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The value iceberg: weighing the benefits of advocacy and campaigning

This is a thought piece written by **Rhonda Schlangen** and **Jim Coe** (independent consultants), members of the BetterEvaluation Community, and is intended to promote discussion. See the associated blog where you can post or view comments and responses. http://betterevaluation.org/blog/the_value_iceberg

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The value iceberg: Weighing the benefits of advocacy and campaigning

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Weighing the benefits of advocacy and campaigning

Organisations working for social change allocate resources to projects and programmes according to their missions. Decisions are based on assessments of the prospects for advancing the causes they support, and with an eye toward ensuring the future ability of their organisation to continue such work.

Social change organisations typically use direct strategies to advance their missions—such as providing vaccines, relief assistance, agricultural training— alongside more indirect efforts to leverage change, notably through advocacy and campaigning.

Efforts to measure, quantify and compare the value of these different strategies have become popular as a way to inform allocation of resources. Value for money assessments and related approaches are based on an assumption that benefits can be isolated and reliably measured.

However, for social change organisations, applying a comparative way of thinking about 'value' and 'results' – unless very carefully conceived – risks disadvantaging advocacy and campaigning relative to more direct interventions.

Advocacy and campaigning carries the *potential* value that addressing structural barriers to change can lead to exponential results. A policy change may have nationwide repercussions, for example. But such approaches are inherently more speculative than direct interventions, and the benefits are less easily articulated, typically less quickly achieved, and also less easily assessed or measured. Results are often obscured or entangled, and tend to be intrinsically difficult (and problematic) to credibly represent in tangible forms that fit with the rubric of 'value for money'.

In value terms, advocacy and campaigning is an iceberg: most of the impact may be submerged, hard to see. And the temptation to focus only on the part that is visible risks creating a radically false picture that generates misleading information and so encourages poor decision making. How, then, can social change organisations weigh the benefits of advocacy and campaigning?

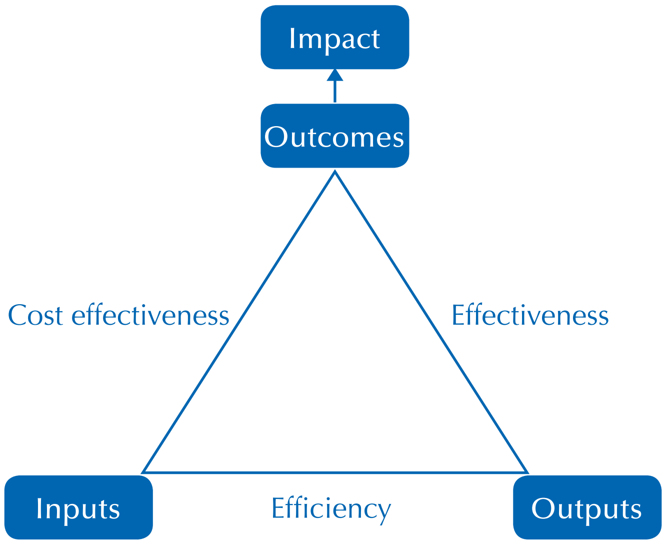
We propose ideas to strengthen the conceptual basis for thinking about advocacy and campaigning value as well as the evidence base on which assessments are made. In doing so, we argue for clear-sighted recognition of the value of assessing value, including its limitations and complications. In particular we advocate that organisations take a more nuanced approach to assessing *relative* value.

The value of value for money

Value for Money (VfM) - broadly speaking - is about balancing economy, efficiency and effectiveness. As a measure of cost-effectiveness, it emphasises the relationship between inputs (resources deployed) and outcomes (changes resulting).

The various inter-relationships involved in connecting the resources, how they are used (with what outputs resulting) and the results produced in response can be summarised in the following model:

Fig. 1 Relationships between resources and results



A number of methods are currently used to pass interventions through this 'prism' to produce typically numerical results. Different methods to assess Value for Money include cost effectiveness analysis (CEA), cost benefit analysis (CBA), cost utility analysis (CUA), social return on investment (SROI), rank correlation of cost vs. impact and Basic Efficiency Resource Analysis (Fleming, 2013).

