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What Next for Power Analysis? A Review of Recent Experience with the Powercube and Related Frameworks

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What Next for Power Analysis? A Review of Recent Experience with the Powercube and Related Frameworks

Maro Pantazidou

Summary

The Working Paper aims to contribute to a growing pool of experience of applying power analysis for improving social activism and organisational practice. Over the last decade, an increasing number of practitioners, researchers, NGOs, trusts and development agencies have introduced power frameworks and methods of power analysis into processes of context analysis, programme development and monitoring and evaluation. Power has been examined and addressed in relation to a vast range of development, human rights and social justice issues from women's empowerment to economic justice and from local governance to HIV/AIDS. Power analysis processes have taken place from the UK to Colombia and from Indonesia to Sierra Leone with much innovation in methods and approaches for introducing ways of examining power with community members, grassroots leaders, NGO staff and donors.

This practice paper brings together in a single review documented experiences of applying power analysis for social change. The paper draws emerging lessons from this growing stream of practice by looking across the actors, organisations and methodologies involved in power analysis in a diverse range of contexts and issues. It reviews a significant number of case studies, reports and other documents with particular emphasis on the *Powercube* framework and related concepts, and provides reflections on the usefulness of these power frameworks and concepts in relation to four areas of application: 1) context analysis; 2) strategy and action; 3) monitoring and evaluation; and 4) facilitation and learning. It further aims to facilitate learning and sharing both between experienced practitioners and newcomers to power analysis and to this end, it provides an annotated list and table of all documents reviewed. Finally, the paper highlights some challenges lying ahead for power analysis and invites the reader to contest emerging lessons and embark on new explorations from which more nuanced and contextualised reflections will emerge.

Keywords: Powercube, power analysis, context analysis, strategy and programming, facilitating and learning, empowerment strategies, social change

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

IDS	Institute of Development Studies
PPSC	Power, Participation and Social Change
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
Oxfam GB	Oxfam Great Britain
JRF	Joseph Rowntree Foundation
PLA Notes	Participatory Learning and Action

Introduction

How can power analysis deepen the understanding of social change processes? What difference does it make to apply power frameworks and concepts at different stages of programming and campaigning? A growing number of development and social justice organisations, agencies and trusts have been exploring these questions through developing and testing frameworks and methodologies for bringing understandings of power into different aspects of their work. Additionally, an increasing number of practitioners and researchers have been testing the usefulness of power frameworks and concepts for reflecting on the forces that shaped the outcomes of past campaigns or decision-making processes.

In a workshop (December 2010) organised by the Participation, Power and Social Change (PPSC) team at the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex (IDS) on 'Understanding Power - methods for facilitating, learning and analysis', the participating organisations¹ identified the need to make a 'mapping of power analysis applications' that would collect and review examples of applying power frameworks, locating emerging lessons and supporting further take-up and innovation.

Responding to this need, the present paper brings together in a single review, available documented experiences of applying power analysis.

How is the review organised?

For the purposes of this review, we have collected documented experiences² of introducing and applying power frameworks and concepts. Some of these documents were shared through the *Powercube.net* website which has served as a valuable hub for sourcing material and communicating applications of the power frameworks. Other documents were sourced through contacting institutions, organisations and practitioners and through online research. Finally, a number of documented power analysis experiences came from within the PPSC team at IDS, which has directly supported or been involved in many of the efforts to bring a practical understanding of power into social change work and organisational practices. These include studies of power analysis undertaken by IDS students as part of their postgraduate courses.

The frameworks and concepts of power³ that we have focused on, have included the *Powercube* and its three dimensions of power, spaces and levels; the 'expressions of power' (power 'over', 'to', 'with' and 'within'); additional empowerment frameworks informed by feminist experience; methods of actor and network mapping and analysis, and concepts of structural, socialised and internalised power, among others.

¹ African Women Support Project, Care International UK, Carnegie UK Trust, Christian Aid, Horn of Africa Voluntary Youth Committee, Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Migrant and Refugee Communities Forum, Oxfam GB, Oxfam Novib and Praxis Community Projects.

² For a full list of the reviewed documents, see Part B.

³ For a full explanation of the power frameworks and concepts as well as their origins, see Annex 1.

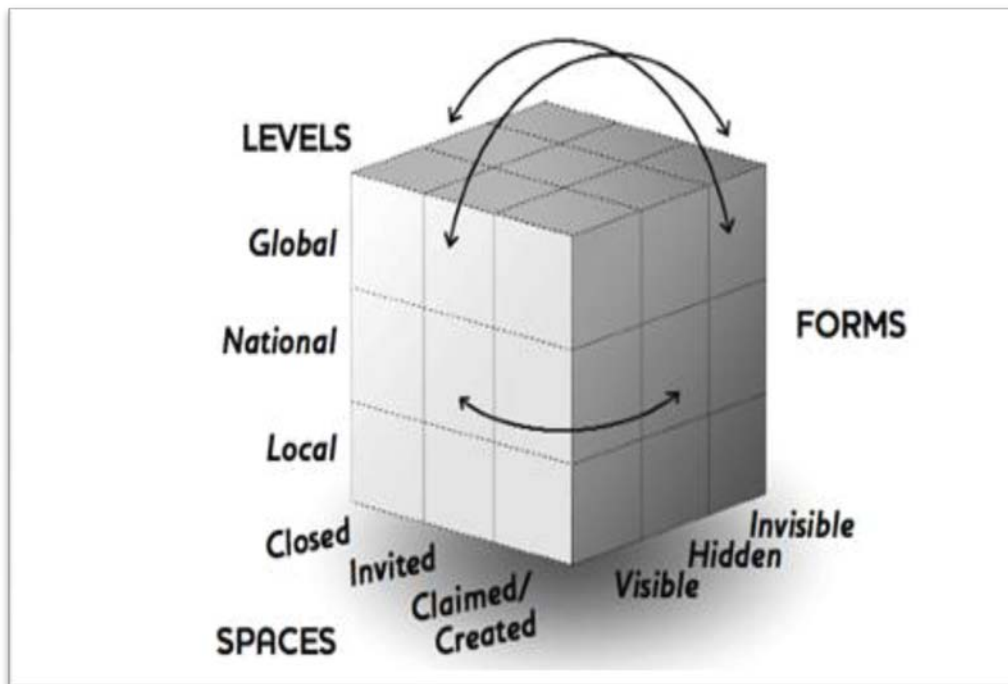
The Powercube is a framework for analysing the levels, spaces and forms of power, and their inter-relationship. It was developed by John Gaventa of the Power, Participation and Social Change team at IDS, building on his and others' work including Steven Lukes, Andrea Cornwall, and Lisa VeneKlasen and Valerie Miller (Just Associates). It is often used together with the 'expressions of power' framework (power 'over', 'to', 'with' and 'within') which builds on ideas of multiple, inter-related forms of agency from feminist and political thought, including the work of Just Associates and Jo Rowlands at Oxfam GB.

The 'forms' dimension of the cube refers to the ways in which power manifests itself, including its visible, hidden and invisible forms.

The 'spaces' dimension refers to the potential arenas for participation and action, including what we call closed, invited and claimed spaces.

Finally, the 'levels' dimension of the cube refers to the differing layers of decision-making and authority.

The 'expressions of power' (power to, with and within) refer to different forms of individual and collective agency and power.



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The experiences of applying power analysis reviewed here have dealt with a vast range of development, human rights and social justice issues from local governance and accountability to women's empowerment and from HIV prevention to economic justice. Different approaches to, and methodologies for training, action-learning and facilitation have been developed and tried on different levels with community members, grassroots leaders, and the staff and donors of many organisations.

⁴ Adapted from www.powercube.net. For more information on the Powercube and its origins please visit www.powercube.net/analyse-power/what-is-the-powercube/ or see Annex 1.

With a view to make sense of this broad range of applications, this review gathers together a series of emerging reflections on bringing a practical understanding of power into practice through looking across the actors, organisations and methodologies involved in these efforts, the issues addressed and the contexts and levels of practice.

The review is organised as follows:

Part A presents emerging lessons from the applications of the power frameworks: Which concepts or frameworks have been useful? In what contexts, to what end and with what outcomes? Those are presented in relation to four core themes, related to the primary purpose of the power analysis:

- Context Analysis
- Strategy and Action
- Monitoring and Evaluation
- Facilitation and Learning

These four themes provide a structure for the review and help direct the reader to areas of interest. Nevertheless, it is a somewhat artificial categorisation. In reality, these four themes do and should overlap; a thorough context analysis can lead to effective strategies for action and the analysis of action strategies can lead to their refinement, thus playing a role of monitoring and evaluation. Such cross-analysis is aided by the *Powercube* framework itself, because as one explores power dynamics across one dimension of the cube (e.g. How does government exercise power at the local level?), new questions arise about how these dynamics play across its other dimensions (e.g. Is this power visible? In what spaces is it exercised?). Furthermore, all such processes include elements of facilitation and learning. Some users however may have a primary purpose in mind, and can use the four themes to locate the most relevant lessons and insights.

Part B provides an annotated list and a table of the documents reviewed - with links to the sources wherever possible - and with indications regarding the theme (context analysis, strategy and action, monitoring and evaluation, facilitation and learning), social issue and type of work activity (workshop, research, programming process) that each document addresses.

What is the purpose of the review and who is it for?

This resource is intended to be used both by those practitioners, activists, educators and researchers who have already been involved in applying power analysis in their work and by those who are interested in initiating an exploration of understanding and analysing power. An effort has therefore been made to address the needs of both experienced and first-time users. Those not familiar with the *Powercube* or other frameworks are advised to review the summary provided in Annex 1.

The second part of the review (annotated list and table of reviewed documents) attempts a comprehensive collection of already documented and publicly available experience, but by no means does it claim to be an exhaustive list of all the efforts of organisations and individuals applying power analysis. Additionally, the reflections on emerging lessons - based on the available documents and the 2010 IDS workshop on '*Understanding Power - methods for facilitating, learning and analysis*' - are by no means a comprehensive set of guidelines, but a learning basis for further improvement, adaptation, innovation and contestation on how power is understood and how power analysis is practiced.

In conclusion, this review is accompanied by a call for feedback; an invitation to practitioners to document their own experiences of using power analysis, challenge or add to current lessons and themes, share new learning and methodologies and possibly embark on discussions from which more nuanced and contextualised reflections will emerge. Please submit your experiences and documents (indicating whether they can be shared on www.powercube.net to info@powercube.net or share your comments and reflections on the PowerHouse, the online community of practice on power analysis <http://powerhousenetwork.ning.com/>.

1. Context Analysis

Part A

'With power analysis, I learned about asking the right questions, getting to the root of issues and relationships'

Participant, Oxfam Novib Learning Trajectory on Power

As a method for context analysis, power analysis has been applied mainly in relation to three purposes:

- to analyse the local, national or international context in order to design a programme or to develop or refine action strategies
- to explore the effects and potential of current organisational practices
- to understand the power dynamics that shaped a past event, policy change or decision-making process

Through these experiences some key reflections arise:

1.1 Analysing actors and networks

The *Powercube* helps to look at the forms, spaces and levels of power that enable and constrain action; however, it does not invite an explicit focus on actors and their relationships. Therefore, practitioners have found it helpful to use the *Powercube* alongside some method of actor and network analysis (e.g. stakeholder influence mapping, Net-map⁵). By combining power and actor/network analysis in relation to a specific social issue and context, practitioners have come up with more nuanced answers to questions such as: 'How and by whom is power exercised and experienced in different levels and spaces? What kind of power is it and how is it exercised? Who has interest in what kind of change? How are actors enabled or constrained by power?'

This approach has been helpful both for practitioners designing interventions at a country or programme level and for those working at the grassroots or local level. When working at the local level though, it seems harder to analyse power in isolation as it operates across levels, and there is a need to make connections between the local, national and global (and other levels between or below, such as the community or household). For example in Sida's⁶ power analysis of local participation in Tanzania, the participating citizens found it easy to explore and analyse the actors and forms of power that affect their lives at the local level but

⁵ For a brief list of actor and network analysis tools, see Annex 2.

⁶ Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (2011) *Power Analysis: A Study of Participation at the Local Level in Tanzania*

found it harder to link the problems they face with actors and powers that operate at the national or international level.

In some cases, the challenge of connecting national and international actors and practices to local demonstrations of power was closely related to the nature of the issue in question. For example, in doing actor and power analysis with local staff in Sierra Leone, Christian Aid⁷ practitioners and participants alike came up with a useful analysis of the way different forms of power and different actors shape the issues around chieftancy and HIV/AIDs at a local level. On the other hand, participants realised that it was harder to come up with a detailed actor and power analysis related to budget transparency issues because they didn't have access to the closed spaces where resource allocation was decided at the national and international level. Such processes can be very important in defining what is 'known' and what needs to be found out about the actors that wield power in different levels and in clarifying what are the features of certain social problems that make it so hard to deal with them.

