

Movement building measurement: Proposed framework

To assess progress towards “substantial strengthening of anti-slavery movements”

Background

Under the new 2025 - 2030 Strategic Plan, we have renewed our programmatic focus on building effective movements and reporting on the metric “3C. Substantial strengthening of anti-slavery movements”, with regular updates to the board expected every 18 months. The steps below set out the proposed process for measuring movement building within FF hotspots. The approach is designed to provide a consistent and participatory way of tracking progress, combining quantitative measures with qualitative insights. Each step is described in greater detail later in this document.

Step	Description
1	Determine movements most suited for measurement The hotspot/program team evaluates whether a group or coalition meets at least three core criteria to be considered a movement. This serves as the minimum threshold for inclusion in the measurement process.
2	Plan timeline and budget for selected movements Once FF selects the movements for measurement, the Research & Evaluation (R&E) team will manage the central budget and coordinate with hotspot teams to appoint an evaluator. At this stage, a clear timeline and budget are developed based on the specific needs and scale of each movement (<i>not expanded in this document</i>).
3	Identify movement priorities and dimensions to measure The hotspot team supports movement actors in identifying and prioritising shared goals. These goals determine the key dimensions to be measured – typically three core dimensions and up to three additional ones – ensuring both strategic relevance and feasibility.
4	Administer measurement with support of external evaluator An external evaluator designs a measurement tool grounded in Social Network Analysis and tailored to the movement’s goals, context and selected dimensions. The tool is then administered – via group discussions or surveys – and supplemented by narrative case studies. A baseline is established in the first year.
5	Review findings to shape future strategies Preliminary findings are shared with movement actors and hotspot teams for validation. Key insights and recommendations are compiled into a final evaluation report, which informs future programming and movement strategy (<i>not expanded in this document</i>).

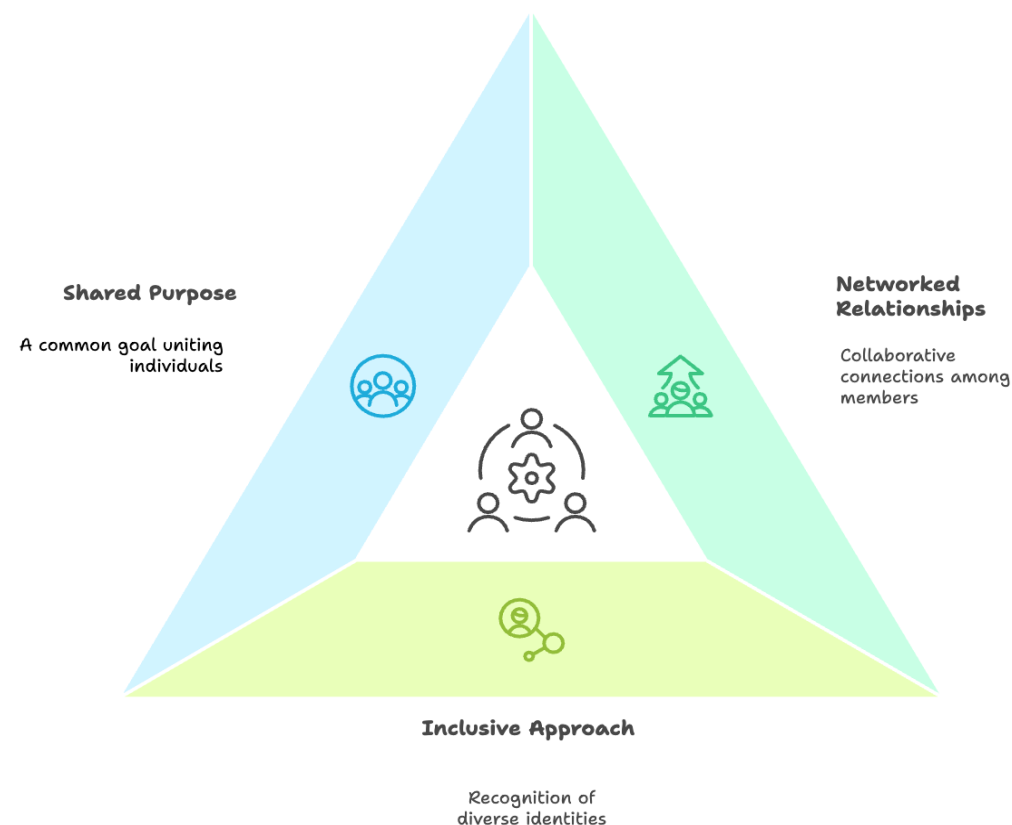
1 Determine movements most suited for measurement