Measuring value requires time bound delivery, or reasoned prediction, of effects. When there are tight causal chains constructed around evidence of impact, there is an informed basis for making some judgements about actual or prospective returns on investments. The application of these VfM methods is part of wider results agenda, which calls for data-driven and information-based assessment. In part, this represents a response to public and policy-maker demand for accountability and demonstrable results. It reflects a renewed emphasis on transparency about how funds are being used and to what end. Demand is also driven by funders, with many private foundations and donors having shifted to a model of philanthropy that involves taking on more responsibility for delivering specific, measurable results - primarily via grantees - to problems they have framed (Patrizi, Thompson, Coffman, & Beer, 2013).

In addition to any external drivers, organisations may themselves perceive VfM as a route to good practice, a mechanism to support evidence-based resource deployment. In public spending, the concept of VfM can be applied in reviewing sector-wide costeffectiveness. And some social change organisations are using these frames to inform judgments about both the absolute and relative value of different interventions, on which decision-making can be based.

But VfM, like any effort to distil complex and complicated scenarios, isn't always clear cut. As we've learned - even from more 'mainstream' evaluation efforts - objectivity is often subjectively constructed.

A recent review of current approaches to assess VfM recognised that, in analysis such as those made in SROI calculations, different evaluators produce different assessments, based on "*numerous and sometimes conflicting methodologies to derive value*" (Fleming, 2013). This corroborates the findings of an earlier study by the UK think tank DEMOS, which noted, in efforts to measure social value, a "*heavy reliance on assumptions*" when calculating ratios of cost [inputs] to social return [outcomes]. This report also noted a - natural - tendency for organisations concerned with measuring social value to focus on areas that can be more easily measured, and to eschew assessment of more difficult and problematic interventions (Wood & Leighton, 2010).

These issues are worth noting because, as we discuss, applying the values prism to advocacy and campaigning can distort or mask its value, rather than make it clearer.

Campaigning: comparing invisible value

The concept of VfM inherently expresses comparability: what is the value of one activity, tactic or intervention compared with another? The logic of the process is that this then drives resource allocation. It is in this way that VfM approaches supporting organisational decision-making.

But specific challenges arise when organisations endeavour to use VfM to ascertain the relative value of one strategy compared to another. For example, as evaluation consultants we have been asked to comment on the return on investment from an advocacy campaign compared with directly providing services.

This comparative aspect is an essential element of the VfM approach. Calculating the cost-effectiveness of a single intervention in isolation does not provide meaningful, interpretable information. It is only in context, in comparison, that such information becomes useable. So trade-offs are implicit. In other words, something won't get done or funded based on these calculations.

By its nature, campaigning is directed towards necessarily less tangible outcomes. While inputs are relatively simple to calculate, the social changes that NGOs are trying to influence with those inputs through campaigning are multifaceted and unpredictable and as such are very difficult to encapsulate, to measure, to monetise and - sometimes - even to see.

