

# Liberatory Organizing in Action

re:power x Data+Soul

Final Impact Report May 2025



## **About this Deck**

## **Executive Summary**

**Introduction** 

**Key Learnings** 

**Conclusion** 



### **ABOUT DATA+SOUL RESEARCH**

We are a research and evaluation consulting firm based in Boston that specializes in design, strategy, and evaluation for social impact. We support organizations to co-create solutions with the communities they serve by facilitating planning, data management, and organizational learning through evaluation.

Our work honors and flows from the knowledge and practice of activists and changemakers, including the principles of emergent strategy (adrienne maree brown, 2017), asset-based framing (Trabian Shorters), appreciative inquiry (Stavros & Hinrichs, 2009), and a commitment to divorcing from white supremacy culture (Tema Okun, 2021).

**Section** 

# Executive Summary



# **Executive Summary**

#### **OUR PARTNERSHIP**

re:power exists to build a critical mass of social justice movements and their leaders who embody the ideology and practice of liberatory organizing: an organizing practice that is pro-Black and grounded in community, collective action, and abundance. Through targeted trainings, re:power offers actors within the social justice organizing space the skills, strategies, and relationships to lead, inspire, and change their movement communities and the social justice organizing space as a whole. In our partnership, re:power's goal was to build a powerful story of the impacts of the re:power model in action and develop sustainable systems to gather evidence of the journey along the theory of change.

**Data+Soul**'s objective in this partnership was to support re:power to build and implement a culturally responsive and equitable process to **document and tell re:power's story of impact**.

Our partnership involved two key components:

- Impact storytelling/ exploring how re:power's work
  has catalyzed movement along the theory of change
  by speaking to alumni about their experiences during
  and after re:power trainings.
- Technical assistance/ building upon the re:power team's strengths in data collection to co-create an evidence gathering process that supports current and future impact storytelling.

This report focuses on the learnings from impact storytelling. Learnings from technical assistance were integrated into re:power's existing tracking systems.

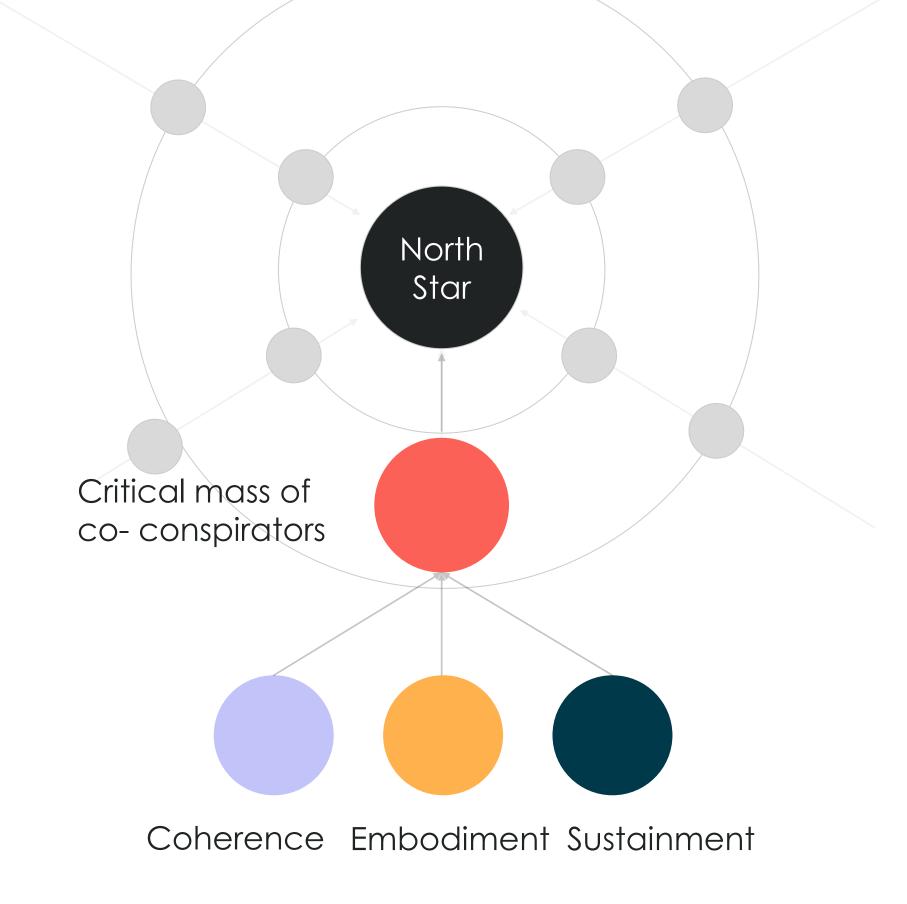
## FINAL IMPACT REPORT | EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### THEORY OF CHANGE

re:power supports leaders and organizers to engage in coherence, embodiment, and sustainment of liberatory organizing practice, with a goal of moving towards their north star: a multiracial democracy, liberated from the oppressive systems of white supremacy and patriarchy. re:power believes that if enough co-conspirators in the social justice organizing space are supported in coherence, embodiment, and sustainment, then a critical mass of will form which will catalyze a broader shift towards their north star.

#### THIS EVALUATION

Data+Soul spoke to **43 re:power alumni** across diverse movement roles and lengths of engagement with re:power about their experiences learning liberatory organizing practices in re:power trainings and **bringing liberatory organizing into action** in their communities.



Source: https://repower.org/about/toc/

## FINAL IMPACT REPORT | EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

#### **KEY QUESTIONS**

Our partnership explored the following questions:

- To what extent does re:power support coherence, embodiment, and sustainment of the liberatory organizing movement?
- What are the drivers and observable evidence of coherence, embodiment, and sustainment?
- How can collective learnings on the drivers and impacts of coherence, embodiment, and sustainment deepen and add detail to the theory of change?

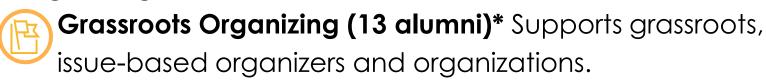
#### **METHODOLOGY**

We used **outcome harvesting** methodology to interview re:power alumni about their experiences **learning liberatory organizing practices** with re:power and **bringing liberatory organizing into action** in their communities. In these interviews, we discussed and identified:

- the changes in actions or mindsets that occurred in alumni's lives,
- re:power's contributions to these changes, and
- the impact to organizers and organizing formations because of these changes.

#### **PROGRAM AREAS**

We interviewed a total of **43 re:power alumni** across five program areas designed to support different roles in organizing:



Movement Tech (8 alumni) Democratizing the use of digital and data strategies.

Electoral Justice (5 alumni) Skilling up organizers, policymakers, and candidates.

