

Applying Power Analysis: Using the ‘Powercube’ to explore forms, levels and spaces

John Gaventa¹

**Paper for The Changing Faces of Power 1979-2019:
The 40th Anniversary of the Power Group, International Political Science Association
Moscow, May 22-23, 2019**

**(Also forthcoming chapter in Routledge volume on Power Analysis,
edited by Rosemary McGee and Jethro Pettit)**

Introduction

In a complex, globalised and rapidly changing world, power dynamics are multidimensional, constantly evolving, and full of complexity. The ‘powercube’ (Gaventa, 2006) is an approach to power analysis which can be used to examine the multiple forms, levels and spaces of power, and their interactions. Building on earlier work on power, and elaborated and popularised in collaboration with other colleagues through the web site powercube.net and numerous other resources, the powercube has been widely used around the world for analysis of power, education and awareness building, context analysis, programme and strategy development, and monitoring and evaluation. This article briefly outlines the evolution of the powercube, and provides examples of the issue areas in which it has been used, and for what purposes. Drawing on these, we then offer eight lessons of how to apply the powercube framework for analysing and transforming power relations.

Background

Many years ago, as a fledging researcher and volunteer fresh out of university, I was working in a mining valley, deep the heart of the Appalachian Mountain chain in rural America. While the people were poor, the land was rich – full of coal, timber, water and natural beauty. Yet the vast majority of this was absentee owned by a secretive corporate empire based in London, and in the valley the social and economic effects of this unequal, extractive economy were seen everywhere – land and water destroyed through unsustainable mining practices, dilapidated housing, poor schools and local services due to a low tax base, a deep sense of disempowerment, yet also a strong and resilient local community, bound together by culture and history. The situation here was but a microcosm of the profound inequalities and its effects that we now see globally. And yet, at least as an outsider, I saw little visible protest. Why, I asked, in a situation of glaring inequality, did we not see more open resistance, and challenge to the status quo? (Gaventa, 1980).

To answer this question, I turned to the work of my then professor in Oxford University, Steven Lukes, who was about to publish his classic book, *Power: A radical view* (1974/2005). In this book, Lukes argues that power can be seen in three dimensions, from the more visible to its hidden and invisible *forms*.² Over the years, as I continued to work in this field, I began to realise that these

1 This paper is a version of a paper submitted for the forthcoming Routledge Volume on Power Analysis, edited by Rosemary McGee and Jethro Pettit. I am very grateful for the research assistance from Fiammetta Wegner in preparing this article, which included helping to locate and summarise various uses of the powercube, conducting an online survey and interviews with users, managing the bibliography and offering input and review of this article.

2 To my knowledge, the terms visible, hidden and invisible to refer to Lukes’ three dimensions of power were first developed by Lisa VeneKlasen and Valerie Miller (2002) of Just Associates.

forms of power are a continuum but reflect only one dimension of power (Gaventa, 2006) and that a more complex approach was needed.

Influenced by the work of other colleagues in the Participation Team at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) (e.g. Brock, et al 2004; Cornwall 2002), we began to realise that power manifests itself differently in different *spaces*, which ranged from the *closed*, to *invited* to *claimed*, and that power was relative – those who were perceived by themselves or others as powerless in one space might be seen as more powerful in other spaces. Increasingly concerned also about how in a globalised world power becomes disconnected from territory, we were clear that it was also critical to move beyond the realm of ‘community power’ to examine the dynamics of power and citizen action across levels, from the *local*, to the *national* to the more *global* (Gaventa, 2007).

In a short paper for a workshop at IDS in 2002, and later in for the *IDS Bulletin* (Gaventa 2006), I brought these ideas together in what I called the ‘powercube’. Building on the dynamic metaphor of the Rubik’s cube, the powercube approach suggests that we must examine these three aspects of power (forms, spaces, levels) not only separately, but in their interactions. Moreover, each dimension of the cube also reflects a spectrum of possibilities which also interact with one another, opening and closing the entry points for influence and change. Power strategies which only focus on one element, or one dimension, often simply reproduce or strengthen power in another. Really transformative change happens when social actors (movements, civil society organisations, donors) work across all aspects of the cube, necessitating the emergence of coalitions and networks of actors, which themselves are affected by power dynamics.