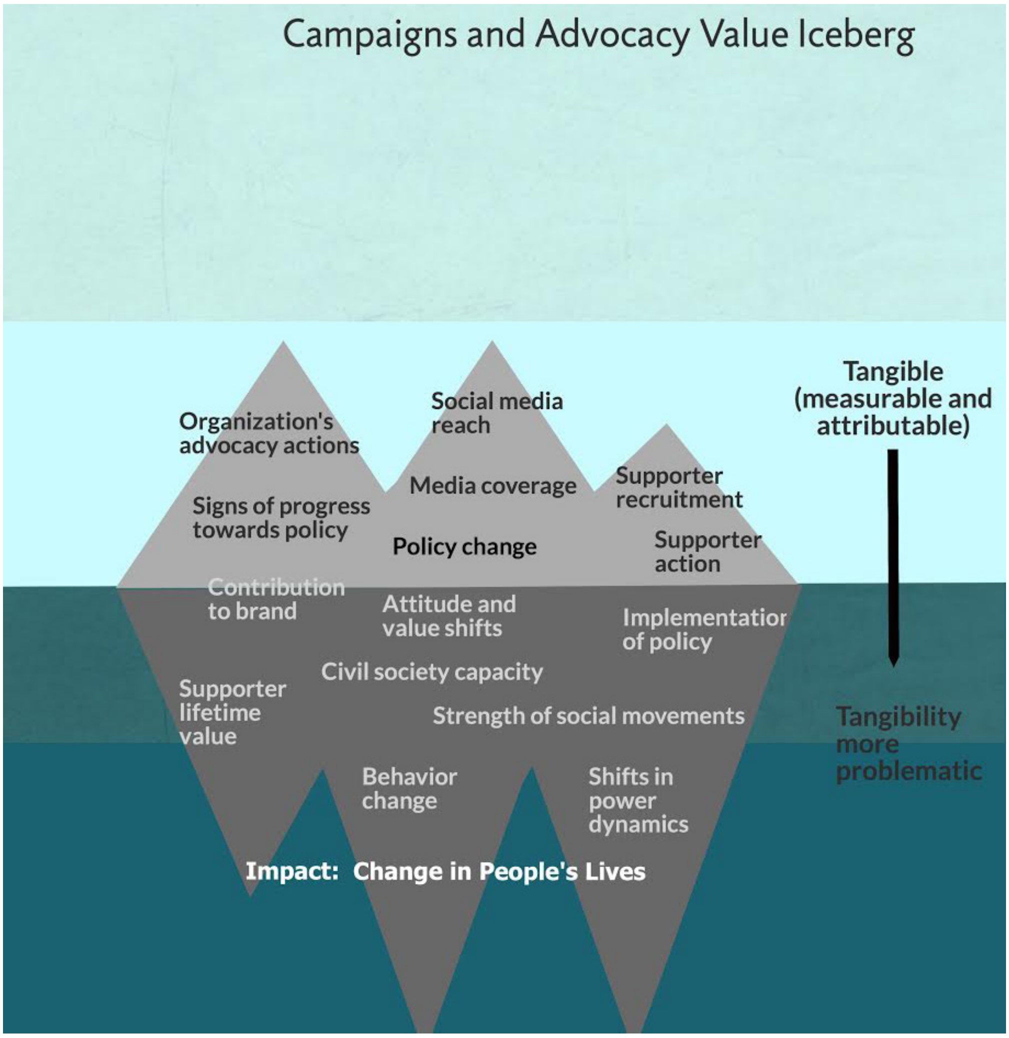
Advocacy and campaigning at its most basic level is about influencing decision-makers. But in order to ensure that change is implemented, and that results are sustainable, and to achieve more systemic, longer-term outcomes, wider dimensions of power come into play. It is not just about who wins out in arguments about a particular policy; it can go way beyond this to tackling blockages to change that revolve around how issues are framed, whose agendas are recognised as requiring resolution, who gets a seat at the table, and whose voices are heard and whose are excluded. This is a picture of advocacy as a means to creating a radically different political and policy context, through appealing to wider audiences and strengthening the voices of marginalised communities, and groups who represent them. At these levels, going beyond policy change, advocacy is about facilitating wider participation in political processes, shifting power dynamics and ensuring that people's rights are understood and upheld in ways that are locked into future processes.

Campaigning also can feed, often invisibly, organisational benefits, by building profile and rallying public support and contributions, particularly when an organisation is under attack or engaged in a highprofile issue.

But these are all areas of advocacy and campaigning that can be neglected in more reductionist ways of thinking about 'value' that focus on the more obviously visible elements within a much wider strategic spectrum (see figure 2).

With this backdrop, social change organisations are

Fig. 2 Campaigns and advocacy value iceberg



experiencing a number of difficulties in responding to results and value agendas. Their responses may themselves be helping to foster a sense of campaigning and advocacy as having relatively limited worth.

This is in particular because the 'results' way of thinking tends to have the effect of orientating advocacy and campaigning – in planning, monitoring and evaluation – towards the visible end of the iceberg. This is evident for example in the proliferation of dashboard-type quantitative summaries of campaigning achievements. As recent research on monitoring, evaluation and learning amongst NGOs engaging in advocacy and campaigning identifies: "*campaigning success can be presented in somewhat underwhelming ways as a result … [falling] far short of offering convincing evidence about actual contribution to the wider goal*" (Coe & Majot, 2013).

The risk is that the focus is on the measurable - the number of Facebook likes, retweets, meeting attendees - when the real significance of these actions can only be assessed in context. Focus on this kind of data tends to be far away from the real value, far away from actual change, and so comparatively unimpressive when offered in evidence that advocacy and campaigning is delivering tangible results.

Even at the more meaningful level of outcomes, advocacy results are typically distilled to the countable, discounting changes that can't be quantified. Appropriations in any given funding cycle are critical, of course, but so are other changes that potentially will create sustained progress that will ride out year to year political upheavals. Things like building the 'demand side' by supporting and empowering disadvantaged communities to become involved in political processes, or by helping to create political space for civil society organisations to have their voices heard.