Governance (6 alumni) Supports newly elected officials through the Progressive Governance Academy

Women of Color Leadership (14 alumni) Creating a robust pipeline of future leaders.

\*number of alumni interviewed. Alumni who participated in more than one program are counted for all program areas they were a part of.

Source: <a href="https://repower.org/about/toc/">https://repower.org/about/toc/</a>

#### **KEY LEARNINGS**

As outlined in the theory of change, all alumni shared outcomes of one or more of the pillars of coherence, embodiment, and sustainment in their stories. Alumni are aligned in the knowledge and skills of liberatory organizing (coherence), put them into practice in their work (embodiment), and foster environments that honor, respect, and sustain organizers (sustainment).

Alumni lifted up the importance of key pieces of re:power's approach that made an impact on them, both "the what" and "the how":

- The what/ powerful content and experts, critical thinking and reflection, and access to training and career opportunities.
- **The how/** modeling responsive facilitation, learning in community, and practicing sustainment.

## 2/ re:power's model is effective across the liberatory organizing movement

re:power brought liberatory organizing to action consistently across movement roles. At the same time, alumni embodied liberatory organizing in unique ways depending on their context:

- Movement Technology alumni used data tools and software to improve workflows and articulate the importance of data to others.
- Electoral Justice alumni shared liberatory organizing practices with their team members and broader organizing formations.
- Governance and Grassroots Organizing alumni formed strategic partnerships, using power and positionality to advocate.
- Women of Color Leadership alumni created boundaries, practices, and policies to care for themselves and to show up as their whole selves.

## FINAL IMPACT REPORT | EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## **KEY LEARNINGS (cont.)**

3/ re:power's model supports alumni to evolve and thrive through shifting political and movement landscapes

Stories shared by long-term alumni illustrate that:

- Liberatory organizing skills are durable/ Alumni carried the principles of liberatory organizing with them long after their re:power training.
- Eliminating silos is powerful/ Whether across political parties or technical roles, organizing was work to be done in and across community.
- The how is as important as the what/ How organizers and organizing formations cared for and sustained each other was deeply important for the longevity of organizers and the broader movement.

## 4/ re:power alumni are starting to make liberatory organizing the new normal

Alumni drive advancement towards a new normal in organizing, and a step towards re:power's north star of a liberated, multiracial democracy. Indicators of forward movement include:

- 1. **Rippling**/ Alumni create programming to educate their communities based on the principles of liberatory organizing.
- 2. **Shifting**/ Alumni shift their mindsets away from characteristics of white supremacy culture.
- 3. **Nurturing**/ Alumni create environments to foster the next generation of liberatory organizers.

## FINAL IMPACT REPORT | EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### **CONCLUSIONS AND LOOKING AHEAD**

re:power's model is successfully bringing liberatory organizing to action, with coherence, embodiment, and sustainment showing up in the work and lives of alumni after their participation in re:power programming. re:power brings liberatory organizing to action consistently and in unique ways across movement roles. In the long-term, re:power's model supports alumni to evolve and thrive through shifting political and movement landscapes. As re:power's model ripples out into the progressive ecosystem, re:power alumni are starting to make liberatory organizing the new normal.

As re:power continues to develop its evidence systems to tell the story of liberatory organizing becoming the new normal, this evaluation offers indicators of rippling, shifting, and nurturing. These indicators serve as a guide for tracking on-going movement towards development of a critical mass, and ultimate north star of a multi-racial, liberated democracy.

Section

1

# Introduction



## Our Partnership



re:power exists to build a critical mass of social justice movements and their leaders who embody the ideology and practice of liberatory organizing: an organizing practice that is pro-Black and grounded in community, collective action, and abundance. In our partnership, re:power's goal was to build a powerful story of the impacts of the re:power model in action and develop sustainable systems to gather evidence of the journey along the theory of change.



**Data+Soul**'s objective in this partnership was to support re:power to build and implement a culturally responsive and equitable process to **document and tell re:power's story of impact**. Our partnership paired **impact storytelling** to explore how re:power's work has catalyzed movement along the theory of change about impact with **technical assistance** that builds upon the re:power team's strengths in data collection to co-create an evidence gathering process that supports storytelling now and into the future.

# re:power Theory of Change

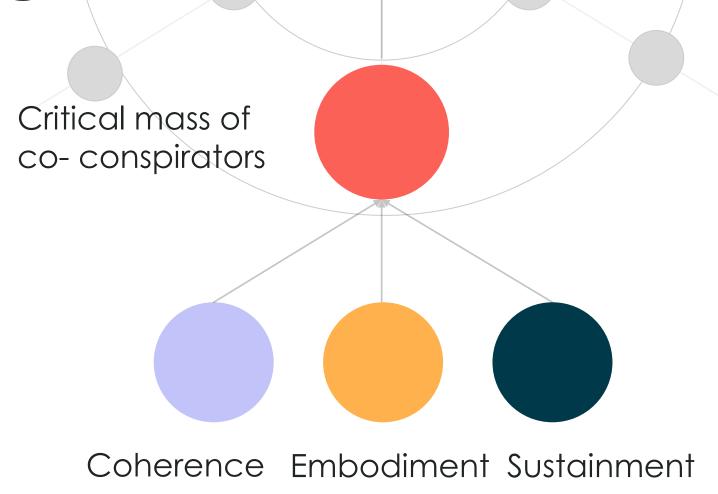
re:power believes that IF **coherence**, **embodiment** and **sustainment** happen at scale,

THEN

a **critical mass of co-conspirators** will catalyze a broad-based shift from traditional to liberatory organizing,

AND ULTIMATELY

we will witness the emergence of a **multiracial democracy**, liberated from the oppressive systems of white supremacy and patriarchy: re:power's **north star**.



North

Star

Source: <a href="https://repower.org/about/toc/">https://repower.org/about/toc/</a>

# re:power Theory of Change

re:power aims to support leaders' and organizers' **coherence**, **embodiment**, **and sustainment** of liberatory organizing practice. This report lifts up alumni voices to describe what **the theory of change looks like in action**.

#### **COHERENCE**

Women of color and trans and gender-expansive people of color build a community of co-conspirators who are deeply aligned in their knowledge of and skills in liberatory organizing.

#### **EMBODIMENT**

Co-conspirators put the theories of liberatory organizing into action within their organizations and formations.

#### **SUSTAINMENT**

Co-conspirators are honored and respected as their whole selves and can access the support they need to sustain them in their leadership.

## Program Areas





We interviewed a total of 43 re:power alumni across five program areas designed to support different roles in organizing.







