



# POWER ANALYSIS FOR STATE TABLES

A GUIDE FOR ANALYZING YOUR POWER  
AS A COALITION

RE-AMP Organizing Hub

2016

---

## CONTENTS

About RE-AMP .....	3
Introduction and Background .....	4
What is a Power Analysis? .....	4
Power: What it is, Where it Comes From and What it Looks Like .....	5
The Power Analysis Process.....	7
Step 1: Decide What Your Power and the Analysis is for .....	7
Step 2: Decide What Data to Collect and Define Key Terms .....	10
Sample Power Analysis Metrics .....	11
Define Key Words and Concepts .....	12
Step 3: Collect and Aggregate the Data .....	13
Step 4: Assess the Data.....	15
Are We There Yet? Or, When is Your Power Analysis Done? .....	17
Next Steps: Powerbuilding Plans .....	17
Appendix A: Examples .....	19
Illinois Environmental Council .....	19
Renew Missouri .....	20
Conservation Minnesota .....	21
Iowa Environmental Council.....	21
Iowa Environmental Council, Environmental Law and Policy Center and Iowa Interfaith Power and Light .....	22
Clean Wisconsin/ Organizing Hub.....	22
Wisconsin Climate and Energy Table.....	24
Appendix B: Power Analysis Data Resources.....	25
Appendix C: Further Reading .....	27
Appendix D: Sample MOU for Data Gathering .....	28

## ABOUT RE-AMP

RE-AMP is an active network of over 175 nonprofits and foundations across eight Midwestern states working on climate change and energy policy with the goal of reducing global warming pollution economy-wide 80 percent by 2050. RE-AMP brings environmental, labor, faith, youth, energy, environmental justice, conservation and other groups together to develop common priorities to achieve our goals in the areas of clean energy, coal, energy efficiency, global warming solutions, and transportation. With a wide array of member organizations, RE-AMP provides many opportunities for various constituencies throughout the Midwest.

To help meet RE-AMP's goal of reducing global warming pollution 80 percent by 2050, the RE-AMP Steering Committee created the RE-AMP Organizing Hub. The Organizing Hub brings together targeted policy campaigns and movement building, to build power for long-term success. The Organizing Hub focuses on campaign planning, strategy coaching and campaign skills-building for RE-AMP members.

Effective campaigns build an organization's power, and powerful organizations are able to run increasingly effective campaigns. This guide, with its emphasis on successful coalitions, seeks to help build power within the RE-AMP Network so that members can run more effective campaigns in the short term and build a movement to fight climate change in the long term. For more information about RE-AMP or the Organizing Hub, please visit [www.reamp.org](http://www.reamp.org). For more information on this guide, contact Melissa Gavin at [melissa@reamp.org](mailto:melissa@reamp.org).

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Since its start in 2005, RE-AMP has sought to help groups tackling climate change in the Midwest to think systemically and act collaboratively. In 2015, the RE-AMP Global Warming Strategic Action Fund (GWSAF) made this focus even more explicit. Through a shift in its funding, the GWSAF put a greater emphasis on building the capacity of state climate and energy tables to collaborate and build power in a more strategic and impactful manner, in addition to its continued funding of strategic opportunities for more immediate climate wins.

RE-AMP state tables are being asked to conduct a power analysis, to inform the selection of collaborative campaigns and joint strategies to help build the climate movement in each RE-AMP state. This guide aims to provide members of these newly created state tables guidance on conducting a collaborative power analysis.

## WHAT IS A POWER ANALYSIS?

A power analysis is a data-driven process and tool that illustrates where and how much power an organization or a coalition of organizations has to move their agenda forward. It also shows where an organization or coalition does not have power, and therefore, informs how and where to strategically build power. It is an objective way to represent this power and helps organizations and coalitions make better decisions about how to work together to achieve their goals.

A power analysis can help your state table decide where to target power building efforts. This, in turn, will inform which campaigns or issues to pursue, allowing you to choose work that builds power where the movement in your state needs it. Alternatively, it will show areas where table members could build alliances and partnerships or recruit new members to fill in places where the state table does not currently have or want to build power. Because the power analysis process is data driven, it may help surface important shifts and trends that may have not been previously perceived.

During the course of conducting a power analysis, there are some tasks and discussions that should be carried out by the full state table, and some tasks and discussions that would be better carried out by a smaller committee of table members. In this guide, we'll provide suggestions about what level of involvement is optimal at each step of the power analysis process. Look for symbols on the sidebars to indicate this.

## Power Mapping vs Power Analysis

Many people confuse the terms power analysis and power map.

*Power analysis* is a data driven analysis of power, based on where members of your state table have power.

*Power mapping* looks at key decision makers and identifies ways to reach them. Ways to power map vary, but useful power maps share core elements: an assessment of who has influence on your targets, including professional and personal relationships, and paths to gain influence on those targets.

There are ways to blend these two concepts and many groups and coalitions choose to do so. This guide focuses on power analysis; however, some examples we share in Appendix A are more combination of power mapping and power analysis. For more on power mapping, see [Path to Power: Best Practices on Power Mapping](#) on the RE-AMP Commons.

A note about terminology: In this guide, we use the term power analysis. The terms power analysis and power assessment are often used interchangeably, even by the Organizing Hub. In this document, we use the term power analysis for both the sake of consistency and because we feel it better captures the concept of this being useful as an action-oriented tool for strategic thinking. However, other resources may use either or both terms to capture the same concept.