A hotspot/program must meet at least the three core dimensions mentioned below to be considered as supporting a movement. FF partners/movement actors may also track additional dimensions relevant to their context, such as influence on policy, media engagement or resource mobilisation. There is flexibility for hotspot partners to define what matters most for their movement. We can also adapt and use language and terminologies to define 'dimension' and 'movement' in agreement with hotspot teams and movement members. For example, the 'networked relationship' dimension could be substituted with 'collaborative efforts'. Please see the Annex for further details on MB key characteristics.

Shared purpose (High threshold): Movements centre around a shared agenda or common cause, which acts as a unifying force between diverse actors, many of whom have a shared experience of injustice. This agenda defines what needs to change and why, even if strategies to achieve it vary, and binds the participants together. Shared purpose must be **defined by movement actors themselves**, not imposed by funders or external bodies.

Networked relationships (Medium threshold): Movements consist of connections and networks with members who see themselves as part of a broader collective. This would include collaboration beyond individual projects (in FF case, beyond our projects). It simply means that the actors in the movement have some connections to each other, e.g. they are aware of each other's work, they share information with one another.

Inclusive approach (Low threshold): Progressive movements tend to commit to recognising identities based on gender, ethnicity, caste, age, class, sexual orientation and disability to avoid fragmentation and build strong alliances that respond to intersectional forms of oppression. There are visible members of the movement who do not hold all of the characteristics of those who traditionally hold power in the context. An inclusive approach can but does not necessarily include survivor representation.



3 (For each selected movement)

Identify movement priorities and dimensions to measure

Please note that the matrix below is an indicative example for initial internal discussions. We will not view movements as simply 'better off' or 'worse off' over different stages of movement, we will prioritise exploring shifts in different dimensions over time (which could move forward, pause or move backward). We could propose different ways to measure movements, including the use of spider or radar graphs (see an illustrative example below).

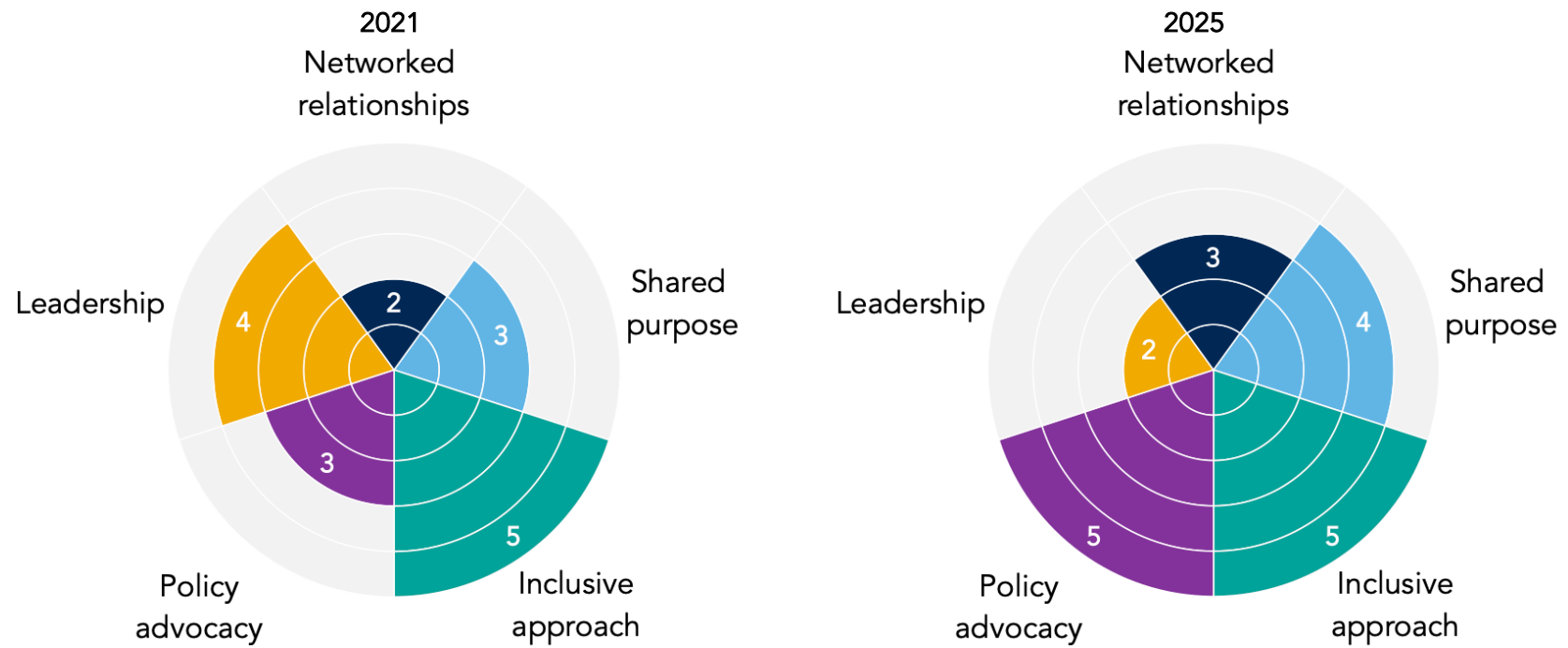
Dimension	Emerging (stage 1)	Progressing towards... (stage 2)	Growing (stage 3)	Progressing towards... (stage 4)	Rooted (stage 5)
Shared purpose	- Alignment around a shared concern or agenda. Participants have decided that they aim to actively work together to be or become some sort of movement. - Participation is often self-motivated and voluntary.		- More clarity on the stated collective purpose (verbal or written). - Convergence on the root cause of the shared problem. - Early efforts to define collective identity for the movement. - Continue to be self-motivated, voluntary participation. Movement starting to open to new members. - Evidence of some collective activities, planned or spontaneous (e.g., joint campaigns). May still be limited or informal.		- Strong, articulated identity and purpose. - Coordinated, strategic collective actions recognised by stakeholders outside the movement. - Ability to bring its cause into public consciousness and shape wider narratives, beyond recognition by immediate stakeholders. - Voluntary participation and membership regardless of funding or project related incentives. - Having a clear 'systems change' agenda.