Approaches oriented to results can also risk divorcing advocacy efforts from plausible connections or contributions to greater change efforts. They may capture the points in a line, but not what links them. The case that the effort has contributed to the result (not itself straightforward to make) can fall through the cracks.

It is clearly right in theory to anchor campaigning and advocacy to assessments that are as rigorous as possible. It also makes sense for an organisation to ensure its choices are strategically coherent. The 'results' genie is anyway out of the bottle. It's not practical to dismiss the - legitimate - underlying desire for some kind of meaningful assessment of costs and benefits as simply 'impossible'. This in any case represents a counsel of despair, opening up the prospects of a free-for-all, with those with the power and the budgets backing whatever venture they happen to think is right.

So it is vital to engage constructively with the debate. But this should be from a starting point that whilst applying a value lens may be attractive, it isn't always as straightforward as it sounds. Some of these reasons are rooted in basic challenges with VfM whilst others relate more specifically to how well concepts of value apply to the world of advocacy and campaigning.

Applying the value prism to campaigning

Attention being paid more specifically to the implications of assessing 'value' in campaigning and advocacy contexts is in its infancy. For many forms of change efforts, simply running advocacy through the same VfM calculators risks producing a false sense of precision.

At the same time, we don't think such efforts should be dismissed as impossible. A few efforts have been shared publicly and convey some useful lessons. There have been some efforts to assess return on investment of advocacy, focusing on money in/money out, such as a review of advocacy results in terms of government appropriations for health clinics (Gardner, Geierstanger, McConnel, & Brindis, 2008).

Another study by the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy assessed the return on investments in advocacy in terms of funds leveraged in response (Ranghelli, 2012). The project documented USD $26.6 billion in benefits for taxpayers and communities in 13 states, and found that every dollar grantmakers and other donors invested in policy and civic engagement provided a return of $115 in community benefit. These assessments helpfully review advocacy in one dimension, relating to policydriven budget change, and are potentially helpful for advocacy that specifically focuses on short-term changes in a policy. However, the authors are not aware of precedents for a more wide scale applicability of VfM in campaigning and advocacy contexts that are aimed at more systemic shifts.

Advocacy and campaigning addresses all the difficult stuff that isn't susceptible to easy or settled resolution. It is typically about systemic and transformational change, and it is about power, and challenging and overturning power relations. As such, there are a number of reasons why advocacy and campaigning presents particular challenges when thinking about assessing VfM:

1. Diffuse and volatile dimensions of change

VfM can provide a helpful evidence of value when advocacy and campaigning can be linked as contributing to a specific end, but such a causal chain is not always present. While money can be expressed in concrete, numeric terms (and social change organisations can do better on this side of the formula), the other part of the equation, 'value' is a rarely measurable with the same specificity.

Untangling the routes of influence can be problematic, given that advocacy and campaigning typically takes place in - and further fosters - unpredictable and sometimes volatile social and political contexts. The factors driving, and constraining, change can be highly complex, given multiple players, unexpected interventions and unexpected results of interventions, occasional periods of rapid change, and other complicating factors.

In addition, the dimensions of change are typically multi-faceted. Sometimes advocacy and campaigning is about promoting an abstract common good, like human rights. Campaigns may focus on long-term but fundamental changes, such as ending poverty or gender discrimination. Sometimes campaigns - like those calling for an arms trade treaty or health care reform - take years or decades to achieve an ultimate breakthrough. Plus, efforts are often preventive. How to measure the results when efforts have been aimed at preventing things from getting worse?

2. 'Wins' can be subjective and conditional

In any conflictual situation (inherent to advocacy and campaigning), what is considered 'value' - the 'wins', result or change - is inevitably subjective. Even when apparently significant progress is achieved, 'wins' are seldom clear (they may involve trade-offs for example, or only be evident in the longer-term), and so the significance, and value of results, can be contested. Advocacy can also be about resisting change and about holding the line, and it can be very difficult to assess value when in the realm of 'what didn't happen' or 'what could have been worse'. VfM is based on assumptions of knowledge about what payoffs will happen - and/or have happened - and in advocacy and campaigning, there are always likely to be serious questions about the validity of any such assumptions.

'Value' and evidence of benefit may not in any case equate. A contributor to a recent review of evaluating human rights work, for example, noted that "*I spent eight years defending political prisoners. There was no hope of their release. I lost every case. What was my [observable] impact? Zero. Should I have done it? I haven't found one person who says no*" (Schlangen, 2014).