Grassroots Organizing	Movement Technology	Electoral Justice	Governance	Women of Color Leadership
13* alumni	8 alumni	5 alumni	6 alumni	14 Alumni
Support grassroots, issue- based organizers and organizations through trainings on story, structure, and strategy.	Democratizing the use of digital and data strategies, practices and tools to organize and build power online and offline.	Skilling up organizers, policymakers, and candidates to utilize civic engagement as a tool that builds political power during and beyond election cycles.	Supports newly elected officials through the Progressive Governance Academy to build power with peers and local movement actors while also strengthening their skills in governance.	Creating a robust pipeline of future leaders by covering skills development, relationship building, and fostering resilience.

<sup>\*</sup> number of alumni interviewed. Alumni who participated in more than one program are counted for all program areas they were a part of. Source: <a href="https://repower.org/about">https://repower.org/about</a>

# Methodology

#### **EVIDENCE GATHERING**

To support storytelling in this partnership, we conducted **Outcome Harvesting** (Wilson-Grau, 2019) interviews with **43 re:power alumni** across **5 program areas:** some of whom **had participated in re:power programming as recently as 2025 and as long ago as 2007**.

During these interviews we discussed:

- ways re:power trainings have contributed to change for re:power alumni,
- actions alumni took as a result of participating in re:power,
- how alumni are thinking differently, and
- the **impacts of these changes** on alumni and their organizing formations from their perspectives.

#### WHY OUTCOME HARVESTING

- Captures outcomes regardless of whether they were intended
- Helps programs learn about the process of change rather than focus on judgements of "success"
- Creates space for "different ways of knowing", and non-linear progress.
- We propose this method as an antidote to the White Supremacy
   Culture Characteristics:
  - Quantity over quality
  - Progress is Bigger, More
  - Objectivity

# Methodology

#### **SENSEMAKING**

To inform our interpretation of alumni's stories and build the evidence base for the evaluation, Data+Soul held three shareout sessions with the re:power community.

## Fall 2024/ All-staff meeting

This was an opportunity to present preliminary findings to the re:power staff and ensure that programming and movement roles were properly represented.

## Spring 2025/ Board meeting

This abridged presentation centered key insights from the preliminary report.

## Spring 2025/ Alumni shareout

This was an opportunity for alumni to reflect on the interpretation of alumni experiences in this project and offer insights into their personal experiences of the theory of change in action.

Section

2

# Key Learnings



# Key Learnings

Through the stories of 43 re:power alumni, we found four key learnings that paint a picture of re:power's impact within social justice movements. We explore these learnings in detail in this section.

**KEY LEARNING 1/** re:power's model brings liberatory organizing to action.

**KEY LEARNING 2**/ re:power's model is effective across the liberatory organizing movement.

**KEY LEARNING 3**/ re:power's model supports alumni to evolve and thrive through shifting political and movement landscapes.

**KEY LEARNING 4**/ re:power alumni are starting to make liberatory organizing the new normal.

# Key Learning 1

re:power's model brings liberatory organizing to action. Through our year of impact storytelling, we found strong evidence supporting re:power's theory of change in action. In alumni's stories, we heard the outcomes of all three pillars of the theory of change: coherence, embodiment, and sustainment.

The **skills and tools** of liberatory organizing that re:power equips alumni with **ripple out into their work and lives**, offering a view into what is possible when liberatory organizing becomes the new normal.

# Key Learning 1

re:power's model brings liberatory organizing to action Evidence of the outcomes of coherence, embodiment, and sustainment are woven into alumni's stories.

All 43 alumni shared outcomes of one or more of the pillars in their stories, and 81 percent shared outcomes of all three.

Together, the re:power community's voices and experiences tell a collective story of what the pillars of liberatory organizing look like in action.

For a deeper dive into coherence, embodiment, and sustainment in action, explore alumni stories shared during round one in the preliminary impact report.

## Coherence

Women of color and trans and genderexpansive people of color build a community of co-conspirators who are deeply aligned in their knowledge of and skills in liberatory organizing.

95 percent of alumni shared outcomes related to coherence in their stories.

Alumni moved forward from re:power programs aligned in the knowledge and skills of liberatory organizing. For the re:power community, coherence looked like building toolboxes of activities and exercises (23 alumni) and tools and frameworks (18 alumni) to:

LEAD MOVEMENT WORK Alumni came out of re:power trainings with frameworks to guide decision-making with teams, new ways of thoughtfully leveraging power, approaches to navigate conflict, and exercises to identify leadership style and recognize strengths and growth edges.

**CONNECT THROUGH STORYTELLING** Drawing on re:power activities like the Story of Self, alumni honed narrative storytelling skills to share their stories and create space for others to share theirs.

BUILDING NETWORKS re:power alumni carried forward value identification activities and team model frameworks to develop teams and shared purpose. Alumni drew on campaign writing group exercises to develop their own campaigns and use power mapping to build networks.

## Coherence

Coherence looked like alignment in ways of being and holding space (15 alumni):

**FACILITATION** By experiencing the safe, vulnerable, and generative spaces that re:power trainers cultivate, alumni built new approaches and skills for facilitating in a flexible, responsive way.

**HUMAN CENTERED** Alumni came out of re:power with new human-centered approaches to create space for connection in-person and virtually.

Coherence also looked like alignment in ways of thinking (32 alumni):

**GROW CONFIDENCE** re:power alumni built confidence in their roles and skillsets as leaders.

**SHIFTING MINDSETS** Alumni moved away from white supremacy culture characteristics such as urgency, individualism, and scarcity.

**BELONGING AND AFFIRMATION** Alumni felt affirmed and in community as a network of women and gender-expansive people of color in movement work.

## Coherence

"Coherence means how everything relates to and influences each other. It forces me to tear down silos in my work and be more inclusive and intentional."

- re:power alum

Alumni affirmed coherence as the skills and tools of liberatory organizing they gained from re:power. Alumni expanded the definition of coherence to include the ways they are welcomed to show up honestly as part of the skills and approaches they learn in re:power.

## **Embodiment**

Co-conspirators put the theories of liberatory organizing into action within their organizations and formations.

98 percent of alumni shared outcomes related to embodiment in their stories.

Alumni put the skills and theories of liberatory organizing into practice in their work. For the re:power community, **embodiment looked like**:

**SPREADING LIBERATORY ORGANIZING TO TEAMS AND FELLOW ORGANIZERS** (24 alumni). Alumni shared learnings with teams and partners, mobilized others through education, and created new trainings inspired by re:power or became re:power trainers themselves. As they evolved in their careers, alumni built on improved facilitation and communication skills developed through re:power.

ADOPTING PRACTICES THAT ALLOW PEOPLE TO SHOW UP AS THEIR WHOLE SELVES (26 alumni). Alumni adopted organizing strategies to meet groups' needs and created human-centered spaces. Alumni made the time and space to work comfortably, adopted improved self-care practices, and replaced urgency with fluidity.

