

Campaign Strategy & Power Mapping

Executive Summary

Campaign strategy is the blueprint that guides an advocacy initiative toward its goals, mapping out how to build power and influence decision-makers. An essential tool in this process is **power mapping** – a visual stakeholder analysis method to identify key players (allies, opponents, influencers, decision-makers) and their relationships in the context of the campaign ¹ ². This guide provides a step-by-step framework for developing a campaign strategy underpinned by power mapping. It is designed for NGOs and grassroots groups (especially smaller organizations) to clarify objectives, understand power dynamics, and allocate resources effectively. By systematically mapping out “who has power” on an issue and “who supports or opposes our goal,” campaigners can focus on the most influential targets and build strategic alliances ³ ⁴.

Power mapping strengthens campaigns by democratizing knowledge within the team and revealing less obvious paths to change ⁵ ⁶. For example, organizers of a criminal justice reform campaign in the US used power mapping to identify power brokers (like prosecutors, judges, and police unions) and target them to advance specific goals ⁷. Through mapping, they realized the need to elect reform-minded judges in the next cycle, adjusting their strategy accordingly. Dissenting voices caution that models like power maps are simplifications of complex reality ⁸ ⁹. Indeed, a traditional 2D power map charts actors by influence and support, but misses a “third dimension” – how actively each actor will engage ⁹. This guide addresses such limitations by emphasizing continual research, updates, and the integration of community knowledge.

In sum, an effective campaign strategy balances **analysis and action**: it identifies a clear goal, maps the power landscape, then mobilizes people-power to influence those in power. By following this guide, beginner and experienced campaigners alike can create a strategy chart (goals, allies, targets, tactics) and an accompanying power map that together answer the critical questions: *Who can give us what we want?* *What will move them?* and *How do we build enough collective power to win?* A checklist, case studies, and templates are provided to translate theory into practice. This approach, when used iteratively, helps campaigns not only win immediate goals but also build long-term grassroots power for future struggles ¹⁰ ¹¹.

Step-by-Step Campaign Strategy Framework

Step 1: Set a Specific Goal and Outcome. Define a concrete campaign goal that addresses a clear problem ¹². Goals should be “something concrete that can be won from a target,” not vague ideals ¹². For example, instead of “improve public health,” a specific goal could be “convince City Council to adopt a smoke-free parks bylaw.” Ensure the goal is linked to a specific decision-maker’s authority (e.g. a council vote, a corporate policy change) ¹³. A well-defined goal focuses the strategy and makes power mapping feasible, since you’ll map actors relevant to that decision.

Step 2: Situational Analysis – Understand the Context. Before mapping individuals, analyze the broader forces. Conduct a **context analysis** such as SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) or Force Field Analysis ¹⁴ ¹⁵. This helps identify external conditions and timing. For instance, Beautiful Trouble's SWOT model suggests looking for campaign ideas at the intersections of internal strengths and external opportunities ¹⁶. This might reveal which issue is “winnable” given current conditions ¹⁷. Also consider doing a **power analysis** of forms of power (e.g. “power over” vs “power with”) to inform your approach ¹⁸. This theoretical grounding in how power operates will enrich the subsequent mapping exercise.

Step 3: Identify Core Team and Resources. Assemble your campaign team and clarify roles. Include people with local knowledge, subject expertise, and those affected by the issue ⁵. A diverse team ensures the power map reflects multiple perspectives and mitigates blind spots. Inventory your resources and constraints (time, funds, networks). The Midwest Academy Strategy Chart, for example, explicitly lists organizational resources alongside goals and allies ¹² ¹⁹. Knowing your capacity will guide realistic tactic choices later.

Step 4: Power Mapping – Identify All Stakeholders. Now, gather your team for a power mapping session. On a large surface (whiteboard or poster), draw a simple **grid with two axes**: one axis for level of influence (low to high power) and one for stance on your goal (opposed to supportive) ²⁰ ²¹. Begin by brainstorming **all relevant players**:

- **Decision-makers**: Who ultimately can say yes or no to your demand? Name the specific person or body (e.g. the Minister of Education, a corporate CEO, a legislative committee) ²² ².
- **Allies and supporters**: Individuals, organizations, or groups likely to support your goal. Include community groups, NGOs, activists, influential citizens, etc. ²³ ²⁴.
- **Opponents or blockers**: Those opposed to your goal (industry lobby, political opponents, etc.). Be specific – name organizations or leaders known for opposing similar measures ²³ ²⁵.
- **Influencers and connectors**: People or entities with significant sway over others – e.g. media outlets, popular community leaders, funders, social media figures ²⁶ ²⁷.
- **Constituencies**: Communities directly affected by the issue (who have a moral stake even if they lack formal power) ²⁸. For instance, youth or parents in an education campaign. Write each name on a sticky note (or card). Use color-coding for categories (e.g. one color for decision-makers, another for organized stakeholder groups, another for affected community) ²⁶. Don't worry about placement yet; first focus on listing comprehensively ²⁹. Aim to surface hidden actors (e.g. a behind-the-scenes financier or a bureaucrat who drafts policy) by asking “Who else?” repeatedly. At this stage, it's normal to identify research gaps (“Who leads that agency?”); note these questions for follow-up ³⁰.

Step 5: Map Positions – Place Actors on the Grid. Take each stakeholder note and discuss with the group:

- (a) How much power or influence does this actor have over the decision?
- (b) What is their current stance toward our goal? ³¹

Place the note accordingly on the grid. For example, if the city Mayor strongly supports your policy, they go in the top-right (high influence, supportive). A large corporation opposing you might be top-left (high influence, opposed). A sympathetic local business with moderate clout might sit somewhere in upper-right middle. **Relative positioning** is more important than exact—debate and adjust until the map reflects a shared understanding ³². Expect lively conversation; different team members hold pieces of the puzzle, and discussing why someone believes Actor X is powerful or not builds collective insight ³³ ⁵.

Be mindful that **power is context-specific**. A Member of Parliament may generally outrank a city councillor in influence, but if your goal is a municipal bylaw, that councillor (even if “lower” in status) might actually hold more relevant power ²¹. Place actors according to their power *in relation to this specific goal*. Use

arrows or notes to indicate if moving one actor could shift others – for instance, if you believe converting a neutral, influential figure to support could bring along their followers 6 34 .