Networked relationships	• Informal relationship between its members. • Awareness of each other's work, with some ad-hoc information and resource sharing.		• More active collaboration with allies/networks beyond core FF projects/partners. • More formal and organised mechanisms for information, resource sharing and for ongoing operations/facilitation of the movement. • Early joint discussions on shared tactics or activities, with some initial efforts at collective decision-making		• Deep cross-sectoral relationships and collaborations locally, regionally and/or nationally. • Joint decision-making or shared activities with allies. • Participates in a broader movement ecosystem.
Inclusive approach	• Some acknowledgement of diverse identities (e.g. gender, caste). • *Some participation by impacted communities and survivors is limited or negligible. (*Not applicable across all movements)		• More intentional inclusion efforts (e.g. ensuring diverse representation). • *Early recognition of lived experience • *For movements that are not rooted in impacted communities, evidence of intentional efforts to include opinions of impacted groups.		• Deep commitment towards inclusion demonstrated in practice. • Diverse leadership and alliance-building across identities. • Strong commitment to power-shifting practices. • *Leadership by those most impacted is embedded in decision making and movement's strategy.

An illustrative example of Nepal hotspot's Joint Struggle Committee (a movement of Haliya, Harawa-Charawa and Kamaiya communities) reflecting on their journey between 2021 (when it was founded) and 2025 (present) across the following five dimensions (including three core dimensions), to see how the movement has moved differently across the dimensions overtime:

Dimension	2021	2025
Shared Purpose	Focused on 'liberation' of Harawa-Charawa, and some aspects of rehabilitation.	Shifted goal post to rehabilitation and addressing climate change impacts on bonded labour communities as essential for sustained 'liberation'.
Networked Relationships	Weak ties; seen as three separate movements by stakeholders.	Improved visibility; more recognised as a joint entity with consistent advocacy.
Inclusive Approach	Intentionally inclusive of different bonded labour groups; recognition of lived experience and gender representation.	Movement continues to uphold inclusivity, maintains active participation of all bonded labour groups, and those with lived experience. It is working to strengthen women's leadership.
Leadership	The committee formed with leaders from all three groups; inclusive in structure.	Same individuals continue in power; limited inclusion of new movement leaders.
Policy Advocacy	Clear plans made but early in execution phase; limited impact.	High success; government prioritisation for bonded labour groups, budget allocations and municipal rehabilitation guidelines created.