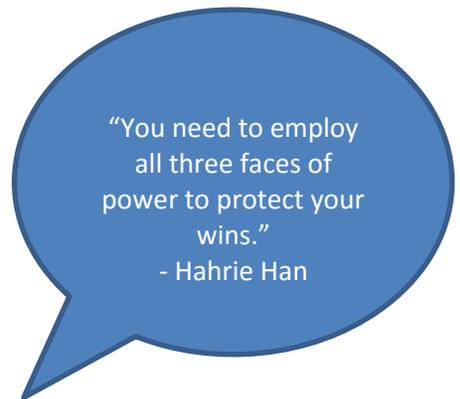
## POWER: WHAT IT IS, WHERE IT COMES FROM AND WHAT IT LOOKS LIKE

Power is best defined as the ability to set and move your agenda forward. For those involved in the policymaking process, power comes in three forms: money, relationships and information. But these sources of power are not equal. Of the three, money and relationships wield much more power than information alone. Our power as advocates usually comes from relationships and information, because we will simply never have the amount of money our opponents have. And since information is a distant runner-up as a source of power, this means power for us is largely about people and the **relationships** among them. Power from relationships primarily comes from two sources: grassroots and grassroots support. Understanding this and then intentionally building and leveraging your power are critical to your success.

There are various ways of thinking about the different sources and aspects of power. Political and social theorist Steven Lukes describes power as having three faces: direct political involvement, infrastructure, and worldview. Hahrie Han, Associate Professor of Environmental Politics at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and author of *How Organizations Develop Activists*, expounded on this

concept in a 2015 Yale Climate Communications Conference presentation entitled, “Mobilizing versus Organizing for Building Political Power”:

- **First Face of Power:** Direct Political Involvement. This is visible power, people acting on recognized grievances in a system. Examples of the kinds of activities we use when we employ the first face of power are: lobbying our legislators, taking legal action, or getting involved in direct action such as protests, signing petitions, strikes, etc. In this perspective of power, power is obvious: whoever gets their way has the most power. You might measure your ability to employ this face of power by looking at the number of individual members in a geographic or political district or the number of activists in a particular geographic or political district.
- **Second Face of Power:** Building Infrastructure to Shape Political Agendas. This is hidden power. It decides who gets in the game and what issues are being discussed. Examples include organizing people for collective action, developing leaders who can guide organizations, and building and maintaining coalitions and other platforms of collaboration. In this perspective, the most powerful entity is the one who can control what goes on the agenda or what never makes it onto the agenda. Some things you might look at when measuring this would be the number and strength of your grassroots within a key geographic or political district as well as the types of organizations at the table.
- **Third Face of Power:** Manipulating the View of Others. This is invisible, or structural power. It decides how our interests, beliefs, and institutions are shaped and what assumptions we make. Examples include: Message framing, values-based communication, and information control. In this perspective of power, power is the ability to shape the wishes and desires of others, without them even knowing.

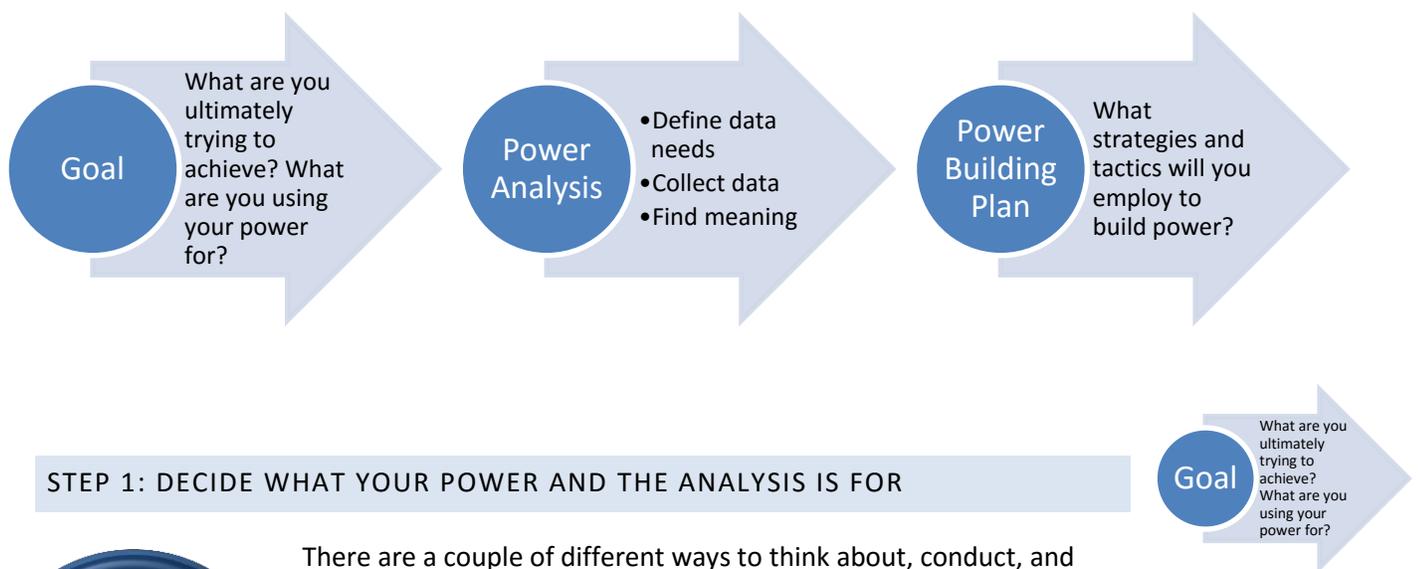


As Han explains, “You need to employ all three faces of power to protect your wins.” This is where RE-AMP state tables come in. By collaborating at the state table, individual organizations can come together to employ the various forms and manifestations of power in ways they could not do on their own. This document primarily focuses on analyzing your ability to employ the first face of power, direct action, but it’s an important first step. Through your efforts to build a state table, you will be working on and analyzing the second face of power. Who is at the table? Who needs to join? What other organizations need to be there to make it a meaningful collaboration? RE-AMP staff can also provide

resources to help you analyze the strength of your state table. The third face of power is about our values, beliefs and biases as a society. This may come out in public opinion polling and is affected by strategic communications, for example, values-based messaging and message framing (we provide a link to RE-AMP’s message framing in Appendix C).