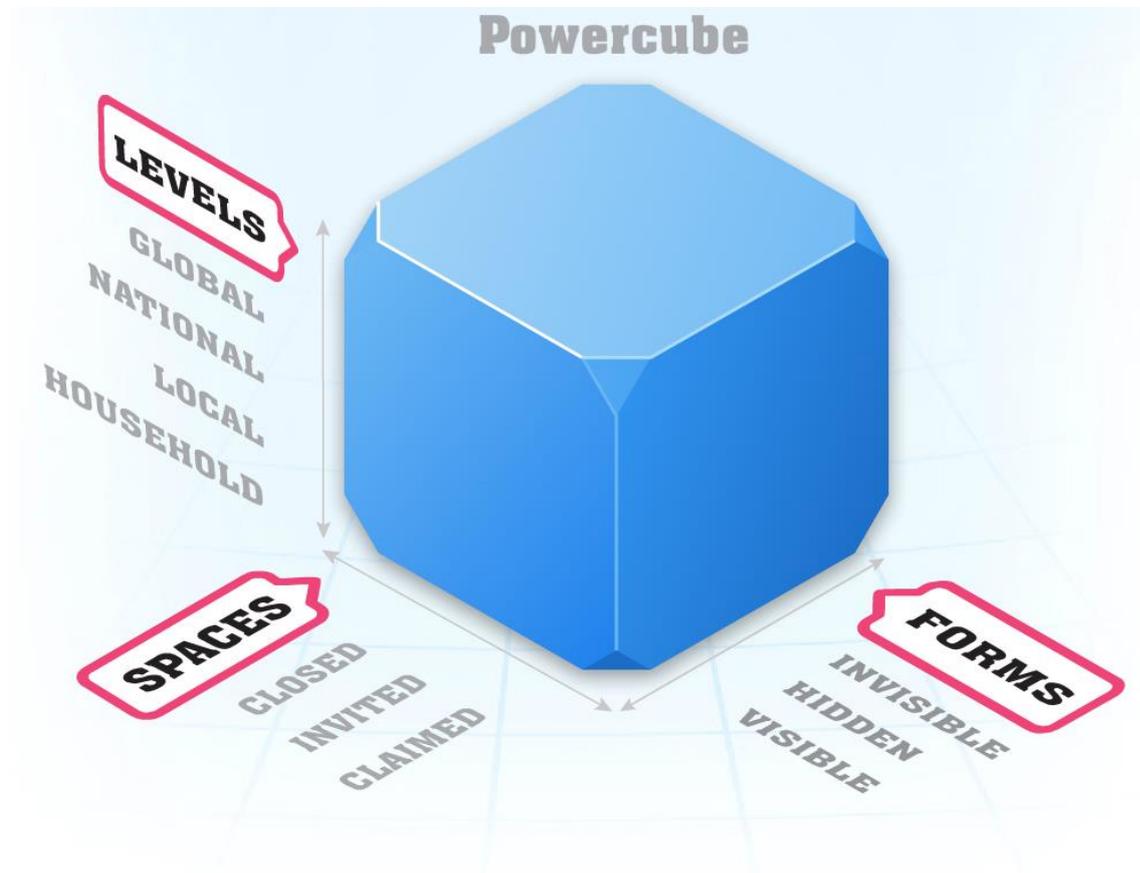
[Insert Box 1 here]

While it was never our intent to turn the powercube into a widespread tool for analysis and action, it was quickly picked up by others. In one of the first substantial applications, Irene Guijt led a group of colleagues to use it to evaluate strategies of civil society participation as supported by four Dutch Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in five countries around the world (Guijt, 2005; 2008). Oxfam and other NGOs, community based organisations, IDS students and alumni from around the world, and government aid agencies began to apply it internally in their work, often supported through action learning journeys, trainings or accompaniment by Jethro Pettit from IDS and colleagues (Pettit, 2013).³ With growing take up and refinement of the approach, in 2008 we brought together a number of users of the powercube for a workshop to share lessons and experiences. On the basis of this collective experience, in 2009 the web resource *powercube.net* was launched. Since that time, the approach has continued to spread, with hundreds of thousands of visits to the website, and hundreds of articles, manuals, background briefs drawing upon and developing the approach further.

This article briefly shares some of these applications and uses, and concludes with some lessons drawn from this experience. Given space considerations, this is necessarily an overview, and readers are encouraged to go to the references cited to understand further both how the powercube was applied as well as the insights that were developed as a result.