This is a classic example of how the value placed on social practices is not neutral or inert, and that there can be a market effect in which certain ideals, attitudes, practices may be "crowded out" if we start placing a monetary value on them (Sandel, 2013).

3. Advocacy as a contributor and catalyst

In addition, the types of outcomes that advocacy and campaigning aim to catalyse are typically intertwined with any number of related efforts.

Not all advocacy and campaigning is aimed at advancing funded policies. In many cases, advocacy is a contributing strategy, aimed at amplifying effects of service delivery programmes or other interventions. It is likely to be one part of a much bigger picture. Advocacy campaigns can be both a catalyst for other efforts - boosting public support for a broad policy direction, or building civil society capacity in ways that help shift future power dynamics - and a way to break ground for ambitious and long-term change agendas. Compartmentalising results and then aggregating them across different programme areas misses the benefits of a systemic approach in which programmes are mutually reinforcing, and so is likely to discourage this more integrated approach.

All this validates the arguments by some actors for a more nuanced approach. The 'Big Push Forward' initiative, for example, was predicated on a concern that the results agenda encourages a propensity for organisations to measure and then foreground, and for donors therefore to then fund, more transactional, and simpler, interventions. And in *Aid on the Edge of Chaos* (Ramalingam, 2013), the author argues that VfM and other hallmarks of the current development paradigm are based on assumptions that merit challenging, including "*that what is known is needed*" and that single solutions - presumably selected on the basis of anticipated efficiency or effectiveness - are valued over more diverse solutions.

So, if the primary value of campaigning occupies the space of the value iceberg that is difficult to see and measure, how can organisations assess the value of campaigning and advocacy?

We acknowledge that these efforts are aimed at constructively addressing a perceived need that current campaign and advocacy evaluation hasn't addressed. We propose that strengthening the conceptual underpinnings of campaigning and advocacy is an important step to ensuring the effort adds value. Alongside this, there are a number of steps organisations can take to strengthen the evidence base.

Constructive solutions

Strengthening conceptual underpinnings of campaigning/ advocacy

As we have discussed, advocacy differs in critical ways from other types of change interventions. Like the proverbial first step to recovery, clarity about these differences and how to manage them enables organisations to start off on a more solid footing.

1. Develop a robust strategic worldview

The VfM question, 'should we invest x in programmes or campaigns' cannot be answered by the simple formula, 'whichever will deliver most impact' (or even 'whichever is the most effective route towards achieving our goals'). These are necessary but insufficient criteria. How you would answer those questions depends on how you see the world, how you believe change happens and the role that you believe your organisation best plays in it.

It is important that decisions about campaigning and advocacy are grounded in clear understanding of an organisation's role, influence and capacity for influence. And an outline of organisational mission of this type can helpfully underpin (or not, depending on the conclusions reached) a support for campaigning and advocacy as a key strand in achieving change.

2. Recognise campaigning as inherently speculative

If this strategic commitment to campaigning and advocacy is 'banked', then the questions about resources are less dependent on the need to continually show value and results.

The reason this is important is that campaigning can involve taking a gamble. Sometimes it will produce big returns but often campaigns will be met with tepid responses and even failure to make progress, or to achieve significant breakthroughs.

So any approach to thinking about campaigning value and results should recognise that there is a high degree of speculation inherent in campaigning, and that, necessarily, not all efforts wi ll pay off with big wins.

As Tim Harford notes in *Adapt*, for those responsible for funding programmes (either from outside or within organisations) the temptation is to want to see a clear project description, some preliminary results, and updates that demonstrate progress. This kind of rational, results-based system is "*a sensible way to produce steady stream of high-quality [projects] … But it is exactly the wrong way to fund [high-stakes] projects that offer a small probability of a revolutionary breakthrough*" (Harford, 2012).

It follows from this that strategy should follow analysis of the problems and solutions, rather than being defined by a short-term reporting concern. Otherwise the attempt to orient to small, measureable 'wins' may distort the overall direction of the campaign.

Campaigning is most likely to flourish in what organisational theorists Terrence Deal and Allan Kennedy have called a 'bet your company' culture, characterised by high-stakes decisions and slow feedback on whether or not they have paid off (Deal & Kennedy, 2000). As Tim Harford notes, this is the very combination that is likely to make managers most nervous.