**FORMING STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS TOWARDS A SHARED PURPOSE** (18 alumni). Alumni developed strategic relationships with unlikely allies and across political orientations, created community, and built trust with fellow organizers and peers. They adopted new collaborative processes, slowing down and showing grace, and investing strategically in online organizing.

## **Embodiment**

"[Embodiment means] alignment with a true purpose. My soul feels committed to the cause. It keeps the work meaningful."

- re:power alum

Alumni affirmed embodiment as the liberatory organizing work they do and expanded the definition of embodiment to center purpose and authenticity within their work and the way that those values enrich and improve their leadership.

## Sustainment

Co-conspirators are honored and respected as their whole selves and can access the support they need to sustain them in their leadership.

88 percent of alumni shared outcomes related to sustainment in their stories.

Alumni drew on liberatory organizing skills and practices they learned through re:power to foster environments that honor, respect, and sustain organizers and organizing formations in their work. For the re:power community, **sustainment looked like**:

**PRIORITIZING CARE** (11 alumni). Alumni put practices into action to keep themselves and their organizing formations sustained in their work. Alumni prioritized self-care and work boundaries to reduce burnout, leaning on their communities and the re:power network for support and thought-partnership, and celebrating small wins while keeping the longer arc of movement building in sight.

#### **ADVANCING CAREERS AND MENTORING THE NEXT**

**GENERATION** (7 alumni). Alumni took new career steps, moving into new positions and stepping into leadership and mentorship roles to build the skills of future leaders in the movement. As their paths evolved, alumni continued to develop their own leadership skills and approaches to support and sustain their teams and themselves.

## Sustainment

For the re:power community, sustainment looks like (cont):

**STANDING IN POWER AS WOMEN, TRANS, AND GENDER- EXPANSIVE PEOPLE OF COLOR** (14 alumni). Alumni held space for on-going reflection on identity, power, positionality, and the systems they operate in. re:power alumni thought critically about tools and systems in movement work, and actively dismantled white supremacy culture characteristics of urgency, individualism, and scarcity. As a result, alumni took up space and stood in power in their full identities as women and gender-expansive people of color.

## Sustainment

"Taking care of and putting myself first when needed. Not only delegating tasks but empowering direct reports with the tools and mentorship to succeed at new things."

- re:power alum

**ALUMNI PERSPECTIVES ON SUSTAINMENT** Alumni affirmed sustainment as the **respect and support** they need to nurture their continued leadership in the liberatory organizing space, and expanded the definition of sustainment to focus on fostering self-care and selflove in ways that benefit the individual organizer and their organizing formations.

# In the community's words: The pillars of liberatory organizing in action

Dr. Tyler Titus (they/them) is a Progressive Governance Academy alum. Tyler works as a licensed professional counselor and currently serves on the Erie, PA City Council.

## **COHERENCE**/

"[Power mapping] re-envisioned how I will be able to implement and change the things that I want to get done... so it's not just I made this promise, it is: I made this promise, and strategically, how can I make this promise come into life?"

## **EMBODIMENT/**

"Recently we had an ordinance that I needed to not pass because of the harm it was going to do to the Black and Brown community. My biggest allies were the local brewers, which I would have never thought about... with their initiative, I was able to stop a really harmful piece of legislation from passing."

## SUSTAINMENT/

"I think oftentimes marginalized, historically oppressed people are intentionally made to feel like we don't deserve to take up these spaces... We need our voices in these spaces, and even when we're telling ourselves all the horrible things that other people have said to us and we're being our own worst critic, you've got people who you can then lean on through your cohort, who are going to boost you through it. I think that that's the other powerful thing: you don't always have to know all the answers. You just have to know where to go to get them."

# In the community's words: The pillars of liberatory organizing in action

Thanh Tran (he/him) is a Grassroots
Organizing (GRO) school alum who is
currently a Policy Consultant at the <u>Ella</u>
<u>Baker Center for Human Rights</u>. Thanh's work
focuses on advocating for incarcerated and
formerly incarcerated people in California.

## **COHERENCE**/

"One of the big takeaways for me was that I got to meet organizers from all different types of walks of life, and organizers who don't necessarily do criminal justice work.

And for me, that was so valuable to my criminal justice work because it gave me so much perspective and it gave me a depth that I didn't have before."

## **EMBODIMENT**/

"I'm showing up as my full self or attempting to bring my full self into spaces, honestly, I found so much more joy in the work... it brings personality to the work, and allows all of us to be human, right? And at the end of the day, that's what we're trying to do. We're trying to fight for humans to be more human."

## SUSTAINMENT/

"People from all over the US showing like no you can show up any way you freaking want to show up, right? All that matters is you're showing up with love and care and intentionality, right? But, but you can show up as your 100% full self, whereas before, I felt like I had to conform to fit into these organizing spaces. Now I felt like I can bring my full self to every organizing space that I'm in because of the community members I got to be in community with."

# In the community's words: The pillars of liberatory organizing in action

Shanda Neal Green (she/her) is an Electoral Justice and Women of Color Leadership alum who is currently a Political Organizer at 9t05. Shanda and her organization work on issues impacting women and their families through the lens of gender, race, and economic justice.

## **COHERENCE**/

"We had a story of self model where we had to look at it from the lens of your foremothers, of the people that came before you, like, who are your people? What do you want to leave behind and what do you want to take with you? ... I think it made you think a little bit deeper and how your story also connects to the broader fight and the people that you're building with."

## **EMBODIMENT**/

"All the organizers once a month hop on the call together, and it looks different depending on what's on the agenda ... Our first organizing hour we drafted the shared purpose, which is something that we learned through re:power. I had the organizers draft a paragraph of their shared purpose [including] the how, the what and the who, and then create our collective beliefs and values. And they really loved it, and it's something that we go back to. This is the beliefs and values that we're holding, how are we showing this in our work? Thinking about self and how your self then relates to the people that you're trying to bring into the movement.

## SUSTAINMENT/

"People feel like, 'I'm experiencing this issue by myself.' And then when they get with other people, no, you're experiencing the same thing. I'm just not the lone wolf out here. It creates a different mentality.... Kind of going from individual responsibility to a group responsibility individual to like collective."

# What does it take to bring liberatory organizing to action?

Through alumni stories, we heard that the impact of re:power's model is just as much a result of the "how" as the "what".

Throughout our conversations, alumni lifted up the importance of key pieces of re:power's approach that were impactful for them.