Combining dimensions of the *Powercube* with tools for actor and network analysis has also been very useful in assessing the changing political and/or economic and social context when an important re-configuration of power occurs. For example, the staff of UK social justice NGOs that participated in the Carnegie UK Trust/Joseph Rowntree Foundation action learning set on power analysis⁸, used this approach to understand the changes affecting their work after the 2010 UK election - when a Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government came into power - by asking questions such as: What new actors and networks are holding power? How are the forms of power they use different? What norms and values do they 'normalise'? Which spaces are closing and which new ones are opening?⁹ Such experiences serve as an important reminder that power constellations change and therefore we need constantly to review our context analysis. It also highlights the need for the power frameworks to encourage a dynamic and historical assessment of the conditions out of which any current context was born and not to see it as a 'still picture'.

1.2 Looking inside the spaces

Power analysis is not only useful for understanding who exercises what kind of power but also for drawing attention to the nature of relationships that give birth to or sustain certain power dynamics. The *Powercube* raises questions about the ways in which *spaces* (as much as *actors*) are shaped and conditioned by less visible forms of power - through rules of access, norms of engagement and socio-cultural boundaries which delineate who can do what or have a voice within those spaces.

Along these lines, the cross-analysis of the forms and spaces of power has been very useful in challenging assumptions about citizen apathy. Especially when exploring the function of invited spaces for consultation and deliberation at the local governance level both in the North and South, power analysis has drawn attention to the operation of both hidden and invisible forms of power (e.g. beliefs around who is entitled to participate, forms of speech and expression that are considered acceptable, issues of self-perception and voice, and so on) that act as a barrier to citizen participation.

⁷ Based on documented case studies in internal Christian Aid reports

⁸ For an account of the first Carnegie UK Trust/ Joseph Rowntree Foundation action-learning set on power, Raji Hunjan and Soumountha Keophilavong (2011) *Power and Making Change Happen*. Accessed at www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/publications/2010/power-and-making-change-happen

For a detailed guide to facilitation methods for workshops and action learning processes, see Hunjan, R and Pettit, J (2011) *Power: A practical guide for facilitating social change* Carnegie UK Trust /Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Available at www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/publications/2010/power---a-practical-guide-for-facilitating-social-

⁹ Based on author's own experience as a co-facilitator of the action-learning set and on related discussions that took place at the IDS December 2010 on 'Understanding Power - methods for facilitating, learning and analysis'.

Looking at what happens inside spaces has been crucial in understanding how both invisible and hidden power operates by asking questions such as: 'Who participates in invited spaces? Who is the gatekeeper? What knowledge, values and forms of expression are legitimised inside those spaces?' Along these lines, power analysis has been frequently used as an approach for coming up with a more nuanced understanding of decision making processes - looking beyond agendas, structures and official processes - at different levels: group, community, organisational, institutional. For example, in a case of analysing a decision-making process in a higher-education environment¹⁰, a study explored the ways in which powerful perceptions about expertise and education, bureaucratic procedures under the stress of 'urgency' and the hidden agendas of different University departments, all affect the quality of student participation and alienate learners from such deliberations.

Additionally, breaking down the 'levels' of power in categories of contextual relevance - family, household, school, neighbourhood, community, district and so forth - is helpful for grasping the relationality of power: an individual might be powerful in one setting (a space or level) and powerless in another. For example, in the case of the Sida study of local participation in Tanzania¹¹, the local researchers unpacked a complex set of dynamics between citizens and local leaders that goes beyond the powerful vs powerless image: the dynamics of visible, hidden and invisible power operate also among the 'powerless', where a group of citizens might group together because of common interests or beliefs while excluding others. The 'cube' visualisation is precisely a reminder of the fact that the forms of power operate across all levels and spaces and also that closed, claimed and invited spaces exist at all levels. The gender analysis framework of 'public, private and intimate realms'¹² of power also sheds light on the relational and contextual nature of power, as women and men experience or exercise power differently from one moment to the next depending on the particular arena and relationships – the workplace, the home, and the inter-personal.

A careful look inside spaces and relationships also puts social justice organisations on the spot: 'Are the invited spaces that organisations create allowing for real power for the participating communities or practitioners?' Grassroots organisations have examined the forms and spaces of power to explore how specific elements of their practice (nature of meetings, language used, planning processes) enables or discourages the equal participation of communities in planning and campaigning. International NGOs based in the North and working through a network of partners in the South have used the *Powercube* as a basis to discuss their own power and break down the dynamics of these partnerships. For example, Oxfam Novib staff used the *Powercube* to analyse the nature of relationships within the international *Publish What You Pay* campaign¹³ and to understand if the current structure of the coalition allows for the strengthening of civil society organisations in Africa.

1.3 Unpacking hidden power

While it seems that the levels and spaces of power quickly make sense to those doing analysis in most contexts, the forms of power are not as straightforward. Hidden power, as its name suggests, often proves to be a hard one to define or to locate, and its meaning might change depending on the context in question¹⁴.

¹⁰ Boni, A.; Peris, J.; Lopez, E. and Hueso, A. (2009) 'Scrutinising the Process of Adaptation to the European Higher Education Area in a Spanish University Degree Using Power Analysis', *Power and Education* 3.1. Accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.2304/power.2009.1.3.319>

¹¹ Sida (2011) *Power Analysis: A Study of Participation at the Local Level in Tanzania*

¹² Introduced in VeneKlasen, L. and Miller, V. (2002) *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*, Washington: Just Associates. See page 13 at www.justassociates.org/chapthreepower.pdf

¹³ Melief, S. (2008) *Power in African Civil Society: A case study of power analysis applied to the Publish What You Pay Campaign in Africa*, Unpublished report by Oxfam Novib

¹⁴ Understanding the invisible form of power also poses a challenge for many power analysis participants. In one case of introducing power frameworks to NGO staff, facilitators found it helpful to distinguish invisible power (as the way that ideology

When analysing efforts to exert political influence (e.g. campaigns, marginalised groups' struggles to be heard), the idea of hidden power as the 'mobilisation of bias' resonates with activists and practitioners whose work is affected by powerful actors who set the agenda or make sure some issues are kept out of it. Although the effects of this form of power might be commonly recognisable, activists might be struggling to define who powerful actors are and how exactly they operate.

In many cases, participants in power analysis have broadly used hidden power to refer to those actors and networks that operate behind the scenes or whose influence over the issue can't be clearly explained. Hidden power is also often associated with a sense of fear when it comes to responding to it or a lack of control when it comes to influencing it. For example, in contexts of conflict and violence like Colombia and Guatemala, actors such as paramilitary groups or drug cartels are seen as exercising 'poder oculto' - a concept used by Latin American researchers to describe the co-optation of the state by organised and violent criminal interests¹⁵. One international NGO working in Latin America suggested that in such contexts 'poder oculto' should be considered as a separate category of analysis from the forms of hidden power that arise in pluralist politics, from which the term hidden power originates.

In the context of HIV/AIDS work, different organisations applying power analysis have usefully demonstrated how hidden power works across levels: in a brothel context, the pimp can represent the hidden power even if he is never physically present and the sex workers are visibly controlled from the Madame¹⁶. In a policy context, pharmaceutical companies might exercise their hidden power by promoting specific narratives of what should be done about HIV/AIDS and thus influencing the possibilities of action at the local level. In other similar cases; and hidden power might be about the power of actors to withhold information or to exclude others from the allocation of resources.

Last but not least, hidden power is not only stemming from the actions of few actors but also operates as a network of hidden forces that defines 'the way things work' behind the scenes: in Sida's analysis of local corruption in Tanzania¹⁷, local leaders and citizens alike routinely used the power of petty bribes to 'get things done'. This underscores the importance of adapting the *Powercube* and its dimensions to each context, and is a reminder that the 'forms of power' were first conceptualised based on observations of particular features of North American politics and movements.

1.4 Understanding forms of power and their actual effects

Careful contextual analysis has shown that it is not enough to observe and understand the power or change in power in just one form, level or space: there is the need to go deeper to understand what a specific form of power or a change in the form of power might mean for demonstrations of other forms of power at different levels or spaces.

For example, in a power analysis by NGO practitioners in Egypt¹⁸ before the regime change participants problematised the role of the state apparatus and their relationships with it: the fact that the state apparatus had transformed its previously hidden power into visible power -

and media are used by the powerful to reproduce norms) from the power of socially embedded norms, belief systems and assumptions that shape the behaviour of both powerful and powerless (Rosemary McGee, 'Working with Power and Rights' background paper prepared for a learning process with Christian Aid staff)

¹⁵ Based on experiences of the PPSC team with Latin American organisations and movements.

¹⁶ For a detailed analysis of this context see Smarajit J.; Pankaj Vinayak S.; Vinita, S. and Amrender S. (2004) *Understanding Power and Creating Spaces: Sex Workers' Voices in HIV prevention*, Care India: SAKSHAM programme. Available at www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/care_2004_understanding_power_7.pdf

¹⁷ See footnote 6

¹⁸ Tadros, M. (2010) *What you see is NOT what you get: Fluid, opaque, amoebic power*. Accessed at www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Fluid_opaque_amoebic_power.pdf

by openly controlling and monitoring NGO activities - had actually meant that it increased its invisible power as NGO practitioners progressively found it 'normal' to report all their activities to a state official.

Making hidden power visible doesn't necessarily mean its effects are tackled; stronger attention has to be paid to the different forms of power and their effects as exercised by both visible and hidden actors. For example a hidden actor might be working through the exercise of visible power or a visible actor might be working through the exercise of invisible power¹⁹.

In another example, power analysis demonstrated how Kenya's constitutional reform - which challenged hidden powers and introduced a new equality legal framework - didn't fulfil its promise towards the most affected because issues of invisible power and of the internalisation of oppression by the marginalised were not addressed²⁰. In this sense, using the *Powercube* has been extremely helpful for looking at the realities of power behind obvious successes at the policy or legislative levels and providing insights on why such changes are not enough for changing people's lives.

1.5 Sources of power

The most dominant sources of power that have been observed, by mapping and analysing powerful actors in any given context, have been position, political influence, connection, knowledge, expertise, money and resources/infrastructure and physical power/threat of violence. Still, a number of practitioners have pointed out that although the *Powercube* is very helpful for thinking about how power is manifested in their context, it is not as helpful for understanding where this power comes from and how sources of power can be shifted or gained. Methods of actor and network analysis noted above, such as stakeholder analysis and mapping, or Drivers of Change²¹, can complement the *Powercube* by drawing attention to these sources of power. Some have found invisible power a useful way of identifying the socially constructed boundaries and origins of power or powerlessness for different actors and alliances, for example along lines of gender, race, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation.

The concept of 'expressions of power' (power 'over', 'with', 'to', 'within') has been celebrated by activists, community groups and organisations because it has enabled them to see power as something positive that *they* also hold. It has supported them to identify their own sources of positive power and to reflect on ideas of dignity and self-esteem, solidarity and unity, critical awareness and experiential knowledge, networks and alliances and more. Especially for big international NGOs that advocate on a number of issues in the global arena, the exercise of analysing sources of power has highlighted issues of legitimacy and accountability towards the communities they advocate for: seeing that a big part of their power is sourced from the legitimacy they have by association with affected communities, a number of practitioners reviewed the way they work in order to protect both the communities' and their own power.

¹⁹ For a more detailed typology of actor and forms of power please see the whole article of Mariz Tadros at www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Fluid_opaque_amoebic_power.pdf

²⁰ See 'Kenya's constitutional reform' case study by Benjamin Lucy. Accessed at www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/case_study_kenya.pdf

²¹ For a brief list of actor and network analysis tools, see Annex 2.

2. Strategy and Action

'Working with the Powercube helped to identify and justify strategic actions and funding'

Participant, Oxfam Novib Learning Trajectory on Power

Power analysis has been used for strategising by international development agencies, national and international NGOs, social movements and community and grassroots organisations. It has also been used to foster collaboration and synergy between practitioners working at the local and global levels.

As demonstrated in the previous section, thorough power analysis can provide useful insights on the actors, types and sources of power that come into play in different spaces and levels and can also problematise our views on relationships, partnerships, and organisational practices. For these reasons, power analysis has been used to:

- Design and implement a new programme/course of action at the local or national level²²
- Review and refine already applied strategies

In some cases, practitioners who used power analysis suggest that it is beneficial to apply it at the first stage of designing a programme because it gives space to the stakeholders involved to discuss different assumptions about their context and approach to working for change. In other cases, it has been suggested that it is better to apply power analysis after a course of activities has been initiated, so that the involved stakeholders have witnessed the dynamics of their intervention and can better contribute to its refinement.

