

An Evaluation of the

Mobilize the Immigrant Vote

California Collaborative



see change
evaluation through a new lens

Overview of MIV and the Movement-Building Approach

The Mobilize the Immigrant Vote (MIV) California Collaborative is a non-partisan coalition of social justice organizations and coalitions in regions of California with growing immigrant populations. Founded in 2004 by activists concerned about disenfranchisement and low electoral participation rates among immigrants, MIV has developed a leveraged approach to educating and involving citizens in local, state, and national decision-making. Describing their approach as “movement-building electoral organizing,” their innovative strategies involves existing community-based organizations in capacity-building, education about the policy process, and integrating civic engagement activities into their existing services and offerings.

Spearheaded by Partnership for Immigrant Leadership & Action (PILA), MIV is led by a steering committee made up of representatives from PILA and the following five organizations: the Bay Area Immigrant Rights Coalition (BAIRC), the Korean Resource Center (KRC), and Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), Services, Immigrant Rights & Education Network (SIREN), and the California Partnership (CAP). Each partner is an independent organization or coalition, with its own board, staff, and constituency. Based on a set of shared goals, each group builds partnerships with other grassroots groups and community-based organizations in its region of the state, distributing information and providing education for voters and potential voters about the electoral process and issues affecting immigrant communities.

The long-term goal of MIV is not simply to increase voter turnout or win on a given issue. Rather, the “coalition of coalitions” is interested in building political power within the communities it serves. The nature of MIV’s movement-building electoral organizing approach is to value the lasting awareness of issues, empowerment, and relationships among community members that are created through electoral work as highly as immediate victories at the ballot box. Historically, national advocacy groups have taken lead roles in communities to register voters and get-out-the-vote (GOTV). These organizations typically will establish a temporary headquarters in a neighborhood, bring in staff and volunteers from outside the community, and then pack up and leave when the given election cycle is over, only to return two to four years later. MIV works differently, building long-term relationships with local organizations and, in turn, individuals within communities in both “peak” times (election cycles) and “slow” times (between election cycles). Indeed, many MIV partners say there is no such thing as a “between election cycle” period; to be effective, the work is necessarily year-round. Their belief is that there is a mutually-reinforcing effect of electoral work on community cohesion and empowerment, and of community cohesion and empowerment on electoral work. The table below illustrates the differences MIV sees between traditional and movement-building electoral work:

<i>TRADITIONAL ELECTORAL ORGANIZING</i>	<i>MOVEMENT-BUILDING ELECTORAL ORGANIZING</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focuses solely on election cycles • Win or lose • Focuses on likely voters • Numbers are the only bottom line • Tactical coalitions dominated by one strong anchor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year-round civic engagement—links election cycles to the ongoing work of organizations • Building power over each election cycle • Seeks to educate and involve all stakeholders—likely voters, unlikely voters, ineligible community members • Values both numbers and the quality of contacts—critical consciousness, not just mobilizing is key • Investment in building strong, equitable alliances with model collaborative practices

MIV seeks to build evidence that supports the effectiveness of movement-building electoral organizing. Rather than assessing only quantitative measures of voting behavior, such as numbers of new voters, or exit poll data, MIV seeks to identify and track indicators that would suggest their desired movement-building outcomes are also being attained. Looking at both types of data over time will provide essential insights about the value of MIV’s approach.

In identifying indicators that effectively track movement-building, MIV also seeks to contribute to the field of civic engagement and electoral organizing. Increasingly, grant-makers and community-based organizations are in need of concepts and measurement strategies that document the incremental, and sometimes less tangible outcomes they are realizing in their work. The indicators of change presented in this report offer a potentially useful framework for assessing the progress of integrated voter engagement strategies.

Overview of Evaluation Project

In 2008, alongside intensive work with partner organizations preparing for the historic national election, MIV prioritized a research project that would document select aspects of the impact of their movement-building work.

The goals of the impact-area documentation project were to 1) better define MIV’s theory of change, 2) identify a set of indicators that could be tracked over time to illustrate the success of movement-building in MIV’s targeted regions, and 3) use the experiences of two MIV steering committee partners – the Korean Resource Center (KRC) and the

Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA) – as windows into the nature of movement-building electoral organizing.