## THE POWER ANALYSIS PROCESS

No two power analyses are the same. In this section, we’ll describe the steps for conducting a power analysis for your state table, but the specific data you collect and analyze and the finished product will vary from state to state. See Appendix A for examples of the data collected by some groups that have conducted power analyses. Here is a quick look at how things fit together:



There are a couple of different ways to think about, conduct, and then use, a state table power analysis. The two possibilities listed below are not mutually exclusive, but in most cases, your power analysis will emphasize one use over the other, which may result in collecting different types of data:

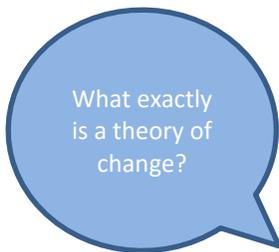
1. **Building a climate movement.** If this is your primary emphasis as a state table, you would collect data that describes your current power in a general sense. It is a broad, holistic approach and can help inform where you don’t have power as a group but would want to build it (for example,

within certain key constituencies). Use the analysis to help you decide on issue campaigns that members of the state table can work on collaboratively to build more power for the state's climate and energy movement.

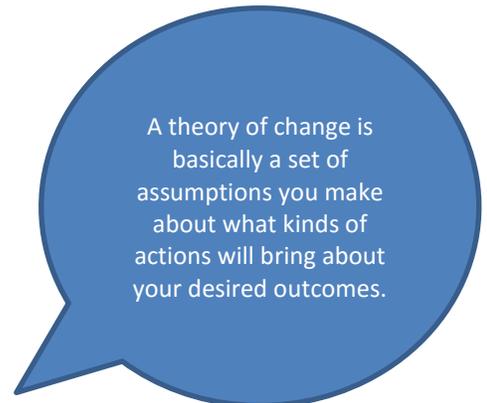
2. **To benefit specific issue campaigns.** If this is your primary emphasis, you would collect data that describes your current power to affect the issue campaigns that are currently in play. It is a narrower, more focused exercise and has more immediate benefits to members of the state table. Use it to improve the campaigns you are running right now or already have in mind for the future by seeing gaps in geographic representation, partner constituencies, etc. and using the state table to help build power in those areas.

When you think about analyzing your power, you'll need to first decide how you will use your power, or what your ultimate goal is. Consider a hammer. A hammer is an excellent tool for driving a nail into a board, but a lousy tool for spreading frosting on cupcakes. How you judge whether the hammer is effective or useful depends on how you use the hammer. Similarly, when you are analyzing your power, it will be important to understand how you will use your power.

**Analyzing your power first depends on your goal.** Your first step will be to describe your goal as a state table.



If you have a campaign goal of codifying renewable energy standards into state law, you may gather one type of data about your power (e.g. member and activists by legislative district) and develop a subsequent theory of change based



on an analysis of your power. A theory of change is basically a set of assumptions you make about what kinds of actions will bring about your desired outcomes. If your desired goal is dozens or hundreds of city councils adopting carbon reduction goals, then you may gather different data (e.g. member and activists by aldermanic districts) and identify a different set of assumptions. If your goal is getting utilities to support or enable renewable energy from distributed solar installations, then it's yet another type of data and set of assumptions. And if your goal is about movement building, say to build a pro-clean energy legislative majority by 2024, then it's another set of data to gather, and a different set of assumptions about how you do the work to accomplish your goal. This is important because how you analyze your power will be different based on what you use your power for.

Conducting a power analysis for a state table is more complicated than conducting a power analysis for a single organization, coalition or campaign, in part because there may be many goals and theories of change for how to accomplish those goals. While some partners will believe it is important to have power in key state legislative districts, other partners will believe it's as or more important to have relationships within key utility service territories. How you analyze your power and then create a power building plan, then, depends largely on your goals as a group.



If you can't agree on a single, or similar enough, goal what can you do?

If table members disagree about what the most desirable outcome is for your state, it will complicate the power analysis, but valuable work can still be done. Here are a few options to consider:

1. **Find an overarching goal that most members of the state table can buy into.** This goal may be articulated as more of a movement building goal, or it may be a generic campaign goal that feels like a good surrogate for campaigns you are likely to run. In this scenario, state table members would select one overarching goal to help shape a power analysis. For example, that because state level policy permeates so much of what all members at the state table do, focusing on how all groups can build power to stop bad state-level legislation and support good state-level legislation is a top priority. Even though some groups will still work at the local level, and some groups will continue only working to change utility business models, they can agree to a working goal and theory of change that resonates with everyone in some way.
2. **One data survey, multiple analyses.** As a group, decide what data has the most value to everyone at the state table, compile and share it, but have subgroups complete separate analysis to parse out meaning from the data based on campaign goals.
3. **Multiple surveys, multiple analyses.** Conduct a power analysis for each major campaign goal represented at your state table. In this scenario, groups would only contribute data to a subgroup that conducts a power analysis based on their shared goal. The larger state table would not necessarily see these data, but they would see the results of the subgroup's final power analysis.

In general, to ensure a smooth and effective project, the process and partner expectations must be clear from the beginning. Discuss the power analysis process as a state table and decide what data to collect, how to collect it and what to do with it. If data confidentiality is a main concern, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) or contract might help the process. A sample contract between two organizations can be found in appendix D of this document. In other cases, some groups simply will have institutional barriers for sharing specific membership data. Do the best you can to collect data from as many partners as possible, but do not hold up the process indefinitely to accommodate every table member. You can always update the power analysis with new information if groups elect to participate at a later date.

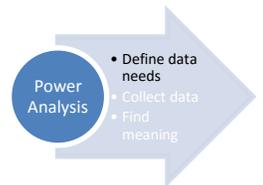


Maya Angelou has been credited with saying, “Do the best you can until you know better. Then, when you know better, do better.” We recommend you use this same philosophy when thinking about power analysis. You will have imperfect data. You will have to make assumptions and not every group will be willing to share data. Power analysis, especially in a coalition setting, is a case of not letting perfect be the enemy of good. Gather the data you have access to, use that to inform your thinking now and when you have new, better, more robust data, use that.