In any case, power analysis provides us with a deeper awareness of the power dynamics of a given situation but doesn't by itself offer positive or negative results or recommendations that can then be directly fed into programme design. Rather, it is a first step towards a nuanced analysis of power and change that can lead to strategies and actions that are better rooted in context and purpose. Below are some of the key reflections on how that works:

2.1. New allies: 'power with'

The concept of the 'expressions of power' and especially the positive dimensions of 'power to' and 'power with' has motivated practitioners to invest in making external but also internal alliances; the latter meaning that all departments and/or roles of an organisation are aligned towards building collective power. For example one of the community organisations that participated in the Carnegie UK Trust/Joseph Rowntree Foundation action-learning set on power, revised all their job descriptions to ensure that all roles were contributing towards common strategic goals and are not breeding a culture of 'my project'²³.

At a deeper level of analysis, the *Powercube* presents further possibilities for formation of strategic alliances. Seeing social change as a process that involves spaces, forms and levels of power is accompanied by the realisation that in order to achieve change, work is needed

²² Although as noted above, power analysis has been applied by international development agencies and NGOs for strategising and programming, this has taken place at the level of local programmes and in some cases national or cross-regional strategies. In the cases reviewed, there were no specific examples of applying power analysis for international programming.

²³ Hunjan, R. and Keophilavong, S. (2010) *Power and Making Change Happen* Carnegie UK Trust/ Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed at www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/publications/2010/power-and-making-change-happen

across all dimensions. In turn, this is an invitation to practitioners and organisations to analyse what the added value of their work is and how they can multiply their efforts (without needing to multiply their resources) by working together with organisations tackling different forms of power or working at different levels and spaces.

For organisations working in coalitions of multiple partners or within political movements or in the same context but for different issues, working with the *Powercube* has been helpful for energising them to work with each other. As a participant in power analysis commented, the *Powercube* framework can move us beyond 'political paralysis' by exploring how different strands of work that might be originating from different ideologies, disciplines or theories of change can jointly contribute to disentangle the same structures of oppression. For example, using the *Powercube* with representatives of women's movements was an opportunity for women working in collaboration with the state and women working within independent feminist movements to discuss if they could see their conflicting views on social change under new light as different strategies against the same forms of power²⁴. In another case, Sida observed that the concepts of power served as a bridge - a connecting element - between the different worldviews on poverty of the economists, anthropologists and political scientists working for the agency's programming²⁵.

Finally, grasping the relationality of power (see also 1.2) supported organisations to approach current 'enemies' as potential allies or to look for alliances in new places. For example, seeing the actors who are the most powerful at the local level as the least powerful at the national level, contributes to the realisation that everyone operates within a web of power structures and domination and a current 'oppressor' can become a 'supporter' at a moment of opportunity or on a different issue. Along these lines, Christian Aid staff at East Africa involved with power analysis decided that transforming 'power over' into 'power for' should be one of their directions for action²⁶.

2.2 New understandings: theories of change

In the majority of the cases where power analysis was specifically introduced in relation to programming and strategising, this was done in combination with a discussion on 'theories of change' - that is our perceptions, assumptions or beliefs about the process or pathway through which social change can or will happen²⁷. Both the motivation for and the outcome of this work is related to two realisations:

- Unequal power dynamics are at the centre of relationships, practices and policies that perpetuate poverty, oppression and exclusion and so we need to address them if we want to achieve real change in people's lives.
- These unequal power balances are sustained through a complex and ever-shifting nexus of visible 'power over', hidden mechanisms of domination and effects of internalised oppression and in order to engage with this complexity, we need to look beyond linear models of change.

The above points have encouraged a number of organisations to make a shift in the kind of questions they ask at the stage of programming and strategising and move from asking 'How

²⁴ Morna Macleod (2011) *Exploring the Power Cube as a Tool for use in Evaluation: Identifying shifts in power with women's movements in Central America*. Available on www.powercube.net

²⁵ Bjuremalm, H. (2006) *Power Analysis - Experiences and Challenges*, Stockholm: Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)

²⁶ Observations from internal evaluation of 'Working with Power and Rights' learning process conducted by Jethro Pettit and Rosemary McGee (IDS) for Christian Aid.

²⁷ In many cases, practitioners and facilitators combined power analysis with a 'theory of change' approach, through utilising Rosalind Eyben's table of theories of change from Eyben, R. (2008) 'Theories of change and implications for Big INGO action to support 'progressive' social change', unpublished paper.

are we helping?’ to ‘What is our vision of change’ and ‘Who do we try to influence?’ And also: ‘How do we try to achieve this change? What else is happening that can affect the outcomes of our efforts?’ These questions lead to different power-sensitive steps at the stage of strategising mainly related to:

- Defining a vision and objectives: a number of organisations shaped their objectives by thinking in terms of: ‘what is the change in power we want to achieve’. This was accompanied by a strong focus on having the communities or individuals affected by power to participate in the definition of the objectives.
- Analysing risks: looking at a broad picture of power dynamics meant in many cases looking not only at how our strategies are addressing one power issue but how they might be affecting the reconfiguration of power at other levels or spaces of power. Similarly, it also meant asking ‘What other power issues exist in the context in question that if not addressed will jeopardise the success of our strategies?’ For example, power analysis helped Sida staff to see that promoting decentralisation can actually increase power inequalities and hierarchies at the local level instead of transferring power to local communities, if there is an insufficient understanding of community dynamics or a lack of support and monitoring for the new local structures.
- **Finding new targets:** exploring pathways for influence and thinking about theories of change in many cases meant the development of new strategies aiming at new actors, as in the examples from Oxfam highlighted below²⁸.

Oxfam: Programming with a power focus

Oxfam GB staff from the UK and Guatemala worked together with indigenous women in Guatemala on a programme design process which combined the use of stakeholder mapping, theories of change and Powercube analysis . Using these tools in a complementary way, the programme team achieved a multi-level analysis of the issues around indigenous women’s political participation. As a result, the importance of changing the ideas and beliefs about indigenous women stood out as a critical pathway towards increasing women’s social and political leadership. In response, the programme team chose to include the local teachers - who have considerable power in shaping public opinion - into the target groups of the programme’s activities.

In another case of improving programming through power analysis, Oxfam Novib reshaped the documents and resources used for country strategy planning; staff and partners were encouraged to think of indicators for shifts in power dynamics, to devise strategies for actually increasing the power of affected individuals and communities and for exercising

- **Opting out:** analysing spaces and specifically invited spaces encouraged organisations to say ‘no’ in processes that wouldn’t allow for change or would assist the perpetuation of unequal power dynamics, and where the risks of engagement outweighed the potential benefits.
- **Preparing for backlash:** being aware of the shifting nature of power dynamics and the messiness of social change, calls for better planning of how to stay in power - once a change of power dynamics has been achieved - and how to respond to dominant power when it will reconfigure itself.

²⁸ Alvarez, S; Rosales, M.; Caceres, E.; Rowlands, J. and Arita J.C.(2011) *Improving Programme Design with Power Analysis Tools: The Power Cube within Oxfam GB Programme Design in Guatemala*, LAC region, Oxford: Oxfam Publications

2.3 New tactics: responding to forms of power

Using the *Powercube* as an analytical tool has been very helpful for flagging up entry points for action, rather than necessarily coming up with comprehensive strategies. Different entry points have been suggested as responses to different forms of power: public advocacy and litigation for example have been associated with addressing visible power, researching marginalised issues with marginalised people and naming and shaming has been in many cases a response to hidden power and popular education and *conscientisation* have been utilised to address internalised forms of invisible power. A tool many have found useful, for example in the UK action-learning sets²⁹, is VeneKlasen’s and Miller’s ‘Power Matrix’³⁰ which makes the connections between concrete examples of forms of ‘power over’ (visible, hidden and invisible) with the strategies needed to resist or transform these, and the ‘expressions of power’ (power ‘to’, ‘with’ and ‘within’) needed to carry out these strategies. A simplified version can be represented as shown:

Power Matrix

Forms of power	Empowerment strategies
Visible Power: making and setting the rules	Lobbying, campaigns, negotiation, representation, engaging in formal politics
Hidden Power: setting the agenda	Organising communities, strengthening organisations, alternative research, media
Invisible Power: shaping meaning and values	Popular education, discourse analysis, awareness-raising, building self-esteem, media and cultural action

Adapted from VeneKlasen, Miller, Reilly and Clark (2006)

Some further reflections arise from applying or considering the above options and using the Power Matrix:

- **Changes at the level of visible power are not sustainable without work on invisible power:** For changes at the visible level to take flesh and bones in people’s realities, it is important to also address invisible power through empowerment strategies that shift internalised norms and assumptions about what is possible. For example a change in human rights law or practice - like the creation of local committees for equality issues - might never be accessed or enjoyed by marginalised people because they don’t believe

²⁹ See Hunjan, R. and Keophilavong, S. (2010) *Power and Making Change Happen* Carnegie UK Trust/ Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed at www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/publications/2010/power-and-making-change-happen
³⁰ For a comprehensive description of the tool, see Miller, V.; VeneKlasen, L; Reilly, M; and Clark, C. (2006) *Making Change Happen: Power. Concepts for Revisioning Power for Justice, Equality and Peace*, Washington: Just Associates. www.justassociates.org/publications_files/MCH3.pdf

they will be respected or have a right to be there. Additionally, when talking about invisible power, attention needs to be given both to de-constructing internalised oppression at the individual level and to delegitimising the norms and beliefs that give birth to the oppression. Invisible power can be mobilised as a change strategy, for example through awareness-raising and cultural action.

- **Moving from power 'within' to power 'to' and 'with':** At the other side of over-investing in visible policy change, is the risk of over-investing in individual empowerment processes without supporting the transition from individual to collective empowerment and without at the same time working to influence other stakeholders that oppress the disempowered through hidden and visible power. For example, a UK NGO that was focused on empowering young women to resist FGM (female genital mutilation or circumcision) and forced marriages also worked on shifting the mindsets of the powerful community leaders who support such practices and in this way pushed in both directions for change³¹.
- **Support for claimed spaces:** The idea of claimed and created spaces has been formative for most of the organisations involved in power analysis; many understood the successful fostering of claimed spaces as a positive step towards sustainable change. Claimed spaces can both nurture empowerment and give birth to new strategies for addressing hidden and visible power. They can give groups a forum in which they can shape the rules and norms of engagement, and deliberate and articulate their agendas *before* entering invited spaces or advocating on the edges of closed spaces (as for example in HIV/AIDS activism in India - see box). Powerful actors can also be invited to claimed spaces, where the powerless are able to exercise their own forms of hidden and invisible power.

HIV prevention in India: Investing in the creation of claimed spaces³²

The staff of the programme SHAKSHAM at Care India, used power analysis to demonstrate how and why HIV prevention policies with sex workers fail because they assume that what the sex workers lack in order to be able to protect themselves is a pro-active attitude and knowledge about condoms. The analysis demonstrates how the history of the sex industry and the perceptions it has created about sex workers, together with the power dynamics inside the brothels, put sex workers in a position of minimum or no control when it comes to making decisions on HIV prevention. As the NGO observes, what the sex workers lack is not knowledge or political consciousness about their position but the power to use that knowledge. Through power analysis, the organisation decided that the creation of claimed spaces, where sex workers can organise for their rights and build social and political influence, should be their indicator of change and that at the same time the organisation should assume its role as a powerful actor and influence other stakeholders (e.g. public and health services) to support the women's struggles.

- **Hidden power is not only a bad thing:** Hidden power is often identified as something that social justice organisations need to resist or challenge. But hidden power can also be used as part of a social change strategy that works across all dimensions of the *Powercube*. For example while an organisation is trying to achieve sustainable or visible change in freedom of expression, it can use the hidden power of connections to protect freedom of expression activists from arrests or persecution. Similarly, while also working on altering funding conditions, practitioners have used hidden power to get access to information about funding or to modify their application's vocabulary to suit funders'

³¹ Based on author's own experience as a co-facilitator of the action-learning set and on related discussions that took place at the IDS December 2010 'Understanding Power' Workshop

³² For a detailed analysis of this context see Smarajit J.; Pankaj Vinayak S.; Vinita, S. and Amrender S. (2004) *Understanding Power and Creating Spaces: Sex Workers' Voices in HIV prevention*, Care India: SAKSHAM programme. Available at www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/care_2004_understanding_power_7.pdf

language or priorities. Invisible power can also be mobilised as a positive social change strategy, for example through awareness-raising and cultural action.

3. Monitoring and Evaluation

‘Moving from looking at ‘did the change I want happen?’ to ‘what actually happened?’