Research activities to support the first two goals focused on MIV as a whole, while research activities to document current work at KRC and CHIRLA focused in particular on those two organizations' electoral field campaigns in Orange County and San Fernando Valley, respectively.

KRC and CHIRLA, both established organizations with long track records of electoral work, were both expanding their field campaigns into new territory for the purpose of expanding their base in these areas, and building awareness of local voters about immigration and social justice policy issues.

Orange County, known for its anti-immigrant initiatives, now has one of the highest concentrations of Korean Americans in California. KRC has conducted community organizing in Orange County for a number of years, but the 2008 election established new goals, such as contacting 6,200 voters through mass mailings, phone banking, precinct walking, workshops, and a targeted media campaign. KRC's goals were to increase organizational visibility, local leadership, and voter turnout from Korean Americans in Orange County so that KRC would be in a stronger position to advance their education and health-care access campaigns.

Similarly, CHIRLA's expanded electoral organizing in the San Fernando Valley in 2008 built on their previous success mobilizing day-laborers and household workers in the area. CHIRLA set a goal of increasing turnout among underrepresented immigrant voters by contacting 3,000 voters in five areas of the Valley through phone-banking and precinct walking. After the election, CHIRLA hoped to leverage a strong turnout by immigrant voters and the increased political capital of the organization to support their platform of "just and humane immigration reform."

Both KRC and CHIRLA planned to accomplish their goals by recruiting and training new volunteers, developing leaders from within the ranks of their volunteers, and utilizing the tools and resources provided to them by MIV to enhance their electoral campaigns, such as access to the Voter Activation Network (VAN) software and the voter guide available in multiple languages.

Research Questions and Methodology

MIV framed three research questions they sought to address through the impact-area documentation project:

- What are the measures and indicators of building political power for policy change in an electoral field program?
- Does electoral organizing and increased turnout from our target communities lead to any concrete policy change, or movement in that direction? For example, does electoral organizing raise visibility and political capital for organizations leading

the effort? Is there evidence of increased support by elected officials post-election on MIV's platform issues?

- What are the key new capacities and strengths MIV can point to post-election (for the organization, for grassroots leaders involved in the effort, for targeted constituents) that will support ongoing organizing in support of MIV's platform issues?

We undertook six research activities to address these questions, and fulfill MIV's goals in launching the documentation project:

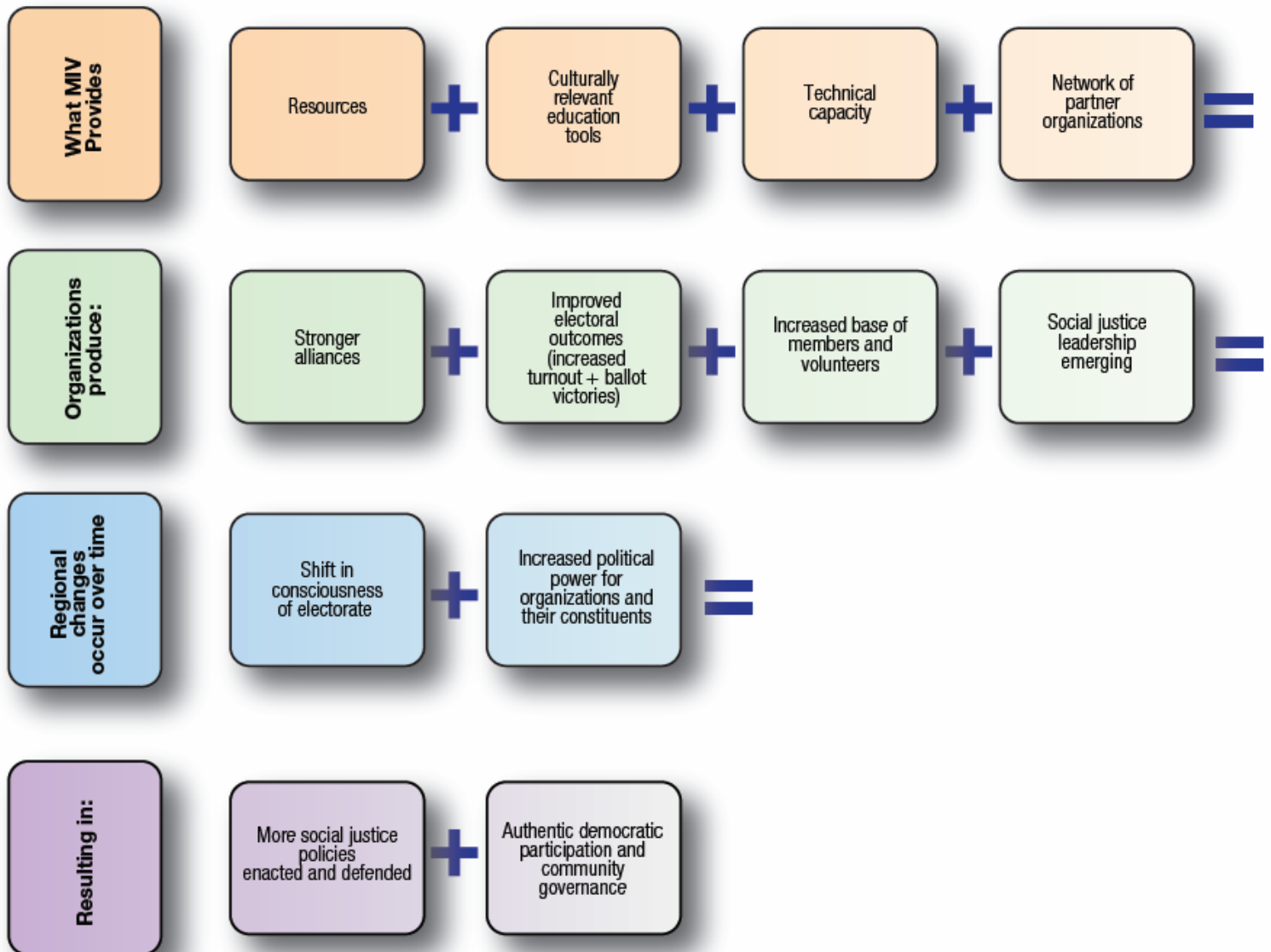
- Development of a literature-based theory of change and logic model specifying measurable outcomes
- Review of survey data and quantitative voting data gathered by MIV and its partners
- Videotaped observation at MIV, KRC and CHIRLA events and activities
- Interviews with key informants, including KRC and CHIRLA staff, and participating community members
- Producing a short documentary film that tells the story of KRC and CHIRLA's efforts during and immediately after the 2008 election

This evaluation was designed as a pilot study to lift up key indicators, deepen our understanding of movement-building electoral organizing, and suggest next steps for future research. Pending resources, MIV plans to pursue a longitudinal study building on this pilot evaluation project, which might include methodologies such as an experimental design, comparison data, and longitudinal data.

How Can We Know that MIV's Approach is Making a Difference?

The first part of our work with MIV was to help them clearly articulate a theory of change for the initiative as a whole. Through conversations with multiple stakeholders, and a review of a comprehensive set of background documents, as well as the literature on civic engagement, we propose the following theory of change for MIV.

MIV Theory of Change:



There are four stages to MIV’s theory of change. MIV’s initial work with organizations is to provide resources, build their technical capacity to engage in electoral organizing, provide tools that make this work easier and more effective with immigrant communities, and to bring organizations within a region together to develop relationships and a shared platform. This work goes on continuously, but becomes more intense in peak election seasons.

During election cycles, the increased capacity developed by MIV’s partner organizations is designed to translate – through effective field campaigns – into increased voter turnout, ballot victories on key issues, an increased base of membership and volunteers for the organization, and new leadership emerging from the ranks. The increased membership base and emerging leaders are essential outcomes for building a robust social justice

movement among immigrant communities. Election victories alone are not sufficient to bring about the longer term changes MIV seeks.

Over time, and when conducted at a sufficient scale, MIV's partner organizations' successful movement-building electoral organizing will cause a marked shift in the consciousness of the electorate within a region, the credibility of organizations' message, and the overall political power that these organizations hold with elected officials and policy-makers.

As gains in political power occur for immigrant communities across the state, public policy will shift toward a social justice platform.

Logic Model

Now in its fifth year, MIV is ready to begin collecting data to substantiate or revise this theory of change. Developing a logic model with specific, measurable outcomes is the first step toward systematic measurement.