On the evaluation side, this 'skew to the upside' (a lot of failures, and a small number of big successes) very much points to the appropriateness of the 'spread betting' approach to advocacy evaluation - and looking at "the aggregate return"across the totality of campaigns, not at individual successes - as recommended by Steven Teles & Mark Schmitt in their paper for the Stanford Social Innovation Review (Teles & Schmitt, 2011).

3. Look to create the conditions for effective campaigning

While there are no sure bets that a future campaign will deliver change at the desired depth and breadth, experience with effective campaigning organisations points to some core principles around what conditions make advocacy/campaigning *more likely to be* effective.

There is plenty of evidence that advocacy and campaigning can - given the right combination of circumstances - be massively impactful. So again, this should be a bankable starting point.

As campaigners and evaluators of campaigns, we are part of a community that is increasingly well placed to identify the elements that are likely to make advocacy and campaigning more effective (but without guaranteeing it, for the reasons outlined). To continue to build this evidence base requires that campaigners capture and critically assess what is working and what isn't and draw from the experience of others, learning from their successes as well as their missteps. (Which means that both successes and 'failures' must be shared, which is another issue.)

Acting on this intelligence can help ensure that any advocacy and campaigning activity is as good - and as likely to be effective - as it can be, because the right conditions are in place; even if the number of variables mean that results can almost never be guaranteed.

Strengthening the evidence base for campaigning/advocacy

4. Do the simple things right

Organisations can step up their evidence base by taking some simple reflective actions and doing them well. This requires discipline and a capacity for critical self-reflection. Being clear about what resources - funding and human - go in. Taking note of outcomes - observed, supported - ensures basic information is in place. Then using that information - through simple processes such as action reviews that feed into future ways of working and help address questions about effective strategy.

Fig. 3 A simple monitoring strategy

The evidence is there. Campaigners need more support and reflective capacity to get it and use it.

Learning and reflection along the way can also usefully be supplemented by extracting learning from past performance through strategic reviews at key moments. The trick here is to be clear about what is learnable - and that this is more likely to be derived from consideration of strategy and tactics than from measuring actual results.

There are a number of simple lines of enquiry that can be helpful in shaping future strategy. Was the staff time and expertise in line with what was needed? Was there any measurable response by the audience the campaign was trying to reach? Are there any longstanding approaches, held onto because the organisation has always done them, that might be jettisoned in the future?

5. Make sure comparisons are meaningful

Applying VfM thinking to advocacy and campaigning - or as a way to compare any interventions - requires social change organisations to be clear about what sorts of comparisons make sense.

We set out in this paper why we believe that making comparisons between campaigns and other intervention types is fraught with difficulties. Other 'units of comparison' are problematic too:

a. Within campaigns?

The Basic Efficiency Resource (BER) method, developed by Oxfam GB for evaluation of its climate change campaign, for example, has been cited as being an interesting and possibly fruitful way of thinking about value within a campaign. But in disaggregating interventions and then comparing the different units of operation (with each other), the approach fails to take into account the basic truism that advocacy operates as a system within a system. The individual pieces don't add to each other geometrically, they interact radically, so to look at them one by one in this way is likely to make little sense.

b. Between campaigns?

There tends to be more that's different about campaigns than is similar. The scope of a campaign and the landscape it plays out in also introduce significant variability of resource demands. The more complex the change environment, the less predictable the path to results and, to some degree, the resources needed to get there. More straightforward, shorter-term, less ambitious campaigns are likely to appear more attractive. VfM as a lens is unlikely to offer a level playing field.

Further, the advocacy is typically aimed at an everchanging constellation of laws, policies, budgets and court cases at the state and federal levels. Should advocates assess the aggregate value of these advocacy efforts? Separately, by policies?

First sorting out what makes sense to compare, and why, will help organisations decide whether VfM potentially adds value to its knowledge base, and if so, to step into VfM with eyes wide open.

6. Distil meaningfully

Boiling information down to the basics is an appealing and efficient – and necessary - way to communicate what happened. All the better if it can be done with numbers. But numbers, instead of being an aid to strategic decision making, risk being a substitute for it.

And (as a rule of thumb) the more complex the context being assessed, the less there is credible meaning contained in a simplified distillation of it. So for organisations trying to assess the value of advocacy and campaigning, translating qualitative information to numbers can devalue this information by stripping it of the very detail that gives it value. It also typically conveys a false sense of precision and objectivity.