Participant, IDS *‘Understanding Power- methods for facilitating, learning and analysis workshop*

As discussed in the previous sections, applying the power frameworks for context analysis and strategising has significantly contributed to more nuanced readings of reality and to the refinement of strategies or the consideration of new entry points for action. Additionally, power analysis has been used for looking back at moments of policy or political change³³ and drawing lessons on why things changed and what can be learned for the future. In this sense, power analysis is inextricably linked with a function of monitoring and evaluation as it leads to observations on what has happened or is happening, what we are doing about it and what could we be doing better.

There appears to be an increasing interest by international NGOs in taking up the *Powercube* as an analytical tool for M&E processes. But so far there are few cases where the *Powercube* or other power frameworks have been used explicitly as a methodological tool for conducting programme evaluations. Most of these trials were related to international NGO programmes concerning women’s rights, accountability for marginalised groups, and the assessment of civil society strengthening and participation. Lessons from these efforts are briefly outlined below:

3.1 Transforming the *Powercube* into an evaluation framework

In evaluating work for women’s rights in Central America, the *Powercube* and the ‘expressions of power’ framework were used in an evaluation workshop with women activists and practitioners from different countries³⁴. The women were asked to identify achieved changes in women’s rights in relation to the already set indicators for the programme and then - after being presented with the *Powercube* - were asked to explore what these changes meant in terms of ‘shifts in power’ in society. A key observation was that women found it useful to identify shifts from power ‘within’ to power ‘to’ and ‘with’ and shifts from hidden to invisible power. The process suggests that the *Powercube* is helpful for evaluating citizen organising and advocacy efforts but less helpful for looking at qualitative changes in women’s lives.

In the case of evaluating Christian Aid’s ‘Power to the People’ programme (running in collaboration with partner organisations in 10 countries), IDS researchers³⁵ used the *Powercube* as an analytical tool to map the relationships of community groups with authorities and other power holders and to assess how the programme’s work affects government responsiveness to marginalised groups and how in turn is it shaped by dominant powers. The *Powercube* was not introduced as a tool but its three dimensions were utilised to form tailored evaluation interviews for each country’s programme partners, aiming to

³³ For example see John Gaventa, *Case study on Jubilee Debt Campaign: Working across the levels spaces and forms of power*, adapted from John Gaventa (2007) *Levels, Spaces and Forms of Power: Analysing opportunities for change in Power in World Politics*, Routledge.

Accessed at http://www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Jubilee_debt_campaign.pdf

³⁴ Morna Macleod (2011) *Exploring the Power Cube as a Tool for use in Evaluation: Identifying shifts in power with women’s movements in Central America*. Available on www.powercube.net

³⁵ This evaluation was conducted in by Rosemary McGee and Patta Scott-Villiers, Research Fellows at the Institute of Development Studies with support from Marjoke Oosterom

explore the working context and the possible changes in 'power balances'. Questions covered issues of hidden and invisible powers (e.g. the spaces and ways through which elites operate or the shaping of perceptions about women's participation) and issues of spaces and levels of decision-making.

When four Dutch international development NGOs (Cordaid, Hivos, Oxfam Novib and Plan Netherlands) used the *Powercube* as an analytical tool to evaluate the participation and strengthening of civil society organisations in five counties³⁶, questions were formulated to explore the dimensions of actors, networks and spaces involved in their programmes. Based on these dimensions, a conceptual framework was created that illustrated the different domains of intervention and participation by the INGOs and their national CSO partners and was used to identify the contribution of their work in each domain. Additionally, the *Powercube* was used as a '*Violence Cube*' in an effort to evaluate the ways conflict and violence operate and their effects across spaces and levels³⁷.

Overall, using the Powercube as a basis for evaluation can be very helpful for looking beyond the outputs and outcomes of projects towards a recognition and assessment of the various levels of power shifts entailed in processes of change. Again, as highlighted in point 1.4, caution is needed to avoid a superficial mapping of changes in power and to achieve a nuanced analysis of what a shift in power actually contributes to at all levels.

4. Facilitation and Learning

'Power analysis gave us - in a powerful and systematic way - a language to talk about what we were already doing by instinct'

Participant, IDS '*Understanding Power- methods for facilitating, learning and analysis* workshop

Different organisations, institutions and practitioners have experimented with different approaches to introducing power frameworks into their work. The analysis of the full spectrum of learning approaches - which includes diverse methodologies, facilitation practices and specific tools and exercises - goes beyond the scope of this review³⁸. Below, we collate a few brief points and reflections that come directly out of the experiences of practitioners and facilitators:

4.1 Organisational reflection

In all cases of introducing power concepts, the learning process has led - to a greater or lesser extent - to personal and organisational reflection. As a few participants pointed out: 'it is not only about power out there'. For power analysis to be effective - especially at the level of strategising - it needs to be linked to the power dynamics within the organisations, institutions or movements that apply it. For example, when learning approaches have been done together by a group of both international NGO staff and local staff of partner organisations, power analysis has enhanced shared understandings. Exercises for personal

³⁶ Gaventa, J. (2005) 'Reflections on the Uses of the 'Power Cube, Approach for Analyzing the Spaces, Places and Dynamics of Civil Society Participation and Engagement', prepared for Assessing Civil Society Participation as Supported In-Country by Cordaid, Hivos, Novib and Plan Netherlands 1999–2004, The Netherlands: MFP Breed Network. For a full report of the programme see Guijt, I. (2005) 'Synthesis Report of Dutch CFA Programme Evaluation', Assessing Civil Society Participation as Supported In-Country by Cordaid, Hivos, Novib and Plan Netherlands 1999–2004, The Netherlands: MFP Breed Network

³⁷ Jenny Pearce (2005) *Bringing violence into the Powercube in Colombia*, www.powercube.net (accessed 16 January 2012)

³⁸ For documented experiences of learning and facilitation around power analysis, please look at the List of Reviewed Documents on page 31.

and collective reflection on power using critical and creative methods can contribute to such processes. For example, IDS has introduced 'reflective learning and practice' techniques into some of its postgraduate courses and training workshops, often linked with the use of concepts and frameworks of power and empowerment.

4.2 Personal experience

In all learning approaches, personal experience was found to be the best entry point to introducing power concepts and frameworks. For people involved with movements and advocacy, the concepts underlying the *Powercube* dimensions resonate with their day-to-day work and lives. It seems that this experience rather than concepts and theories alone is what helps people grasp power frameworks and work with them. Also, the use of audiovisual material (like power related cartoons and clips³⁹) to stimulate reflection on experience has helped participants to come up with their own definitions and meanings of power before concepts and definitions are introduced. Encouraging participants to use creative and embodied forms of expression, e.g. through storytelling, drama and drawing, can deepen reflection on experiences of power.

4.3 Long-term approaches and accompaniment

Power analysis can support groups and organisations to consolidate their successes and realise the strong points of their strategies. But it can also provoke anxiety and feelings of discouragement or paralysis when faced with the revealed complexity of power dynamics and the force of certain powers (like the risk many times involved in addressing hidden power). Additionally, some of the frameworks can be hard to grasp in one go such as a training workshop; participant ownership and adaptation of the concepts can be further developed over time, through trial and error, and with additional workshops and mentoring. For these reasons, investing in long-term learning approaches that include cycles of action and reflection (using experiential learning methods) were found to have a deeper effect on participants. Participants are also better supported in integrating a power-lens into their practice when these long-term approaches are combined with some form of accompaniment; for example organising mentoring sessions between facilitators and participants or fostering peer-to-peer mentoring relationships between participants that face similar challenges⁴⁰.

4.4 Commitment and purpose

It is important that organisations who decide to embark on a learning journey with power analysis have allocated sufficient time for the learning, analysis and deliberation involved. The learning is most likely to be more effective and sustainable if there is management commitment and ownership of the approach and if there is willingness to adjust the pace of operations so that staff and partners are enabled to make new connections and invest in new ways of thinking. Additionally, different experiences suggest the importance of clarifying early-on the purpose of any power analysis exercise (e.g. to foster influence, design programming, deepen knowledge, facilitate internal dialogue and so forth).

³⁹ For power cartoons please visit www.powercube.net/resources/pictures/. For one example of how cartoons were used for introducing power frameworks see Jo Rowland's case study on a learning process with Oxfam GB staff on www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/casestudy_oxfam.pdf

⁴⁰ For a learning approach that invested in one-to-one support see Hunjan, R. and Keophilavong, S. (2010) *Power and Making Change Happen* Carnegie UK Trust/ Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Accessed at www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/publications/2010/power-and-making-change-happen
For a detailed guide to facilitation methods for workshops and action learning processes, see Hunjan, R and Pettit, J (2011) *Power: A practical guide for facilitating social change* Carnegie UK Trust /Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Available at: <http://www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/publications/2010/power---a-practical-guide-for-facilitating-social->

4.5 Including diverse backgrounds

Probably it cannot be stressed enough that when using power analysis for context analysis and strategising, it is important to have in the room people from diverse backgrounds, approaching the issue from diverse angles. Otherwise, there is a risk of looking away from the multiple readings and experiences of power dynamics and/or giving prevalence to assumptions that a specific group might have in common. Experience also showed that when working with a diverse group of people, it is important to allow sufficient time at the beginning of the learning process for shared understandings of power and change to be built.

4.6 Bringing in other tools and approaches

As discussed in the sections on context analysis and strategy and action, use of the *Powercube* or some of its dimensions can be deepened when combined with other approaches for power analysis, context analysis and programming. Among others, these have included stakeholder mapping and other tools for actor and network analysis, theories of change, results framework and others. For a list of tools that have been used in combination with the power frameworks emphasised here please see Annex 2. In addition, experience has shown that creative, embodied and multi-sensory facilitation methods like storytelling, creative writing, theatre, role-play, drawing journaling can enhance conceptual understandings of power gained through more analytical tools and methods⁴¹.

4.7 Power analysis with directly affected people

The majority of learning approaches we reviewed for introducing power into social change work have been tried at the level of staff, leaders or activists from movements and organisations. There seems to be less documented experience on working with these power concepts directly with marginalised individuals, although this is happening in many contexts. The case study of Just Associates Indonesia on empowering women of women headed-households⁴² stands as an interesting example where personal photos of everyday life and the a 'future vision' exercise were combined to assess the community and institutional powers and beliefs that influence the women's lives and to construct personal action plans.

4.8 Language and terminology

The translation of the *Powercube* terms into different languages can take away some of the dynamism of the process or confuse and alienate participants, if translations are not accompanied by strong explanatory examples and terminology of local relevance. There is room for more work in translating the concepts into locally relevant terms, or facilitating the process in such a way that participants develop their own terminology, categories and framings. Additionally, the word 'power' might be associated with very negative connotations in certain contexts or spaces and facilitators need to be careful in how they use it. Some of the most successful learning processes were the ones that adapted the power frameworks to the local context and language, for example by inventing new categories for each dimension - as in the example of 'poder oculto' in Latin America, or the addition of levels and spaces of violence in Colombia (see 1.3 and 3.1). One of the key benefits of power analysis is the development of a shared language between stakeholders that captures and communicates the nuances of power in a given context. The majority of learning processes have focused on this aim, rather than insisting on the use of the specific terminology of these power frameworks.

⁴¹ See Jethro Pettit (2006) *Power and Pedagogy: Learning for Reflective Development Practice*, IDS Bulletin 37.6

⁴² Nani Zulminarni, *Using power concepts for empowering women headed households*, case study by Just Associates. Accessed at http://www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/casestudy_indonesia.pdf

4.9 Doing research

Increasingly the Powercube has been used as an analytical framework to conduct research, mainly for the purpose of context analysis. Researchers have created sets of useful open-ended questions to explore the different dimensions of power without specifically using the *Powercube* terms and thus allowing for contextual adaptation and expression. For example, Sida researchers have explored invisible power at the local level in Tanzania by asking citizens questions like: 'How much power do you feel you have over making decisions about your own life? Are the local leaders more advantaged? If yes, why is that?'⁴³

In a very different case, researchers at Valencia University who analysed decision-making processes in higher education (see also point 1.2), addressed invisible power by asking powerful university actors questions about their views on education and learning. The *Powercube* can also be useful for framing research results as in the case of analysing youth empowerment work in Sierra Leone⁴⁴, where the 'expressions of power' were utilised as a framework for exploring the theory of change implicit in the project.

5. What next for power analysis?

'The approach is to be used with adaptation, innovation, and most importantly with care and self-reflection'

John Gaventa

Instead of conclusions, the last section of this review lists a handful of key challenges on the road ahead for power analysis that are of importance to all the core themes here addressed (context analysis, strategy and action, monitoring and evaluation, and facilitation and learning).