Through a series of group meetings with MIV steering committee members, we developed the logic model on the following page.

Developing this logic model will allow MIV to continually assess its progress against a set of benchmarks commonly understood by all its partner organizations. Additionally, MIV hopes that the outcomes presented in this logic model can be useful to the larger field of civic engagement and electoral organizing. If other organizations with similar goals work with these outcomes, the potential for a broader, evidence-based conversation about measuring the success of the movement-building organizing approach is created.

RESOURCES/ CONDITIONS	ACTIVITIES MIV Activities	OUTPUTS	ACTIVITIES Local Organization Activities
<p>The following needs, assets, agreements, capacity, or potentials must exist for work to be necessary, to begin, and to be successful:</p>	<p>MIV staff/partners conduct the following activities:</p>	<p>The following measurable work products resulted from MIV activities:</p>	<p>Staff conduct the following activities:</p>
<p><u>MIV</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Adequate financial, human, in-kind and material resources ● Trained, experienced staff ● Strong steering committee of organizations ● Model partnership agreement ● Effective electoral organizing, trainings and tools <p><u>Local Partner Organizations</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Adequate financial, human, in-kind and material resources ● Trained, experienced staff and volunteer base of immigrants and allies ● Budget specifically for year-round civic engagement work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Issue analysis forums ● Peer organization coaching ● Communications, including website, newsletter, other materials ● Database development ● Develop and distribute civic engagement tools including voter guide and voting rights palm card ● Develop and conduct education and skills-building trainings related to policy issues and electoral organizing ● Fundraising ● Documentation, evaluation, reports that document statewide results and lessons learned ● Outreach to local organizations ● Alliance-building ● Convene organizations ● Public speaking ● Landscape analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● # issue analysis forums ● # media hits ● # leaders trained in steering committee and MOVE organizations ● # organizations endorsing platform ● Strong relationships with MOVE partners, steering committee members, and other allies statewide ● Statewide issues platform and voting guide ● Effective, culturally competent materials/in 6 languages, highly targeted to immigrant communities, such as Voting Rights palm card ● Training curricula 	<p><u>Impact-Area Activities</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Phone banking ● Distributing MIV voting guide to voters ● Using Web to get messages out ● Conferences ● Issue analysis forums, including political education on wedge issues ● Immigrant rights issue forum ● Regional planning meetings ● Organizing volunteers in area ● Registering new voters ● Workshops presenting general info on elections ● Precinct walking ● Exit polling ● Poll monitoring ● Recruiting bilingual poll workers ● Hotline ● Town halls and candidate forums ● Issue campaigns, including direct lobbying and actions

OUTPUTS	SHORT- TO MID-TERM OUTCOMES (3-5 year) <i>Are individual, organizational, and/or community-level outcomes occurring because of your work?</i>	LONG-TERM OUTCOMES (5 years and beyond) <i>Are changes in other systems occurring as a result of your work?</i>
The following measurable work products resulted from partner activities:	These outputs contribute to accomplishing the following outcomes:	Accomplishing organizational or network outcomes may contribute to the following system-wide outcomes:
<p><u>Impact-Area Outputs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● # media hits ● # phone contacts ● # voter guides distributed ● # palm cards distributed ● # doors knocked ● # voters registered ● # voters voting ● # voters voting with MIV platform ● # volunteers working on GOTV efforts and campaigns ● Win on local or statewide ballot measure ● Win policy victory 	<p><u>Electoral Outcomes</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Increased registered voters from immigrant communities (% increase) ● Increased voter turnout among immigrant communities (% increase) ● Increased votes in support of MIV platform in a given election cycle (% increase) ● Ballot & public policy victories <p><u>Organizational Capacity Development Outcomes</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Increased community contacts/outreach of local organization in community (% increase) ● Increased networking and collaboration with other organizations at the local, state, and national levels ● Increased visibility and credibility of organization with constituents, elected officials, media, and other power brokers ● Increased electoral organizing skills among organizations' staff ● Increased technical capacity to work with voter databases (i.e. VAN) <p><u>Community Civic Engagement Outcomes</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Increased civic engagement of individuals in immigrant communities, such as participation in policy campaigns, and activities between election cycles ● Increased knowledge and information about electoral process, ballot measures, and issues affecting immigrants among individuals in communities (i.e. neighbor-to-neighbor conversations, recruitment) 	<p><u>Movement-Building Outcomes: Voting Base</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Build a base of likely voters within immigrant communities who support a pro-immigrant platform ● Truly diversify the electorate so it is representative of who lives in the CA ● Elected officials recognize MIV partner organizations as a key access point to immigrant communities <p><u>Movement-Building Outcomes: Civic Engagement</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Candidates for office emerge from immigrant communities ● People self-organize to address community issues (i.e. creating petition drives, marching or speaking) ● More community members working with organizations to draft propositions/legislation ● Community members coming to MIV partner organizations to educate them about issues that they're concerned about ● Immigrants and all stakeholders directly influence decisions through permanent, year-round democratic infrastructure <p><u>Movement-Building Outcomes: Statewide Network</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Strong relationships and increased collaboration between groups and organizations working on related social justice issues in California <p><u>Social Justice Outcomes (from MIV platform)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Quality and affordable education ● Quality jobs for California workers ● Health care and public benefits ● Healthy, habitable, and affordable housing ● Healthy environments ● Protecting and expanding human and civil rights ● Immigration policies that treat immigrants with dignity ● Local recognition/integration of immigrant communities in local governments' civic engagement process (including voting)