3 International NGOs who hosted action learning, workshops and trainings in power analysis and the powercube during this period include Swedish Cooperative Centre (Sweden, Latin America), Christian Aid (UK, Kenya, Colombia), PSO (Netherlands), Trócaire (Ireland, Cambodia), Oxfam GB (UK, Latin America), Oxfam International, Oxfam Novib (Netherlands) and Hivos (Netherlands, Latin America). Government aid agencies who have hosted workshops and trainings include Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation (SDC) and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). Training and accompaniment was provided by the author, the editors of this volume, Irene Guijt, Jo Rowlands and others including staff of these organisations.

Box 1: Spaces, forms and levels of power, drawn from Powercube.net



Adapted from www.powercube.net.

The forms, spaces and levels of power interact.

Forms relate to how power manifests itself:

- *Visible*: focuses on who participates and predominates in observable decision-making
- *Hidden*: keeps certain issues, interests and voices out of the decision making process or off the public agenda
- *Invisible*: internalised beliefs and norms, or lack of awareness which means that certain voices do not speak and certain issues and inequities go unquestioned

Spaces of power refer to potential arenas for participation and action:

- *Closed*: decisions are made behind closed doors without broad consultation or participation
- *Invited*: people are invited to participate in public arenas but within set boundaries
- *Claimed*: less powerful people or groups create their own spaces where they can shape their own agenda

Levels refer to the multiple layers or levels of power in a global world:

- *Global*: formal and informal sites of decision-making beyond the nation state
- *National*: governments, parliaments, political parties, coalitions or other forms of authority, usually linked to nation-states

- *Local*: sub-national governments, councils and associations at the local level
- *Household*: the micro-level, which may be outside of the public sphere, but which helps to shape what occurs within it.

Using the cube for power analysis in multiple fields and domains

One of the most important uses of the powercube is for the analysis of power dynamics across a range of fields and domains by a broad array of development actors, including international NGOs, local NGOs, social movements, think tanks, universities and donors.⁴ These include analysing power in relationship to participation, policy and governance issues (the areas from which the first applications emerged). But the powercube has proven itself to be highly versatile and relevant to other fields and issues as well, including digital inclusion, economic justice, environmental issues, trade (including fair trade), health, housing, humanitarian relief, human rights, hunger and nutrition, legal empowerment, mental health, peacebuilding, water and other natural resources. Some selected examples of these, drawn from an extensive search of many more examples, may be found in Table 1.

Table 1: Analytical applications of the power cube in various fields (selected)⁵

Field/issue	Selected References	Summary of approach
Digital inclusion	Roberts and Hernandez (2017)	Employ the powercube to examine which forms, spaces and levels of power affect the use of citizen participation technologies in the Philippines.
Economic inequality	Gaventa and Martorano (2016)	Drawing on evidence from the World Social Science Report on Inequality and Social Justice (ISSC, 2016), the authors use the powercube to analyse how inequality shapes forms, spaces and levels of participation, and to suggest strategies for change.
Environment	Rodríguez de Francisco and Boelens (2014)	Analyses the dynamics and entwining of visible hidden and invisible power mechanisms in shaping payment for environmental services in the Chamacah Watershed in Ecuador. The study argues that disregarding the political dimensions of these services management is likely to end up favouring the interests of the most powerful.
Fair trade	Brugger (2017)	Uses the powercube to analyse decision-making arenas and power relationships between producers (i.e. plantation workers or small farmers), traders (i.e. plantation owners), retailers and consumers in Fairtrade tea production from East Nepal and Darjeeling. Looking across local and global levels and across spaces in the bargaining process, the analysis shows how power relations limit both the power of workers and consumers in the chain.
Health	Kaim (2013)	Looking at participation, knowledge and power in health systems, the author suggests that in people centred health systems, visible,

4 Google scholar shows over 500 citations of the powercube and we have found over 60 publicly available documents where the framework is used in a substantive way.