## STEP 2: DECIDE WHAT DATA TO COLLECT AND DEFINE KEY TERMS



You have agreed on a goal (or goals) by which to analyze your power. Your next step is to decide what data to collect and get very clear about how certain key terms are defined. We recommend the full table agree on what data to collect. What metrics you gather will depend on your goal, but remember that power from relationships primarily comes from two sources: grassroots and grassroots support. Grassroots support can be assessed by analyzing an organization’s individual membership, supporters, and volunteers. Grassroots can be assessed by analyzing an organization’s access to key influential individuals, such as business owners or religious leaders in a key legislative district, for example. The following metrics are included as suggestions for your state table’s power analysis, but this is not a comprehensive list. There may be other metrics of power for your state table, depending on how you define power and your goal, but this is a good list to get you started.



---

## SAMPLE POWER ANALYSIS METRICS

- Relationships
  - Individual members in a geographic or political district
  - Activists by geographic or political district
  - FTEs for grassroots organizing, lobbying, communications
  - Volunteers by geographic or political district
  - Number of email addresses
  - Number of individuals in the Voter Activation Network (VAN) within a geographic region with certain scores based on modeling (e.g., environmental activist scores of 70 or above)
  - Major donors broken down by geographic or political district
  - Social media reach of each table member
  - Relationships with key decision-makers
  - Grasstops broken down by geographic or political district
  - Relationships with media outlets held by each table member
  - Constituencies represented at the table
- Money
  - Political contributions made by individuals and organizations at the table
  - Budget of organizations at the table
  - Funding/ FTEs devoted to climate and energy work
- Information
  - FTEs for litigation, science, and research
  - Access to consultants/ technical assistance
- Additional data to consider:
  - Public opinion polling
  - Demographics
  - Swing districts/ election results from most recent elections
  - Major employers, industries in your state
  - Allies
  - Opponents (to gauge relative power and to understand the source of their power)

---

## DEFINE KEY WORDS AND CONCEPTS

A strong power analysis relies on good data. There are some categories of data that need to be defined in order for them to be meaningful. We recommend the full state table agree on these definitions. Here are some examples of terms you may need to discuss and define as a group:

### POWER

Power is best defined as the ability to set and move your agenda forward. However, establishing this or a modified definition explicitly on the out-set will set the stage for the entire analysis. What does having power look like in your state? What are the characteristics of having power? In a practical way, when will you know you have it?

### SWING DISTRICTS

Define what constitutes a swing district to help target efforts and resources when forming a plan to move forward. For example, swing districts can be defined as districts that have been decided on by a 4-5 percent margin or less, going back three election cycles.

### INDIVIDUAL MEMBER

In most cases, an organization will assess its grassroots support by looking at its list of individual members; however, organizations differ on how they define members. Some examples include:

- A donor who has given in any amount in the last year
- A donor who has given at least \$50 in the last three years
- An individual who has written a letter or made a phone call to a legislator on behalf of the organization
- An individual who has attended an organizational event in the last year
- An individual who has testified on the organization's behalf

While members may be defined in an organization's bylaws, this may not be the best definition for purposes of a power analysis. Remember that good data in equals good data out. An individual who donated \$10 four years ago may not be a strong enough supporter to include in a power analysis, even if

the organization technically considers the individual to be a member. We recommend using a definition of member that targets the individuals the organization can count on for support.

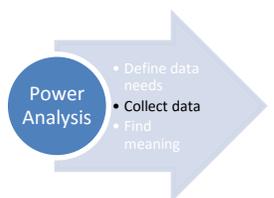
## GRASSTOPS

Grasstops are individuals who have significant influence over one or more decision makers. They can lend more credibility to your cause and substantially increase public awareness and action because of their access, recognition and influence. Define what a grasstop is before starting the process. Some examples of grasstops include:

- Big business owners
- Local elected officials
- Community leaders
- Political funders
- Personal friends and family of a decision maker

The key to defining a grasstop is to establish a shared understanding of what level of influence a grasstop needs to have, what issue or issues they are interested in and the strength of the relationship between the organization and the grasstop. Again, it's vital to establish a definition that is explicit and shared among all participating organizations.

### STEP 3: COLLECT AND AGGREGATE THE DATA



Power Analysis  
Subcommittee

Once you have collectively decided what data to analyze and how those categories of data are defined, the next step is to begin collecting and aggregating the data. We recommend that a small group or subset of the state table do this part of the power analysis. If you are sharing actual names and membership lists, we strongly recommend you create a contract or a MOU to govern the use of this data. A sample contract between two organizations can be found in the appendix of this guide. If, instead you are only capturing the landscape of each organization's power (e.g., how many members an organization has or number of email addresses), but not specific data (sharing names and addresses of members), you may not need to do this.

Your state table has several options for data collection and aggregation. We cover a few below:

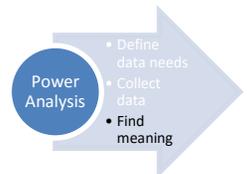
1. **Work with a State Voices affiliate.** If your state has a State Voices affiliate, you may be able to use their services to help with the data aggregation process. State Voices affiliates have the ability to assure data confidentiality, aggregate multiple lists of names and addresses, remove the duplicates and return the list back to the state table. The benefit of this option is that State Voices affiliates may be able to enhance your list with data from the Voter Activation Network, such as voting history, updated addresses, VAN scores, etc. However, even in the four RE-AMP states where there is a State Voices affiliate (Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin), their ability to do so is contingent on whether most state table groups are also part of the State Voices network, what you will do with the list afterwards (e.g., must be used strictly for (c)3 purposes) and of course, their own staff capacity. Still, this may be a very good option for the state table to attain a high quality compiled list of members to use for power analysis.
2. **Designate one member to collect the data, compile it, remove duplicate names and return the larger list to state table.** This will be a big effort for a single organization, depending on the size of each organization's list, but with patience, can be done, even in Excel. In this case, we strongly recommend putting an MOU in place to cover how the data will be used, who can see it, how it will be returned, etc.
3. **Designate one member to collect general data, not individual names, and recognize that there will be over-representation.** In this scenario, a state table would designate one member to collect data via a survey that describes categories of power and compile it, recognizing that there will be duplicate names. For example, asking state table members to report on the number of members they have who live in Senate district 16, rather than names and zip codes of members in Senate district 16. Because activists often support more than one organization they agree with, this means there is a high likelihood of multiple organizations sharing the same members. When you are analyzing the power of the state table, having the same person counted multiple times (and therefore likely over-representing your power) is not ideal. But, you may decide that even with the potential for duplicate names, the analysis tells you enough of what you need to know to move forward.
4. **Contract with a third party vendor to collect the data, compile it, remove duplicate names and return the larger list to the state table.** Direct mail vendors do this work routinely. In this