From the longer list of outcomes in last two columns of this logic model, we identified the outcomes that we judged to be the most realistic to expect and feasible to observe or measure. MIV offers the following short-term and long-term “headline” outcomes to the field as important targets of measurement for organizations working on integrated voter engagement:

Short-term Electoral Outcomes

- Increased voter turnout among low-income immigrant communities of color
- Non-partisan ballot & public policy victories

Short-term Organizational Outcomes

- Increased visibility and credibility of organizations with constituents, elected officials, media, and other power brokers

Short-term Community Outcomes

- Increased civic engagement of individuals in immigrant communities, such as participation in policy campaigns, and activities between election cycles

Longer-term Movement-Building Outcomes: Voting Base

- An expanded base of likely voters within immigrant communities who support a social justice policy platform

Longer-term Movement-Building Outcomes: Civic Engagement

- Candidates for office emerge from immigrant communities
- Immigrants and all stakeholders directly influence decisions through permanent, year-round democratic infrastructures

Longer-term Movement-Building Outcomes: Enactment of Social Justice Policies

- Divisive and harmful policies are defeated or reformed
- Pro-social justice policies are proposed, enacted, and defended

Gathering Data on Logic Model Outcomes

The present inquiry was designed to generate pilot qualitative and quantitative outcome data in the above areas. In some cases, outcome data was not yet available, such as the longer-term movement-building outcomes. However, the following anecdotal and quantitative data gathered from MIV’s post-election survey of its partner organizations shows MIV’s progress in moving towards the above outcomes.

MIV began this inquiry with three research questions, and learning has occurred in each area.

- **What are the measures and indicators of building political power for policy change in an electoral field program?**

The development of the theory of change and logic model provide a new roadmap for MIV for measuring the increasing political power of communities they work with. The outcomes above are, for the most part, easily observable or tracked through quantitative assessments, such as

voter turnout. Other outcomes will need to be assessed through a variety of methods. The following table suggests indicators and measurement strategies for each of the above outcomes.

<i>Outcome</i>	<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Measurement Strategy</i>
Increased voter turnout among low-income immigrant communities of color	% increase in targeted voter turnout from previous election cycle; % increase in voter turnout as compared to established control groups	Request data from MIV partners in all regions following election cycles
Non-partisan ballot & public policy victories	Electoral results Legislative or regulatory actions	Track electoral results, including changes in percentages of voters supporting targeted policies Track legislative and regulatory actions, including the margins of passage or degree/nature of public support
Increased visibility and credibility of organizations with constituents, elected officials, media, and other power brokers	Organizational membership base Perception of elected officials Media hits	Track increases in organizational membership Interview elected officials Track media coverage
Increased civic engagement of individuals in immigrant communities, such as participation in policy campaigns, and activities between election cycles	Emerging leadership among organizations' volunteers	Observation and interviews at partner organizations Digital stories created by volunteer leaders
An expanded base of likely voters within immigrant communities who support a social justice policy platform	Voting patterns of organizational membership base	Exit polls and post-election surveys of organizational constituents
Candidates for office emerge from immigrant communities	Presence of new candidates	Interviews or survey with staff of organizational partners
Immigrants and all stakeholders directly influence decisions through permanent, year-round democratic infrastructures	Presence of democratic infrastructures in targeted communities, and the participation rates of targeted community populations	Observations and interviews at partner organizations
Divisive and harmful policies are defeated or reformed	Policy shift	Policy analysis
Pro-social justice policies are proposed, enacted, and defended	Policy shift	Policy analysis