## THE WHAT/ POWERFUL CONTENT AND EXPERTS

re:power's curriculum, activities and exercises invite organizers to introduce strategy and thoughtfulness into their organizing. In their stories, alumni shared about how re:power equipped them with the tools, frameworks, and strategic approaches to be effective in their liberatory organizing journeys. Alumni also credited re:power facilitators and guest presenters for strengthening content with expertise and lived experience. As a result of effective content and delivery, re:power's influence extended beyond its alumni, with participants in its programming spreading liberatory organizing practices to their teams and fellow organizers.

## THE WHAT/ CRITICAL THINKING AND REFLECTION

re:power provided alumni with the space and processes to reflect on their identity, power, and positionality as part of their leadership practice. Building the muscle of reflection supported alumni to grow their confidence as leaders and leverage power intentionally.

## THE WHAT/ ACCESS TO TRAINING AND CAREER OPPORTUNITITES

re:power offerings were designed to maximize accessibility by reducing financial barriers to participation through transparent sliding scale options, and for some trainings, professional development funds. After training, the re:power network was a source of support for alumni to find new positions and advance their careers.

## THE HOW/ MODELING RESPONSIVE FACILITATION

re:power trainings showed alumni what it looks and feels like to hold space for different organizing formations and relationships. Alumni shared that re:power modeled how to facilitate spaces for organizers and communities to be sustained in their work by creating safe spaces, incorporating human-centered design, making room for alumni to lead themselves, and demonstrating the ability to pivot and slow down as needed. Alumni spoke to the power of engaging content and activities in addition to space for inperson connection. Alumni lifted up that re:power's strength is in relationships, offering facilitation and community-making that teaches alumni to value how they work together just as much as the work itself.

#### THE HOW/ LEARNING IN COMMUNITY

re:power uplifted the brilliance and knowledge that participants, facilitators, coaches and the overall network brings, allowing space for shared learning. Alumni reflected on the ways they learned with and from their peers in trainings and cohorts as well as from re:power facilitators and trainers and the power of connections and networks built through the re:power community. re:power instilled a sense of community and belonging for alumni: alumni felt the support of the re:power network, preventing the work from feeling lonely or siloed.

### THE HOW/ PRACTICING SUSTAINMENT

re:power supported alumni sustainment by modeling collective care and supporting mindset shifts to keep the work and the wins in perspective.

Alumni carried learnings and community from re:power forward to institute practices that keep organizers and organizing formations sustained in their work, increasing care and reducing burnout.

# Key Learning 2

re:power's model is effective across the liberatory organizing movement.

Through alumni's stories, we saw how re:power's model **consistently supported** alumni to bring liberatory organizing to action **across movement roles**.

We also saw how alumni **embodied liberatory organizing in unique ways** across roles in the progressive ecosystem.

For a deeper dive into liberatory organizing across movement roles, explore alumni stories shared during round one in the preliminary impact report.

# Key Learning 2

re:power's model is effective across the liberatory organizing movement.

re:power is working towards the north star of a liberated, multi-racial democracy by offering training and strategic support to leaders across the progressive ecosystem. To meet organizers with tailored content for their contexts, re:power offers trainings across five key areas:

- (13 alumni)\*
- Movement Tech (8 alumni)
- Electoral Justice (5 alumni)
- Governance (6 alumni)
- Women of Color Leadership (14 alumni)

<sup>\*</sup> number of alumni interviewed. Alumni who participated in more than one program are counted for all program areas they were a part of.

## ABOUT THE MOVEMENT ROLE



## **GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING (13 alumni)**

Support grassroots, issue-based organizers and organizations through trainings on story, structure, and strategy

## LIBERATORY ORGANIZING IN ACTION

Grassroots Organizing alumni formed strategic partnerships (6 alumni) and used their power and positionality to advocate (5 alumni).

"re:power gave me some frameworks to think from and structure my thinking from and that helped me as I'm leading this coalition and having to deal with the massive amount of stakeholders that comes when you're trying to do anything voting wise. I had to come find out we had to deal with our Secretary of State, our Attorney General, the local elections officials for each of the counties, the sheriffs that run each of the counties, and then the coalitions of the election officials that have been started. ... It was jumping through hoops after hoops just to get [AB544] vetoed, but we're going to be in the budget next year. So I think that to answer your question, [re:power] helped give me a framework to continue to strategize from."

- Thanh Tran(he/him), Grassroots Organizing



### **MOVEMENT TECHNOLOGY (8 alumni)**

Democratizing the use of digital and data strategies, practices and tools to organize and build power online and offline.

### LIBERATORY ORGANIZING IN ACTION

Movement technologists used data tools and software to improve workflows (2 alumni) and articulated the importance of data to others (2 alumni).

"I would say that re:power helped with the literal verbiage and framing, in the sense that I've been told I am someone who can relay super technical terms to people who may not be as technologically savvy. But sometimes, when it comes to data, no matter how hard I try, I get caught in the weeds and having re:power slides, or having people talking to you about, 'this is how you can perhaps frame it for people when you talk about it', is really helpful."

- addison evans (they/them), Movement Technology



### **ELECTORAL JUSTICE (5 alumni)**

Skilling up organizers, policymakers, and candidates to utilize civic engagement as a tool that builds political power during and beyond election cycles.

#### LIBERATORY ORGANIZING IN ACTION

Electoral Justice alumni shared liberatory organizing practices (4 alumni) with their team members and broader organizing formations.

"Before repower, I probably would have approached facilitation in an academic way, where I am lecturing to people like information and hoping that they're receiving it. I [now] try to incorporate some deep breathing whenever a topic gets heavy, or some sort of icebreaker activity that's connected to what we're going to be talking about, to get folks thinking in a different way."

- Celine Mutuyemariya (she/her), Electoral Justice



### **GOVERNANCE** (6 alumni)

Supports newly elected officials through the Progressive Governance Academy to build power with peers and local movement actors while also strengthening their skills in governance.

### LIBERATORY ORGANIZING IN ACTION

Like Grassroots Organizing alumni, Governance alumni also formed strategic partnerships (4 alumni) and used their power and positionality to advocate (2 alumni).

"PGA curriculum teaches about four different roles that elected officials can play. So when are we playing the role of the policymaker, versus when are we playing the role of narrative change so that the policies we need are possible in the future? So it's valuable thinking about the way that we leverage power and narrative while organizing as well as policy change are all very important ways to leverage that power, and thinking about how we do what we do today to make possible tomorrow? The things we can't do today, and how do we move this forward in our community even if we don't have policy-making power?"

- Lindsey Schromen-Wawrin (he/him),
Governance



### **WOMEN OF COLOR LEADERSHIP (14 alumni)**

Creating a robust pipeline of future leaders by covering skills development, relationship building, and fostering resilience

#### LIBERATORY ORGANIZING IN ACTION

Women of Color Leadership alumni created workplace boundaries, practices, and policies that allow for organizers and team members to be able to care for themselves and to show up as their whole selves (10 alumni).

