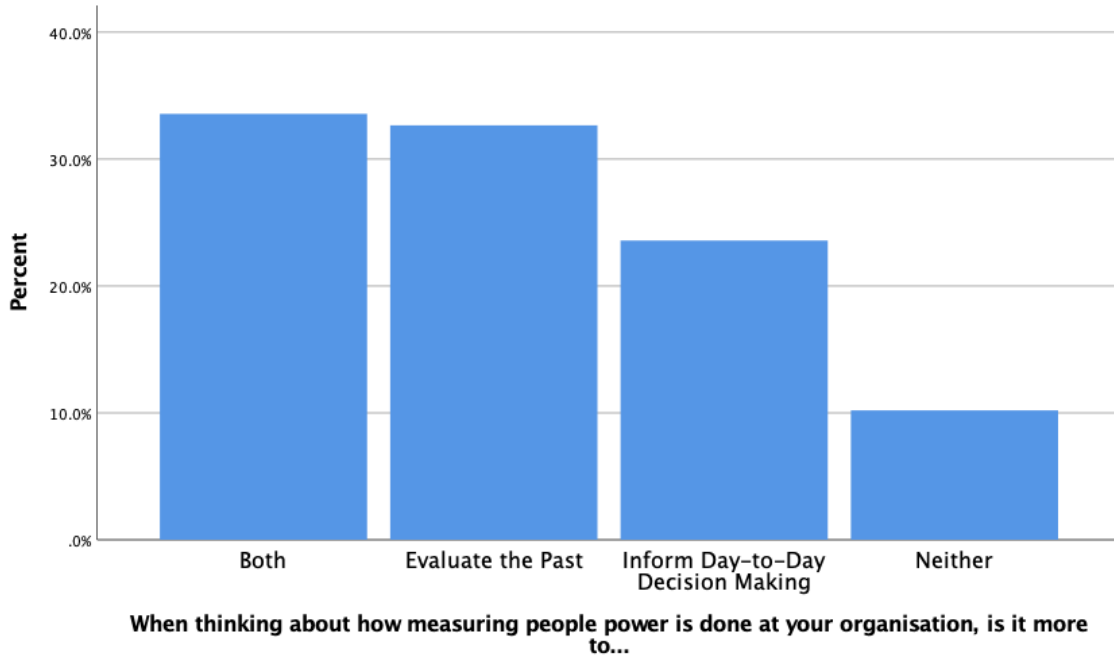*Figure 12 Extent of active vs. passive uses of people power measurement*

Figure 13 Extent of retrospective vs. prospective uses of people power measurement
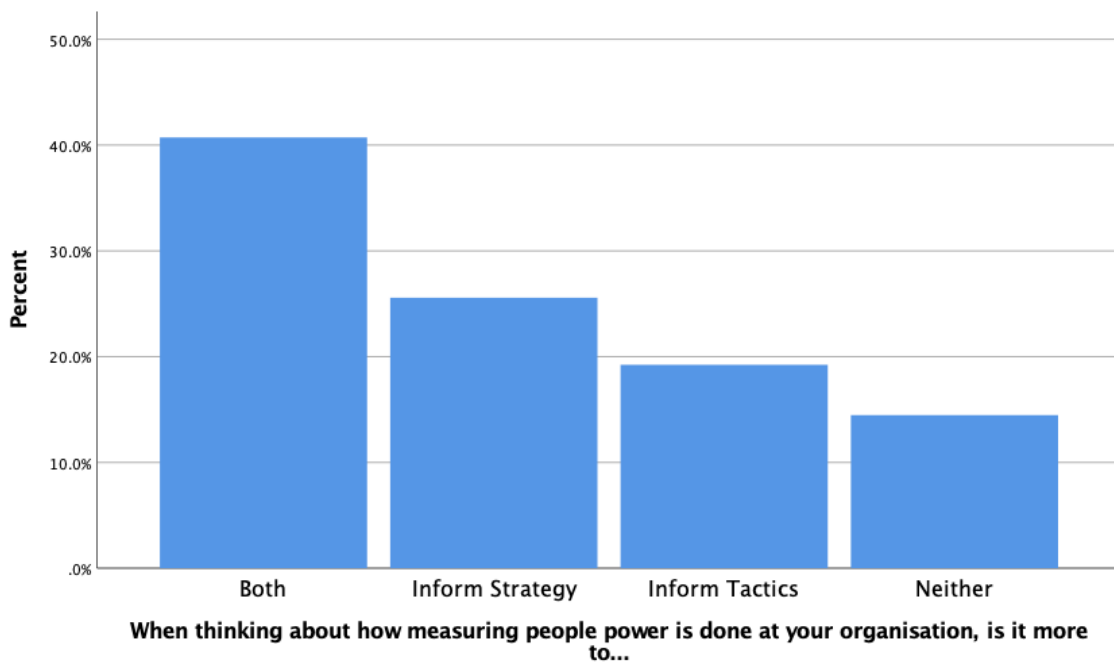

Figure 14 Extent of strategic vs. tactical uses of people power measurement

Organisation size and its relation to adaptability based on measurement

We were interested in how the foregoing might vary by organisation size, and so broke out results based on the supporter list size of each respondent's organisation.

Small organisations appear to be more nimble. Those organisations with the smallest number of supporters were the most likely to report adapting their work in response to their

measurement of people power (Figure 15). By and large, the vast majority of respondents from both small and larger organisations report using metrics to inform their practices in some way. However, when analysing data based on the relative size of respondents' organisations (according to base numbers), those with a smaller number of supporters were the most likely to report adapting their work in response to what measurement results were guiding them to do. The difference is driven by the extremes—those either "strongly" agreeing or disagreeing that their organisation has made changes, with those from large organisations (list size over 1 million supporters) more likely to disagree and less likely to agree than those from medium (25,000–1 million supporters) and small (less than 25,000 supporters) organisations (Figure 16). **This suggests that smaller scale operations make it easier to adapt to what's working and what's not—a phenomena often observed in the business world.**
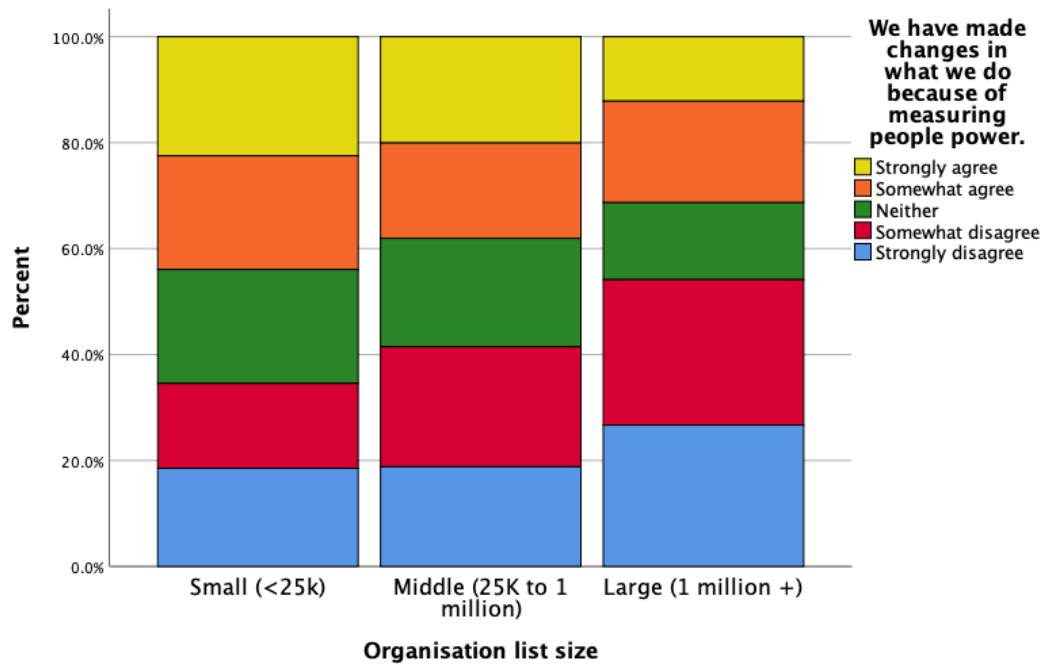