Step 6: Draw Influence Relationships. Next, mark known relationships between actors on the map. Draw lines or arrows from one stakeholder to another if they have influence over them or a connection 35 . For example, if a prominent community elder influences a council member, connect them. This **network view** helps identify leverage points: perhaps you lack direct access to a politician, but you see on the map that a friendly union leader is close to them. That union leader becomes a critical ally to recruit. Mapping relationships often reveals indirect pathways to reach decision-makers (“influence the influencers”) 36 37 . It can also unmask that some opponents are linked – e.g. multiple opposed groups might all receive funding from the same source, indicating a strategic target behind the scenes.

Step 7: Analyze the Map – Find Strategic Insights. Step back and, as a team, interpret what the power map is telling you: - Who are the **key players** essential for success? Often it’s not just the final decision-maker, but also high-influence supporters whose backing you need, or high-influence opponents to neutralize 38 39 . - Where are your **biggest gaps** in support? Perhaps your map shows that all the high-power actors are currently neutral or opposed. That implies a need to either shift some of their positions or build up the power of supportive actors. - Are there potential “**champions**” you haven’t engaged yet? (e.g. a respected figure who already supports but wasn’t involved). - Who are natural **coalition partners** among the supportive or neutral but persuadable actors? Identify shared interests. - What are the **risks or threats**? For instance, a highly influential opponent might mobilize against you – you may need a plan to counter them. The goal is to derive a strategic hypothesis: “*If we influence X, Y, and Z, we can win; if we ignore A and B, they could derail us,*” etc. 40 41 . During this discussion, note any **research questions** that arise – e.g. “Does Organization Q have a stance on this issue? Who in our network knows someone at Q?” 30 . Assign team members to investigate these unknowns after the meeting 42 . Continuous research is part of strategy; your power map is a living document that should be updated as you learn more 43 .

Step 8: Develop Strategy and Tactics. Using the insights, formulate your campaign strategy: - **Primary target(s):** From the map, confirm the primary decision-maker(s) you must move. There may be a primary target (who has the power to give you what you want) and secondary targets (who influence the primary) 44 . For each target, brainstorm a specific strategy to influence them. - **Allies and coalition:** Pick which allies or potential allies to actively engage based on their influence and support. High-power supporters should be in your campaign leadership if possible. Neutral groups with influence might be priority outreach targets to swing them to support 45 46 . - **Public constituency:** If the general public or a segment of it is an important actor (often low-power individually but high in numbers), plan how to **mobilize grassroots pressure** to increase their collective power 46 4 . This might involve demonstrations, petitions, etc., to demonstrate broad support (or broad opposition to your opponents). - **Tactics selection:** Choose tactics that apply pressure where the map shows it’s needed. The Midwest Academy’s chart suggests matching tactics to each target 47 . For example, if a business leader is a target, tactics could include consumer boycotts (to raise the “disruption cost” on that target 48 49) or quiet negotiations via an intermediary – depending on what the map indicates will move them. Ensure tactics escalate appropriately if initial attempts fail 50 (build from polite lobbying to public shaming to direct action, etc., as needed). - **Messaging and narrative:** Tailor your message to each audience uncovered by the map. What argument or story will persuade each key player? For instance, to move a neutral but powerful community figure, you might frame the issue in terms of shared values that resonate with them (as opposed to how you’d rally your base). Your strategy should answer: *Who* will do *what* to influence *whom*. It might help to create a

strategy chart summarizing goal, targets, allies, and tactics ¹² ¹⁹ . (A template is provided in the Tools section.)

Step 9: Action Plan and Timeline. Break down the strategy into an action plan with clear tasks and a calendar. Assign responsibilities: e.g. “Contact influential Pastor Jim (ally) – Jane will do this by next week,” or “Organize town hall meeting to showcase support – target date one month before council vote.” Include **short-term wins or benchmarks** if possible – smaller objectives that demonstrate progress and build momentum ⁵¹ . For example, aim to get 50 local businesses to sign a support letter (a metric showing growing support) or achieve a media story that frames the debate in your favor. According to veteran organizers, securing interim victories helps maintain morale and signal power-building en route to the ultimate goal ¹¹ .

Step 10: Implement, Monitor, and Adapt. Launch your campaign activities and keep monitoring the power map over time. Situations change – maybe a neutral actor comes out in opposition, or a supportive official loses their seat. Update the map periodically and adjust strategy accordingly ⁵² ⁴³ . Use metrics (see **Metrics & KPIs** section) to evaluate if your strategy is moving the needle: Are previously neutral influencers shifting stance? Is public support growing? If something isn’t working (perhaps your chosen tactics aren’t budging a key opponent), regroup and consider alternative approaches. Campaign strategy is not a one-time exercise; it requires agility and learning. As one organizer put it, these tools are meant to prompt ongoing strategic questioning: “*Are we building enough power to create enough disruption to win?*” ⁵³ ⁸ . If not, you may need to escalate tactics or expand your coalition.

By following these steps, even a small NGO team can methodically chart a path to victory. The power mapping process, while time-intensive, “strengthens and informs your work and sets you up to build power and win” ⁵⁴ . It forces you to ground your campaign in reality – who holds power and what will actually move them – rather than assumptions or wishful thinking. And it encourages **power-building**: not just seeking a policy win, but also empowering your base and allies, so that after the campaign “your organization comes out stronger than when it went in, even if it loses the issue” ¹¹ . In summary, plan smart, target power, mobilize people, and remain flexible. The combination of careful strategy and people-powered action is what wins lasting change.

Tools & Templates for Power Mapping

- **Power Map Template (Grid).** A simple template with an X-Y axis can be drawn on flip chart paper or printed. Tools like **Google Drawings** or **Mural** can digitize this. The X-axis goes from “Strongly Oppose” to “Strongly Support,” and the Y-axis from “Low Influence” to “High Influence.” We provide a basic MS Word/PNG template that you can fill in ⁵⁵ . You can also use sticky notes on a large wall chart for group sessions (recommended for interactivity).
- **Stakeholder Cards or Worksheet.** A worksheet listing categories of stakeholders (e.g. “Elected officials,” “Community leaders,” “Opposition groups,” etc.) can spark brainstorming. The Change Agency’s *Power Mapping Guide* suggests prompt questions and provides cards to label each actor ²⁴ ²⁵ .
- **Digital Mapping Tools.** For distributed teams or complex maps, consider online tools. **Kumu** (kumu.io) is a powerful network mapping tool that can display influence maps with connections. **Polinode** and **GraphCommons** are other options to map relationships. These require some learning curve but can handle rich data (like mapping a whole corporate influence network). For example, the

LittleSis database (littlesis.org) is an online resource to find connections between powerful individuals and entities, useful for research-driven power maps ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ .

- **Midwest Academy Strategy Chart.** This classic template is a one-page framework to document campaign components: *Goals, Organizational considerations, Constituents/Allies/Opponents, Targets, and Tactics* ¹² ⁴⁴ . We include a modified template oriented for NGOs. After doing the power map, you can fill in the chart: e.g. list your primary and secondary targets (from the map), main allies and constituencies (from the map's supportive quadrant), resources you have, and tactics for each target ⁴⁷ . The chart ensures alignment (each tactic supports a strategy which aims at a specific target).
- **"Spectrum of Allies" Tool.** As a simpler alternative or complement to full power mapping, Beautiful Trouble's *Spectrum of Allies* chart arrays groups from active allies to active opposition ²⁷ . This can help tailor messaging and outreach – moving groups one notch closer to ally can be a strategy. It's less detailed on power, but very useful for movement-building. A template for Spectrum of Allies is provided (a horizontal bar with five segments: Active Allies – Passive Allies – Neutrals – Passive Opposition – Active Opposition).
- **Research Checklist & Power Research Tools.** We include a checklist (from LittleSis/PAI's *Power Research for Organizers* training) for investigating a target's power structure: e.g. "*Check campaign donations, board memberships, business partners, etc.*" ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ . Tools like OpenSecrets (for U.S. political donations) or LobbyView, or national databases of company directors, can feed into mapping how a target is connected. Oxfam's *Influencing for Impact Guide (2020)* also provides a "Power Analysis Grid" with guiding questions ⁵⁹ .
- **Force-Field Analysis Template.** A table to list driving forces for change and resisting forces (status quo). This was mentioned as part of context analysis. It helps identify which forces (or actors behind them) to reinforce or weaken. For instance, if "public opinion" is a driving force and "industry lobby" a resisting force, your strategy might bolster the former (through media campaigns) and undermine the latter (through exposing their interests).
- **Meeting Facilitation Tools.** Power mapping in a group needs good facilitation. Tools like a *Parking Lot* (to note off-topic ideas for later) and *Dot Voting* (to prioritize which actors are most important if you have a huge list) can be useful. Seeds for Change (UK) provides a facilitation guide for strategy workshops, including how to introduce a power map in an accessible way (ensuring everyone understands the axes and purpose) ⁴³ .
- **Visualization Aids.** Use icons or images on your map for clarity. For example, put a gavel icon on decision-makers, a money bag on funders, a people icon on community groups. This can make the map more intuitive at a glance. If using digital tools, you can often customize node shapes or colors to represent categories.

By leveraging these tools and templates, campaigners can systematically conduct power mapping and strategy development without starting from scratch. Adapt each tool to your context – e.g. translate templates into your local language, or simplify the strategy chart for a small grassroots group. The key is to make the planning process as inclusive and clear as possible, so that even volunteers new to campaigning can see the strategy logic and their role in it.

Case Vignettes

Vignette 1: Marriage Equality Campaign – Power Mapping a Path to Victory. In the late 2000s, LGBTQ+ advocates in the United States faced repeated losses in votes banning same-sex marriage. To turn the tide, they invested in strategy research and messaging, effectively using power mapping at a national scale. Advocates first identified their ultimate target as the U.S. Supreme Court (for a long-term win) but interim

targets included state electorates and legislatures (to win state-level victories that would build momentum). A key insight from their power analysis was that the **“moveable middle”** of the public was influenced heavily by values and personal stories ⁶⁰ ⁶¹. Polling data showed many Americans opposed marriage equality in abstract, rights-based terms, fearing it would “change the institution of marriage” ⁶⁰. The campaign’s strategists mapped out stakeholders who could influence this public opinion: families, faith leaders, and even respected older Americans who were not usual LGBTQ allies.

They realized they had been targeting the wrong message to the wrong audience – talking about rights and benefits (hospital visitation, inheritance) appealed to the base but failed to persuade undecided voters ⁶⁰ ⁶². So they reframed their messaging to emphasize **love and commitment**, delivered by relatable messengers. An example was an ad featuring four generations of a family (the Gardners) in Maine: the elderly grandparents spoke about their 59-year marriage and wanting their granddaughter to have the same opportunity with her female partner ⁶³. This was a strategic choice based on mapping “who holds sway over skeptical voters.” Grandparents and families were identified as influential voices to break down prejudice. The result? In 2012, Maine voters approved marriage equality at the ballot – a first. The power mapping didn’t stop at voters. Advocates identified decision-makers in courts and legislatures and ensured a litigation and lobbying strategy ran in parallel. By 2015, a majority of the public (55%) supported marriage equality, up from 31% a decade prior ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of same-sex marriage that year. Campaign leaders credit the dramatic shift to a combination of **data-driven messaging and strategic targeting** ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷. They knew their audience (“moveable” moderates) and met them with empathy, via trusted voices – a power-informed approach that turned a marginalized cause into a national majority position. A lesson from this vignette is that mapping the power of narratives and messengers is as important as mapping formal power. By changing *who* delivered *what* message, the campaign altered the power dynamic in the court of public opinion, which in turn influenced institutional power.

Vignette 2: Fighting a Utility Goliath – Grassroots Power Research in Michigan. In 2022, a coalition of community organizations in Michigan (USA) took on DTE Energy, a powerful electric utility, over high rates and pollution. DTE had deep pockets and political influence – it spent over \$2.4 million on political donations from 2019–2021 and nearly \$900,000 on lobbying, while funding astroturf community groups to support its positions ⁵⁷ ⁶⁸. On the surface, it seemed an unequal fight: DTE (the primary target) had most lawmakers and even some civic groups on its side. The grassroots coalition used **power mapping and research** to level the playing field. First, they mapped DTE’s web of influence: board members’ connections, beneficiary organizations of DTE’s charity (who might be co-opted), and key public officials who could rein in the company (such as the Public Service Commission regulators and sympathetic legislators) ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰. They found, for example, that DTE had funneled over \$5 million through dark-money groups to sway policy and community opinion ⁶⁸. This mapping informed their strategy to **“name and shame”** those connections publicly.