5.1 Conceptual framework vs. programming tool

As much as the creators of the Powercube approach and many practitioners involved in power analysis have stressed that the Powercube is to be used as a starting point for deep, contextualised analysis and adaptation and not as a tick-box exercise, the risk remains that it will be used as mechanistic tool for programming. This risk might be reinforced because of the visualisation of the cube and the tight definitions accompanying each of its 'boxes', which makes it harder to think of power as a less defined 'continuum' across levels, spaces and forms. For this reason, one adaptation of the 'faces of power' by Oxfam GB and IDS researchers represents them in a 'spectrum' rather than boxes (see Annex 1, point 6).

But beyond looking at visual adaptations of the *Powercube*, the tension between conceptual framework vs programming tool is very much a tension between mindsets. A number of practitioners have insisted on the need to focus on power frameworks as way of thinking and as an entry point to power-sensitive practice (especially in relationship to rights-based and participatory approaches) and to resist pressures for ever-new tools and ready solutions.

⁴³ Sida (2011) *Power Analysis: A Study of Participation at the Local Level in Tanzania*

⁴⁴ Mgala S. and Shutt C. (2011) *Exploring Expressions and Forms of Power in Youth Governance Work*, PLA Notes 63, International Institute for Environment and Development

5.2 Non-linearity of power dimensions (and change!)

Following-up from the previous point, a further challenge lies with exploring new ways of understanding and dealing with the non-linearity of power dimensions when it comes to linking them to theories of change. A common assumption tends to approach the expressions of power as a linear framework where building power 'within' will lead to power 'to' and power 'with'; in some cases, collective action and support may be a vital source – and precursor – to individual agency. Similarly, it is often assumed that working against invisible power will lead to confronting visible power or that transforming a hidden power into a visible one will weaken it. Although such pathways to change may sometimes reflect reality, it is important to problematise such assumptions and engage with the complex dynamics of change (see also 1.4).

5.3 From diagnosis to action

As discussed in previous sections, a few common disconnections arise when strategising from a power perspective, like how to connect local to global strategies and vice versa, or how to pass from individual empowerment to collective action and vice versa. These disconnections reflect a bigger challenge which is about how to translate diagnosis about power relations into effective responses. Although we know that in many cases strategies have been refined through power analysis, we lack evidence on the outcomes of these new strategies and on the critical pathways between specific effects of power and different responses to them. We need to improve our approaches both for connecting analysis to action and for imagining alternative forms of power dynamics and power relations. A possible way out could be to increase the use of power analysis as an entry point for knowledge generation; rather than focusing on entry points for action, focusing on opportunities for popular research and investing in finding out about some of these disconnections before acting again.

5.4 Improving gender analysis

The 'expressions of power' have been widely used for shaping feminist struggles⁴⁵ and in shaping definitions of women's empowerment, and different experiences have brought gender into the *Powercube* by analysing separately how the forms of power affect men and women differently⁴⁶. Additional frameworks for gender analysis, such as the 'public, private and intimate realms' of power, can also be used to expand the levels and spaces of power from a gender perspective (see also point 1.2). Feminist theory and action also figure strongly in the conceptualisation of invisible power as socially constructed norms around gender and patriarchy. There is still room though for adapting the power concepts and frameworks for gender analysis as well as for cross-cutting analysing on the issues of gender, HIV/AIDS, climate change, race and ethnic discrimination. Such work would benefit from further exploring the concept of 'sources' of power including their historical origins.

5.5 Virtual spaces

Significant work has been done on analysing what goes on inside closed, invited and claimed spaces (either physical, institutional or public discourse spaces), exposing the values and terms of participation that come into play within those spaces. As an increasing amount of

⁴⁵ For a wealth of work on power and gender see www.justassociates.org. In 'Making Change Happen: Power' http://www.justassociates.org/publications_files/MCH3.pdf, Just Associates refer to power 'to', 'with' and 'within' as vital powers in relation to feminist struggles. See also Rowlands, J. (1996) *Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras*, Oxford: Oxfam Publications.

⁴⁶ For an example, see Annex 1 for an adaptation of the *Powercube* putting gender relations in its centre by Irene Guijt at Learning by Design.

norms, beliefs, negotiations and mobilisations are shaped through virtual, online spaces, a further question arises about who has access to those spaces and what are the sources of power and terms of engagement within them. Also, as practitioners and activists scattered around the globe are increasingly organising their joint struggles online, a challenge is posed about how to better facilitate power analysis and learning about power in virtual spaces.

6. An invitation to shape the future of power analysis

This practice paper attempted to bring together a number of lessons arising from recent experience with the Powercube and related power frameworks but it is by no means a comprehensive or exhaustive account of the experience and work going on around the world. As stated in the introduction, this review is accompanied by a call for feedback; an invitation to practitioners to share experiences and methodologies and to challenge emerging lessons and current practices. You can send us your comments, experiences, adaptations or resources to info@powercube.net. Please let us know if you would like those to be shared – alternatively, we could discuss the best way for your input to be used.

As a further resource for power analysis, an online community of practice on power analysis has been launched. The PowerHouse is an interactive platform linking practitioners and researchers from diverse organisations, locations and themes who share an interest in methods of power analysis, including but not limited to the *Powercube*. The PowerHouse supports knowledge and experience sharing and hosts conversations on the challenges of power analysis – hopefully contributing to new contextualised understandings of power and new strategies for responding to it. To join the online community, share your experiences and take part in the discussions, please visit <http://powerhousenetwork.ning.com/>

Annotated List of Reviewed Documents

In an effort to support the reader, the reviewed documents are categorised by source: postgraduate students' case studies, academic articles, reports from agencies or institutions and NGO programme documents or reports.

All documents reviewed are available on the www.powercube.net website unless described as 'internal'. Useful hand-outs and visual adaptations of the power frameworks can also be found on the website.

A short description is provided for every reviewed document and the following coding is used to direct the reader according to her/his interests in power analysis:

- CA – context analysis
- SA – strategy and action
- ME – monitoring and evaluation
- FL – facilitation and learning

A) IDS postgraduate students' case studies

1. *Councillors and Residents in Hove Park* - Chattopadhyay, S., de la Fuente, N. and Edwards, A. (2011): Studying Residents' Associations in the UK as an example of 'claimed spaces' and analysing how the forms of power and the rules that govern these spaces shape participation, agenda-setting and decision making [CA]
2. *Power Analysis of the Experience of an Afghan refugee in Japan* - anonymous: Using the forms and expressions of power to understand how the publication of one refugee's story mobilised local society and institutions [CA]
3. *Zimbabwe's Power Sharing Deal* - Debra Dalton and Estela Vidal Malvar: Using all three dimensions of the *Powercube* to analyse the power play in decision making processes between political leaders [CA]
4. *Community Driven Development in Liberia* – Jennifer Geib: Analysing community power relations through the *Powercube* in order to examine the effectiveness of the World Bank's Community Driven Development programmes [CA]
5. *Kenya's Constitutional Reform* – Benjamin Lucy (2007): Using the *Powercube* to assess whether a legal change and the process through which it came to be, actually brought change in people's lives [CA]
6. *Co-operatives in the UK* - Rebecca Napier-Moore: Using the forms and expressions of power to analyse how power plays during decision-making processes within co-operatives [CA]
7. *Power Analysis for Local Democratic Accountability in DRC-Congo* - Andrew Edwards: Describing a workshop with civil society representatives where the *Powercube* was used to move from an abstract accountability framework to specific strategies for accountability [SA + FL]
8. *The Case of Gram Vikas and Tamana in India* - Suvojit Chattopadhyay (2009): Analysing the forms and sources of power that shape the relationship between a local community and an NGO/external development agency in order to see who has what kind of power over development outcomes [CA]

9. *Study of Transition Initiative Shoreham-by-Sea* - Constantine, J., Day C., Salim F. and Homoud N. (2011): Using the *Powercube* as well as 'discourse' and 'actor and network' analysis to study the local implementation of a global environmental initiative, how it is shaped by all relevant stakeholders and what is its potential to benefit the community [CA + SA]
10. *Surgeries and Tenants and Residents Associations in Moulsecoomb and Bevendean* - Okeyo T., Mgala S., Kangalu B., Khattak, M. (2011): Assessing citizens' engagement in invited local authority spaces for participation with a focus to quality of participation and reasons for apathy [CA]

B) Academic Articles:

11. *Bringing Violence into the Powercube in Colombia* - Jenny Pearce (2005): Introduces the *Powercube* as an analytical tool for evaluating the participation of civil society organisations in public spaces and for understanding the effects of violence on participation [ME + CA]
12. *Jubilee Debt Campaign* - John Gaventa (2007): Analysing the factors of success of a global campaign through explaining how it addressed different levels, spaces and forms of power [CA]
13. *Fluid, Opaque and Amoebic Power in Egypt* - Mariz Tadros (2010): Describing the processes of introducing the *Powercube* to local NGOs and using its dimensions to analyse the power dynamics between them and the state apparatus and to assess different strategies for increasing influence and opening-up spaces in a repressive context [CA + SA + FL]
14. *Exploring Expressions and Forms of Power in Youth Governance Work* - Salim Mvurya and Cathy Shutt (2011): Using expressions of power as an analytical tool to review the theory of change of youth work in Sierra Leone. Also using forms of power as an analytical tool to support youth in Kenya to strategise and overcome barriers to participation [CA + SA + ME + FL]
15. *Scrutinising the Process of Reform in a Spanish University Degree* - Boni, A., Peris, J., Lopez, E. and Hueso, A. (2009): Using the *Powercube* as an analytical tool to formulate interview methodology and analyse findings in relation to decision-making processes in higher education [CA + ME]
16. *Politics of Disaster Risk* - Mascarenhas, A. and Wisner, B. (2011): Chapter from the Routledge Handbook of Hazards and Disaster Risk Reduction using the *Powercube* to analyse the spaces and levels across which citizens and institutions have mobilised to gain control over resources and defend themselves from disaster risks [CA]

B) Reports from agencies/trusts/institutions

17. *Power Analysis: A study of Participation at the Local Level in Tanzania* – Sida (2011): Analysing forms and spaces of power and levels of decision making across 15 local communities in Tanzania and making specific recommendations for increased accountability and citizen participation in local decision-making [CA + SA + ME]
18. *Power Moves: Exploring Power and Influence in the UK* - Carnegie UK Trust (2008): A cross-case study analysis of four policy decisions in the UK using the three dimensions of the *Powercube* to assess the capacity of civil society to exert influence [CA]

19. *Power and Making Change Happen* - Raji Hunjan and Soumountha Keophilavong, Carnegie UK Trust (2010): An account of an action-learning set introducing the power frameworks to grassroots UK NGOs and its potential for revising change strategies for empowerment and policy influence [CA + SA + FL]
20. *Operationalising Empowerment* - Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (2007): A short document explaining the power frameworks and analysing the implications of power analysis for planning empowerment strategies, balancing structure and agency approaches and working in partnerships [SA]
21. *Power Analysis: Experiences and Challenges* - Sida (2006): A concept note on the lessons learned by Sida while introducing power analysis to national and regional development programming. Addresses both the content and methodology of power analysis processes.
22. *Reflections on the Use of the Powercube - CPF evaluation series* - John Gaventa (2006): A description of how the *Powercube* was used as an analytical tool to evaluate the work of four international NGOs from the Netherlands in promoting civil society participation in 5 countries: provides a clear explanation of all dimensions of the *Powercube* and highlights key lessons about using the *Powercube* for context analysis, strategising and reflection [CA + SA + ME + FL]
23. *'Rights and Power' workshop report* - Alexandra Hughes and Joanna Wheeler, IDS/Citizenship DRC (2003): A summary of the workshop held with development agencies' and NGOs' representatives: introduces key steps for using an understanding of power to deepen the theory and practice of rights-based approaches [CA + SA + FL]

NGO/INGO documents

24. *Introducing Power Concepts to Programme Staff* - Jo Rowlands, Oxfam GB (2007): A short reflection on the learning process of introducing the power frameworks to Oxfam staff from country offices in Africa [FL]
25. *Learning Trajectory of Power* - Conny Hoitink, Oxfam Novib (2009): A short reflection on a learning trajectory on power concepts and tools facilitated by IDS and Learning by Design, focusing on the lessons drawn both from the learning process and from the application of the *Powercube* for context analysis, reflection and strategising [CA + SA + FL]
26. *Country Strategy Development document* - Oxfam Novib (2009): An internal document aimed to support the organisation's partners to develop their country strategies through incorporating power analysis into the process of defining and documenting their goals, strategies and success indicators [CA + SA + ME]
27. *Evaluation of the Oxfam-Novib Learning Trajectory on Power Analysis* (2009): An internal summary of the individual evaluations of the learning trajectory pointing out what works and what not when facilitating learning on power and when applying power analysis for programming [FL]
28. *Responsibility and Sustainability of the palm oil industry in Colombia* - Sandra Seebolt, Oxfam Novib (2010): Using the *Powercube* as an analytical tool to scrutinise the role and power of actors across local, regional and global levels and assess the scope of Oxfam's potential participation in an invited space [CA + SA]
29. *Power at the International HIV/AIDS conference (internal)* - Lincie Kusters, Oxfam Novib (2009): A internal case study on what happens inside invited spaces and on

the power dynamics enabling or blocking the participation of people affected by HIV/AIDS [CA]