scenario, you would work with a vendor to aggregate data from multiple organizations, remove the duplicate names and then return the list. The costs for this will vary based on the size of the lists being aggregated, but it has the benefit of full data confidentiality (if this is a sticking point for table members) and the benefit of having no strings attached to what the table does with the list afterward. It has the downside of being a static list that cannot be easily updated with address changes, etc. For a list of suggested vendors, contact Melissa Gavin at the Organizing Hub.

#### STEP 4: ASSESS THE DATA



After the data has been collected and aggregated, you'll need some way of making sense of it. We recommend that a small group or subset of the state table do this part of the power analysis. Two common ways of doing this are:



1. **Maps.** Maps are a compelling way to visualize your results so you can assess what it means for your state's movement. You may decide to create a map that displays the concentration of organizational members and grasstops layered over a legislative district map, for example. For an example of this, see the power analysis work done for the 2014 Primetime Process in Wisconsin, in the appendix.
2. **Scoring and ranking.** Simplifying the data by using formulas with weighted values may help you see trends in the data. For example, ranking Senate districts by an "importance score" based on number of members, average environmental activist scores from the VAN and number of solar installations, may help identify where to prioritize your efforts. Some of those metrics may be more important than others, so you would want to assign appropriate weights to them when creating your scoring formula. In this example, once you've assigned each Senate district a score, you can rank them in terms priority. ***Be sure to record your assumptions in a document you can come back to when it's time to update the power analysis.*** This includes how you assigned scores or how formulas were generated.

However you chose to do it, you'll want to prepare the data in a way that state table members can use it to inform the final step of the process.



The final step in this process is to make the data meaningful. We recommend convening the full state table to conduct a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis to surface trends and insights from the data. This should be done in a facilitated group discussion.

In this group discussion, you'll want to identify your state table's:

- Strengths (based on power analysis data)
- Weaknesses (based on power analysis data)
- Opportunities (based on power analysis data, analyses from the Local Solutions Working Group, Yale climate maps, landscape analysis, Clean Jobs Midwest data)
- Threats (based on power analysis data, analyses from the Local Solutions Working Group, Yale climate maps, landscape analysis)

Here is an example of what that may look like for a state table:

SWOT	Helpful	Harmful
Internal	<b>Strengths</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• State table has lots of issue expertise on staff</li> <li>• State table has large numbers of individual members in four urban areas</li> <li>• Three FTEs are available to help with strategic communication</li> <li>• Access to the VAN</li> </ul>	<b>Weaknesses</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• State table has low numbers of members in rural areas</li> <li>• Staff time is limited</li> <li>• State table has very few grassroots relationships built in three key districts</li> <li>• No EJ groups are represented at the table</li> </ul>
External	<b>Opportunities</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clean Power Plan</li> <li>• There are legislative champions on climate and energy in two key districts</li> <li>• The state table has member organizations based in three key districts</li> </ul>	<b>Threats</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is a strong lobbyist working for the opposition</li> <li>• Due to the current legislative make-up, it is doubtful that any climate or clean energy bills will be passed in this legislative cycle.</li> </ul>

## ARE WE THERE YET? OR, WHEN IS YOUR POWER ANALYSIS DONE?

Your power analysis is done when you can glean meaningful information from it that informs your power building next steps as a state table. It is tempting to do a dive deep into power analysis, collecting and mining the data in the search for more trends and clues. That can be overwhelming and a significant investment of time. On the other hand, there may be table members who feel like any time spent analyzing collective power is time that could have been spent planning or implementing campaigns.

Remember that power analyses are tools for strategic thinking. This process can be as simple or as complex as your state table chooses to make it. We suggest a middle path. The key is to create a tool that is simple enough to use and be updated, but sophisticated enough that it produces valuable and useful information. They are most useful if they are done regularly (about every two years), revisited with updated data and maintained over time so that you can see trends emerge. You're going to have to come back to it again and again, which means that the process can't be incredibly burdensome or painful. It also means that your table may start small and build the power analysis over time, with each subsequent year bringing more sophistication to the tool. That's ok. When it tells you enough of what your state table needs to do to build power as a movement in your state, you can move on.

## NEXT STEPS: POWERBUILDING PLANS

We know the polls are with us. Public opinion poll after public opinion poll shows favorable opinions on climate change action. But public opinion does not equal public will and it won't, on its own, make your state climate and energy movement more powerful. But public opinion *can* be transformed into public will by giving that segment of the population a sense of agency. This is the stuff of power building.



Power Building Plan  
What strategies and tactics will you employ to build power?



Full State Table

Now that you know where your power is, it's time to make a power building plan. Building power is, at its core, about building relationships. This takes a concerted, sustained effort, but is the most effective way groups have to build power. There is no silver bullet. Decide where it is most important to build relationships and then decide when, how, and by whom it will get done. Create a plan, as a state table, to do that work. This will most likely take the form of a collaborative campaign, in

which power building is a main goal and organizing and mobilizing are key strategies. Your power analysis will help you decide what issues may be most ripe for a power building campaign.

Along the way, know that there are key tools to help in this process. The RE-AMP Organizing Hub can provide access to resources on strategic communications, the Voter Activation Network, grassroots organizing training, campaign planning, power mapping, power analysis, power analysis meeting facilitation and more. For help, contact the Organizing Hub staff at (608) 251-7020 ext 25 or by emailing Keith Reopelle at [kreopelle@cleanwisconsin.org](mailto:kreopelle@cleanwisconsin.org) or Melissa Gavin at [melissa@reamp.org](mailto:melissa@reamp.org).