The coalition compiled their findings in a report titled *“The Public’s Case Against DTE Energy”*, structured like an indictment ⁷⁰. This report became a tool to educate and persuade secondary targets – notably the Public Service Commission (PSC) that had to approve DTE’s rate increase. The power map had revealed the PSC as a crucial decision-maker that wasn’t originally on the activists’ radar (regulatory bodies can be obscure but influential). The activists shifted focus to this target and mobilized public pressure. They organized a press conference in front of DTE’s headquarters, flanked by allies including a U.S. Congresswoman, to release the report’s evidence of DTE’s political machinations ⁷¹. They then turned out more than 200 people to a public hearing of the PSC – so many that the meeting stretched nearly three hours with testimony against DTE’s proposal ⁷². By mapping out DTE’s influence, the campaigners also

identified potential allies to amplify their cause: for instance, they engaged health and environmental justice groups to testify about the pollution impacts, undercutting DTE's credibility.

The outcome: the Public Service Commission **slashed the requested rate hike by 90%**, from \$388 million down to \$30 million ⁷³. They also rejected DTE's attempt to penalize solar customers ⁷³. This was a huge win for the coalition. The vignette illustrates how even a small grassroots campaign can take on a behemoth by *mapping power and targeting pressure points*. The coalition couldn't match DTE's money, but they mapped where DTE's money flowed and attacked those channels with transparency and public scrutiny. They also mapped community relationships to ensure they had broad turnout and voices at the right moments. Their strategy didn't aim to flip DTE's CEO (unlikely) but to constrain DTE's power via regulators and public opinion. By understanding DTE's influence network, they effectively **"surrounded" the opponent with pressure** on multiple fronts, achieving a victory that also built longer-term people power. Now those community members are more organized for future utility battles, showing how a campaign can alter the local power landscape in lasting ways.

Metrics & KPIs (Key Performance Indicators)

A successful campaign strategy and power mapping process can be measured through a mix of output, outcome, and impact metrics. Below is a table of **possible KPIs**, why they matter, and how to measure them:

Metric/KPI	Definition & Rationale	How to Measure (Indicator)
Stakeholders Mapped	Count of stakeholders identified on the power map.	- <i>Target</i> : e.g. 30 relevant actors identified. - <i>Indicator</i> : Number of names on the map (and categories covered).
Research Questions Resolved	Follow-up questions answered after mapping (filling info gaps).	- <i>Target</i> : All key gaps researched within 4 weeks. ³⁰ - <i>Indicator</i> : % of identified "unknowns" clarified (e.g. stance of each major player known).
Allies Engaged	Number of supportive or neutral-but-persuadable stakeholders that the campaign successfully engages (joins coalition or endorses).	- <i>Target</i> : Recruit high-influence allies to coalition (e.g. 5 new coalition orgs). - <i>Indicator</i> : # of key allies publicly supporting (signed statements, attending events).
Power Map Update Frequency	Regularity of reviewing/ updating the power map to reflect changing context.	- <i>Target</i> : Update power map monthly (or after major events). - <i>Indicator</i> : Existence of updated versions or meeting notes adjusting strategy.
Short-term Wins Achieved	Milestones or interim goals achieved during campaign.	- <i>Target</i> : 2 "small wins" before final victory. - <i>Indicator</i> : E.g. favorable committee vote, influential person speaks out in support.

Metric/KPI	Definition & Rationale	How to Measure (Indicator)
Public Support Levels	Change in public opinion or community support for your goal (if applicable).	- <i>Target:</i> Increase public support by X% (polls) or gather Y petition signatures. - <i>Indicator:</i> Polling data, petition counts, event turnout numbers over time.
Decision-Maker Position Shift	Whether primary target(s) moved toward supporting your demand.	- <i>Target:</i> Secure commitment or statement from the decision-maker. - <i>Indicator:</i> Before/after comparison of target's stance (public statements or voting behavior).
Media/ Advocacy Coverage	Quantity and quality of media or social media coverage framing the issue in your terms.	- <i>Target:</i> X positive media stories, Y social media mentions by influencers. - <i>Indicator:</i> Press mentions count; sentiment analysis; hashtag trending if relevant.
Coalition Strength	Growth and activity of your coalition or supporter base.	- <i>Target:</i> Expand coalition to represent diverse constituencies (e.g. labor, faith groups). - <i>Indicator:</i> # of organizations in coalition; meeting attendance figures; breadth of sectors represented.
Tactics Effectiveness	Outcomes of major tactics aligned to targets (were they executed and did they reach the intended target?).	- <i>Target:</i> For each primary target, at least one tactic leads to engagement (e.g. meeting, response). - <i>Indicator:</i> e.g. target responded to open letter; number of attendees in lobby day with target, etc.
Power Shift Evidence	Signs that the balance of power is shifting in your favor.	- <i>Target:</i> Opponents on map lose influence or become more neutral; new allies gain influence. 46 - <i>Indicator:</i> E.g. a usually opposed council member abstains (no longer actively opposing), a strong ally is appointed to relevant committee (increase in our side's power).
Final Outcome	The ultimate result related to your goal.	- <i>Target:</i> Win the campaign goal (policy enacted, practice changed). - <i>Indicator:</i> Yes/No – did the decision-maker take the desired action? (If partial win, document specifics).

Using Metrics: Early in planning, choose a few KPIs that align with your strategy. For instance, if your strategy hinges on swaying a regulatory agency, then “Decision-maker position shift” and “Short-term wins” (like a favorable interim ruling) are critical metrics. If building a base is key, focus on “Allies engaged” and “Coalition strength.” Treat metrics as learning tools, not strict success/fail grades. If after 3 months the “allies engaged” number is low, ask why – maybe you need to devote more effort to outreach or adjust your appeal to potential partners. Always supplement quantitative metrics with qualitative evaluation: e.g. **quality of support** (is that new ally just a name on paper, or actively mobilizing others?).

For grassroots campaigns, some metrics will be narrative. For example, tracking *power shift evidence* might involve documenting anecdotes: “After our campaign, community members now sit on the city’s task force, changing the power dynamic.” Such qualitative indicators show progress in ways numbers might not capture.

Lastly, consider **process metrics** like “Team engagement” (did volunteers stay involved? Number of active volunteers each month) as a sign of campaign health. A strong strategy process often correlates with growing volunteer energy – which itself is a form of power.