30. *Power in African Civil Society: A case study of power analysis applied to the Publish What You Pay Campaign in Africa (internal)* - Sophie Melief, Oxfam Novib (2008): An internal case study using the *Powercube* to analyse the power dynamics within the Publish What You Pay campaign and assess the ownership of the campaign by African civil society organisation and the power of all actors including Oxfam Novib to strengthen civil society [CA + SA + ME]
31. *Climate Change Powercube, The Andes case study* - Gigi Manicad, Oxfam Novib (2009): An internal analysis, using the *Powercube* as an analytical tool to explore how and why some voices could have limited influence (both inside Oxfam and at the community level) in the design of Oxfam's climate change program and in the design of climate change policies more broadly [CA + ME]
32. *Exploring the Powercube as a Tool for Use in Evaluation: Identifying shifts in power with women's movements in Central America* - Morna Macleod, independent consultant (2011): A detailed reflection on the strengths and weaknesses of using the *Powercube* as an analytical tool for the qualitative evaluation of a women's rights programme together with representatives of local movements and organisations [CA + SA + ME]
33. *Improving Programme Design with Power Analysis Tools* – Alvarez, S., Rosales, M., Caceres, E., Rowlands, J. and Arita J.C., Oxfam GB (2011): A brief account of a participatory programming process with indigenous women in Guatemala linking the *Powercube* with theories of change and stakeholder analysis [CA + SA + FL]
34. *Power Resource (internal)* – Christian Aid (2010): An internal version of this resource introducing the power frameworks to Christian Aid staff and partners and drawing lessons from the use of power analysis for programming in five countries. Special attention is paid to the Sierra Leone case study [CA + SA + FL]
35. *'Power to the People' programme mid-term review* – Rosemary McGee and Patta Scott-Villiers (IDS) for Christian Aid (2011): Internal report using the *Powercube* as an analytical tool to shape an evaluation's methodology (including interview questions and analysis of findings); examining how a specific programme achieves greater accountability for marginalised groups through 'shifting the balance of power' [CA + SA + ME]
36. *'Working with Rights and Power' learning process* - Rosemary McGee and Jethro Pettit (IDS) and Christian Aid staff (2009): An internal series of review papers, exercises, reflection notes and hand-outs that were used for introducing the concepts of power into right-based programming in Brazil and East Africa [CA + SA + FL]
37. *Power Alliance in Uganda* - Arthur Larok, Uganda National NGO Forum: Analysing the forms of power exercised by the national elites and their sources of power and strategizing for change through a diagram of powerful/powerless and comfortable/uncomfortable with current status quo [CA + SA]
38. *Making Change Happen: Citizen Engagement and Global Economic Power* - Just Associates (2008): A resource for exploring better strategies for making global economic policies and processes more democratic. Using the dimensions of the *Powercube* for analysing global-local linkages and strategies for empowerment [CA + SA]

39. *Using Power Concepts for Empowering Women Headed Households* - Nani Zulminarni, Just Associates Indonesia: Case study discussing the learning processes used for empowering women heads of households and their outcomes [FL + CA + SA]
40. *Understanding Power and Creating Voices: Sex Workers' Voices in HIV Prevention* – Smarajit, J., Pankaj Vinayak, S., Vinita, S. and Amrender, S., Care India (2004): Using the *Powercube* and Freire's theory for emancipation to understand the journey from having knowledge to having the 'power to' use it. Closely adapting the *Powercube* to the environment of working with sex worker's for HIV prevention in order to devise effective strategies and suggesting the creation of spaces as a measure for successful empowerment [CA+ SA]
41. *Realise Democracy and Create Justice* - Forum Syd (2008): A resource on methods for advocacy and organising for democracy and social justice. Introduces the *Powercube* and suggests *Powercube* related exercises for analysing the power one works with and against when revising strategies and reallocating assignments within coalitions and when planning awareness-raising work [FL + CA + SA]
42. *Wheel of Power and Change* - Steadman Noble (2011): Visual diagrams and a workshop outline linking forms of power with levels of decision-making and theories of change in the context of international youth work [CA + SA +FL]

Annotated table of reviewed documents

All documents available on the www.powercube.net website unless described as 'internal'. Readers can search for documented experiences according to the country the power analysis is concerned with, the issue or theme the power analysis addresses and the type of work involved (action-research, workshop on power analysis etc.).

Title	Author/s	Short Description	Country Concerned	Type of Document	Issue/Theme	Type of work
<i>Councillors and Residents in Hove Park</i>	Suvojit Chattopadhyay, Noemi de la Fuente and Andrew John Edwards	Studying Residents' Associations in the UK as an example of 'claimed spaces' and analysing how the forms of power and the rules that govern these spaces shape participation, agenda-setting and decision making	United Kingdom	IDS postgraduate student paper/case study	Local Governance/Community Development	Action-research
<i>Power Analysis of the Experience of an Afghan refugee in Japan</i>	Anonymous	Using the forms and expressions of power to understand how the publication of one refugee's story mobilised local society and institutions	Japan	IDS postgraduate student paper/case study	Refugee rights/Migration	Analysis of a case of individual activism and public opinion mobilisation
<i>Zimbabwe's Power Sharing Deal</i>	Debra Dalton and Estela Vidal Malvar	Using all three dimensions of the <i>Powercube</i> to analyse the power play in decision making processes between political leaders	Zimbabwe	IDS postgraduate student paper/case study	National decision-making processes	Analysis of a case of change of political power at the national level
<i>Community Driven Development in Liberia</i>	Anonymous	Analysing community power relations through the <i>Powercube</i> in order to examine the effectiveness of the World Bank's Community Driven Development programmes	Liberia	Student paper/case study	Organisational practice/Local development project	Analysis of the methodology and practice of a development agency
<i>Kenya's Constitutional Reform</i>	Lucy Ben	Using the <i>Powercube</i> to assess whether a legal change - and the process through which it came to be - actually brought change in people's lives	Kenya	IDS postgraduate student paper/case study	National policy making	Analysis of the process of political/legislative change at the national level
<i>Co-operatives in the UK</i>	Rebecca Napier-Moore	Using the forms and expressions of power to analyse how power plays during decision-making processes within co-operatives	United Kingdom	IDS postgraduate student paper/case study	Organisational practices	Action-research
<i>Power Analysis for Local Democratic Accountability in DRC-Congo</i>	Andrew Edwards	Describing a workshop with civil society representatives where the <i>Powercube</i> was used to move from an abstract accountability framework to specific strategies for accountability	Democratic Republic of Congo	IDS postgraduate student paper/case study	Local governance/Accountability	Power analysis workshop with civil society representatives

Title	Author/s	Short Description	Country Concerned	Type of Document	Issue/Theme	Type of work
<i>The case of Gram Vikas and Tamana in India</i>	Suvojit Chattopadhyay	Analysing the forms and sources of power that shape the relationship between a local community and an NGO/external development agency with a view to see who has what kind of power over development outcomes	India	IDS postgraduate student paper/case study	Organisational practices/ Local development projects	Analysis of the nature of relationships between NGO and communities
<i>Study of Transition Initiative Shoreham-by-Sea</i>	Constantine, J., Day C., Salim F. and Homoud N.	Using the <i>Powercube</i> as well as 'discourse' and 'actor and network' analysis to study the local implementation of a global environmental initiative, how it is shaped by all relevant stakeholders and what is its potential to benefit the community	United Kingdom	IDS postgraduate student paper/case study	Community development/Local-global activism	Action-research
<i>Surgeries and Tenants and Residents Associations in Moulsecoomb and Bevendean</i>	Okeyo T., Mgala S., Kangalu B., Khattak, M.	Assessing citizens' engagement in invited local authority spaces for participation with a focus to quality of participation and reasons behind perceived apathy	United Kingdom	IDS postgraduate student paper/case study	Local governance/Decentralisation	Action-research
<i>Bringing Violence into the PowerCube in Colombia</i>	Jenny Pearce	The <i>Powercube</i> as an analytical tool for evaluating the participation of civil society organisations in public spaces within conflictual contexts	Colombia	Academic article (abstract)	Civil society participation/Violence	Learning and evaluation process with local CSO representatives
<i>Jubilee Bebt Campaign</i>	John Gaventa	Analysing the factors of success of a global campaign through examining the ways addressed different levels, spaces and forms of power	Global	Academic article (abstract)	Economic justice	Analysis of an international campaign
<i>Fluid, Opaque and Amoebic power in Egypt</i>	Mariz Tadros	Describing the processes of introducing the <i>Powercube</i> to local NGOs and using its dimensions to analyse the power dynamics between them and the state apparatus and to assess different strategies for increasing influence and opening-up spaces in a repressive context	Egypt	Academic article/case study	Civil society and state relations	Learning and analysis process with local civil society representatives
<i>Exploring Expressions and Forms of Power in Youth Governance Work</i>	Salim Mvurya and Cathy Shutt	Using expressions of power as an analytical tool to review the theory of change of youth work in Sierra Leone. Also using forms of power as an analytical tool to support youth in Kenya to strategise and overcome barriers to participation	Sierra Leone/Kenya	Academic article	Local youth governance	Learning process/research with local stakeholders of youth work

Title	Author/s	Short Description	Country Concerned	Type of Document	Issue/Theme	Type of work
<i>Scrutinising the Process of Reform in a Spanish University Degree</i>	Boni, A., Peris, J., Lopez, E. and Hueso, A.	Using the <i>Powercube</i> as an analytical tool to formulate interview methodology and analyse findings in relation to decision-making processes in higher education	Spain	Academic article	Decision-making processes in higher education	Research process with university stakeholders
<i>Politics: Power and Disasters</i>	Mascarenhas, A. and Wisner, B.	Chapter from the Routledge Handbook of Hazards and Disaster Risk Reduction using the <i>Powercube</i> to analyse the spaces and levels across which citizens and institutions have mobilised to gain control over resources and defend themselves from disaster risks	Global	Academic article (book chapter)	Disaster risk reduction	Learning Material
<i>Power Analysis: a Study of Participation at the Local Level in Tanzania</i>	Sida	Analysing forms and spaces of power and levels of decision making across 15 local communities and making specific recommendations for increased citizen participation in local decision-making and increased accountability	Tanzania	Public report	Local governance/Decentralisation	Research process with local community stakeholders
<i>Power Analysis: Experiences and Challenges</i>	Sida	A concept note on the lessons learned by SIDA while introducing power analysis to national and regional development programming. Addresses both the content and methodology of power analysis processes.	Global	Public report	Development programming/Donor harmonisation	Concept note from development agency
<i>Power Moves: Exploring Power and Influence in the UK</i>	Carnegie UK Trust	A cross case study analysis of four policy decisions in the UK using the three dimensions of the <i>Powercube</i> to assess the capacity of civil society to exert influence	United Kingdom	Public report	Civil society participation/National campaigns	Analysis of cases of national mobilisations
<i>Power and Making Change Happen</i>	Raji Hunjan and Soumountha Keophilavong, Carnegie UK Trust/Joseph Rowntree Foundation	An account of an action-learning set introducing the power frameworks to grassroots UK NGOs: an analysis of the action-learning set's potential for revising change strategies for empowerment and policy influence	United Kingdom	Public report	Action-learning set/organisational practices	Learning process with local social justice NGOs

Title	Author/s	Short Description	Country Concerned	Type of Document	Issue/Theme	Type of work
<i>Reflections on the Use of the Powercube - CPF evaluation series</i>	John Gaventa, IDS	A description of how the <i>Powercube</i> was used as an analytical tool to evaluate the work of four international NGOs from the Netherlands in promoting civil society participation in 5 countries: provides a clear explanation of all dimensions of the <i>Powercube</i> and highlights key lessons about using the powercube for context analysis, strategising and reflection	Netherlands, Colombia, Guinea, Guatemala, Sri Lanka, Uganda	Public report	Civil society strengthening and participation	Learning process with international NGOs and local partners
<i>'Rights and Power' workshop report</i>	Alexandra Hughes and Joanna Wheeler, IDS/Citizenship - DRC	A summary of the workshop held with development agencies' and NGOs' representatives: introduces key steps for using an understanding of power to deepen the theory and practice of rights-based approaches	Global	Public report	Rights - based approaches	Learning process with donors and international NGOs
<i>Improving Programme Design with Power Analysis Tools</i>	Sara Alvarez, Martha Rosales, Eduardo Caceres, Jo Rowlands and Juan Carlos Arita, Oxfam GB	A brief account of a participatory programming process with indigenous women in Guatemala linking the <i>Powercube</i> with theories of change and stakeholder analysis	Guatemala	NGO Document	Women's empowerment	Participatory programming process with indigenous women
<i>A Learning Trajectory on Power</i>	Conny Hoytink, Oxfam Novib	A short reflection on a learning trajectory on power concepts and tools facilitated by IDS and Learning by Design, focusing on the lessons drawn both from the learning process and from the application of the Powercube for context analysis, reflection and strategising	Netherlands	Internal NGO Document	Learning trajectory/NGO programming	Learning process with campaign and programme staff within international NGO
<i>Country Strategy Development document</i>	Oxfam Novib (internal)	Internal document aimed to support the organisation's staff to develop their country strategies through incorporating power analysis into the process of defining and documenting their goals, strategies and success indicator	Netherlands	NGO Document	NGO programming	Programming guidelines for partners of international NGO