Figure 15 Extent of changes due to measuring people change, by organisation size
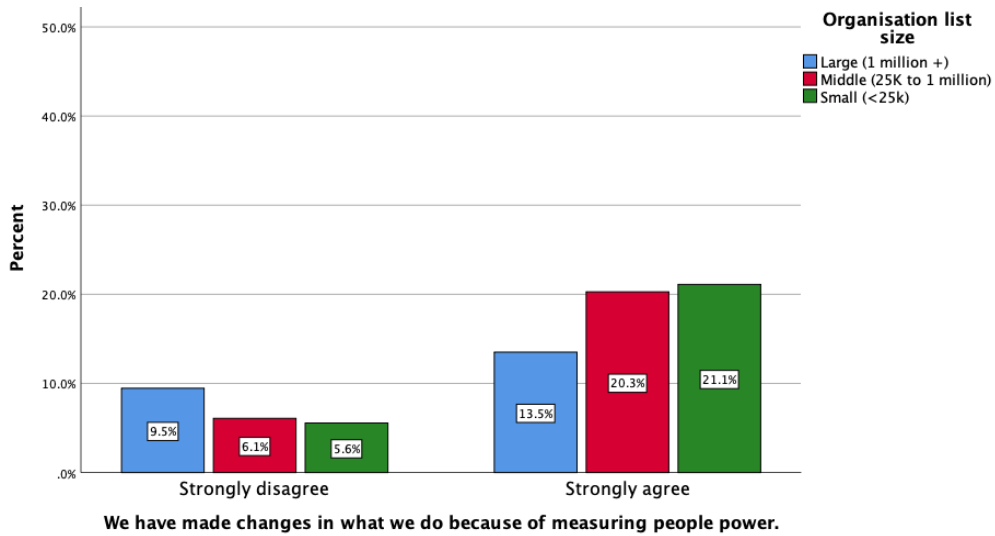
Figure 16 Respondents with "strong" takes on degree of change due to measuring people power, by organisation size

Notably, there was **no** relationship between list size and agreement with two other statements related to the utility of measuring people power ("Measuring people power showed us something we were doing wasn't working" and "People power measures help to tell us if something new we try is working"). So, it appears that organisations of all sizes are equally able to derive important lessons from measuring their people power, but it may be that the smaller ones are more likely to act on such insights.

Smaller organisations are also more proactive/future-oriented and strategy-focused in how they apply people power measurement. Smaller organisations are more apt to allow measurement to affect strategy, whereas larger organisations use measurement primarily to adjust tactics (Figure 17, Figure 18, Figure 19). This suggest that smaller organisations are more ready to pivot in their approaches at deeper levels based on learnings from measurement, which is unsurprising given that nimbleness is often a function of smaller scale.
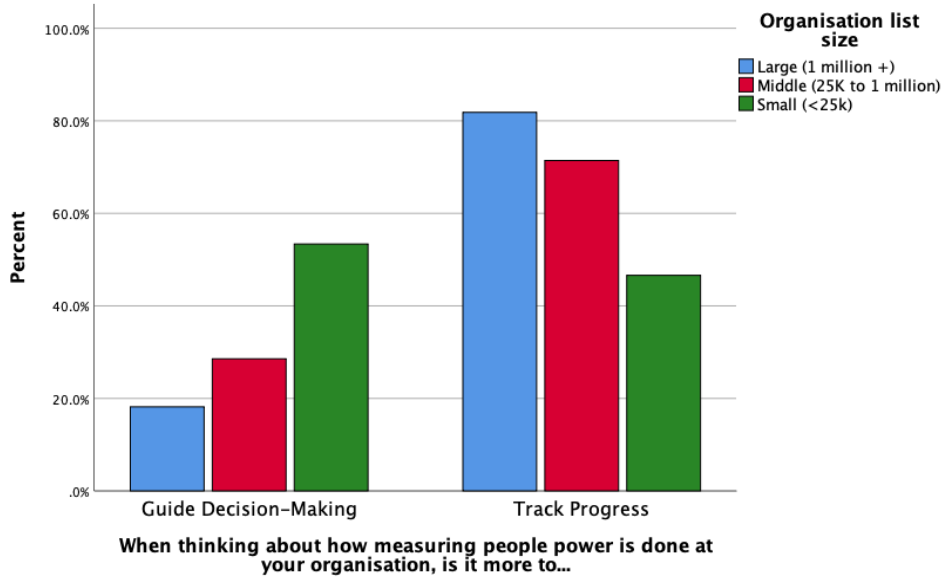
Figure 17 Extent of active vs. passive measurement, by organisation size
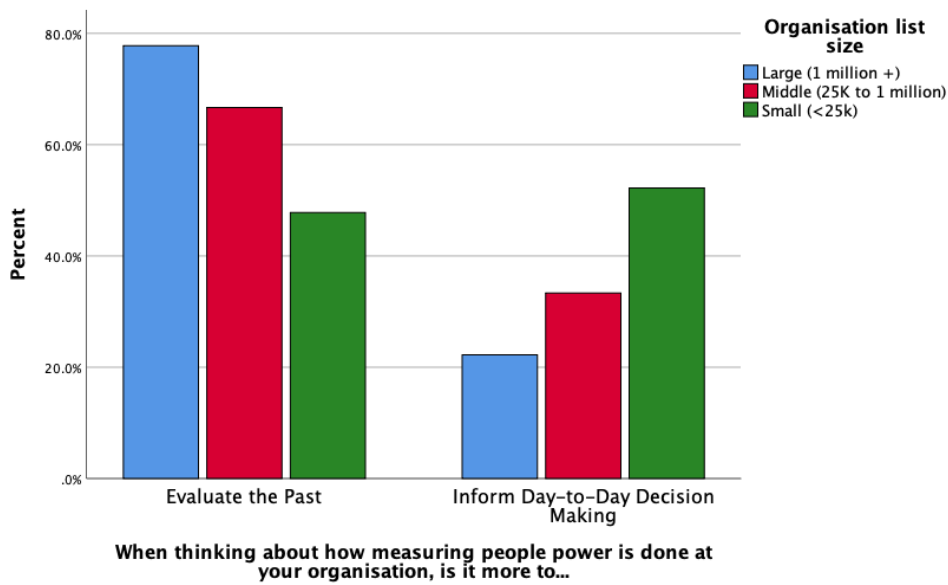

Figure 18 Extent of retrospective vs. prospective measurement, by organisation size
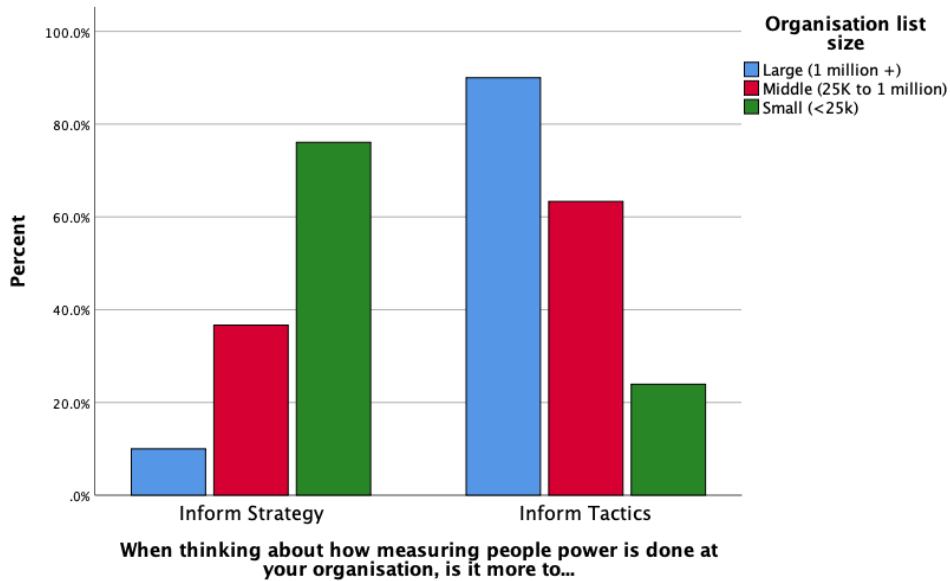
Figure 19 Extent of strategic vs. tactical measurement, by organisation size

Preferences for measurement approaches

In addition to asking respondents about specific current or ideal measurement approaches for people power, we were also interested in working backwards, and determining what criteria social change makers may hold for measurement methods when thinking in the abstract. Such a "wish list" could be potentially valuable to inform efforts to design new approaches. We asked respondents to rate the importance of 10 possible criteria, such as "Flexible enough to be used across different kinds of programmes" and "Based on a clear definition of people power".