Risks & Mitigations

Implementing campaign strategy and power mapping comes with potential pitfalls. Below are common risks and ways to mitigate them:

- **Risk 1: Analysis Paralysis.** Spending so long on mapping and planning that action is delayed or momentum lost. *Mitigation:* Time-box the strategy process – e.g. two intensive workshops – then start acting. Embrace the idea of a “good enough” plan; you can refine as you go. Remember that the map is a tool, not an end – don’t get stuck trying to perfect it ⁵³ ⁷⁴ . Assign someone to nudge the group from planning to doing (“let’s pilot a tactic on that target and see what happens”).
- **Risk 2: Missing Key Players (Incomplete Map).** If certain stakeholders are overlooked, your strategy might fail (e.g. ignoring a behind-the-scenes power broker). *Mitigation:* Ensure diverse input in mapping sessions – include community members, different departments, etc., to broaden perspective ⁵ . Research similar past campaigns to see who was involved. After initial mapping, do a “red team” exercise: have a colleague outside the team review and ask “what about X influencer?” Use the “Explore Further” resources (like checklists of power holders in society) as prompts ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ .
- **Risk 3: Overestimating Your Allies’ Power or Underestimating Opponents.** Power mapping involves subjective judgments. Groups might inflate how influential a friendly stakeholder is (wishful thinking), or fail to see an opponent’s reach. *Mitigation:* Use evidence where possible – e.g., if you claim “Local newspaper owner is very influential,” back it up (does the city council actually heed the newspaper?). Cross-check your map assumptions with external data (polls, voting records). Also, update placements over time. If an ally isn’t delivering influence as hoped, adjust your strategy rather than clinging to the initial map.
- **Risk 4: Ignoring the “Willingness to Act” Factor.** As noted by some organizers, a power map could show a stakeholder as highly influential and supportive, but if they won’t actually do anything, their support is symbolic ⁹ ⁷⁷ . *Mitigation:* Incorporate an action assessment: after mapping, discuss for each ally “Will they actively help? In what ways?” Downgrade passive allies in your strategy, or plan to activate them. Similarly, consider opponents’ likely actions, not just stance – an opponent with moderate power but extreme motivation might cause more trouble than a powerful opponent who’s distracted.
- **Risk 5: Alienating Allies or Communities.** A purely power-centric approach might lead to transactional decisions that alienate core supporters (e.g. sidelining a less powerful community group in favor of courting an elite influencer could breed resentment). *Mitigation:* Balance power mapping with your **values and inclusion**. Be transparent within the coalition about strategy choices and find meaningful roles for all allies, even if some aren’t “power players” on the map. Remember that today’s low-power ally could, through your campaign, become higher-power (grassroots power-building is also a goal) ¹¹ .

- **Risk 6: Ethical or Reputation Risks in Targeting.** Sometimes mapping will identify individuals to target (e.g. a swing legislator). Personalizing a campaign can backfire if it seems like undue harassment or if your information on them is wrong. *Mitigation:* Keep tactics respectful and fact-based, especially when targeting people. Double-check research (for instance, don't accuse a decision-maker of corruption without solid evidence of such links). When power mapping reveals sensitive info (like personal connections), use it wisely and within legal/moral bounds. Frame your actions in terms of accountability, not personal attacks.
- **Risk 7: Unexpected Power Shifts (External Changes).** Politics is fluid; a mapped ally might lose an election, an opponent might gain a new position, or a crisis (economic, pandemic) shifts influence dynamics overnight. *Mitigation:* Treat your strategy as iterative. Conduct quick remapping after major events. Have contingency plans: "If our champion is no longer in office, what's our Plan B?" Also, build broad support to withstand any single ally's loss.
- **Risk 8: Internal Group Conflict over Strategy.** Different factions of your team or coalition may disagree on strategy or mapping (e.g. one group wants confrontational tactics, another favors insider lobbying). *Mitigation:* Use the power map as a *neutral visual tool* to ground discussions in shared reality ("We all see politician X is key; how do we reach them?"). Establish decision-making norms – perhaps a smaller strategy committee empowered to decide after input. Document the strategy so everyone is clear on the plan (reduces second-guessing). If dissent persists, return to common goals and values, or where possible, allow parallel tactics (outside vs inside game) as long as they don't undermine each other.
- **Risk 9: Overemphasis on Elites Over Grassroots.** Power mapping might tempt campaigns to focus exclusively on elite power-holders (e.g. lobby the governor) and neglect base-building. This can produce short-term wins without lasting movement. *Mitigation:* Integrate **people power** into your strategy from the start. Set goals not only for policy change but for community engagement (number of new volunteers, leadership development). Recall that campaign success often requires raising the *disruption power* of ordinary people to meet the challenge posed by opponents ⁷⁸ ⁴⁹ . Plan some tactics that involve mass participation, even if your main target is an elite decision-maker, so that your campaign strengthens community capacity for the long haul ⁷⁹ .
- **Risk 10: Security and Backlash.** If your power analysis identifies powerful opponents, beware of backlash. Corporations or authorities might retaliate (surveillance, smear campaigns, etc.). *Mitigation:* Use prudent security – both digital (secure communications when discussing sensitive strategy) and personal (protest safety protocols). Anticipate opponents' countermoves. For example, if you expose a corrupt connection, the opponent may pressure your allies; shore up ally support and prepare a public narrative to counter their pushback. Having a diverse coalition can also offer protection – it's harder to marginalize a campaign that has broad societal support.

In essence, effective campaign strategy is a dynamic balancing act. By being aware of these risks and proactively addressing them, your team can navigate the campaign with agility and integrity. Regular debriefs (e.g. after a big action or decision point) to discuss "What risks have emerged? How do we respond?" will keep your strategy resilient. Remember, even the best strategy sometimes encounters setbacks – treat those as learning opportunities rather than failures, and refine your approach. As one strategist quipped, "Plans are nothing, but planning is everything." The very act of strategic thinking prepares you to handle risks when reality hits.