5 The earlier work by Pantazidou (2012) is also a helpful review. This list focuses on substantive examples of the application of the powercube since that review, and is chosen to illustrate the breadth and diversity across fields.

		hidden or invisible power do not always limit citizen engagement, but may be mobilised as strategies to challenge or transform existing power relations.
Housing	Muir and McMahon (2015)	Focusing on Northern Ireland, the authors use the powercube to assess who is excluded in housing policy, the barriers to improvement, and how improvements might be made.
Humanitarian	Larkin and Clark (2017)	Work on how refugees in Kenya 'assert their agency' points to the importance of power analysis in situations of conflict or emergencies to illuminate threads of power that are not otherwise obvious.
Human Rights	Andreassen and Crawford (2015)	Focuses on how local and national struggles for rights have been constrained by power relations, and how civic action has been able to challenge and change power structures, drawing on case studies in six countries, and using the lens' of the forms and spaces of power.
Hunger and Nutrition	Blay-Palmer (2016)	Draws on the powercube to analyse power imbalance, food insecurity and children's rights in Canada, and shows how this analysis can help inform strategies to shift power imbalances, including building power at multiple levels.
	Harris (2017)	Uses the powercube to map the levels, forms and spaces of power that shape nutrition policy in Zambia, helping to identify entry points for change.
Legal Empowerment	Feruglio (2017)	Examines how invisible, visible, and hidden power shape access to services in legal empowerment initiatives in Kenya and South Africa, arguing that policy level impacts are the result of long-term processes that rely on multi-pronged and multi-level actions (e.g. mass mobilisations, international mechanisms, national courts and parliamentary processes).
Mental Health	Brosnan (2012)	Argues that power dynamics are primary obstacles to equitable involvement of mental health users. Analysis of the spaces and levels of power, as well as the hidden and invisible aspects, can help service-users strategize around their potential to influence decision making in mental health services.
Participation and governance	Rabé and Kamanzi (2012)	In Tanzania the powercube was used to analyse the quality of participation in decision making at the village level. The forms of power are found in all of the spaces or participation, across levels.
	Tang Lay Lee (2012)	In China, applications of the powercube show that the Party-state is the dominant visible power at local and national level, but the international level presents local NGOs the opportunity to engage with global NGOS to strengthen their voice.
Peace Building	Idler et al (2015)	Applies the powercube to explore how spaces, forms and levels of power interact in local peace initiatives, particularly in consultation forums in Guatemala. While these fora promoted the participation and empowerment of a variety of social sectors, they also reproduced structures of inequality and were prey to invisible

		power, which made them less effective in enabling marginalized social groups.
Policy processes	Joint Evaluation (2013)	Examining attempts for more inclusive policy dialogues in Mozambique, work by donors and development agencies examines how power manifests itself in invited spaces for policy dialogue, arguing that these fora became spaces for manipulation and co-optation rather than for strengthening the voice of civil society.
Water	Whaley and Weatherhead (2015)	Examines power dynamics that exist among farmers, and between them and key stakeholders involved in water management in the UK. The work points to the barriers that preclude framers from participating in water governance processes, including the “power 'within', the power that government water managers still exercise 'over' the farmers; and the relationship between lowland farming and environmental interests where the power 'to' act has been historically opposed.

Emerging insights

Taken together, these applications of the powercube offer a number of useful insights into a range of issues and areas for power analysis. While it is beyond the scope of this article to consider these in depth, a few of the important contributions are considered below.

Community power analysis. The genesis of much of the debate on the study of power that led to the work by Stephen Lukes (1974/2005), as well as my earlier study, *Power and Powerlessness in an Appalachian Valley* (1980) arose from studies of power at the community level, particularly in North America, including the famous work by Robert Dahl, on *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (1961). Perhaps because many of us involved in developing the powercube worked in international development, the approach has been used in a number of places to help us understand community-level power in other countries as well. Of these, one of the most in-depth is the study of Rabé and Kamanzi (2012) which sought to uncover the ‘character of power’ in 15 villages in Tanzania, using the powercube model. As mentioned in Table 1, they found multiple crossovers and interlinkages between the dimensions: ‘visible, hidden and invisible forms of power traverse all three spaces of participation, across multiple levels of decision making’ (p. 73). While they found the powercube to be useful for the Tanzania context, they also found it was not particularly helpful on the questions of livelihoods and economic empowerment, ‘as a prerequisite for social and political empowerment (or at least, as a simultaneous development alongside social and political empowerment’ (p. 73). They call for new categories of power involving livelihoods and resources, as well as ‘shadow power’, e.g. ‘the omnipresence of bribery and corruption at the local level’ (p. 73).