Few strong priority design criteria for new measurement approaches. Results indicate that respondents generally viewed all the proposed criteria as important, with no clear favourites, and none that were deemed broadly unimportant (Figure 20).

Willingness to put in the effort. While respondents valued ease of use in their metrics (for instance ease of communication and understanding was rated—by a very slight margin—the most important criteria), they nonetheless are still fairly willing to do the spadework of collecting new data: the one criterion to which they attached distinctly less importance was whether or not a people power measure would require the collection of new data. This speaks to a willingness to put in the time and effort for worthwhile measurement.
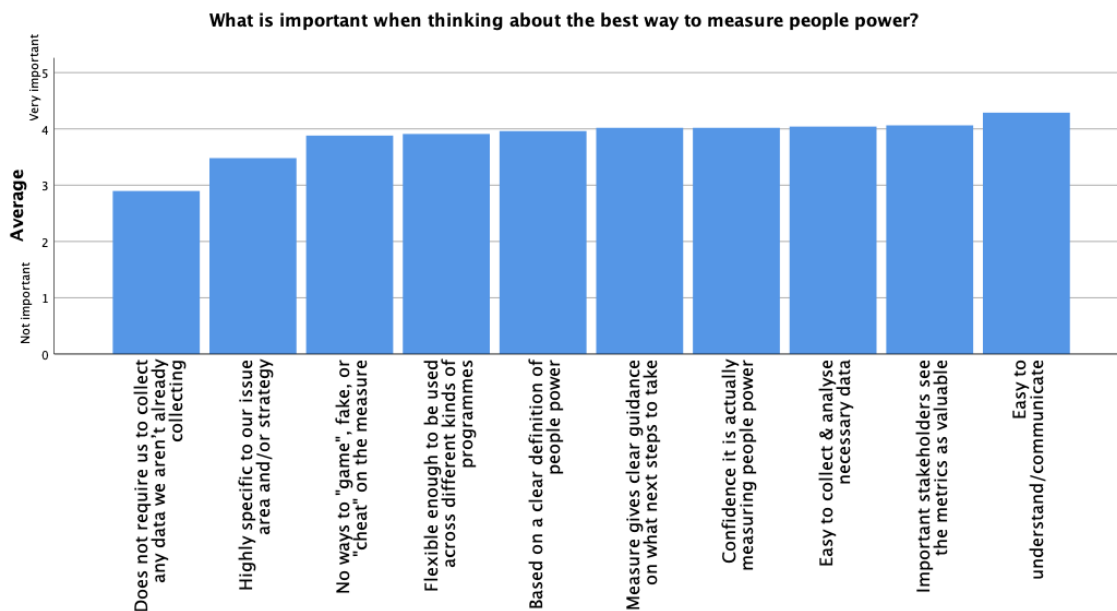
What is important when thinking about the best way to measure people power?

Figure 20 Evaluation criteria for design of measurement approaches

Open-ended results

In addition to the close-ended items discussed above, the survey contained several open-ended questions, designed to elicit additional people power measurement ideas and insights from respondents.

Methodology

The analysis process of the open-ended items progressed in several stages.
- An initial read through scan of the responses of those who provided open-ended responses of at least several hundred characters, from which were developed a list of emergent theme kernels used to inform subsequent analysis. The full list is provided in the appendix. Some of these were:
  - Surveys of supporters were frequently mentioned
  - The "voice" of people was seen by some as a key metric
  - Narrative development across the media was mentioned
  - Various attributes of interpersonal relationships were deemed important by some
  - Others relied on campaign success as an indicator of their people power
- Emergent themes from the initial scan were augmented with additional topics derived from previous theory, research and practice literature to produce a preliminary code book of topics
- Detailed content analysis of the open-ended responses began with this preliminary code book, which was supplemented in an iterative and emergent

fashion with additional topics as they were uncovered during a close read of responses; this process was considered finalized once it was felt that a saturation point was reached in which the content of open ended responses could consistently be coded with the existing scheme and new code topics were no longer being identified

- The code book was used to conduct detailed coding of responses, and cross-validated among several of the open-ended questions. See the appendix for an example of the coded data for the question, "*What is the most promising approach to measuring people power that you have seen used (by your organisation, or others)? What about this approach makes it "promising"?"*
    - Each open-ended response of each respondent could receive up to 3 distinct codes. For example, a response that mentioned social networks among supporters as an important metric to track movement building would be coded as pertaining to both "social networks" and "movement building".

Preliminary results

As an initial analytical stage, the large number (49 total) of distinct codes were organised into thematic categories (for example, people powered measurement ideas that focused on impacts on public opinion, voter turnout, and success of campaigns were all placed in an *external impacts* category). The distribution of responses according to these categories for the open-ended question, *"What is the most promising approach to measuring people power that you have seen used (by your organisation, or others)? What about this approach makes it "promising"?"* is provided in Figure 21.