Checklist for Strategic Campaign Planning & Power Mapping

Use this checklist to ensure you've covered the essential steps and considerations in your campaign strategy:

- **Clear Goal Defined:** We have articulated a specific, achievable campaign goal (what do we want, who can give it) ²² .
- **Decision-Maker(s) Identified:** We know the primary target who has the authority to meet our demand (name and title of person or body) ² .
- **Context Analysis Done:** We reviewed the broader context (SWOT or similar) to ground our choice of issue and approach ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ .
- **Team & Resources Assessed:** Team roles are assigned; we've listed our assets (people, money, allies, knowledge) and constraints.
- **Stakeholder Brainstorm Completed:** We listed all relevant stakeholders (supporters, neutrals, opponents, influencers, affected groups) without filtering ²⁹ ²⁴ .
- **Power Map Created:** We placed stakeholders on the influence vs. support grid collaboratively ³¹ .
- **Relationships Mapped:** Drew connections between stakeholders where influence pathways exist ³⁵ .
- **Map Analysis Conducted:** Discussed who's key to success, potential allies to recruit, opponent strategies, leverage points ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ .
- **Research Gaps Noted:** Identified any unknown factors (e.g., a stakeholder's stance) and assigned follow-up research ³⁰ ⁴² .
- **Strategy Drafted:** Developed a strategy statement or chart linking goals, targets, allies, and tactics for each target ¹² ⁴⁴ .
- **Allies Engagement Plan:** Have a plan to approach and involve key allies (who will contact, what to ask) and a value proposition for each.
- **Coalition Agreement:** If a coalition is formed, common objectives and roles are agreed. Any coalition partners have signed off on strategy or provided input.
- **Tactics Selected per Target:** For each primary/secondary target, specific tactics are chosen (e.g. meetings, rallies, social media campaign, direct action) aligned with how we expect to influence them ⁴⁴ .
- **Timeline & Milestones Set:** Created an action timetable including key milestones (interim wins, decision deadlines, etc.). Short-term wins identified to build momentum.
- **Messaging Framework Ready:** Core campaign message is crafted, and if needed, tailored messages for different stakeholders are prepared (talking points for public vs. lobby arguments for officials, etc.).
- **Assignments Made:** Each task in the action plan has an owner and deadline (e.g., "PowerPoint for town hall – assigned to A by [date]").
- **Metrics Chosen:** We know what success looks like in measurable terms (see KPIs). Tracking methods are set up (polls, signup sheets, media monitoring as needed).
- **Review Schedule:** Scheduled regular check-ins for strategy review (e.g. weekly team meeting to update power map if new info, assess progress on metrics).
- **Risks Considered:** Reviewed the Risks & Mitigations section with the team and noted any specific high risks for our campaign. Mitigation actions integrated (e.g., media training if facing smear risk).
- **Communication Channels Clear:** Set up internal comms for campaign (email list, Signal/WhatsApp group, etc.) – including a way to quickly consult on strategy changes if needed.

- **External Communications Ready:** Website or social media channels in place for public-facing campaign communications (if applicable). Spokespersons identified.
- **Endgame Scenario Planned:** Discussed likely endgame: e.g., if target agrees halfway, what do we accept; or if target resists, are we prepared to escalate or sustain pressure longer. Basically, know our negotiation position or how we'll declare victory.
- **Post-Campaign Next Steps:** (Forward-looking) Consider how to consolidate gains after the campaign – how will new allies/volunteers be retained for future efforts, how will we document lessons learned. (This ensures the campaign builds long-term power, not just a one-off win.)

This checklist can be used at multiple stages: initially to design the campaign, and later as a pre-launch or mid-campaign audit. For small NGOs, some items might be informal (you may not have fancy opinion polls, for example, but you might gauge community sentiment through meetings – that's fine). The key is to be deliberate and cover the bases that increase your chance of success. A thoroughly prepared campaign is better able to adapt and persevere.

Glossary

Campaign – A series of coordinated actions and strategies aimed at achieving a specific political or social change ⁸². In this context, a campaign is more than a one-time protest; it's an organized effort with a goal, targets, and tactics.

Strategy – The overall plan designed to build sufficient power to move a target to meet the campaign goal ⁸² ⁸³. Strategy is *how* you win: it aligns resources and tactics toward influencing decision-makers. E.g., a strategy could be “mobilize local businesses to pressure City Council.”

Tactics – Specific actions or activities implementing the strategy ⁸² ⁸⁴. Tactics are the means used to execute the strategy (protests, petitions, meetings, ads, etc.). They should be chosen to apply pressure on the target in support of the strategy ⁸⁴.

Power Mapping – A strategic planning tool to visually map out key players related to your issue by their level of power and their stance on your goal ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶. It helps identify allies, opponents, and influence pathways. A power map typically is drawn as a grid and includes notes of relationships among actors.

Stakeholders – Individuals or groups with an interest or role in the issue/campaign. This includes those who can influence or are affected by the outcome (e.g. community members, officials, organizations).

Decision-maker (Target) – The person(s) or entity with the authority to give you what you want ⁸⁷. Often called the **primary target** in organizing. Secondary targets are those who influence the primary target. For example, a CEO (primary) and the CEO's major customers or board members (secondary).

Allies – People or groups who support your goal or could be persuaded to support it ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹. Allies can be active (taking initiative on your behalf) or passive (agree but not acting). Building alliances expands your power base.

Opponents – People or groups who oppose your goal ⁸⁹. They might actively work against you or just hold an opposing stance. Understanding opponents helps in anticipating their moves and finding ways to neutralize their influence.

Constituents – In advocacy, usually the people on whose behalf you are campaigning – those directly affected by the issue ⁹⁰ ⁸⁸ . Also, the base of support you can mobilize (volunteers, members). For a teachers' campaign, teachers themselves are constituents; for an environmental issue, local residents impacted are constituents.

Influencers – Individuals or entities that have the ability to sway others' opinions or actions in the campaign. This could be a popular radio host, a community elder, a social media personality, etc. They might not have formal power, but they have clout in networks.

Midwest Academy Strategy Chart – A planning framework from Midwest Academy (a training institute) that outlines key strategic elements: goals, organizational considerations, constituents, allies, opponents, targets, and tactics ¹² ¹⁹ . It's widely used by organizers to ensure strategy cohesion.

Spectrum of Allies – A tool that categorizes groups along a spectrum from active allies to active opponents ²⁷ . The idea is to shift groups one step toward you (e.g. turn neutrals into passive allies, etc.). It emphasizes that not everyone is simply "ally or enemy" – many are in between and can be moved.

Force Field Analysis – A method to identify and weigh forces driving change versus forces restraining change on an issue. Used to see where to push or what to reduce. In campaigning, driving forces might be public outrage, restraining might be institutional inertia.

Theory of Change – An explanation of how and why you expect your actions will lead to the desired change. In campaign terms, it's the logic: "If we do X, then Y will happen, which will cause Z (our goal) to be achieved." Power mapping contributes to a theory of change by revealing the "if X then Y" (e.g., if we mobilize group A to pressure person B, then person B will do C, leading to outcome Z).