- **Does electoral organizing and increased turnout from our target communities lead to any concrete policy change, or movement in that direction? For example, does electoral organizing raise visibility and political capital for organizations leading the effort? Is there evidence of increased support by elected officials post-election on MIV's platform issues?**

It is important to note that policy change is one of the longest term goals of MIV. Policy change may seem like an “either/or” outcome: a desired policy either exists or it doesn't. However, advocacy for policy change often takes place over years, and interim outcomes occur long before an actual policy shift takes place. These interim outcomes can sometimes be quantified, such as a greater percentage of the population voting for a policy measure on the ballot than in a previous attempt at passage. Other times, incremental steps toward policy change will appear as “signposts” or qualitative indicators of change. For example, widespread discussion of an issue in the mainstream media may signal the imminent adoption of a social policy. For the purposes of this study, we concluded that the following outcomes (highlighted in green) would suggest movement toward concrete policy shifts:

Short-term Electoral Outcomes

- Non-partisan ballot & public policy victories

MIV's work includes providing resources to non-profit organizations involved in integrated voter engagement, capacity-building in electoral organizing, including providing access to technical tools like the Voter Activation Network (VAN) software, and the development of a multi-issue state policy platform and voter guide. A set of tools such as the MIV voter guide is available to all of MIV's over one hundred general campaign partners, and MIV provides higher levels of capacity support to a set of approximately thirty grassroots groups through its MOVE program (“Movement-building Organizations for Voting and long-term Empowerment”). In a post-election survey administered to MIV partners, respondents provided the following evidence of incremental progress toward policy change:

“We did not pass Prop B but the eight precincts in Chinatown have significantly increased turnout rates in the 2008 election. Chinatown has traditionally been an area of low turnout and our electoral program has helped a lot of monolingual voters to vote this year.”

“Our precinct walkers reported back that for most of the voters we reached, it was the first time ever that they had been contacted by Korean-speaking precinct walkers to inform them about the elections and ballot initiatives. Without KRC's work, these voters may never have been able to receive pertinent material in their language about the elections.”

“We exceeded our initial expectations. We thought we would only be able to work on the February elections due to a lack of funds and limited organizational capacity. However, we had access to VAN, voter education and training materials, and opportunities to refine our campaign plans because of implementing best practices, all which allowed us to run a more cost-effective campaign. We were able to work on all three elections, and we made thousands of voter contacts in Oakland and Union City.”

Short-term Organizational Outcomes

- Increased visibility and credibility of organization with constituents, elected officials, media, and other power brokers

“We not only successfully got 8 supervisors to support this affordable housing set-aside, we were also able to secure newly elected supervisors' endorsements and the SF Labor Council's endorsement.”

“We are increasingly seen as a force that can move real voters.”

“Korea Town attracted more attention ever from political arena.”

“Elected officials have heard about our electoral work and they take us more seriously.”

“Our local school board members and city councilman realize the effective infrastructure we have to impact elections and, therefore, seek our support.”

“The Chronicle mentioned our GOTV campaign.”

“This general election, more than 300 people came to vote at FCNA.”

“Our advocacy around electoral issues brought media visibility as well as important community education.”