"There was attention, intentionality around self care and taking care of ourselves [in the WOC training]. When you need a break, take a break,, if you need a minute, take a minute ... I don't subscribe to people having access to me all the time. So when I'm off of work my phone is off, my computer is off. I don't believe in people having access to me 24/7, and that's okay, that's how I'm going to survive. It's alright. So I am very clear that this work is not going to kill me. It's not going to put me in the ground. So I'm going to have boundaries, and I'm entitled to have boundaries."

- Nicole Barnes (she/her), Women of Color Leadership

# Key Learning 3

Liberatory organizing practices can support re:power alumni to evolve and thrive through shifting political and movement landscapes.

Re:power alumni's stories spoke to the impacts of liberatory organizing strategies in both the shortand long-terms.

We had the opportunity to connect with three alumni who have been a part of the re:power community for the long term (8 - 18 years). Their journeys showed how liberatory organizing knowledge and skills continued to support alumni to sustain the work and achieve wins as political landscapes and movements shift and evolve.

Stories shared by long-term alumni illustrated that:

- Liberatory organizing skills can be durable,
- Eliminating silos is powerful, and
- The how is as important as the what.

# Long-term alumni case studies

The following case studies illustrate the depth of re:power's work, and provide a reminder that the re:power community has weathered change and sustained.

Stories shared by long-term alumni illustrated that:

- **Liberatory organizing skills are durable**/ The skills of liberatory organizing were powerful through changes in political and movement landscapes. Alumni carried the principles of liberatory organizing with them long after their re:power training.
- Eliminating silos is powerful/ Movement forward happened when alumni broke down silos. The stories re:power alumni shared lifted up the importance of working across: whether across political parties or technical roles, organizing was work to be done in community. Alumni stories spoke to the lasting strength of strong networks and showed how networks are important both in the long and the short term.
- The how is as important as the what/ Organizers could have all the tools and skills but were most effective when they took time to care for themselves and others. How organizers and organizing formations care for and sustain each other was deeply important for the longevity of organizers and the broader movement.

Jennie Johnson (she/her) was most recently a Regional Mobilization Manager in Wisconsin for the Harris Presidential Campaign in 2024. Jennie's involvement with re:power started in 2007 when re:power was known as Wellstone Action. Jennie participated in Camp Wellstone, and the Wellstone Advanced Campaign Management School.

Jennie's story spoke to the evolution of the progressive movement space from a time when there were not many women in leadership roles, to the present. Jennie shared how re:power helped her navigate that period, and step into new roles in the progressive ecosystem. Her story also spoke to the power of learning how to share one's own story to connect with others.

# Weaving through movement

with Jennie Jonhson

Jennie: Let's be honest, there weren't a lot of women campaign managers at that point in time. And so I ended up becoming a finance director on a lot of campaigns....People will try to silo you in the political world: like, you're a field person, you're a communications person, you're a finance person. But a good campaign manager probably would have done all of those things at some point in their career, and understands how all the pieces of the puzzle work together.

### **WEAVING THROUGH MOVEMENT**

In our conversation, Jennie reflected that there were not many women in campaign leadership roles when she first began in 2007. She often found herself siloed in the same roles related to fundraising.

Jennie: At the [Wellstone] Advanced Campaign Management School, back in the day, you used to get a printed out binder. And there was a whole chapter about how you could move into these different worlds. There are very heavy seasons in electoral politics so being able to jump into some of those other buckets where you're doing more advocacy type campaigns, or working on some more long term issues is super beneficial because it keeps you working but also it shows you the other ways that you're able to have impact. And I think there's a lot of intersectionality between those different organizations as well. So that is something that I really took away from [re:power]. What [re:power] had said was: the most successful people are the ones who weave their way in and out of the different types of work within the progressive space.

### **WEAVING THROUGH MOVEMENT**

Jennie spoke about how beneficial it was to shift into different spaces and roles in her career, allowing her to understand the "ins and outs" of the progressive space.

ELIMINATING SILOS Jennie spoke about how re:power helped instill this mindset and encouraged alumni to weave their way in and out of the different types of work in the space.

Jennie: One of the things [re:power] really spoke about was storytelling and being able to share a story. I had a friend that I grew up with who died in Iraq in 2004. It is a very powerful thing to share with another person. That was the trajectory of my career, wanting to work with veteran candidates, wanting to work on veterans issues and with military families... I think being able to share that personal story and find common ground on my own personal experience has been very beneficial. I don't know if I would have been as good at connecting with other humans if I hadn't done the Wellstone Advanced Campaign Management school, and known how to actually tell that narrative.

### **WEAVING THROUGH MOVEMENT**

Jennie's story also centered on a personal and professional cause she has worked on throughout her career: veteran's issues.

spoke to the importance of storytelling and described how re:power supported her in sharing her own story and connecting with folks to find common ground across the political spectrum.

Michelle Pappas (she/her) is currently the Spokane Program Manager for Futurewise and the founder and lead facilitator of the housing coalition Shaping Spokane Together. Shaping Spokane Together works to pass housing policy in the City of Spokane, Washington. Michelle's involvement with re:power started in 2016 with Camp Wellstone and continued with the Grassroots Organizing Strategy Academy and the Women of Color Leadership Cohort in 2024.

Michelle's story spoke to the importance of incorporating community care and healing to be effective in organizing work. Through her time with the women of color cohort, Michelle built strategies and tactics to support healing that she carried forward into her coalition-building work. Michelle credited the growth and policy achievements of Shaping Spokane Together to the sustaining value of healing work in organizing and the importance of creating spaces that are lifting people up.

# Holding space for healing

with Michelle Pappas

Michelle: The Women of Color Leadership Cohort really felt like we were not just working on healing ourselves, but taking that healing back to the community, whereas the Grassroots Strategy Academy was much more focused on the actual actions that need to take place during the campaigns. [Camp Wellstone and the Grassroots Academy] were great trainings, I knew what policies to bring back to my community, [but] I didn't have the healing work to bring back to my community.... So I felt like in the interim, between 2016 and 2024, I was really in search of: what healing practices can I take on for myself and bring back to my community? With the Women of Color Leadership Cohort, we were able to work on ourselves in a way over a three month period, and I really felt confident taking that healing work back to the community.

### HOLDING SPACE FOR HEALING

In our conversation, Michelle spoke about how each training impacted her and allowed her to move within the space.

THE WHAT Wellstone Action and the Grass Roots Academy supported Michelle in identifying what policy work to bring into her community.

**THE HOW** The Women of Color Leadership cohort supported Michelle's own healing and collective healing journey with her community.