There is a clear and present need to promote and socialize new and existing best practices across the community, as one-in-five respondents indicated they were not aware of *a single* **promising power measurement approach.**
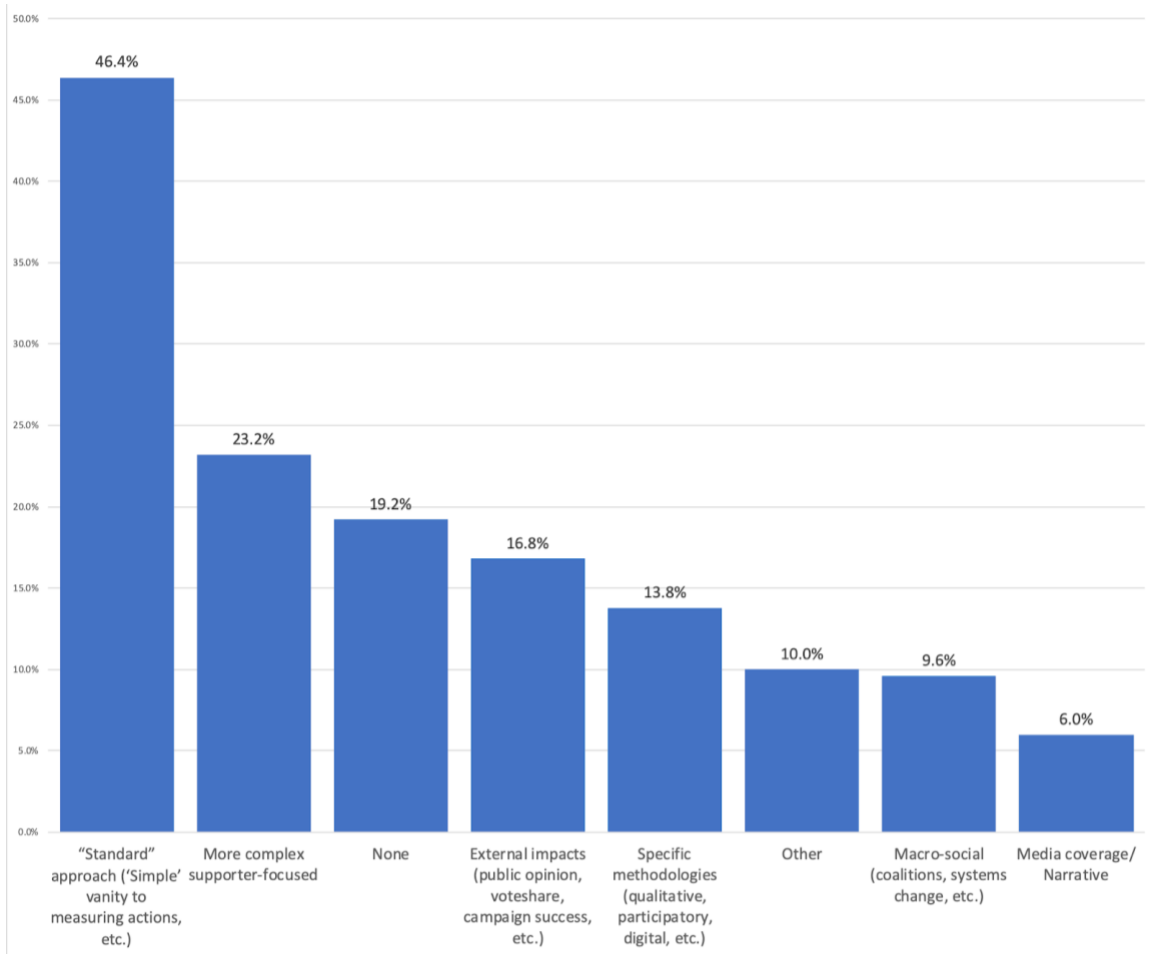
Figure 21 "Most promising" people powered measurement approaches, self-reported by respondents (initial code thematic categories)

To provide a more concrete (if less comprehensive) picture of responses, several very specific people power measurement approaches were identified and selected (based on their occurrence in the dataset as well as editorial judgement on the part of the research team), to offer a selective, but illustrative depiction of some of the techniques survey respondents were providing (Figure 22).
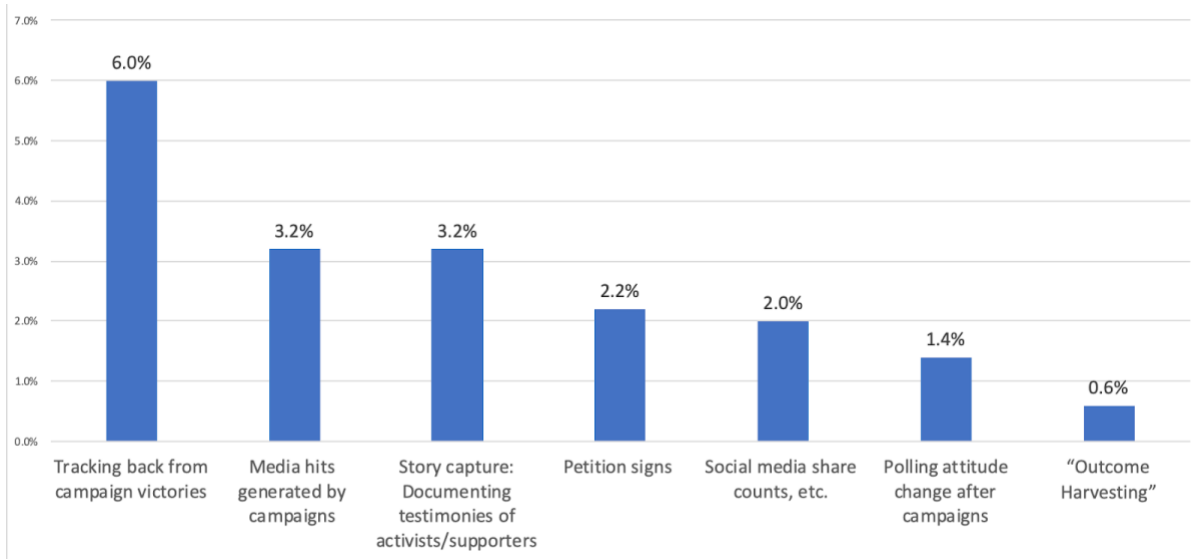
Figure 22 Selected specific "most promising" approaches (self-reported)

Refined results: How are people measuring people power?

In order to provide the most comprehensive and compelling set of meanings from the rich open-ended data provided by the *"What is the most promising approach…"* question prompt, the underlying 49 coded themes were re-ordered into an overall three-part typology, consisting of **Breadth**, **Depth,** and **Intriguing Paths Forward** with a number of sub-themes (Table 4)*.* Breadth appears to be fairly well established amongst our sample, with close to two in five respondents citing a practice that fell within this theme when asked what they saw as the most promising routes for measuring people power.

This was a little more than half the number of those who listed more Depth-focused approaches. Given the challenges involved in all people power measurement, the fact that close to two thirds of our sample was aware of or tackling work with the added complexity required for Depth approaches is indicative of a solid cadre of sophisticated social change practitioners pushing the state of the art in the field.

A very small number of Intriguing Paths Forward responses offered up important and promising approaches—both established and novel—that deserve attention going forward.

Table 4 Refined three-part analysis framework for "Most promising" measurement approach responses

Type of Approach	Percentage of respondents[4]
Breadth	**37.4%**
Depth	**62.2%**
Supporter behaviour over time, or supporter engagement levels	7.4%
Psychographic characteristics of supporters	7.6%
Health, depth, and breadth of relationships	6.2%
Community participation and feedback	3.8%
Impact on external success criteria	16.8%
Media coverage and narrative change	6.0%
Distributed & decentralized leadership development and structural strength	6.4%
Broad systems and processes	8.0%
Intriguing Paths Forward	**3.2%**
Bespoke measurement indicators	1.2%
Volunteer "power"	0.4%
Network and community empowerment	1.6%

Breadth - 37% of all respondents

These forms of measurement are easy to deploy, generate impressive numbers but fail to capture the complexity of people-powered campaigning in such a way as to produce actionable insights that inform better strategy or report impact in a concrete way. 37% of respondents cited existing typical modes of measurement and programme tracking among what they saw as the most promising avenues to measure people power. This set of measurement practices includes volume counts related to the gross numbers of supporters signed up to mailing lists, petition signings etc. While this could mean in some cases that respondents are prioritizing modest, incremental 'doable' techniques as the most "promising" because of their feasibility, it does beg the question of whether the fields' collective sights, ambition, and imagination are set high enough, and towards aspirational measurement approaches capable of capturing a broader conception of people power.

Depth - 62% of all respondents

62% of respondents' mentions of promising measurement techniques involved what we have classified as Depth approaches. While this category covers a diverse array of practices, this finding indicates that a large proportion of survey respondents have in their sights sophisticated methods to assess people power, either approaches that their organisation is using, or of which they are aware. And awareness is the first step towards adoption.

4 Percentages may total more than 100% as a given respondent's response could be coded in multiple categories.

Supporter behaviour over time, or supporter engagement levels

There are many models of supporter engagement levels, often referred to as "ladders" or "pyramids" of engagement, that organisations use to structure the stages of action that they wish their supporters to progress through, such as from an initial petition signature action that initiates involvement to high-level leadership of a local chapter. Related to—but distinct from–level-type models that focus on type of actions taken, is the notion of over-time, or sustained supporter engagement. Over-time engagement measurement approaches track the number, frequency of actions taken by supporters, and the duration of time over which a supporter takes action. This can be measured as simply as by monitoring duration (or 'churn') on email lists, but could also involve tracking number of actions per quarter (or other time period), over a supporter's lifetime, or combined with a level-type model in metrics that assess both *number* and *level* of actions. These frameworks are useful to move beyond vanity metrics such as list size or number of arbitrary clicks, to understand both the overall health of a supporter base and diagnose pain points, as well as specifically to measure what truly builds people power to support social change. For example, if a theory of change relies on volunteer organisers to hold a sustained series of pressure events for policymaker targets, an organisation can track the rate at which supporters are progressing up a ladder of engagement to the levels where they are leading events, identify drop-off in that process, and determine if leaders maintain their engagement once reaching that level.