Markets, trade and value chains. The Tanzania study points to the importance of linking power analysis not only to the political domain, but also to the economic domain. Gaventa and Martorano (2016) similarly argue for the need to link economic and political empowerment, if we are to confront inequality. Several more recent studies have begun to apply the powercube to the market arena. The work by Brugger (2017) sheds light into the ‘black box’ that exists between consumer and producers of Fairtrade Orthodox Himalayan Tea. The certification process is a buyer-driven and top-down process which recreates colonial dependencies in production and trade of agricultural products. The bargaining process over welfare for workers and small farmers takes away the power from the workers and small farmers to demand adequate welfare on local levels and in created spaces, through such mobilizations as labour unions or political actions. Similar work on power in

value chain governance in the Horticultural Ethical Business Initiative (HEBI) used the lenses of visible, hidden and invisible power to show how the excessive power of the retailers dominated value chain governance but also interacted with local context and place, in ways that led to the undermining of the HEBI initiative (Nelson et al, 2016). In both the tea and horticulture cases, power analysis linking local, national and global levels showed how power at one level can influence the manifestation of power at another level by either restricting or enabling opportunities for meaningful engagement.

Human and social services. While one strand of work takes us towards economic domain, a series of other applications have been more focused on power in the delivery of social services. The work on health, housing, and mental health cited in Table 1 all used the power cube frame to develop approaches for service users to participate in defining their own problems, overcome aspects of invisible, internalised power, and engage in dialogues with service providers. However, another author (Schutz, forthcoming) argues that within social services, 'empowerment' has largely been reduced to individual empowerment of users and clients, ignoring more collective and more confrontational approaches to challenging more systemic roots of power. Schutz (forthcoming) builds on the ideas of spaces and forms of power, adding also the continua of 'types' of power (power to, with, over) and 'amounts' of power (from zero-sum to non-zero-sum). He then looks at five strategies of empowerment, ranging from the less to the more conflictual, including individual empowerment, collaborative empowerment, counterscript (e.g. symbolic protests), solidarity (e.g. community organising) and civil resistance.

Human Rights. One of the most extensive analytical applications of the power cube has been that by Andreassen and Crawford in their book *Human Rights, Power and Civic Action* (2013; see also summary in Andreassen and Crawford 2015). As Schutz argues in relation to the idea of empowerment in human services, these authors argue that while much of the literature on human rights-based approaches emphasises the need for empowerment of rights-deprived groups, there has been a neglect of the power structures which obstruct securing such rights. Looking at rights struggles in six countries, they use the visible, hidden and invisible continuum in the powercube to develop a more comprehensive power analysis of the obstacles that these struggles faced. Using this analysis, they argue for three more collective strategies for achieving rights, ranging from collaboration with public authorities as duty-bearers, confrontation with power-holders such as the state, and alliance building with other nongovernmental actors. Which strategy or combination of strategies will work is affected by how power works in a given context. Drawing on the concepts of spaces discussed in the powercube, the authors analyse how civil society actors might participate with decision-makers in 'invited spaces' and seek to make 'closed spaces' more transparent. Yet they also warn of the risk of co-optation: 'to avoid engaging with powerful elite actors on highly unequal terms where officially invited, for instance, it would seem essential for civil society organizations to initially strengthen their own countervailing power in more autonomous spaces' (Andreassen and Crawford 2015: 688.)

These few examples give insights into just a few ways in which the powercube has been used as a tool for analysis across many different issues and domains, in many different countries and contexts. While they point to the importance of understanding the workings of power in particular contexts, they also offer some common elements which seem to cut across these, including:

- The importance of invisible power in shaping or precluding citizen voice, participation and action;
- The interactions of power across levels, from the local to the global, to create and close opportunities for engagement;

- The risk that ‘invited’ spaces for participation become sites for co-optation, if they are not also strengthened by popular forms of citizen action in claimed spaces, such as social movements.

Moreover, as several of the studies and follow-up interviews point out, the ‘power of the powercube’ is found when it is used to examine the dynamic interrelations across two or all three of its dimensions – forms, spaces and levels – in turn helping to break down binary, linear or simplistic understandings of how and where power manifests itself.

Applications of the powercube for learning and action⁶

Such conclusions not only offer analytical insights into how power works, across issues and contexts, but they also have enormous implications for action. It is perhaps because of these that we have seen the take up of the powercube as a tool used (alongside others) by practitioners such as community activists and the staff of NGOs and development agencies to build awareness, do context analysis, develop new programmes and strategies, and evaluate the impact of their work.