Michelle: I'm the founder and lead facilitator of the Housing Coalition Shaping Spokane Together. And the end of our meetings, we take five minutes to do community breathing, something that [I started when] I first taught the class...we did our breathing work because we wanted, one, to provide some healing... but [two] also recognizing that in these policy meetings, emotions do and and in many ways should run high... They all came back the next month saying I felt more calm and centered going into my following meetings than I had walking out of any other meeting. With the coalition, we talked a lot about how this work could be sustainable, and it's only sustainable if no one is sacrificing their mental health to come to these meetings... We started with four organizations, and we are now over 20 organizations strong, and that I really do credit to no one sacrificing any mental health and also feeling like their mental health is maybe boosted by coming to these meetings as well.

### HOLDING SPACE FOR HEALING

Michelle has been able to apply the knowledge and skills learned from these trainings to influence how she and her community work together and navigate policy priorities.

### MINDFULNESS TO POLICY WINS

Michelle now incorporates mindfulness into her coalition meetings to make the work sustainable. Together, the coalition increased the mandate for the number of disability accessible units in all new buildings in her community.

# Key Learning 4

re:power's alumni are starting to make liberatory organizing the new normal.

Alumni experienced wins that suggest movement beyond coherence, embodiment, and sustainment and towards a critical mass of co-conspirators.

To track this movement, we offer three indicators to guide future impact storytelling as re:power documents and shares evidence of advancement towards liberatory organizing as the new normal.

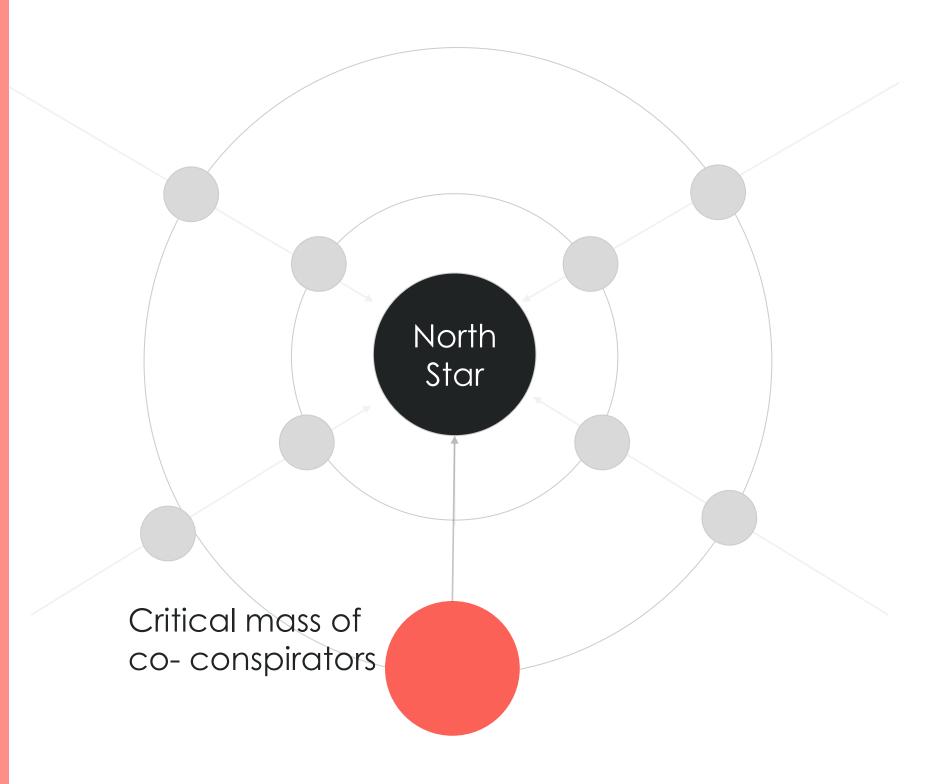
**Indicator 1/ Rippling** Alumni create programming to educate their communities based on the principles of liberatory organizing.

**Indicator 2/ Shifting** Alumni shift their mindsets away from white supremacy culture.

**Indicator 3/ Nurturing** Alumni build environments to foster the next generation of liberatory organizers.

### **BUILDING A CRITICAL MASS**

As alumni embraced and spread liberatory organizing into their formations, they could achieve meaningful wins that lay the groundwork for building a critical mass of co-conspirators.



Alumni like Women of Color Leadership alum Celine Mutuyemariya (she/her) shared knowledge and increased accessibility of education around liberatory organizing.

"Some of the things that I learned during the Women of Color Leadership development cohort I'm now incorporating into the political education we offer to our members and to our base. So things like the cycle of socialization is something that I learned about for the first time through that program."

> - Celine Mutuyemariya (she/her), Women of Color Leadership

Alumni like Grassroots
Organizing alum Cedric Craig
(he/him) used liberatory
organizing to increase voter
turnout in the 2024 federal
election.

"We began planning and strategizing for our phase three, with the election cycle for this year in terms of how we are going to actively go about activating our vote for the election...

We now establish this idea of something called our 'vote power squad' in which we're using our member leaders who have been active in our organization, they then use their personal network to hold house meetings to then get another 15 folks ready to vote...

Using the house meeting, using our vote power squads, we're already having a larger impact, bringing more folks in. Fifteen signed up for the next meeting, which is higher than the goal of five that we had."

- Cedric Craig (he/him), Grassroots Organizing

Alumni like Grassroots
Organizing alum Jacky GarciaAngulo (she/her/ella) found
common ground across the
political spectrum and built
bridges between different
communities.

"After I was done with [re:power], I kind of sat with the things and the skills and strategies that I had learned, and I think through those strategies and skills that I learned like how do I talk to someone who's in a position of power?

I was actually able to put together a panel. I had a panel of people who were running for a couple different districts here in Spokane...

Being able to bring awareness to local elections was something that was really big and important to me... Being able to do that helped, not just me but other people who attended to continue to get engaged with local politics, with the election, and also get engaged with our organization."

- Jacky Garcia-Angulo (she/her/ella), Grassroots
Organizing

Alumni like Movement
Technology alum Sharia
Legette (she/her) strategically
invested in online organizing
communities to bring new
faces into movement spaces.

"Last year I did a online, journalism, one-on-one teach in... This was kind of a test to see how would people feel about [hosting online]. What people attend?...

The turnout was dope. You can tell it brought in different folks than we usually see. So the people who normally come to our inperson events, a couple of them were there, but the vast majority of the folks who were in that Zoom were folks that we do not see.