Several follow-up in-depth interviews were conducted with survey respondents deemed to have responses of particular interest. The following summary of the conversation with Benjamin Peyrot des Gachons provides additional detail on the theme of supporter behaviour over time, or supporter engagement levels.

Case Study: Benjamin Peyrot des Gachons with the ONE Campaign

After years of developing a global grassroots movement to end poverty, the ONE campaign needed a straightforward metric that would accurately capture the true power of their activists in producing change. They made the bold move to drop the use of larger, more flattering numbers such as list size, and instead focus principally on the number of people in their network taking 'high impact' actions such as calling policymakers or attending protests.

This approach was presented to us by Benjamin Peyrot des Gachons, the Global Campaigns Director with the ONE Campaign, an organisation founded by the musician Bono that works to end extreme poverty and disease by 2050.

The ONE Campaign's theory of change is rooted in their "5P's" of Public mobilization, Policy Politics, Pop culture, and Partnerships. To measure their public mobilization work with their members, they had originally developed a ladder of engagement framework and action frequency targets, classifying those taking 3–5 actions as their most active supporters. But they were concerned this was simply a vanity metric and not a good indicator of whether their public mobilization was truly exerting power and producing change on the ground. So, they developed a list of specific high impact actions, looked instead at the number of supporters engaging in these. It was concrete, distinct, and tied to the impacts they wished to have on decision makers and policy change. They also are also in regular touch with these high-level activists to receive feedback, specifically, on how they are received by decisionmakers. This allows the organisation

not just to report numbers but tell the larger story of how the impact actions are having an effect.

"A dirty secret in the industry is a focus on big numbers which doesn't mean anything. Someone who signs a petition and didn't do anything else in a year...bullshit...Maybe fine to acknowledge we have a small number of active people; doesn't look impressive, but impressive work is happening. Be honest about what member engagement means. A painful process when funded by donors that are impressed by big numbers and confronting them with the reality that real members are less."

This is also a story of organisational cultural change. Traditionally, the marketing team had been the most metrics-driven division at the ONE Campaign looking to top line numbers on engagement and hoping to hit targets at end of each year. Now in year two of their revised approach, targets are now reviewed quarterly, the perspective on metrics is shifting to seeing them more centrally as tools to reach the organisational mission, and because the goals were defined in a collaborative way, there is shared buy-in from other departments beyond marketing, across teams and different parts of the world. The process was not easy nor quick, but built consensus by working toward a common vision and jointly agreed upon new categorization approach. Their board was also initially concerned when they saw reports with substantially smaller figures than they had become accustomed to, but their scepticism was overcome via detailed explanation of the new approach.

Psychographic characteristics of supporters

Beyond measuring very specific operational parameters of supporters (such as actions, leadership roles, etc.), some survey respondents discussed the promise of assessing other, intangible, characteristics of supporters, such as their happiness, income, or sense of their empowerment (known in psychology as "efficacy" beliefs). Surveys of supporters and other listening techniques are common ways to assess these. Known broadly as 'psychographic' (psychological and/or demographic) factors, research indicates that certain of these are important predictors of involvement in activism and social movements. More generally, assessing these characteristics can provide a sense of the health and needs of supporters to ensure that their potential power is maximized. For example, people are more likely to take action when they both feel confident that their actions will have an impact ("response efficacy" belief) and when they belief that others like them are also taking action ("descriptive social norms" belief). Assessing whether your supporters are lacking in either of these beliefs can diagnose a lack of their power and suggest interventions an organisation can take to boost appropriate beliefs among supporters.

Health, depth, and breadth of relationships & Community participation and feedback

Measuring the connections with and among supporters featured in a number of responses. This took a number of forms, from relatively straightforward approaches such as tracking the number of one-to-one meetings/conversations supporters were having with organisers from the organisation, to assessing the social networks among supporters, and broader evaluation of social capital, relationships, and sense of community in the regions where they operate. These constitute a useful framework for measuring people power because they expand metrics of supporter engagement beyond action taking or other characteristics of

individual supporters, to encompass the interconnections among people and within communities. And these are important to track because we know from research that these social connections lay a valuable groundwork for civic engagement (Putnam, 2000; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013).

Impact on external success criteria (public opinion, voteshare, campaign success, etc.)

"External success" approaches were offered by respondents who saw promising avenues to measure people power via that power's impact on external success criteria, from public opinion to election results, to policy change. It can be challenging to disentangle the contributions of given people power efforts from other factors that may have also had an impact on a given outcome in order to assess attribution. Nonetheless, this framework to measuring people power can be useful because it seeks to assess the ultimate question at stake—power *for what purpose* and *to what effect*? It directly links people power to the mission and goals of organisations and movements, rather than relying on intermediary or proxy measurements of power that do not demonstrate whether presumed power measured actually demonstrates an effect in generating social change.

Media coverage and narrative change

Media coverage and narrative change approaches to measuring people power looked to shifting conversations (online and in person) and news media portrayals of the organisation's issues as indicators of people power. These methods ranged from tracking media mentions, to general monitoring of conversations happening across society (including "social listening" analysis online, such as on Twitter), automatic sentiment analysis of articles and posts, along with broad tracking of the frames and narratives in circulation to make sense of issues the organisations worked on. This is a useful framework both because it can capture an important component of people power (the ways that people are making sense of your issues, and the media inputs affecting that process), and because it can offer (depending on methodology) fairly easy to collect numbers which can be tracked over time to assess what impacts campaigns and other activities may be having on media coverage, conversations, and narratives.

Distributed & decentralized leadership development and structural strength

A number of respondents cited measurement approaches embedded in a range of non-command & control organising models. These include decentralized systems (self-arising, autonomous groups acting in concert) and distributed models (centrally directed networks, but still with strong supporter leadership, such as the snowflake model). Respondents discussed tracking the number of supporters reaching out to them unprompted and taking actions and leadership without direction as indicators of these forms of people power. These models of organising can offer both a 'force multiplier' of additional leadership capacity to organisations beyond paid staff and allow movements to achieve massive scale quickly, while also holding the potential for flexible, robust, and locally tailored activity and structures for grassroots energy. Given that the diffused nature of such models can make measurement intrinsically difficult, the approaches that respondents offered in this survey are especially exciting.

Broad systems and processes (coalitions, systems change, etc.)

"Macro-social" approaches were those in which respondents tied measurement of people power to broad processes and systems, from thinking in terms of holistic program evaluation to coalitional and cross-issue collaboration structures, to movement building, and systemic social.

Intriguing Paths Forward - 3.20% of all respondents

Among the responses were a number of exceptional ideas and descriptions of innovative means to measure people power. We identified several "Intriguing Paths Forward" that represented promising approaches and models that have the potential to be widely adopted.

Bespoke measurement indicators

While by their nature unique to each organisation and context, bespoke measurement indicators represents a class of widely adoptable models and methods for successfully developing customized evaluation and measurement frameworks for specific organisations, campaigns, or movements. One such popular approach is outcome harvesting (mentioned in responses by three survey participants). It is an established methodology, developed by Ricardo Wilson-Grau in 2002, involving a six-step process of collecting output descriptions and analysing for organisational contributions. It has strengths and weaknesses versus 'traditional' evaluation approaches (Wilson-Grau). One notable difference is that outcome harvesting is not designed to produce an external verdict on the success of work, so it would not be appropriate, for example, if a funder is seeking to score grantees on their performance. Logic models, which seek to map program inputs and outputs in a systematic way, can be a useful framework in that case. Because this mapping happens at the beginning of (or prior to) the evaluation process, it can facilitate the perspective of an external evaluator, whereas outcome harvesting intentionally positions the development of evaluative criteria as resulting from an iterative process within the organisation itself.