Longer-term Movement-Building Outcomes: Enactment of Social Justice Policies

- Divisive and harmful policies are defeated or reformed
- Progressive policies are proposed, enacted, and defended

Two statewide propositions opposed by MIV (Prop. 4 and 6) were defeated at the polls. It is important to note that MIV was one of many organizations within California to take a stand against these propositions. Nevertheless, MIV's work certainly contributed to the defeat of these propositions, which were both seen by the organization as jeopardizing immigrant communities. Proposition 8, which sought to ban gay marriage, passed in 2008. Despite the defeat, MIV partners acknowledged that it won by a smaller margin as compared to a similar measure in 2000, and they remained proud of the education they had done in low-income immigrant communities of color on this issue. One niche of MIV is its work to engage low-income immigrant communities of color on “wedge issues” – such as gay marriage, immigration and criminalization – that are used to divide communities.

Both KRC and CHIRLA are part of national coalitions of like-minded groups working to pass legislation at the federal level, such as the State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP). KRC played a key role in supporting the SCHIP campaign, which was successful in protecting and expanding health insurance for low-income children. Senator Majority Leader Harry Reid spoke at a press conference held by the Health Rights Organizing Project, of which KRC is a partner, in Washington, DC in January 2009.

- **What are the key new capacities and strengths we can point to post-election (for the organization, for grassroots leaders involved in the effort, for targeted constituents) that will support ongoing organizing in support of MIV’s platform issues?**

It is clear that building organizational capacity for electoral work is a leading strength of MIV. Seventy-five percent of partners surveyed said that participation with MIV made it easier to conduct their electoral activities. For organizations that are new to electoral work, or have never run a field campaign, MIV provides tools and training that are indispensable, and are the difference between an organization running a field program or not. Most MIV partner organizations, however, are not new at electoral organizing, and would engage in some type of electoral work even without MIV. Yet, these organizations also indicate that their electoral work would not be as extensive or as effective without the support, tools, training, and coaching that MIV provides.

Providing access to online voting databases and software appears to have significantly improved the field campaigns of both KRC and CHIRLA. The voter guide in multiple languages is also a tool that is highly useful to MIV’s partner organizations around the state.

“MIV greatly helped to increase our organizational capacity to do electoral work, and to use what we’ve learned to conduct on-going civic engagement with our organizing base.”

“The technical assistance that MIV provided was amazing. We would have done an electoral campaign, but not at the same level.”

“The stipend helped the organization to run the campaign in Santa Maria, a city of 70% Latinos. Without that help the campaign in North County would have been impossible.”

In addition to increasing capacity within an organization, MIV’s work also increases the linkages between immigrant organizations that are working toward common goals. MOVE partners come together in five local tables throughout California to learn together and discuss the specific needs of their regions. MOVE partners have underscored the value of these convenings and feel they hold potential for increased collaboration on civic engagement and policy campaigns.

“KRC developed a working relationship with the Orange County Korean American Citizens League (OCKACL) and for the first time sponsored a voter educational workshop in Orange County with OCKACL and conducted joint voter registration drives.”

Short-term Community Outcomes

- Increased civic engagement of individuals in immigrant communities, such as participation in policy campaigns, and activities between election cycles

The two organizations that were the subject of more in-depth observation during the 2008 election cycle both created opportunities for members of their volunteer base to play leadership roles. KRC launched a group called “Power Vote,” which was comprised of senior citizens and also some youth members. Participants met weekly and received advanced education in ballot issues and electoral field campaign strategies. These volunteers will likely play key roles in

KRC's ongoing organizing. For example, a student who was actively involved in electoral work in 2006 and 2008 is continuing to organize in support of the DREAM Act in 2007 and 2009.

CHIRLA mobilized an impressive two hundred volunteers to work on their electoral field campaign, including day laborers and household workers. One day laborer was undeterred from his organizing work even after being physically beaten during a door-to-door canvassing event. He describes feeling a powerful responsibility to get out the Latino vote that overrides other concerns.

"CHIRLA has already begun to engage our identified voters. They have received newsletters and letters proving more information on the election results and key activities for 2009."

Longer-term Movement-Building Outcomes: Voting Base

- An expanded base of likely voters within immigrant communities who support a pro-social justice platform

In 2008, many of MIV's partners increased the number of voters they contacted and expanded the size of their grassroots base.

"We are building a grassroots base."

"We increased the number of voters we contacted and that are part of our constituency."

"Our staff and members have created a brand in San Fernando Valley for 'Our Vote, Our Power.' Overall, our membership increased by at least 100 new members."