Illustrative example: Joint Struggle Committee in Nepal - changes over time



4

(For each selected movement)

Administer measurement with support of external evaluator

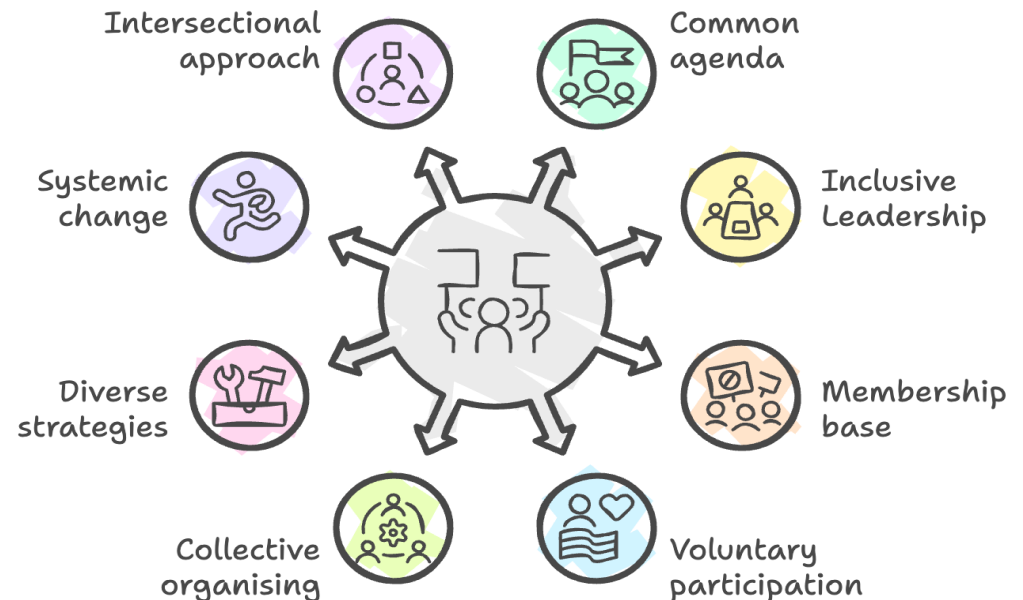
Question	Response
<i>How do we measure MB (qualitative and quantitative)?</i>	Movement building will be measured primarily through quantitative indicators, supported by qualitative insights. This will include data collected across at least three core dimensions (or more) and movement phases, supplemented by narrative case studies and examples from FF hotspot partners/movement actors to illustrate progress and context.
<i>How can we make this process participatory?</i>	To embed the framework within each hotspot or team, we could hold guided, participatory group discussions and feedback sessions on applicability of the proposed MB measurement framework with hotspot teams, partners and movement leaders before the rollout.
<i>How often should data be collected?</i>	A baseline will be established in the first year after which data will be collected every 18 months. There should be a minimum of two data collection points; after the 18-month data would be compared to the 0-month data, the R&E and hotspot teams will discuss the addition of another data collection point (36 months from kickoff). The proposal on Page 3 is for three data collection points - baseline, midline and endline.
<i>How will the tool be administered?</i>	There will be a tailored measurement tool which will assess where in the movement building phase FF partners are, with specific sets of indicators as movements/groups move from each phase to another (from emerging to rooted or, whether they pause and reverse) over time. The tool will be underpinned by Social Network Analysis methodology. The measurement tool will then be administered to members of the network, this could be done as a joint group discussion with quantitative measures, or as a self-administered survey - depending on the context.
<i>What additional dimension could be tracked by the group/movement?</i>	FF partners/movement actors may also track additional dimensions relevant to their context, allowing flexibility to define what matters most to them. Some examples of dimensions are: active membership base, collective organising, intersectional approach, involvement in policy advocacy, media engagement, use of diverse tactics or strategies and making visible/measurable impacts.
<i>Who is responsible for tracking the progress on movement building over time?</i>	FF partners/movement actors will be responsible for filling out the survey forms/participating in joint group discussion and writing the narratives and case studies (with support from evaluators/FF hotspot teams). The evaluators will ensure timely submission of evaluation reports to the R&E team.