The field of practice surrounding those engaged in community organising and its evaluation often employ participatory processes to do so (Foster & Louie, 2010; FACT, 2004). And when dealing with programs and populations that do not fit traditional program evaluation frameworks, bespoke measurement may be key to capturing the unique value add, such as a domestic working organising training program that was evaluated on metrics assessing constructs including "Healing from Trauma", Caring for Self and Others", and "Resilience in the Midst of Change and Conflict", given the challenging personal backgrounds many participants brought to the program.

Volunteer "power"

While only two survey participants surfaced this approach, there is an established set of methodologies to compute the monetary equivalent of donated volunteer time as one means to tackle the measurement of people power. Independent Sector (2019), for example, performs an annual calculation for the United States as a whole—where they compute a $25/hr value of volunteer time, as well as state-level values, ranging from $12.64/hour to $41.72/hr due to variable labour costs. Their approach is very simple, simply computing an hourly average based on readily available government wage and fringe benefits data from across the workforce. Variations on this fundamental method have typified the volunteer monetary equivalent approach since it was first developed by Harold Wolozin in 1975, and more recently in the work

of the Canadian Centre for Philanthropy ([Goulbourne, Embuldeniya, 2002](#)), who have also derived corollary and derivative measures such as metrics of volunteer program efficiency.

While the simplest formulas are based on an economy-wide average wage, it may make sense to use a different basis for skilled labour volunteers. However, any number grounded purely in a marketplace value basis is acknowledged by both adherents and detractors of the volunteer monetary equivalent (or "wage replacement") approach to not necessarily capture the full value being created and leveraged via the volunteer experience. For example, volunteer participation with an organisation can serve an important signalling value in a community, indicating authentic buy-in to the mission from diverse stakeholders. Volunteer expert [Linda Graff](#) argues for a focus on the tangible outcomes of volunteers. [Laurie Mook](#) and colleagues seek to offer a more comprehensive metric via their Expanded Value Added Statement (EVAS), which adds expenses paid by volunteers and the latent value of their skill development to a wage replacement baseline.

More broadly, long-term multi-indices approaches may offer a fuller picture of people power, such as incorporating fiscally oriented volunteer data alongside other metrics over multi-year time scales to produce ROI (Return on Investment) calculations to measure impacts of advocacy and community organising ([Ranghelli, 2009](#)). And at the metaphorical level, some have conceived of people power as an 'asset' that can be invested to return greater power, or depleted, causing reduction of the 'principle' of a people power base asset ([Community Capital](#)).

Network and community empowerment, as a function and/or benefit of people-powered organising

In long-form answers, 4.4% of all respondents indicated that community power and capacity was an important outcome of people-powered programs that should be measured in some way. In a similar vein, some respondents raised the networks created by people power, as well as their growth and health, as outcomes that should be tracked and recorded. This accords with a substantial body of scholarship indicating that social embeddedness (being a part of a social network involved in a community) predicts activism ([van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013](#)).

This finding accords with longstanding theory and practice in community organising, which understands that building relationships and leadership is central to their theories of change ([Fine, 2007](#)). Community organising evaluation frameworks (e.g., [RECO](#); [Foster & Louie, 2010](#); [Ranghelli, 2009](#)) tend to share broadly similar sets of criteria, such as key metrics for leadership development ([Parachini and Covington, 2001](#); [Ranghelli, 2009](#)) and relationship building ([Hill-Snowdon Foundation](#)), which are also important to movement building ([Nakae, Bowman & Shen, 2009](#)). For example, the Education Organising Indicators Framework uses eight indicator areas to assess ways in which community organising groups can work for school change ([Gold & Simon](#)); leadership development, community power, and social capital are each seen to feed each other and drive growth in community capacity that enables public accountability.

The following summary of the follow-up in-depth interview with Joep Karskens provides additional detail on the theme of Network and community empowerment.

Case Study: Joep Karskens with Friends of the Earth Netherlands

Friends of the Earth Netherlands is in the process of refocusing the measurement of their organising work around long-term movement building, and away from a practice of mobilizing

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people just for specific campaigns. This involves recruiting activists for longer periods of time through community organising and big organising, and investing in relational skills to build collective capacity. This has led them to focus on measurement of activists at the higher levels of their engagement pyramid and the number of durable local affiliate groups.

This approach was presented to us by Joep Karskens, a Digital organiser with Friends of the Earth Netherlands, a venerable organisation focused on addressing a range of environmental and climate justice issues.

Friends of the Earth Netherlands traditionally focused on growing their supporter base by recruiting for one-off events—for instance, petitions or single actions—while neglecting longer-term leadership development and the creation of enduring local teams. But as they have engaged more people than their staff can manage on their own, and with a desire to build long-term power across the ups and downs of individual campaigns, they have begun focusing on those at the higher levels and supporting local leaders who can organise activities, such as door to door canvassing, on the ground around the country.

"Counting (growth in) active volunteers/supporters in each level of our engagement pyramid (leading, owning, contributing, supporting), and counting active and functioning groups working on our campaign issue...is promising mainly because it focuses more on collective organisational capacity than on achieved policy change. This has helped shift our entire strategy towards building people power (organising) rather than lobby+mobilizing efforts"

For example, in addition to goals centred on the total number of people in their pyramid, they are also targeting to grow a certain number of leaders—those whom they are in touch with on a regular basis—, as well as local groups, each with a volunteer leader and volunteer canvassers.

While it has been too early to integrate these metrics into comprehensive evaluation, the process has spurred reflection within the organisation and greater attention to their efforts to recruit and retain leaders over time. In focusing on leaders came a strategic shift in the calls to action they promoted, in order to provide more actions that would engage people at the higher levels of their pyramid.

This strategic shift towards people power was initiated by Joep's former head of organising, inspired by scholar Marshall Ganz's "snowflake model" of organising. It was people in the middle tiers of their organisation, who started experimenting with different approaches. Their revised pyramid categories, based on the work of political scientist Hahrie Han, has been easily integrated into work across the organisation because it readily applies to the work of different departments, including fundraising, marketing, organising.

But the concept of local groups does not apply as broadly (for instance, it is not seen as relevant to the communications and fundraising teams) but is more directly related to the work of the organising department. And while groups can be readily tracked because of there are active involved in campaigns, are very dynamic, being created and dissolved over time, and there is no ready way to integrate the concept into their existing CRM. This has required them to do tracking manually, with continually updated physical maps of the Netherlands plastered with stickers indicating each group. Similar CRM data entry challenges exist for the higher levels of

the pyramid, which can't be automated, and entry often becomes a low priority for organisers in the middle of campaigns.

Conclusion

      This survey points to a global social change community on the cusp of potential transformation. Use of basic and vanity metrics (aided by the rise of digital campaigning in recent decades and the easily-assembled—if dubious—numbers it provides) is widespread amongst those who took our survey. Knowledge of, interest in, and implementation of more sophisticated approaches to truly understand the extent and effectiveness of people power is beginning to permeate the community. While most report dissatisfaction that they are not doing enough in this regard, senior management is largely viewed as supportive, and those people powered measurement practices that have been implemented are bearing fruit in the form of tactical and strategic changes in organisation decision and routines. There is a bumper crop of promising measurement techniques (some old and under-appreciated, some cutting edge and just getting an opportunity to disseminate). Thoughtful and creative innovators and early adopters across the world are researching, sharing, experimenting, and standardizing best practice.