Education and awareness building

The powercube has been widely used as a tool to help people build awareness of power and how it affects their work, strategies and actions. A number of civil society organisations, trade unions and development agencies have hosted learning processes on power analysis for their staff and partners. These have included workshops and trainings ranging from a few hours to a few days in duration to longer action learning journeys conducted over a period of several months – supported by facilitators and by resources and case studies related to the participants’ actual work, issues and contexts.

In one example, fifteen staff and partners from Oxfam Novib (Netherlands) took part in a nine-month Learning Trajectory, working in small teams to understand how power was operating in five key programmes around the world. Intensive workshops were held every few months, alternating with practical application and inquiry by the participants in their day-to-day programme work, with occasional check-ins and distance coaching from the facilitators. The issues explored by the participants ranged from indigenous rights to extractive industries to HIV-AIDS prevention to partnership dynamics to campaigns for sustainable palm oil.

In a similar action learning process, the powercube was used with grassroots organisations in marginalised communities in the UK to explore power related to issues of racial justice, migrant rights, gender-based violence, female genital mutilation, unemployed youth and homelessness, among others (Hunjan and Pettit, 2011). Participants were community leaders from the affected groups and used the powercube and related frameworks to deepen their understanding of power dynamics and to explore implications for strategy and action. Staff from the charitable foundations supporting these leaders and their groups also took part in the learning process, to improve their grant-making and partnerships.

The framework has been used for teaching power in more formal classroom settings as well (see McGee and Pettit, this volume), to build awareness of the power relationships involved in research partnerships between communities and university researchers (Ferreira et al, 2015), and to analyse power relationships within higher education (Boni & Walker, 2016).

Context analysis

The dynamics of power vary enormously across context, and in a rapidly changing world, being able to assess power dynamics is critical for any type of action or intervention designed to change power relations. Many groups have used the powercube for this purpose, adding it to other approaches for

6 This section draws upon and further updates the earlier very useful review by Pantazidou (2012).

context mapping. For instance, Pettit and Mejía Acosta (2014) argue for complementing more traditional forms of political economy analysis with power analysis using methods like the powercube. Doing so, they argue, allows the analysis to go beyond the visible and more institutional analysis of actors and their networks, to look at more invisible forms of power, internalised norms, and at how power operates in more informal and hidden spaces (see also Rowlands, this volume). Reviewing a number of examples of application of the powercube, Pantazidou provides examples of its use by NGOs, donors and social action groups to do context analysis for 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; and to understand the power dynamics that shaped a past event, policy change or decision making process' (2012: 9).

Programme planning and organisational learning

Building on such context analysis, a number of NGOs, donors and other organisations have also used the powercube to design and implement programme interventions for development or social change. For instance, Oxfam GB developed a guide on 'Power and fragility' to support governance programming in fragile contexts (Fooks, 2012). Christian Aid (UK) has similarly developed a 'practice paper' to help to 'reposition themselves, to create or enter new spaces, (...) to develop new ways of working' and to 'review the power in our own personal and professional relationships.' (Christian Aid, 2016). Donor agencies such as the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) have also developed the tool for internal planning. For instance, work for SDC on 'Operationalising Empowerment' examines how the powercube can 'help identify entry points for change and to encourage self-reflection on the power which donors exercise' (Luttrell et al, 2007: 1-2). Pantazidou points out that the powercube can help to identify or sharpen theories of change, highlight the need to develop alliances with others, and develop new tactics or approaches in order to deal with the multiple forms of power and their inter-relationship (2012: 14-18).

Advocacy strategies and campaigns.

While the powercube can be used for mapping contexts and contributing to programme planning, it can similarly be used to contribute to movement building and advocacy campaigns for change. As Guijt pointed out in her study of power and participation, 'Defining and recognizing the importance of different manifestations of power can ensure more consciously adopted, strategic action – and the identification of alternatives to current strategies – that can effectively transform power inequalities' (2008: 169). For instance, as a result of the Learning Trajectory described above, Oxfam Novib very systematically applied the tool to look for ways to build a campaign on the palm oil industry to improve the situation for smallholders and labourers in Colombia (Seeboldt and Salinas Abdala, 2010). Action Aid International's Strategy 2028 'Action for Global Justice' scales this idea up to develop a theory of change across the whole federation affecting programming in 47 countries: 'Social justice, gender equality and poverty eradication are achieved through purposeful individual and collective action to shift unequal and unjust power, whether it is hidden, visible or invisible, from the household level to local, national and international levels' (2017). The Power Matrix developed by Just Associates is particularly helpful to think about what types of strategies need to be developed to address different forms of power in the context of movement building (Miller et. al. 2006: 12, see also Bradley, this volume).