Title	Author/s	Short Description	Country Concerned	Type of Document	Issue/Theme	Type of work
<i>Responsibility and Sustainability of the palm oil industry in Colombia</i>	Sandra Seebolt, Oxfam Novib	Using the <i>Powercube</i> as an analytical tool to scrutinise the role and power of actors across local, regional and global levels and assess the scope of Oxfam's potential participation in an invited space	Colombia	NGO Document	Sustainable development/Business in development	Research and analysis from international NGO staff
<i>Power at the International HIV/AIDS conference</i>	Lincie Kusters, Oxfam Novib (internal)	A case study on what happens inside invited spaces and on the power dynamics enabling or blocking the participation of people affected by HIV/AIDS	Global	Internal NGO Document	HIV/AIDS	Analysis of the processes within an international conference
<i>Power in African Civil Society: A case study of power analysis applied to the Publish What You Pay Campaign in Africa</i>	Sophie Melief, Oxfam Novib (internal)	Using the <i>Powercube</i> to analyse the power dynamics within the Publish What You Pay campaign and assess the ownership of the campaign by African civil society organisation and the power of all actors including Oxfam Novib to strengthen civil society	Africa-wide	Internal NGO Document	Extractive industry transparency/Civil society participation	Researching dynamics of international coalition
<i>Climate Change Power Cube – The Andes case study</i>	Gigi Manicad, Oxfam Novib (internal)	Using the <i>Powercube</i> as an analytical tool to explore how and why some voices could have limited influence (both inside Oxfam and at the community level) in the design of Oxfam's climate change program and in the design of climate change policies more broadly	Global/South America	Internal NGO Document	Climate Change	Looking at how an international campaign/programme is shaped
<i>Exploring the Power Cube as a Tool for Use in Evaluation: Identifying shifts in power with women's movements in Central America</i>	Morna Macleod	A detailed reflection on the strengths and weaknesses of using the <i>Powercube</i> as an analytical tool for the qualitative evaluation of a women's rights programme together with representatives of local movements and organisations	Guatemala	Independent Consultant's paper	Women rights movements	Analysis of an evaluation process
<i>Power Resource</i>	Christian Aid (internal)	A draft version of this resource introducing the power frameworks to Christian Aid staff and partners and drawing lessons from the use of power analysis for programming in five countries.	Sierra Leone/Colombia/Haiti	Internal NGO Document		Learning material on programming in partner countries of international NGO

Title	Author/s	Short Description	Country Concerned	Type of Document	Issue/Theme	Type of work
<i>Power to the People' programme mid-term review</i>	Rosemary McGee and Patta Scott-Villiers (IDS) for Christian Aid (internal)	Using the <i>Powercube</i> as an analytical tool to shape an evaluation's methodology (including interview questions and analysis of findings): examining how a specific programme achieves greater accountability for marginalised groups through 'changing the balance of power'	Global	Internal NGO Document	Governance and accountability	Evaluation of country programmes of international NGO
<i>'Working with Rights and Power' learning process</i>	Rosemary McGee and Jethro Pettit (IDS) and Christian Aid staff(internal)	A series of review papers, exercises, reflection notes and handouts that were used for introducing the concepts of power into right-based programming in Brazil and East Africa	Brazil and Kenya	Internal NGO Document	Organisational practices/NGO programming	Learning process with programme staff in country offices of international NGO
<i>Power Alliance in Uganda</i>	Arthur Larok, Uganda National NGO Forum	Analysing the forms of power exercised by the national elites and their sources of power and strategizing for change through a diagram of powerful/powerless and comfortable/uncomfortable with current status quo	Uganda	NGO Document	Governance and accountability	Analysis of power dynamics in country
<i>Making change happen: citizen engagement and global economic power</i>	Just Associates	A resource for exploring better strategies for making global economic policies and processes more democratic. Using the dimensions of the <i>powercube</i> for analysing global-local linkages and strategies for empowerment	Global	NGO Document	Economic justice	Learning material from international workshop
<i>Using Power Concepts for Empowering Women-headed Households</i>	Nani Zulminarni, Just Associates Indonesia	Case study discussing the learning processes used for empowering women heads of households and their outcomes	Indonesia	NGO Document	Women's empowerment	Learning process with women
<i>Understanding Power and Creating Voices: Sex Workers' Voices in HIV Prevention</i>	Smarajit Jana, Pankaj Vinayak Sharma, S Vinita and Amrender Singh, SHAKSAM programme, Care India	Using the <i>Powercube</i> and Freire emancipation ideas to understand the journey from having knowledge to having the 'power to' use it. Closely adapting the <i>Powercube</i> to the environment of working with sex workers for HIV prevention in order to devise effective strategies and suggesting the creation of spaces as a measure for successful empowerment	India	NGO Document	HIV/AIDS	Analysis of programme dynamics by NGO

Annex 1: A summary of the power frameworks and concepts⁴⁷

1. Sources of power

The two frameworks below have been used by organisations and coalitions – mainly outside of the UK - for different objectives: strategy development, campaign planning, improving internal communications, context analysis, research prior to programme development, community development, partnership building, academic research, reflective learning training, gender training etc.

A. Sources of power⁴⁸

Power is gained by drawing on various sources which include capital (financial, natural, physical, social, human), means of production (labour power), consumption, culture, location and geography, information, knowledge, networks, technology, physicality (e.g. age, sex, health or physicality ability) and personality (e.g. charisma and skill). This challenges the understanding that power is a finite resource that needs to be taken away from others.

B. Positions of Power⁴⁹

Thinking about positions of power – and ‘who has’ power – becomes most helpful when it shifts away from a ‘zero-sum logic’ (winners and losers, e.g. there will always be some people who have power and some who don’t). It is more productive to think about where power lies in different contexts and settings. Someone can be in a dominating position in one context and a relatively quiet in another. Similarly, someone who appears marginalised from national decision-making can be the most influential person in his/her local area.

2. Forms of power

There are many ways of understanding power in processes of social change. These frameworks have been developed to help activists and professionals working for social change to develop a more detailed language and analysis of the different ‘forms’ of power they may encounter or be trying to shift, or to mobilise with the people they work with. They can be used together or separately depending on the context and actors involved.

⁴⁷ This handout was developed by Jethro Pettit and draws from work of the Institute of Development Studies (UK), Just Associates (USA) and the Carnegie Trust UK (with special thanks to Raji Hunjan and Soumountha Keophilavong)

⁴⁸ This draws from VeneKlasen, L. and Miller, V. (eds) (2002) *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*, Practical Action Publishing; and Vermeulen, S. (2005) *Power tools: Handbook to tools and resources for policy influence in natural resource management*, London: IIED

⁴⁹ This draws from: Chambers, R. (2006) *Transforming Power: From Zero-Sum to Win-Win?* in Eyben, R.; Harris, C. and Pettit, J. (eds) *Exploring Power for Change*, IDS Bulletin, 37.6 and Vermeulen, S. (2005) *Power tools: Handbook to tools and resources for policy influence in natural resource management*, London: IIED publication

A. Expressions of power: Power over - Power to, with, within⁵⁰

Power is often thought to be exercised in a negative and coercive manner ('Power over' being seen as domination or control of one over another). However, there are alternative expressions of power that pave the way for more positive thinking and action.

Expression	What does it mean in practice?
'power to': individual ability to act	Citizen education and leadership development is rooted in the belief that every individual has the power to make a difference.
'power with': collective action, the ability to act together	Power with helps build bridges across different interests, multiplies talents and knowledge.
'power within': individual or collective sense of self-worth, value, dignity	Enhancing the power within individuals builds their capacities to imagine, raise aspirations about change.

This way of analysing power encourages thinking counter-intuitively about power, not as a dirty and threatening notion but as something that can be galvanized to create positive strategies and carve out multiple opportunities for change.

A. Three faces of power: Visible, Hidden and Invisible⁵¹

Most of the time power does not operate in visible and tangible ways:

Visible power includes the aspects of political power that we 'see'- formal rules, structures, institutions and procedures informing decision making. In other words, it is about how those people with power use existing procedures and structures to control the actions of others. <i>Example: Elections, political parties, budget, laws etc.</i>	Hidden power is exercised when powerful people and institutions maintain their influence by setting and manipulating agendas and marginalising the concerns and voices of less powerful groups. Those with power see and understand these rules of the game; others don't. <i>Example: Quality of consultations processes that excludes some voices, setting the agenda behind the scene</i>	Invisible power operates in ways that is buying into the existing status quo. Problems and issues are kept away not only from the decision-making table but also from the minds and hearts of different actors including those affected by these decisions. It is when powerlessness is internalised. <i>Example: negative stereotypes that limit the roles and inspirations of certain groups</i>
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It is often easier to engage with visible power holders such as policy makers than engage with power that is embedded in cultural and social norms and practices. However, ignoring the latter is likely to lead to misread the complex ways in which change could happen and which change strategies should be developed.

3. Spaces of power

The following three frameworks look at *where* power is exercised. Power is exercised by various actors in different ways in any given context. Understanding the characteristics of

⁵⁰ This framework was developed through the work of Just Associates - see VeneKlasen, L. and Miller, V. (eds) (2002) *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*, Practical Action Publishing – and the work of Jo Rowlands(1997) 'Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras'. The expressions of 'power to, with and within' are also referred to by VeneKlasen, L. and Miller, V. as 'vital powers' in the Just Associates publication 'Power and Making Change Happen 3' (http://www.justassociates.org/publications_files/MCH3.pdf).

⁵¹ This framework can be found in the following works: VeneKlasen, L. and Miller, V. (eds) (2002) *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*, Practical Action Publishing and Lukes, S. (1974, reprinted 2005) *Power a Radical view*, second edition, New-York: Palgrave Macmillan.

arenas or spaces where different actors exercise their power is therefore key to identifying the different entry points for change.

A. Closed, invited, created/claimed spaces⁵²

Closed	Invited	Created/claimed
Spaces are closed when decisions are made behind closed doors – often without even the pretence of extending the opportunities for inclusion. <i>Examples: council meetings, parliament, board meetings</i>	Spaces are invited when various kinds of authorities invite people to participate in decision-making processes as citizens, beneficiaries or users. Although these spaces could become opportunities for genuine collaboration, agendas are often pre-determined. <i>Examples: public consultations</i>	Spaces are created/claimed when less powerful actors go against or emancipate themselves from the most powerful and create autonomous spaces for engagement and action. <i>Examples: street protests, neighbourhood meetings, alliances and networks</i>

B. Public, private and intimate realms of power⁵³

The public realm of power concerns aspects of one's public life; what is visible such as employment or role in the community etc.

The private realm of power includes family, relationships, friends, marriage.

The intimate realm of power looks at self-esteem, confidence, relationship to your own body etc.

This framework builds upon the work of gender activists, who argue that power takes shape in three interacting levels of a woman's life with women often experiencing contradictory experiences of power in these three realms.