## APPENDIX A: EXAMPLES

The following examples of power analysis metrics and processes have been gathered from organizations within and beyond the RE-AMP Network. Use these examples to help inspire your state table's own decisions about which metrics to use and how to use them in the assessment process.

### ILLINOIS ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL

***What they called it:*** *Power assessment*

***How they defined power:*** "To IEC, power is the ability to control the fate of environmental legislative policy in Illinois. Environmental proposals do not move forward without the support of the environmental community."

***What power looks like to them in practical terms:***

- Majority of 30 state senators
- Majority of 60 state legislators in the House
- Supportive agencies and executive branch

***The data they collected and compiled:***

- Membership data by legislative district
- Demographics, including racial composition of the district
- Election results by legislative district
- Legislator interests and biographical information
- Scorecard data for each legislator
- A survey by lobbyists about legislator power, influence, and support of environmental issues
- Political contributions from energy companies
- Model clean energy scores from the VAN

***Their power analysis process:***

IEC compared legislator scorecard data to number of IEC members in each House district to decide on which legislators to focus their efforts. They also used the legislator survey data, combined with membership numbers and model scores from the voter database, to determine which legislators were swayed by grassroots supporters and where they have the most support or should have the most support to target our grassroots and field work.

IEC conducted and used a survey on influencers to decide what other partners to send in, for example, business, faith, and/or labor voices. They also used membership data to determine where to hold joint events.

## RENEW MISSOURI

***What they called it:*** *Power assessment*

***How they defined power:*** Renew Missouri defines power as the ability to pass policy initiatives that strengthen renewable and energy efficiency measures at the state and municipal levels and the ability to stop RE & EE rollbacks.

***The data they collected and compiled:***

- Supporters- internal
  - Grassroots
  - Donors
  - Staff personal contacts
- Supporters- external
  - Grasstops
  - Legislative: allies, key committees
  - Governor's office
  - Administrative leaders: PSC, OPC, DNR
- Coalitions
  - In-state coalitions
  - Regional and national coalitions
- Communication capabilities
  - Internal
    - Organizational infrastructure
    - CRM capabilities
  - External
    - Media contacts
    - Social media

***Their power analysis process:***

Renew Missouri used Salesforce and an app called GeoPointe. They ran reports from Salesforce using multiple criteria (e.g. where supporters live, what kind of activities they have done with the organization, email open rate, etc.) They mapped out these supporters using GeoPointe (which has the ability to map by legislative district).

Renew Missouri found their supporters were spread all over the state, but in big clusters in cities. The biggest insight for them was learning and tracking the actions of their individual supporters so they could use it to help them with advocacy. They now note what kind of interactions they have with supporters/volunteers in Salesforce to further improve the usefulness of the data.

## CONSERVATION MINNESOTA

***What they called it:*** District targeting with CEJ targets and assets

***The data they collected and compiled:***

Collected the following data on every house and senate district:

- Legislator name
- Committee membership
- Committee leadership position
- Region of state
- Largest county
- Largest town
- Party
- Age
- Year elected
  - Terms
  - Hometown
  - Gender
  - Religion
  - Occupation
  - District influences
    - Key Influences (e.g. labor, tea party)
    - Energy providers
- Hunting & Fishing affiliations
- Current attitude on climate and energy
- Number of the following in each district:
  - Action Takers
  - Members/Supporters
  - Emails
  - Phones
  - Addresses
- Targeting factors:
  - Marginal District Target Points
  - Power Points
  - District Points
  - Constituent Points

## IOWA ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL

***What they called it:*** Power assessment

***The data they collected and compiled:***

- Positions of senators on environmental and conservation issues in Iowa
- Organizational members by Senate district
- Activist messages sent by Senate district (and overlaid by leadership positions)
- Individual members by Senate district (and overlaid with leadership positions)

***Their power analysis process:***

Iowa Environmental Council, with the help of staff from the State Environmental Leadership Program, compiled data as described above. They downloaded maps of the state with Senate districts and used Microsoft Paint to color areas of the state with large numbers of members, high rates of activism, etc., giving a visual depiction of their power.

## IOWA ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL, ENVIRONMENTAL LAW AND POLICY CENTER AND IOWA INTERFAITH POWER AND LIGHT

***What they called it:*** Solar asset mapping

***The data they collected and compiled:***

- Senator name
- Counties in Senate district
- Major cities in Senate district
- House districts in Senate district
- Solar installations in Senate district
  - Names
  - Addresses
  - Project description
  - Solar capacity

***Their power analysis process:***

Groups compiled data as described above into a Word document, organized by Senate district. This allowed them to identify solar assets in each Iowa Senate district, which paved the way for conducting tours of solar installations in Senate districts to help build legislative support for pro solar policies.

## CLEAN WISCONSIN/ ORGANIZING HUB

***What they called it:*** Power analysis for Wisconsin's 2014 RE-AMP Primetime process

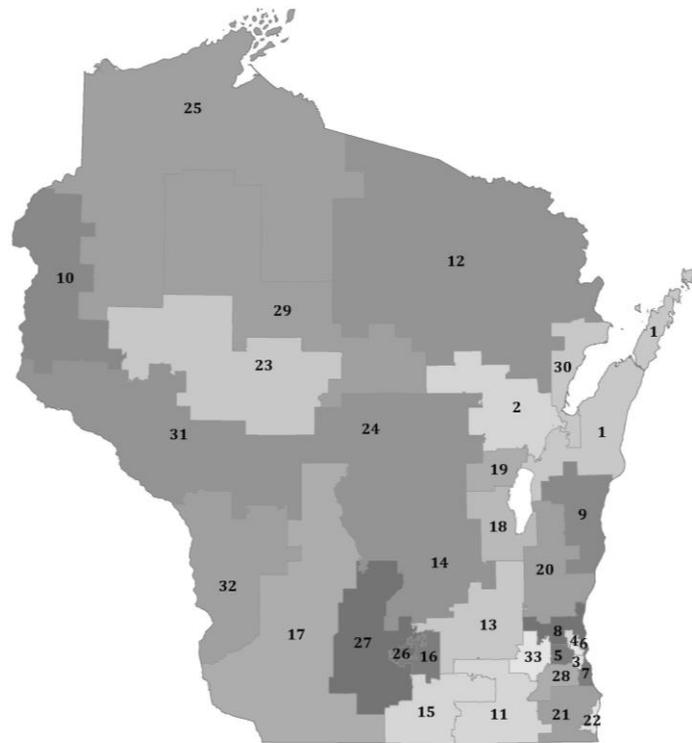
***The data they collected and compiled:***