Annex: Summary from literature review

Some key definitions of social movements¹:

1. A movement is a set of people with a shared experience of injustice who organise to build their collective power and leadership, develop a shared agenda for change, which they pursue through collective action, with some continuity over time... and are always about challenging power structures.” (Batliwala, 2020).
2. Social movements are forms of collective action that emerge in response to situations of inequality, oppression and/or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands (IDS, 2013).
3. Social movements are collectives of individuals and organizations, working together in loosely organized networks across geographic spaces and time to challenge the systems and powerholders perpetuating injustice. Social movements (1) articulate a vision for a new reality, (2) mobilize the broader public of those experiencing the injustices and those acting in solidarity, and (3) pursue continuous and contentious actions challenging the status quo. (Global Fund for Women, 2020).

Characteristics of Social Movements



¹ It may be useful for FF to have a specific, shared definition of a social movement.

Based on the literature review, here are some key characteristics of a progressive and effective movement:

1. **Common agenda and purpose:** Movements centre around a shared agenda or cause, which acts as a unifying force between diverse actors, who have a shared experience of injustice. This agenda defines what needs to change and why, even if strategies to achieve it vary, and binds the participants together. It is a common agenda that seeks to influence decision makers.
2. **Representation/leadership from the most impacted:** Social movements tend to prioritise the principle of "nothing about us, without us," emphasising that those most severely affected by injustice should lead and represent their own struggles (in FF case, we can prioritise survivors of modern slavery and people from highly affected communities and workplaces). Thus, it underscores the crucial role of inclusive and representative leadership, that recognises the agency of the most impacted (highlighting accountability in representation).
3. **Membership base:** Movements tend to have a tangible base of people committed to the cause, whether they are organised formally or informally. The legitimacy of a movement often depends on this active, identifiable membership. Movements also tend to operate as networks of interactions between various actors (formally and informally) and their structure allows for flexibility and broader participation beyond organisational boundaries. Effective movements also enable members to deepen their engagement over time, both through inspiration and through building their capacity to take on greater roles within the movement.
4. **Voluntary and self-motivated participation:** Movement participation is usually characterised by voluntary and self-motivated membership where other direct benefits such as funding are not conditional on their participation.
5. **Networked relationships:** Movements consist of connections and networks with members who see themselves as part of a broader collective. These networks include directly affected people, foster equitable participation, shared strategies, and sustained collaboration beyond individual projects (in FF case, beyond our projects). It simply means that the actors in the movement have some connections to each other, e.g. they are aware of each other's work, they share information with one another.
6. **Collective action and organising:** Movements tend to engage in coordinated actions, such as protests, campaigns, alliance building or advocacy efforts. These are driven by shared purpose, common tactics and mutual support across the different members and allies.
7. **Use of diverse strategies and tactics:** Movements tend to use a variety of actions, tools and strategies – from grassroots mobilisation to government engagement, as well as some spontaneous and planned action. This diversity helps movements to adapt to changing situations and retain the momentum.
8. **Aspiration for systematic change over time:** Movements tend to engage in a more sustained collective activism over a period of time, with a long-term vision of systemic change, and in turn requires continuity and persistence in pursuit of change (they are different from one-off

campaigns or events) and long-term transformation in power. Movements tend to challenge the systems for example, question stakeholders perpetuating justice, and seek change in society's structure, policies and values. The selected actions and campaigns contribute to a compelling narrative, helping to build and integrate wider support.

9. **Intersectional and inclusive approach:** In an ideal world, movements tend to commit to recognising identities based on gender, ethnicity, caste, age, class, sexual orientation and disability to avoid fragmentation and build strong alliances that respond to intersectional forms of oppression.

Additional resources

- Understanding the different stages of movement growth and level of maturity of the movement: In order to know which level our movement is at, and what is required to move it to the next level. We could use the JASS We Rise Movement Building Toolkit to gauge our progress - <https://werise-toolkit.org/en/toolkit> .
- The [Movement Building Capacity Assessment Tool](#) is developed by the Global Fund for Women. The tool is designed to engage multiple stakeholders in a collective assessment of the capacity of their movement. By movement capacity, we refer to the ability of a set of loosely organized and interconnected individuals and organizations to cultivate and mobilize large numbers of the population in continued actions to challenge the status quo and build and sustain public pressure towards their vision of the future. A social movement's capacity to do this requires a broad and (1) sustained grassroots base, (2) strong leaderships, (3) shared vision and narratives, (4) the infrastructure to support collective planning, action and reflection, and (5) an ability to care for the wellbeing and safety of members.
- [Sindhanai handbook](#) is a call to rethink the purpose and practice of measurement. It seeks to create spaces for dialogue—within collectives, between collectives and their stakeholders, and across the broader ecosystem.