For this reason, one working principle in reporting advocacy and campaigning should be 'no narrativefree data' . As Jessica Seddon has put it, "*We must develop social impact metrics and a system for governing them as if we were creating a language, not a set of statistics*" (Seddon, 2013).

For added context, it would be helpful too if organisations would make wider use of 'confidence ratings' when describing assessments of progress. Julia Coffman and Ehren Reed, for example, have proposed a rating scale when assessing policy-maker support, which distinguishes between assessments made from possibly unreliable evidence, to those that are "*fairly informed*" to those which can be made with "*extreme confidence*" (Coffman & Reed, n.d.).

A good test for organisations is whether their measures can be linked to impact - such as changes in people's lives - either on their own or by using them to build a nuanced explanation of various influences on change. It may mean stepping away from a precise equation, and introducing some honest equivocation, but provides a more reliable basis to assess what happened. (And it is arguably a responsible approach for organisations using the information to make decisions, or to share learning with other organisations who may follow their lead.)

7. Institutionalise double loop learning

Campaigning is, by nature, a highly adaptive enterprise and, as such, a discipline that can help develop the adaptive skills that organisations can apply elsewhere in their operations. Good campaigning, for example, demands that teams - often diverse teams - work together, set goals and test and reset strategies to advance those goals. It uses navigational tools, rather than hard and fast formulas.

At its best, campaigning relies on rapid processing of intelligence and experimentation. Campaigning as a function supports an organisation's capacity to operate in a changing world.

The double-loop learning inherent in campaigning can potentially feed into other areas of programming. For example, critical analysis of experience and information, and reflective processes to systematise that analysis, can support more robust internal reviews of service delivery and other interventions.

8. Seek 'crowd sourced' wisdom rather than objective truth

The robust, gold-standard, margin-of-error type of research that promises objectivity isn't always costeffective or possible in campaigning and advocacy. There are good ways to be forensic and evidencebased in trying to determine outcomes, their significance and the factors that helped bring them about.

But in advocacy, everything can ultimately be, and invariably is, contested and so proof is generally elusive. The picture can really only be built from aggregated intelligence, much of which will be subjective and open to different interpretations.

We propose that social change organisations embrace this truism rather than being coy about it. Build a subjective evidence base but make sure it is as robust as it can be by:

- Asking the right questions
- Asking the right people
- Filtering responses based on a wider understanding of motivations at play (drawing on theories of the policy process, alongside contextual knowledge, for example).

At a sector-wide level, research by organisations like GuideStar - which surveys 'experts' about which nonprofits have had the most impact, and has consolidated the results - can provide the type of information that (whilst certainly subjective) many organisations can't afford to commission.

9. Embed multiple accountabilities

Recent research reviewing organisational approaches to monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEL) identified that "*There are outlier examples of MEL systems that focus on accountability to partners and constituents, but the strong tendency is for MEL primarily to serve the needs of funders and others to whom practitioners are 'upwardly' accountable*" (Coe & Majot, 2013).

Funders, senior managers and board members are the constituencies most likely to be interested in 'results' and so a more balanced view of accountability could be helpful in moderating this pull. If multi-directional accountability is embedded in planning and evaluation, and if wider audiences are involved in determining what's important, and what results are meaningful, then the interest in 'results' could be at a more manageable, and more appropriate, level.

10. Add to the innovation 'to do' list

There are ways that those of us working in the evaluation area of campaigns and social change can step up and help. Evaluators, thinkers and funders who feed the M&E system with innovations and ideas can play a part in developing strategies and tools for organisations.

These could include for example:

Supporting cross-sectoral collaboration on strategies for looking at ways to assess and evaluate the less tangible, sub-aquatic elements of the campaigning iceberg, sharing good practice and developing common standards

Developing better equations around contribution: we need to have a better idea of contribution and how to map it, and social change organisations need to be more robust about assessing contribution.

Collating an evidence base of campaigning successes, as a resource showing the 'value' of campaigning in macro terms.

Conducting meta-evaluations - from evidence across organisations - to draw out and help develop thinking about 'what works'.

The *potential* value of advocacy and campaigning is that addressing structural barriers to change can lead to exponential results, with results often hidden below the surface. Social change organisations can maximize this potential, and often-hidden value, by strengthening the conceptual basis for thinking about advocacy and campaigning value, as well as the evidence base on which assessments are made.

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