4. Levels of Power⁵⁴

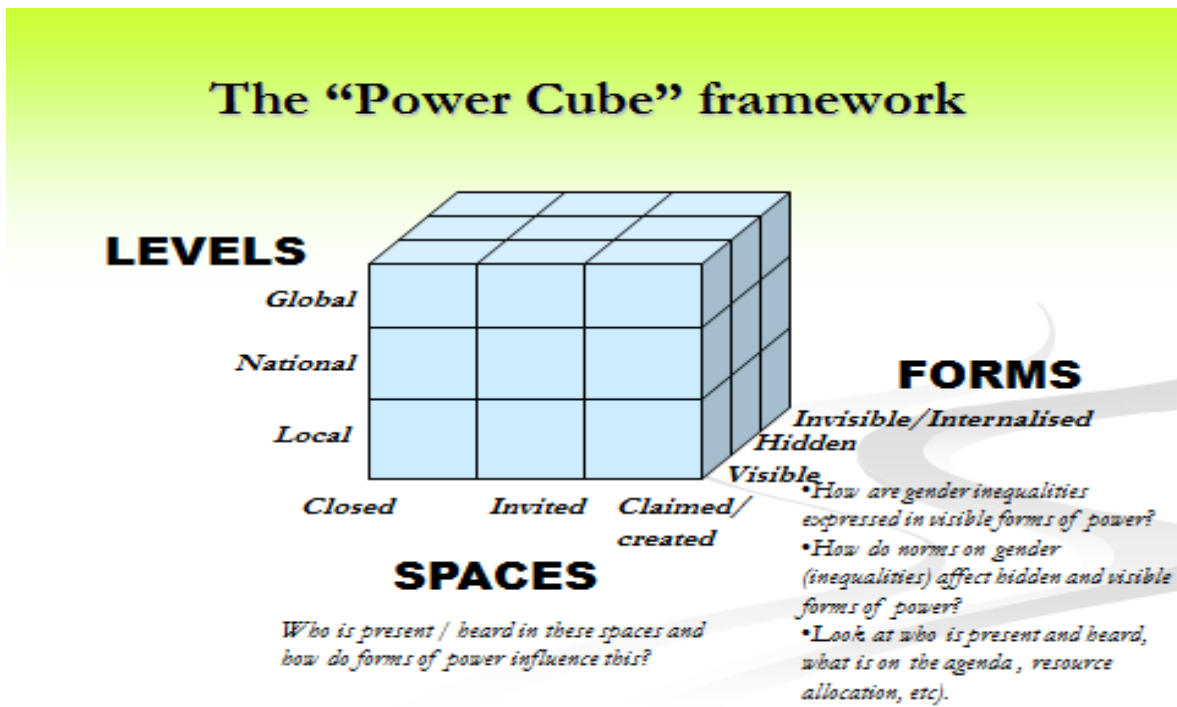
In today's world, power is increasingly seen as multi-layered and multi-polar; it is found across various levels among state and non-state actors and there are long standing debates among activists and academics alike on which levels of power are the most important to address. Indeed as suggested by Gaventa, 'some argue that participatory practice must begin locally, as it is in the arenas of everyday life in which people are able to resist power and construct their own voice. There are others who argue that power is shifting to more globalised actors, and struggles for participation must engage at that level. In between there are debates on the role of the nation state, and how it mediates power...' Power works at all these levels (global, regional, national, local, community, household etc.) and therefore it is a challenge for civil society groups and ordinary people to assess which levels and entry points they want to act upon.

⁵² This framework was developed by John Gaventa and the Participation, Power and Social Change team at IDS Gaventa, J. (2006) Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis in Eyben, R.; Harris, C. and Pettit, J. (eds) Exploring Power for Change, IDS Bulletin, Vol 37.6

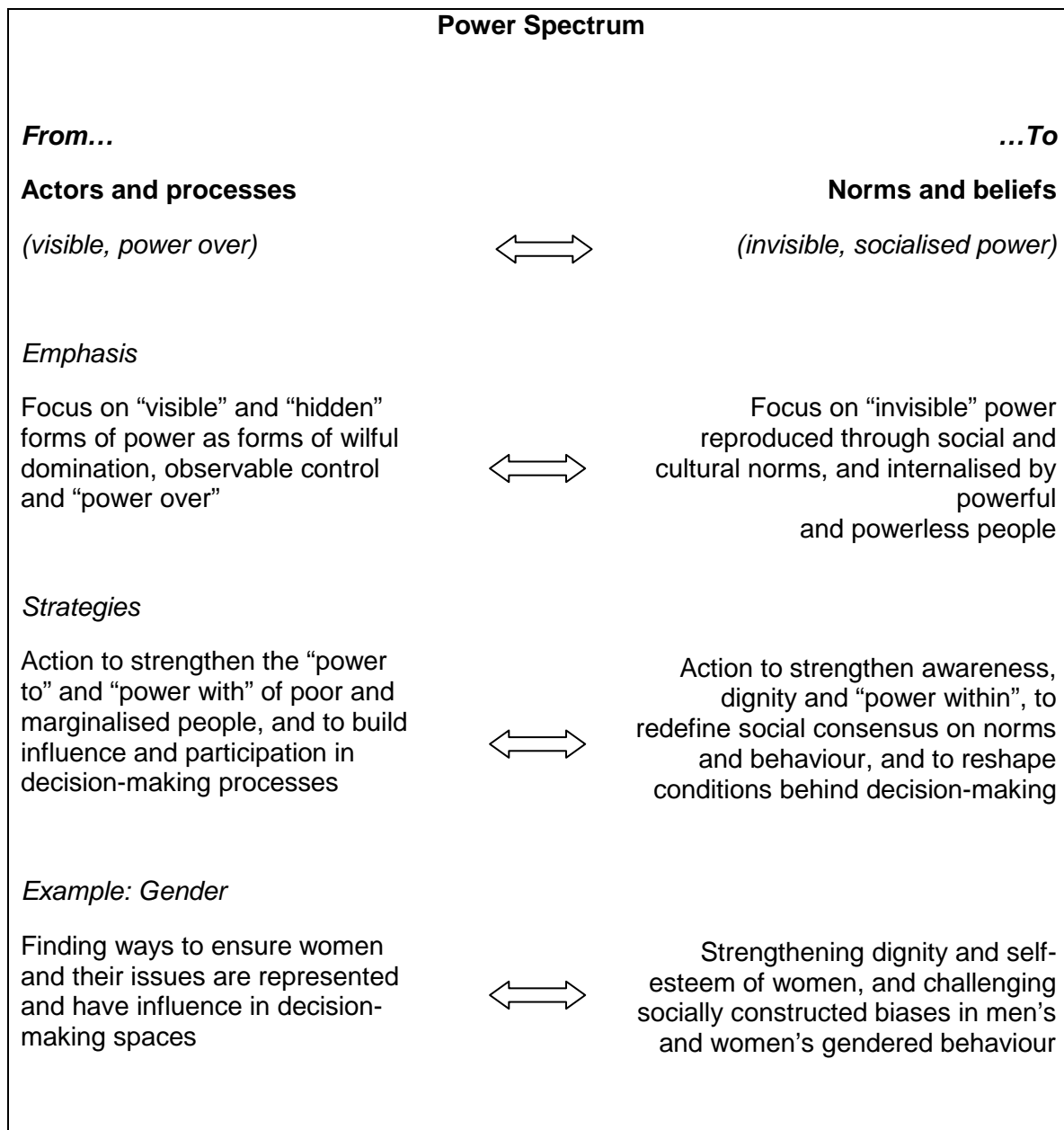
⁵³ This framework is based on the work of gender scholars, practitioners and activists and can be found in VeneKlasen, L. and Miller, V. (eds) (2002) *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*, Practical Action Publishing

⁵⁴ Gaventa, J. (2006) Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis in Eyben, R.; Harris, C. and Pettit, J. (eds) Exploring Power for Change, IDS Bulletin, Vol 37.6

5. 'Gendering' the Powercube (adapted by Irene Guijt, Learning by Design)



6. The Power Spectrum (developed for Oxfam GB by Jethro Pettit and Jo Rowlands, 2007, based on John Gaventa's *Powercube* and VeneKlassen and Miller's 'expressions of power')



Annex 2: Tools and methods for analysing actors, networks and stakeholders

The methods included here are those commonly used for understanding the relative power of actors and institutions and their networks and relationships (e.g. in political economy analysis). With some of these tools, to avoid a static analysis, it is helpful to adapt them by asking about the sources and positions behind the actors' assumed power, and how this may change in relation to context and spaces, including the dimensions of levels and spaces in the Powercube.

A New Weave of Power, People and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation

<http://www.justassociates.org/ActionGuide.htm>

Provides a well-tested approach for building people's participation and collective power that goes beyond influencing policy and politics to transforming public decision-making altogether. Based on 25 years of participatory research, community development, neighbourhood organizing, legal rights education, and large-scale campaign advocacy experiences worldwide, *A New Weave* combines concrete and practical action "steps" with a sound theoretical foundation to help users understand the process of people-centred politics from planning to action. Published in 2002 and reprinted in 2007, the guide is unique in its emphasis on power and constituency-building discussed through the lens of gender/race/class and based on the concrete experiences of social change in dozens of countries worldwide.

Power: A Practical Guide for Facilitating for Social Change

<http://www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/getattachment/f4cd28e9-8518-4d7b-9c9b-119e555d79df/Power---A-Practical-Guide-for-Facilitating-Social-.aspx>

A handbook developed from action learning processes with community and voluntary sector workers in the UK in 2010, exploring the links between understanding power and achieving social change. The methods centre on developing a practical understanding of how those regarded as having the least power in society can make things happen for themselves through understanding the power they do have, and using it to influence change. Designed primarily for those who want to explore issues of power over a sustained period of time through workshops, one to one mentoring, and self-reflection, it may also be used by those who wish to start with an introduction to power analysis through stand-alone workshops.

Stakeholder power analysis (IIED)

<http://www.policy-powertools.org/Tools/Understanding/SPA.html>

This tool helps understanding of how people affect policies and institutions, and how policies and institutions affect people. It is particularly useful in identifying the winners and losers and in highlighting the challenges that need to be faced to change behaviour, develop capabilities and tackle inequalities. In using this tool, ask about the sources and positions of power, and the effect of context and spaces.

Stakeholder influence mapping (IIED)

<http://www.policy-powertools.org/Tools/Understanding/SIM.html>

This is a simple visual tool to examine and display the relative influence that different individuals and groups have over decision-making, and how influence and cooperation change over time. It can be used as part of discussion or negotiation among stakeholders, or used with various key informants to produce different pictures of power relations. Again, it is useful to ask questions about sources and positions of power, and the effects of context and spaces.

Net-Map (IFPRI)

<http://www.ifpri.org/publication/tracing-power-and-influence-networks>

Net-Map is an interview-based visual mapping tool that helps people understand, visualize, discuss, and improve situations in which many different actors influence outcomes. By creating Influence Network Maps, individuals and groups can clarify their own view of a situation, foster discussion, and develop a strategic approach to their networking activities. More specifically, Net-Map helps players to determine what actors are involved in a given network, how they are linked, how influential they are, and what their goals are. Again, it is useful to ask questions about sources and positions of power, and the effects of context and spaces.

There is also a blog on Net-Map news and applications including a video-explanation of the tool <http://netmap.wordpress.com/about/>

Drivers of change (DFID)

<http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/DOC59.pdf>

Drivers of change is a power analysis process involving a series of tools and methods that focus on identifying key actors and the main social, economic and political forces that enable these actors to support or obstruct pro-poor reforms. The main actors are identified according to their levels of legitimacy, resources and networks, and are analysed according to the strength of five 'sources': Position Power, Financial Power, Expert Power, Negotiation Power and Networking Power.

See also <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/topic-guides/political-economy-analysis/tools-for-political-economy-analysis#country> – the Governance and Social Development Resource Centre's web page on political economy analysis tools where you can find further papers on the Drivers of Change framework and its applications.

Other tools and framework for political economy analysis

Politics of Development Framework (DFID)

An overview of the politics of development framework and of DFID's approaches on sector stakeholder mapping and problem-driven analysis on <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/PO58.pdf>

Analytical Framework for Understanding the Political Economy of Sectors (DFID-ODI)

<http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/2989.pdf>

Strategic Governance and Corruption Assessment – SGACA (Dutch Foreign Ministry)

http://www.clingendael.nl/publications/2007/20071000_cru_occ_unsworth.pdf

Stakeholder analysis matrices and political mapping (World Bank)

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTTOPPSISOU/Resources/Volume201Tools-Sourcebook.pdf>

Institutional Perception Mapping (World Bank)

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTTOPPSISOU/Resources/1424002-1185304794278/4026035-1185375653056/4028835-1185375938992/2_Insti_perception_mapping.pdf

Institutional Mapping/Venn Diagramming (World Bank)

http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTTOPPSISOU/Resources/1424002-1185304794278/4026035-1185375653056/4028835-1185375938992/1_Insti_mapping_Venn_diagramming.pdf

A review of five approaches to political economy analysis (Sida's power analysis, DFID's drivers of change, Dutch strategic governance and corruption assessment, World Bank problem-driven governance and political economy analysis, World Bank poverty and social impact analysis)

<http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/EIRS10.pdf>

Other tools that have been used with power analysis

Theories of Change

<http://www.theoryofchange.org/about/how-does-theory-of-change-work/toc-process/example/>

Force-Field Analysis

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTTOPPSISOU/Resources/Volume201Tools-Sourcebook.pdf>

Problem Tree Analysis

<http://www.toolkitsportdevelopment.org/html/resources/91/910EE48E-350A-47FB-953B-374221B375CE/03%20Problem%20tree%20analysis.pdf>

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