- Name of Senator
- Number of members in each Senate district
- Number of activists in each district
- Number of grasstops in each district
- Number of potential supporters in district based on use of the "Environmental activist" score in the VAN
- Leadership positions in Senate
- Swing potential/ history
- Percentage of voters in the district who voted for Obama in 2012 elections

***Their power analysis process:***

All groups participating in the 2014 RE-AMP primetime process were asked to respond to a set of questions asking about membership data by Senate district. Six responded and four provided quantitative data. The survey did not ask respondents to provide exact numbers, but instead a range of numbers (e.g. “how many members do you have in Senate district X?” possible answers were, “Less than 50,” “Between 50 and 249,” “Between 250 and 499,” etc.) The data were aggregated into Excel spreadsheets and then used to create GIS maps of the state. The maps provided a visual indication of where power is held in the state by showing areas with high densities of activists, individual members, grasstops, etc.

Sample map:



*Map depicts density of voters in Wisconsin’s Senate districts with a Catalyst Environmental Activist score of 70 or above in the Voter Activation Network. This is one of several maps created for the WI primetime process.*

***What they called it:*** Power analysis survey

***The data they collected and compiled:***

- Annual organizational budget
- Number of employees
  - FTE's working on climate change
- Staff member skills (FTE)
  - Media and communications
  - Organizing
  - Legal
  - Policy
  - Science and Research
  - Fundraising
- Number of organizational members
  - Number of individual supporters contributing \$10 or more
  - Number of recently lapsed supporters (1-3 years)
  - Email action network members

## APPENDIX B: POWER ANALYSIS DATA RESOURCES

The following is a list of data types commonly used in a power analysis and where the information can be found:

- Organizational information about members, FTEs, budgets, etc.:** This will come directly from table member groups. You can create a list of data you need from each group and have them email it directly to the entity who will compile it, or you can create an online survey through a program like Survey Monkey to gather the responses from table members.
- Demographic data:** Layering over demographic information can help you pull out trends and shifts in the landscape. Find demographic information on the US Census bureau's website: <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/00>
- Public opinion about climate:** Yale climate opinion maps allow you to view public opinion on climate at the county level: <https://environment.yale.edu/poe/v2014/>
- Midwest Sustainable Communities Database:** This compilation of local efforts on climate action was created by the Local Solutions Working Group. For access contact Satya Rhodes-Conway at [satya@mayorsinnovation.org](mailto:satya@mayorsinnovation.org).
- Clean Energy Jobs in the Midwest survey and report:** Clean Jobs Midwest is a comprehensive clean energy employment survey covering the 12 Midwest states. It provides detailed demographic and technology sub-sector information on clean energy sector employment in the state, and also includes overall clean energy employment information at the state, metropolitan statistical area, county, and state legislative district levels. See the full report at [www.cleanjobsmidwest.com](http://www.cleanjobsmidwest.com)
- Voter data: history, model scores, commercial data, and more:** Voter Activation Network (VAN). A national network called State Voices offers progressive nonprofits access to the Voter Activation Network at low or no cost. In the 22 states where State Voices has an affiliate, access to the VAN is through the State Voices affiliate. In the remaining states, access is available through State Voices' Tools for All program. State Voices also provides training and technical assistance to groups to help them use the data and tools in the VAN effectively to win shared policy and civic engagement victories, and to build long-term power.

In the four RE-AMP states with a State Voices affiliate, contact information is below:

<b>MICHIGAN</b> Michigan Voice Cyndi Roper, Executive Director <a href="mailto:cyndi@statevoices.org">cyndi@statevoices.org</a> 517.490.1394	<b>OHIO</b> Ohio Voice Deidra Reese, Director <a href="mailto:deidra@statevoices.org">deidra@statevoices.org</a> 614.236.3413
--	---

<p><b>MINNESOTA</b>  Minnesota Voice  Sina Black, Executive Director  sina@statevoices.org  651.399.0876</p>	<p><b>WISCONSIN</b>  Wisconsin Voices  Dana Schultz, Executive Director  dana@winsconsinvoices.org  414.226.4288</p>
--	--

If your state doesn't have a State Voices affiliate, you may still be able to access the Voter Activation Network. Through its Tools for All program, State Voices offers access to Catalist and VAN to groups in all 50 states. Currently, due to generous support, the tools are provided by State Voices to selected members of the 501(c)(3) community at no additional cost. State Voices reviews requests for access to Tools for All based on the following criteria:

- Compliance with rules and legal restrictions governing 501(c)(3) organizations.
- Compliance with terms and conditions of Catalist and VAN agreements.
- In states with State Voices affiliates, organizations must discuss their program with the State Voices affiliate directors and sign a State Table Partner Agreement.
- Use must be consistent with State Voices' values and mission, which can be found here: <http://www.statevoices.org/about-us/>

If your organization is interested in accessing the VAN and Catalist and is not in a state with a State Voices affiliate, contact the national office of State Voices. Email requests to be part of Tools for All should be directed to State Voices Senior Program Manager George Christie at [George@statevoices.org](mailto:George@statevoices.org).