Quantitative Results of the MIV 2008 California Campaign

MIV partner organizations reported the following quantitative results in MIV's post-election survey:

- 133 general campaign partner organizations
- 164,244 multi-lingual voter guides and voting rights palm cards distributed
- 109,198 live voter contacts (44,600 by MOVE partners)
- 742 electoral events with 25,169 participants and 3,758 volunteers
- 718 media hits

CHIRLA and KRC:

- CHIRLA contacted 5,196 voters in the San Fernando Valley and 8,611 in all of LA County in the fall of 2008 through phone-banking and door-knocking.
- KRC contacted 861 voters in Orange County and 4,631 in all of Southern California through phone-banking and door-knocking.

Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Evaluation of MIV

Recommendations for Evaluation Going Forward

By identifying a clear set of outcomes for their movement-building electoral organizing, MIV is making a contribution to the field of civic engagement evaluation. We hope that future studies of integrated voter engagement will explore these outcomes, and continuously add to the strong evidence-base supporting the value of the approach.

Rather than rely only on measurements of how much electoral activity was produced (for example, numbers of voters contacted), organizations involved in electoral work should be encouraged to keep track of other indicators of movement-building and impact on policy, such as whether or not volunteers stay engaged after an election, or whether a legislator's responsiveness to an organization or an issue improves following a successful field campaign. MIV's own data collection can improve in these areas, and MIV can serve as a leader among its peer organizations in this regard.

The most important type of data for MIV to track may be the most difficult to collect systematically. Much of the data will be in the form of anecdotal reports, stories, and interviews. MIV should work with its own leadership and partners to brainstorm methods for gathering this data from its partners in an ongoing manner. For example, in addition to a post-election survey, members could participate in an annual "storybanking" event, in which organizations are coached to develop their most compelling evidence of specific outcomes into a short audio/visual story for the web.

A future case study project might focus in on the relationship of capacity-building and policy change, and track the development over time of different types of organizational and individual capacity, linking these capacities to the effectiveness of specific organizing efforts. For example, can MIV trace its influence – via capacity-building – on the passage of a local or statewide initiative?

Another telling inquiry might be to follow the changing statements and positions of elected officials with regard to legislation supported by MIV partner organizations in between election cycles. For example, do elected officials previously opposed to or neutral with regard to the Dream Act begin to support it, especially those from areas where MIV-supported organizing work took place?

Finally, an important purpose of the logic model is to allow MIV to develop better evaluation plans and tools. Each outcome listed in the logic model can be translated into a set of measurable indicators, and gathering information about each indicator then becomes part of MIV's ongoing evaluation activity. In the future, an annual survey that is intentionally designed with these outcomes in mind will yield rich data.

Findings Emerging From the Pilot Evaluation

Two overall themes emerged from MIV's pilot evaluation study:

MIV is providing evidence to the field that movement-building electoral organizing works. Moreover, the interview and qualitative survey data illustrates the linkages between the stages of change presented in MIV's theory of change. Namely, organizational capacity-building is occurring and influencing voter engagement in targeted immigrant communities. These well-run electoral field campaigns are getting the attention of the local media and local elected officials, both of which are key indicators suggesting an increase in organizations' political capital.

For an assessment of movement-building, looking for signposts of change is as important as looking for quantitative evidence. Movement-building electoral organizing is best measured by methods that mirror its patient and systematic approach to social change. Evidence that a community or region is developing more political capital, for example, may be subtle, and may only be readily apparent to residents or practitioners who have lived in a community for a long time. It will not always be possible for an external evaluation using remotely-applied tools, such as an online survey, to gather the data that is most telling about the progress of a movement-building strategy. Ethnographic approaches that include repeated key stakeholder interviews, and ample observations within communities may provide an essential source of data on signposts of change that precede quantitatively-measurable outcomes. Also, it is important for the field of civic and voter engagement to consider data collection strategies that are fine-grained enough to detect important incremental changes. Elections provide only binary data, yet progress toward electoral outcomes occurs in more complex units of measurement.

These two key themes support action in the field of civic and voter engagement to increase support of integrated voter engagement programs, and to design and implement longer-term studies of movement-building electoral organizing. MIV has provided not only a model of high-quality implementation of integrated voter engagement, but also a framework for evaluating such a program, and sharing the resulting knowledge with the field.