And that to me, **that spoke volumes to me**, and I thought that was amazing, because that kind of gave us **a chance to touch those folks.**"

- Sharia Legette (she/her), Movement Technology

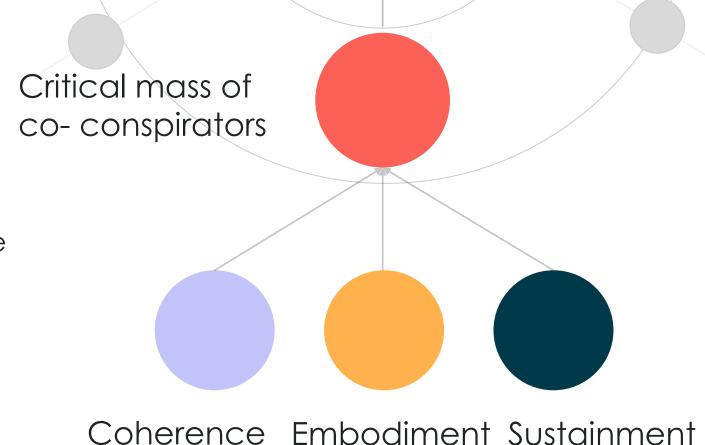
## re:power Theory of Change

While this project focused on tracking evidence of coherence, embodiment, and sustainment in alumni stories, as we look at wins towards building a critical mass we believe there is still an opportunity to begin tracking evidence further along the theory of change. We propose three indicators of movement towards liberatory organizing as a new normal that can enrich re:power's growing evidence tracking systems:

Indicator 1/ Rippling Alumni create programming to educate their communities based on the principles of liberatory organizing.

Indicator 2/ Shifting Alumni shift their mindsets away from white supremacy culture.

**Indicator 3/ Nurturing** Alumni build environments to foster the next generation of liberatory organizers.



North

Star

Source: <a href="https://repower.org/about/toc/">https://repower.org/about/toc/</a>

### Indicator 1/ Rippling

Re:power alumni
spread the tools and
skills of liberatory
organizing into their
organizing
communities and
practices.

For alumni, this can look like:

- Using learnings from re:power to
   inspire programming and workshops,
   for example bringing an
   intersectional equity lens to training
- **Sharing learnings** from re:power with their teams and external partners
- Mobilizing others through education and training, including supporting others in crafting and telling their own stories

### RIPPLING IN ACTION

After joining the Women of Color
Leadership Cohort, Michelle
Pappas (she/her) created a
leadership program in
collaboration with a mediation
center in her community.
Together they created
programming on how to establish
an effective policy campaign
and how to interact with
communities and elected
officials.

### Indicator 2/ Shifting

Re:power alumni and their co-conspirators are moving away from white supremacy characteristics, building values alignment on teams, and women and gender-expansive POC leaders are experiencing affirmation within their movement work.

For alumni, this can look like:

- Deprioritizing urgency and opting for strategic analysis and slowness
- Seeing oneself as a piece of a greater whole and moving towards collective responsibility
- Prioritizing organizer and community wellness

### **SHIFTING IN ACTION**

Candace Hunter (she/her), an alum of the Progressive
Governance Academy, returned to her work as a district school board trustee with a new outlook on leadership. Through strategic slowness, she was able to critically assess her own leadership style and explore alternatives that could further support her community.

### **Indicator 3/ Nurturing**

Beyond sustainment, alumni are creating environments of honor and respect for future leaders to begin practicing liberatory organizing.

For alumni, this can look like:

- Using approaches like human centered design to create time and space to exist comfortably within their work
- Adapting organizing strategies to groups' unique needs
- Improved self-care practices

### **NURTURING IN ACTION**

After participating in re:power's Women of Color Leadership program, América Ramirez (any/all) restructured how she manages her team, encouraging comfort and openness between her and the fellows she works with. They have also **mentored** the fellows, emboldening them to advocate for their needs within their organization as leaders in their own right.

Section

# Conclusion



## Conclusion

In our year-long evaluation, we found that re:power's model:

BRINGS LIBERATORY ORGANIZING TO ACTION Alumni experienced coherence, embodiment, and sustainment, with each pillar influencing how they move through their liberatory organizing journeys.

IS EFFECTIVE ACROSS THE LIBERATORY ORGANIZING
MOVEMENT Alumni from each program area brought
liberatory organizing to life in similar but unique ways, all
working towards the same north star.

SUPPORTS ALUMNI TO EVOLVE AND THRIVE THROUGH A SHIFTING LANDSCAPE The stories of long-term alumni who had experienced shifts in both the movement space and re:power illustrated the durability and effectiveness of re:power's programming.

**IS STARTING TO MAKE LIBERATORY ORGANIZING THE NEW NORMAL** Alumni are taking a step towards the north star as they ripple re:power learnings out to their communities and shift how they think about their work and the ways they work together.

Looking ahead, re:power is dedicated to continuing to build evidence telling the story of the liberatory organizing movement's impact and following the arc of the community's journey towards the north star of a multi-racial, liberated democracy. Alongside this evaluation, re:power worked closely with the Data+Soul team to re-imagine evidence gathering systems through technical assistance. This evaluation adds the outcomes of rippling, shifting, and nurturing to re:power's toolbox of indicators to describe and track movement along the theory of change.

### Liberatory Organizing in Action:

Evaluation of re:power's model to advance liberatory organizing

### **Authors**

Hassan Lubega, Kayla Benitez Alvarez, Bobbie D. Norman, Elizabeth Whitcher, and Min Ma.

### Gratitude

We are deeply grateful for the re:power alumni who generously shared their time and stories with us. Your voices shape this story. Our gratitude always to the re:power team for your partnership and the work that you do to move us towards a liberated future. Special thanks to re:power team members Sagal Handulle, Kavita Khandekar Chopra, Deana Ayers, Zhenqi Ong, Jazmyne Brooks, Krystal Garcia Centeno, and everyone who shared your thoughts and feedback with us.

Questions about this report? Contact: <a href="mailto:hassan@dataplussoul.com">hassan@dataplussoul.com</a> | <a href="mailto:www.dataplussoul.com">www.dataplussoul.com</a> © 2025 Data+Soul. All rights reserved.



### References

- brown, adrienne maree. (2017). Emergent strategy: Shaping change, changing worlds. AK Press.
- Garred, M., & Ma, M. (2024). Change inside and out: An evaluator's guide to outcome harvesting + attitude change (revised edition).
- Okun, T. (2021). White supremacy culture characteristics. White Supremacy Culture. Retrieved November 2024.
- Stavros, J. M., & Hinrichs, G. (2009). The thin book of SOAR: Building strengths-based strategy. Thin Book Publishing.
- re:power. (n.d.). About.
- re:power. (n.d.). <u>About: Theory of Change</u>.
- Shorters, T. (n.d.). Asset framing.
- Wilson-Grau, R. (2019). Outcome harvesting: Principles, steps, and evaluation application. Sage.