Willingness to Act – A factor describing how likely an individual or group is to take action on an issue. Two stakeholders may both support you, but one's willingness to act (to volunteer, speak out, etc.) may be high while the other's is low. This affects how you prioritize engagement efforts ⁹ .

Political Capital – The influence and goodwill a stakeholder has, which can be "spent" to effect change. For example, a mayor may have political capital with the city council (ability to sway votes). Campaigns often try to either bolster an ally's political capital or erode an opponent's.

Direct vs. Indirect Pressure – Direct pressure targets the decision-maker themselves (e.g., a meeting, protest at their office). Indirect pressure targets those who influence the decision-maker (e.g., convincing voters or the boss of the official, so that they in turn press the official). Power maps illuminate indirect routes.

Escalation – Increasing pressure through more intense tactics over time (e.g., moving from sending letters to staging sit-ins). Escalation is often necessary if initial tactics don't yield a response, but it should be planned (ensure the campaign and allies are prepared for the consequences of stronger tactics).

Disruption – Actions that disturb the status quo or "business as usual" for the target, creating urgency to address the issue ⁷⁸ ⁴⁹ . Nonviolent direct actions like strikes, boycotts, blockades are disruptive tactics.

The need for enough disruptive power to match the “concession cost” (what you’re asking the target to concede) is a strategic principle ⁹¹ ⁹² .

Stakeholder Mapping – A broader term similar to power mapping, used in business or project management. It often focuses on interest and influence but might not explicitly include the relational aspect that activist power mapping does. In this guide, when we say power mapping, we imply a stakeholder map with a campaign power analysis lens.

LittleSis – An online database (nicknamed opposite of “Big Brother”) that tracks relationships between powerful people and organizations. Useful for power research to find hidden connections (board memberships, donations, etc.) that you can include in your map ⁹³ ⁹⁴ .

Moveable Middle (or Moveable Audience) – People who are neither staunchly with you nor against you at the start, but could be persuaded ⁶⁰ ⁹⁵ . Campaign strategy often targets these moveable segments for growth. In the marriage equality case, moveable middle was moderate voters who were conflicted – by adjusting messaging, the campaign moved them to support ⁶¹ ⁹⁶ .

By familiarizing yourself with these terms, you’ll navigate strategic planning discussions with clarity. Many of these concepts are interconnected (for instance, knowing your moveable middle is part of knowing your audience, which ties into strategy and messaging). A common understanding of terminology within your team also avoids confusion – e.g., everyone will know what it means when someone says “That union leader is high influence, passive ally – we need to activate them.” Use the glossary as reference throughout your campaign planning process.

Evidence Table

Source (Date)	Evidence & Key Points	Relevance to Guide
Tang, Anita – <i>Power Mapping and Analysis</i> , Commons Library (2019) ¹ ²⁹	Defines power mapping as a step-by-step collaborative exercise to visualize power holders and relationships for campaign strategy. Emphasizes involving the whole team and using a grid of influence vs support ¹ ³¹ .	Introduces power mapping purpose and method; basis for Step-by-Step section and tools.
Dirnbach, Eric – “Strategy Charts & Power Maps: A User Guide,” <i>The Forge</i> (Apr 12, 2022) ¹² ²⁷	Describes using Midwest Academy’s Strategy Chart and power maps in campaigns. Key terms defined (goals, strategies, targets, tactics) ¹² . Notes that power maps plot allies/opponents by influence and support, and suggests connecting influence arrows ²⁷ ⁴ . Also cautions that real-world complexity (like willingness to act) may not show on a 2D map ⁹ .	Validates definitions (Glossary) and use of strategy chart template; provides dissenting view on map limitations, used in Risks.

Source (Date)	Evidence & Key Points	Relevance to Guide
Activist Handbook Wiki – “Power Mapping” (updated Feb 15, 2024) ⁸⁵ ⁴³	Provides a concise intro: power mapping = tool to identify key stakeholders, their power, and relationships ⁸⁵ . Lists steps and includes a diagram of axes (with us/ against us vs amount of power) ²⁰ . Gives a “health warning” that the tool is complex and should be used slowly and with experienced groups ⁴³ .	Confirms core concept and axes definition; caution note cited in Risks (analysis paralysis and need for facilitation).
Barsoum, Gigi – “A New Framework for Understanding Power Building,” <i>SSIR</i> (Jul 17, 2023) ⁷ ⁹⁷	Case study of electing reformist prosecutors: organizers used power mapping to identify “power brokers” in the system to target ⁷ . Publication date 2023 (recent) ⁹⁷ . Demonstrates how mapping guided strategy to pursue allied judges in next election.	Modern example of power mapping informing strategy; used in Exec Summary (illustrative example) and to show current relevance.
LittleSis (Public Accountability Initiative) – “The Public’s Case Against DTE” case study (2023) ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰	Details how activists mapped a utility company’s influence: millions in lobbying and dark money, ties to politicians and civic groups ⁶⁹ ⁹⁸ . The campaign used these findings to mobilize opposition at a regulator’s hearing, resulting in a 90% reduction of a rate hike ⁷² ⁷³ .	Serves as Case Vignette 2 evidence: real-world application of power research and mapping leading to tangible win.
Marriage Equality Messaging Case – Cuff & Clark, <i>SSIR</i> (2016) ⁶¹ ⁶⁵	Describes shift in strategy after research: away from rights-based frames toward “love & commitment” to sway moveable middle ⁶¹ . Notes that by reframing, public support grew from 42% to 55% (2010–2015) ⁶⁵ . Messaging tested via focus groups/ ads allowed conflicted audiences to get past concerns ⁶⁰ ⁹⁶ .	Provides evidence for Case Vignette 1 on strategic reframing and targeting of messengers; illustrates importance of knowing your audience and adjusting strategy.