      This project has uncovered a number of important insights that will help to chart the path forward for those interested in measuring people power:

On the one hand…
- Adoption of measurement practices is still a work in progress with many respondents still reporting they do not measure enough
- There is a clear and present need to promote and socialize new and existing best practices across the community, as one-in-five respondents indicated they were not aware of a single promising power measurement approach
- Among those who do identify promising approaches, a number listed fundraising or vanity metrics, indicating widely divergent understandings of what is truly required to validly measure people power

And yet…
- Yet measuring people power pays dividends when done, with most agreeing it has helped them evaluate new practices and change current ones
- Measuring people power is reported useful for a wide range of functions, from tracking current and past activities, to informing future strategic decision-making
- A core of standard measurement practices, centered on incremental improvements over vanity metrics, appears to be widespread, but distinct from more innovative measurement approaches
- One size doesn't fit all, with every organisation representing a unique combination of context, theory of change, and internal capacity; yet we have identified a wide and deep menu of people power metrics that should accommodate most social change agents
- Small organisations appear to be more nimble, and better able to take advantage of measuring their people power

The classic theory of the *diffusion of innovations* (Rogers, 1995) posits that successful innovations (inventions, new behaviours or practices) spread and are adopted across communities in a predictable pattern, described by an 'S' curve graph (Figure 23 Diffusion of innovation 'S' curve (Rogers, 1995) (Graphic: Investura)). A small group of risk-tolerant and unconventional Innovators tinker with the innovation until it has begun to show promise. Influential opinion-leading early adopters (a slightly larger group) then catch on and begin a trend. This seeds the innovation to the bulk of the population as adoption rates soar, and eventually concluding with the Laggards. People powered campaigning and the measurement practices to accompany and enable it may be at that critical, generative, and explosive moment in which active innovation and early adoption are in dynamic exchange, and the first hints of early majority interest are beginning to appear as early adopters demonstrate value and evangelize. Exciting times!
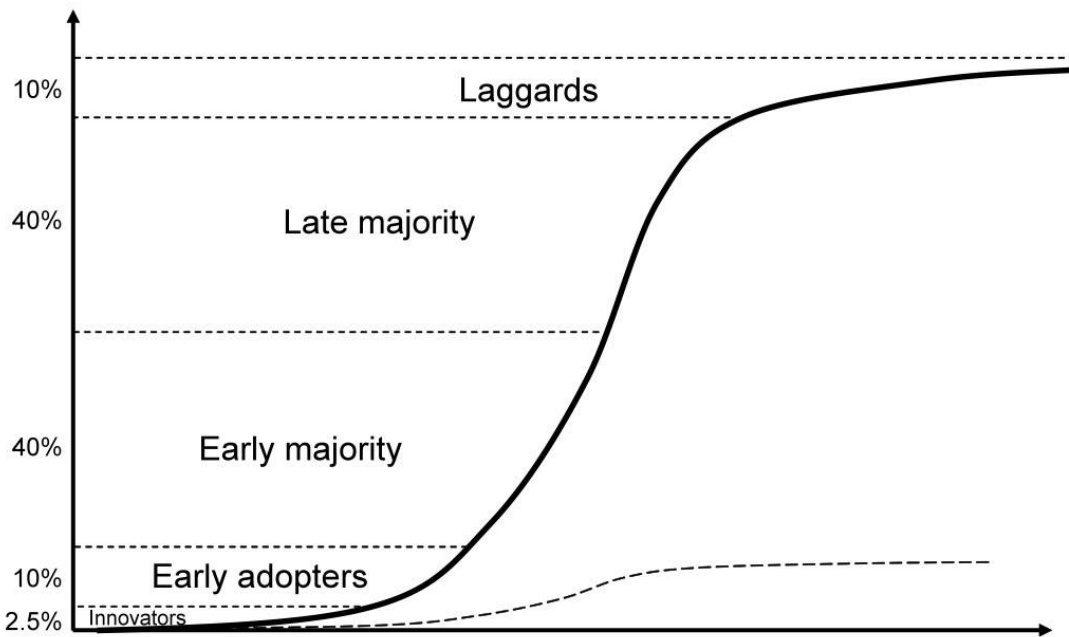

Figure 23 Diffusion of innovation 'S' curve (Rogers, 1995) (Graphic: Investura)

Recommendations for Further Research

This report is a waypoint along a long road of research and innovation to improve the state of knowledge and practice in measuring people power. It is certainly not the end. These are among the questions that further investigation could help the field to address.

- Are there certain 'gateway' measurement practices that facilitate organisational adoption of yet more powerful measurement approaches?

- Are there certain measure that might serve as 'leading indicators' that a campaign or movement is succeeding in developing its people power? (for example, interest among activists to engage in one-to-one meetings with organisers may signal the breadth of leadership development potential among supporters)
- Diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) considerations were rarely discussed by respondents. What are DEI principles and practices relevant to measuring people power to ensure we build strong, representative, and just movements?
- Some respondents focused on measuring *people*, some on measuring *tactics/events/etc.*, and some on measuring *outcomes and results*. Under what circumstances are each of these levels of analysis appropriate, and how might measurement at each level be interrelated with the others to create comprehensive measurement systems?
- Diverse theories of change and engagement models likely call for appropriately designed measurement approaches. What needs to be different when measuring people power in the context of transformational organising versus transactional mobilizing, and where might there be universally applicable measurement considerations?
- Several respondents observed that quantitative approaches have limitations when it comes to measuring people power, and qualitative, consultatory, and narrative modes of data collection and interpretation are central. What may be optimal ways to combine the strengths of quantitative and qualitative methodologies for measuring people power?

APPENDIX

Early themes emerging from initial scan of open-ended responses
"Voice" of people as a key metric
Measurement/metrics don't capture everything
Best approach depends on context
Various specific indices (e.g., circles of commitment framework, ratio-type measures)
A lot of work is required for real power-building
Measurement of people vs. measurement of outcomes as distinct paradigms
Grassroots/agency of the people
Relationships
Online vs. offline
Commitment
Mindsets/attitudes
Narrative
"Standard" approach (going beyond 'simple' vanity to measuring actions, etc.)
Critique of just measuring number of actions
Deficiency of current approaches
Especially deficiency in current approaches to assessing people power impact on outcomes
Metrics that measure things other than actual people power
Various methodological considerations
Surveys/listening to supporters
Data/CRMS as source
Modes of engagement and theories of change as key determinants
Election outcomes
Direct service model
Policymaker engagement
Union organising
Personal behaviour change
Depth vs. breadth of supporters
Macro-social (involvement in political parties, etc.)
Relying on success of campaign as indicator of people power
Testimonials from decisionmakers
Lack of resources as barrier to metrics/evaluation