## APPENDIX C: FURTHER READING

- **Power Analysis Process Guide** by the State Environmental Leadership Program, 2012. A brass tacks guide to conducting a power analysis for organizations: <http://www.reamp.org/files/organizational-power-analysis-process-guide/?bp-attachment=Power-Analysis-Process-Guide.pdf>
- **How Organizations Develop Activists** by Hahrie Han, 2014. Using in-person observations, surveys, and field experiments, this book compares and describes contemporary models for engaging activists to demonstrate the ability of organizations to achieve transactional political outcomes through transformative development of civic and political leadership.
- **Tools for Radical Democracy: How to Organize for Power in Your Community** by Joan Minieri and Paul Getsos, 2007. A resource for grassroots organizers and leaders, students of activism and advocacy and others trying to increase the civic participation of ordinary people.
- **The 3 Faces of Power** by Grassroots Policy Project, February 2007. A brief description of the three faces of power and how we can employ them to win on our campaigns: [http://www.strategicpractice.org/system/files/three\\_faces\\_of\\_power3.pdf](http://www.strategicpractice.org/system/files/three_faces_of_power3.pdf)
- **Clean Energy Message Frame: “Positioning Clean Energy in the Here and Now”** by Cara Pike, December 2014. Outlines the RE-AMP Network’s framing recommendations and builds on candidate education work and public opinion polling RE-AMP commissioned in the summer of 2014: <http://www.reamp.org/files/positioning-clean-energy-in-the-here-and-now-re-amp-network-framing-recommendations/>
- **2015 Advocacy Database Report** by the RE-AMP Organizing Hub. This report includes the results of the 2015 advocacy database survey and reports on the various customer relationship management systems (CRMS) in use within the RE-AMP network, compares their functionality, cost, integration with email and donor management platforms and pros and cons of the most widely used platforms as reported by users within the network: <http://www.reamp.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/2015-Advocacy-Database-Report.pdf>

## APPENDIX D: SAMPLE MOU FOR DATA GATHERING

### ABC Environmental Advocacy Organization Power Analysis & Use Agreement

This power analysis agreement (“Agreement”) is between the ABC Environmental Advocacy Organization (ABC) and \_\_\_\_\_ (“Participating Group”).

ABC is conducting a Power Analysis Project (“Project”). The purpose of this Project is to help ABC’s members evaluate their collective power so that participating organizations may engage in advocacy more effectively and build organizational capacity. As part of this Project, participating organizations will submit membership lists for input into a state-wide power map in order to establish the collective level of influence of ABC and participating groups, to further organizational development, conduct more effective advocacy for ABC and participating groups, and encourage increased civic engagement and voting participation by members of participating organizations.

Power Analysis Process. Participating Group agrees to make its membership list (“Membership List”) available to ABC in the specified format for the purpose of the Project.

This information will include:

- Addresses (including zip codes) of individual members or contributors
- Addresses of Grasstops (individual with significant influence with one or more decision makers)

After the mapping process is complete, Participating Group will receive an electronic copy of its own mapped list back. After the mapping, Participating Group will also receive a group training session on how Participating Group can utilize the information to enhance its programs and an analysis of the implications of the analysis for the environmental movement of the state as a whole.

Data Storage & Security. ABC agrees that all lists and working files utilized and created as part of the Project will be stored on a secure computer system, which is password-protected and accessible only by the ABC staff, agents and computer contractors hired for the Project.

Use of Participating Group’s List. ABC agrees that it shall not use Participating Group lists to induce or encourage violations of law or public policy, to cause any private inurement or improper private benefit to occur, nor to take any other action inconsistent with the Internal Revenue Code.

Participating Group grants permission to ABC to use its list for the following purpose ONLY:

(a) ABC’s Power Analysis Project

Ownership of Lists. Participating Group and ABC acknowledge that the Participating Group’s Membership List is confidential and constitute valuable assets. Participating Group hereby grants to ABC the right to use its Membership List on a strictly confidential basis, for the limited purpose which is stipulated in this Agreement. The parties acknowledge and agree that the Participating Group is and shall remain the sole and exclusive owner of its Membership List. ABC shall not sell, rent, or use Participating Groups list for any purpose, internal or otherwise, than the Power Analysis Project.

Indemnification. The Participating Group hereby irrevocably and unconditionally agrees, to the fullest extent permitted by law, to defend, indemnify, and hold harmless ABC, its officers, directors, employees, and agents,

from and against any and all claims, liabilities, losses and expenses (including reasonable attorneys' fees), directly or indirectly, arising from or in connection with any act or omission of the Participating Group, its officers, directors, employees, or agents, in carrying out the use(s) to be supported by the information or services provided under this Agreement, except to the extent that such claims, liabilities, losses or expenses were caused by the negligence of ABC , its officers, directors, employees or agents.

ABC hereby irrevocably and unconditionally agrees, to the fullest extent permitted by law, to defend, indemnify, and hold harmless Participating Group, its officers, directors, employees, and agents, from and against any and all claims, liabilities, losses and expenses (including reasonable attorneys' fees), directly or indirectly, arising from or in connection with any act or omission of ABC , its officers, directors, employees, or agents, in carrying out the Project or services provided under this Agreement, except to the extent that such claims, liabilities, losses or expenses were caused by the negligence of Participating Group, its officers, directors, employees or agents.

Contact. In order to maintain effective communications, Participating Group agrees to appoint the following individual(s) as contact(s) for the Project: \_\_\_\_\_. Said contact(s) will be empowered to represent the organization to ABC.

Duties will include:

- (1) Ensuring group participation at training(s)
- (2) Ensuring data quality and transfer in a timely manner to ABC.

Entire Agreement. This Agreement supersedes any prior oral or written understandings or communications between the parties and constitutes the entire agreement of the parties with respect to the subject matter hereof. This Agreement may not be amended or modified except in a written addendum signed by both parties hereto.

Governing Law. The Agreement shall be construed and interpreted in accordance with the laws of the State of Illinois.

Assignment. This Agreement is not assignable by either party.

Effective Date & Termination. This Agreement shall be in effect starting on the later of the two dates set forth below and ending upon \_\_\_\_\_, 2016. This Agreement may be terminated by either party at any time, upon provision of thirty (30) days' notice in writing to the other party.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

By: \_\_\_\_\_

By: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Participating group

ABC Environmental Advocacy Organization