Source (Date)	Evidence & Key Points	Relevance to Guide
MarketingExperiments – Obama 2012 Email A/B Testing (Mar 2014) ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰	Reveals that content testing in Obama's campaign found casual, personal emails raised far more funds. The difference between best and worst email was nearly \$2 million ⁹⁹ . Top-performing messages “felt like real people” and weren't overly sanitized ¹⁰⁰ . The campaign's data-driven strategy generated \$500 million via email.	Although from a political campaign, underscores strategic use of experiments and not over-polishing messages. Cited in Message Testing context (lessons on authenticity vs focus-grouped messaging).
HAD-Int (Humanitarian Academy) – “Digital Activism: The Good, Bad, Future” (c.2021) ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰²	Discusses critique of “clicktivism” (online activism perceived as lazy) ¹⁰¹ and notes that sharing online must translate into offline action for real change ¹⁰² . Uses 2019 climate strikes as example where online platforms mobilized millions for on-ground protests ¹⁰³ . States digital activism should be used before/during/after physical actions for full impact ¹⁰³ .	Supports integration of digital and grassroots (used in the companion guide on Digital+Grassroots, but also in this guide's context: reminds strategists not to neglect offline power-building). Also provides a dissenting view on purely digital approaches, reinforcing the power of disruption and people (from Risks perspective).
Commons Library – “Guide to Power Mapping (Change Agency)” (n.d.) ²⁴ ¹⁰⁴	Lays out objectives of power mapping: help campaigners consider context, allies/opponents, and revise strategy accordingly ²³ ²⁴ . Provides practical steps like writing names on cards and positioning them, with a reminder to consider relationships and relative power ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ . PDF template was linked.	Source of step-by-step guidance mirrored in our framework. Reinforces the importance of specific, achievable objectives and identifying who to engage to achieve them.
The Forge – Dirnbach (2022), extended segments ⁷⁹ ⁹¹	Emphasizes that campaigns must build disruptive power to win, not just “speak truth to power.” Cites Jane McAlevey: targets concede only when disruption cost exceeds their resistance (concession cost) ⁹¹ ⁹² . Also notes a criterion that campaigns should leave organizations stronger even if issue lost ¹¹ .	Used to underline strategy principles (need for sufficient people power/disruption) and included in Exec Summary and Risks (don't focus only on elite lobbying, remember grassroots pressure). Dissent in sense of challenging purely polite or insider strategies.

Source (Date)	Evidence & Key Points	Relevance to Guide
Activist Handbook – Seeds for Change reference (2021) ¹⁰⁶	References an anti-copyright guide by Seeds for Change, which likely provided facilitation tips and emphasized group process. Though not quoted in text, Activist Handbook attribution suggests parts of the guide drawn from Seeds for Change 2021.	Background credibility for methods; influenced our inclusion of facilitation tips and ensuring participatory process. (Shows the guide's advice is drawn from tried community training materials).
Amnesty International – “#EndSARS: from Twitter to Streets” (Feb 2021) ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸	Documents that October 2020 protests in Nigeria (End SARS) forced authorities to disband the abusive police unit SARS ¹⁰⁷ . Notes that after years of false promises, protesters weren't appeased by mere renaming (SWAT) ¹⁰⁸ , indicating skeptical strategy. Also highlights government reprisals.	While primarily for the digital/grassroots guide, it evidences a case where mapping who the decision-makers were (government units) and applying both digital and street pressure led to a policy announcement. Reinforces the need to stay vigilant (panels set up, but protests continued demanding real accountability).

(Note: Each reference above is cited in the text by the bracketed numbers. Dates given where available. These sources provide a mix of how-to guidance, case studies, and critical perspectives to ensure a well-rounded understanding.)

References (Chicago Style)

- Anita Tang. **“Power Mapping and Analysis.”** *Commons Social Change Library*, The Change Agency, 2019 ¹ ²⁹. A step-by-step guide for campaigners on conducting a power mapping exercise, including purpose, process, and next steps.
- Eric Dirnbach. **“Strategy Charts & Power Maps: A User Guide.”** *The Forge*, April 12, 2022 ¹² ⁹. Explores various campaign planning frameworks (Midwest Academy chart, Beautiful Trouble tools) and provides insight into practical usage and limitations of power maps.
- **Activist Handbook – Power Mapping.** (Web article, last updated Feb 15, 2024) ⁸⁵ ⁴³. A wiki-style guide authored by campaign trainers, describing what power mapping is and how to do it, with warnings on complexity.
- Gigi Barsoum. **“A New Framework for Understanding Power Building.”** *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, July 17, 2023 ⁷. Case study of grassroots campaigns to elect reformist prosecutors, illustrating how power mapping and analysis guided campaign strategy in recent campaigns.
- Public Accountability Initiative (LittleSis). **“Political Spending Research in Action: The Public’s Case Against DTE.”** *MapThePower.net* case study, 2023 ⁵⁷ ⁷². Documents a community campaign’s power research exposing a utility company’s influence network, and how that informed successful opposition.
- Courtney Cuff & Bobby Clark. **“Funding Research for Advocacy.”** *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Summer 2016 ⁶¹ ⁶⁵. Reflections on the U.S. marriage equality movement’s strategic

communication research, detailing how messaging strategy (values of love & commitment) evolved to persuade the middle segment of the public.

- Erin Hogg. **"Email Marketing: How A/B testing raised \$500 million for Obama for America."** *MarketingExperiments*, March 10, 2014 ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ . Reports on lessons from the 2012 Obama campaign's data-driven strategy, notably the impact of testing message tone and content (personal vs formal) on supporter engagement.
- Romey Watters. **"Digital Activism: The Good, the Bad, the Future."** *Humanitarian Academy for Development*, 2021 ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² . Discusses the merits and criticisms of online activism (slacktivism vs. mobilization), concluding that integrating digital efforts with on-ground action is crucial, citing the 2019 climate strikes.
- *The Change Agency*. **"Power Mapping Guide."** (PDF via Commons Library, n.d.) ²⁴ ¹⁰⁴ . Training material for workshops, providing a framework for mapping allies, opponents, and power relationships as part of campaign planning.
- Jane McAlevey (referenced in Dirnbach's article). **No Shortcuts: Organizing for Power in the New Gilded Age.** (Oxford University Press, 2016). *Referenced idea:* the distinction between "concession cost" and "disruption cost" ⁹¹ – campaigns must build enough disruptive power to overcome the target's resistance.
- Amnesty International. **"#EndSARS movement: from Twitter to Nigerian Streets – end impunity for police violence."** Amnesty International Campaigns, Feb 2021 ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ . Describes how sustained protests and global online activism forced a policy response (disbanding of SARS unit) in Nigeria, while warning that mere announcements without accountability weren't sufficient – highlighting strategy beyond the initial win.
- Seeds for Change. **"Facilitating Strategy Planning."** (UK activist training collective guide, 2021) ¹⁰⁶ . *Referenced via Activist Handbook:* Offers methods for participatory planning and consensus in campaign strategy, ensuring inclusive decision-making and collective buy-in.

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