Most promising people power measurement approaches self-reported by respondents

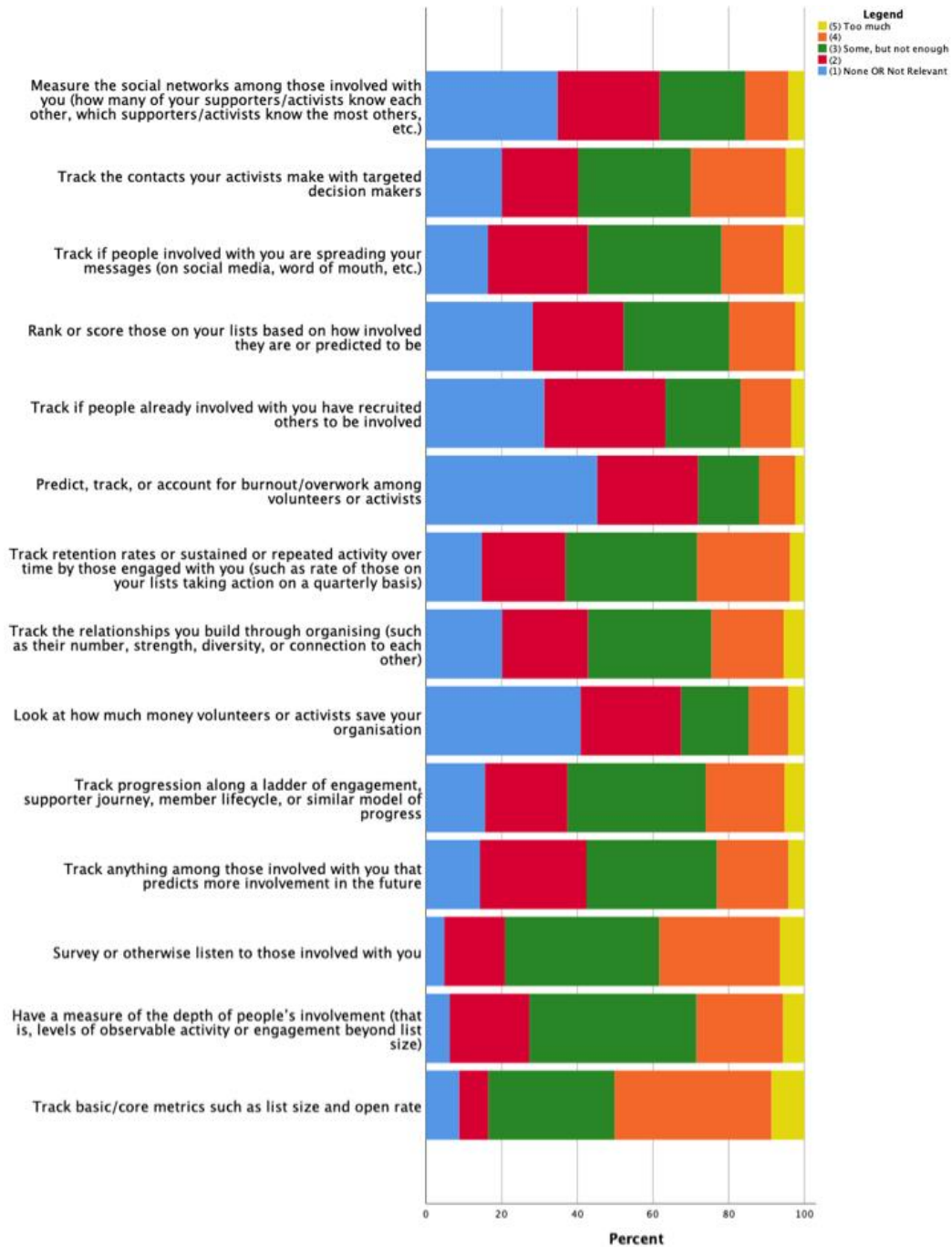| Topic	%	Category
"Standard" approach ('Simple' vanity to measuring actions, etc.)	0.4%	"Standard" approach ('Simple' vanity to measuring actions, etc.)
o # of activities (e.g., meetings, protests)	0.6%	
o Location/geographic spread of action	0.4%	
o Ladder of engagement/level of commitment/leadership	5.8%	
o Local campaigns,# events led by local leaders	2.4%	
o # of supporters	4.4%	
o # of actions or conversion rate (general), incl. petition signs, conversions, click through	12.0%	
o # of high-level activists	1.4%	
o Decisionmaker contact	3.6%	
o Protest/event attendance	4.0%	
o Trained supporters/skillset	1.6%	
o Online-->offline	1.4%	
o Conversations w/supporters, 1:1	1.6%	
o Vanity metrics	1.4%	
o Weighting/combining diff actions into score	1.6%	
o Sustained engagement	1.6%	
o Fundraising	1.4%	
o Propensity scoring/models	0.8%	
Media coverage/ Narrative	3.2%	Media coverage/ Narrative
o Conversations amongst public (social listening)	2.8%	
Mindsets/attitudes/Public polling	4.4%	External impacts (public opinion, voteshare, campaign success, etc.)
o Views of organization/mvt	0.4%	
o Culture, norms, etc.	1.0%	
o Education/access to information	0.6%	
Votes/Turnout/running for office	2.8%	
Decision-maker feedback	1.6%	
Success of campaign as indicator of PP	6.0%	
Other characteristics of supporters (e.g., happiness, efficacy), incl. surveys of supporters	7.6%	More complex supporter-focused
Relationships & community	4.4%	
"Voice" of people/empowerment	3.8%	
Lateral organizing, decentralized, distributed, snowflake etc., incl. supporters reaching out, taking on actions, etc.	6.4%	
ROI/monetary value of volunteers	0.4%	
Non-violent civil disobedience, strikes, etc.	0.4%	
Social networks among supporters	0.2%	
Systemic/macro/revolution	1.8%	Macro-social (coalitions, systems change, etc.)
Coalitions, cross-org collaboration	2.4%	
Holisitic, campaign/program design/eval	3.8%	
Movement building	1.6%	
Qualitative (general)	6.0%	Specific methodologies (qualitative, participatory, digital, etc.)
Digital	4.2%	
Specific method/computation	1.2%	
Academic research	0.2%	
Participatory research	1.4%	
Long-term tracking	0.2%	
DEI considerations	0.6%	
OTHER	4.6%	Other
UNCLEAR	5.4%	
NONE (stated) (incl. 'nothing promising, but…')	18.4%	None
BLANK	0.8%	

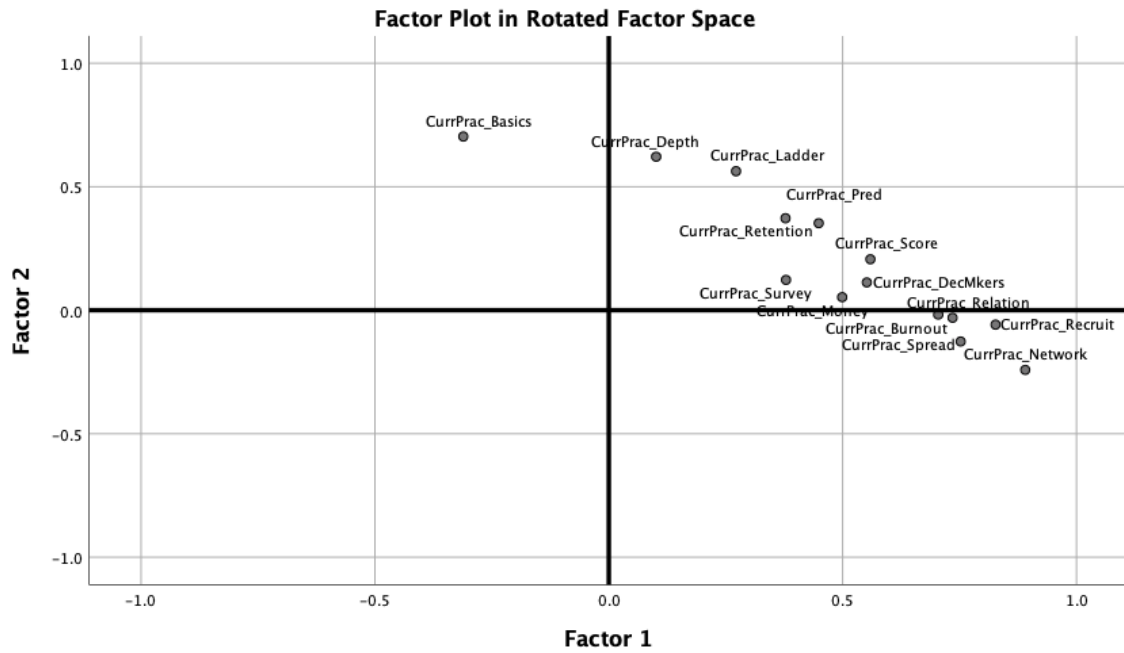*Figure 24 Frequency of Current Measurement Practices, all response options*

Figure 25 Exploratory Factor Analysis of current measurement practices