Protecting human rights

Other activists have elaborated on the powercube to develop strategies for dealing with violence and protecting human rights. Pearce (2007) used the concepts of the cube with activists in Colombia to map and assess the range of strategies that civil societies use to challenge power, but found that in this context, the cube did not explicitly address the role of violence. She developed a parallel 'violence cube' which like power, has its visible and invisible dimensions (Pearce, 2009). More recently, work by Just Associates has further developed approaches of power analysis to identify strategies for human rights defenders, arguing that power can be a positive force as activists and communities organise to protect themselves against repercussions in hostile settings (Lopez and Bradley, 2017; see also VeneKlasen, this volume). Amnesty International has used the approach widely, including in an action research programme on transitions to democracy in Egypt, where it was applied to map power relations and to strategize on actions for change (Maro Pantazidou, interview, 22/12/2017).

Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning.

In addition to helping to map and plan new programmes and strategies for action, the powercube serves as a tool for evaluating and reflecting on the impact of these programmes. As referenced earlier, Guijt led a team of researchers to evaluate the impact of Dutch government-funded NGOs' programmes on shifting power and civil society participation in five countries (Guijt, 2005). Macleod (2011) explored the powercube as a tool for evaluation in workshops with partners in an aid agency's women's rights programme in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala to examine shifts of power within women's movements. IDS applied the framework to evaluate Christian Aid's 'Power to the People' programme, using it to map the relationship of communities with authorities, and to assess the nature of government responsiveness (McGee & Scott-Villiers, 2011). As Pantazidou found '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' (2012: 20).

In support of all these applications, a wide array of resources have been developed which build upon, add to, and popularise core concepts of the powercube, while also linking them to other resources and tools. For instance, the UK community work above led to the very useful publication *Power – A Practical Guide for Facilitating Social Change* (Hunjan and Pettit, 2011). Just Associates has been at the forefront of developing resource materials on power analysis for activists and social movements, including their important book: *A New Weave of People, Power and Politics* (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002) which pre-dated and contributed to the powercube, and more recent resources found in their online *Making Change Happen* series (e.g. Miller et al 2006). Oxfam developed a short and very useable guide for its staff and partners, *A Quick Guide to Power Analysis* (2014). DanChurch Aid's LearningLab has produced an animated online guide for practitioners on power analysis (ActAlliance, 2017). The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency published a power analysis guide for its staff and partners which includes an introduction to the powercube (Pettit, 2013). Versions of the powercube have been translated into a number of languages as well into Spanish, French and Arabic.

Reflections on how to apply the powercube.⁷

The multiple applications of the powercube have given us numerous insights about the nature and dynamics of power, as well as how the powercube can be used to understand and illuminate them. Along the way, there have been many helpful adaptations, as well as critiques, which have also deepened our learning about its applications. Eight key lessons have emerged, four related to how the cube is applied for power analysis and action, and four concerning how it is used in processes of learning and reflection.

Lessons for power analysis

1. Thinking dynamically – Going beyond the checkbox

One of the problems with the ‘Rubik’s cube’ visualisation is that it can appear as relatively static, with fixed categories and boxes. There is a risk that people will simply try to “fill in the boxes” rather than analysing the relationships between them. In fact, each dimension should be seen as a spectrum, interacting with the other dimensions, in a highly dynamic way. For instance, the possible spaces for action (closed, invited, claimed) open and close over time. Similarly, the levels of power, and which are most important, are far more complex than the ‘local, national or global’, and can range from the household, village, county, state, national, regional, global and others, depending on the local context. Spaces and levels interact with forms of power, and shift over time. As Pantazidou writes, ‘power constellations change’, highlighting ‘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 at “still picture”’ (2012: 10). In turn, as found by researchers using the cube in Guatemala, there was the need for social change organisations to have the “staying power” to move across spaces of engagement over time, to retain links with groups working with other spaces, and to have the different capacities for engagement demanded by different spaces in differing moments’ (Gaventa, 2005: 20).

2. Contextualising the categories

While power needs to be seen as dynamic, how it is experienced and manifested is also very contextual. The terminology used such as ‘visible, hidden and invisible’ can sometimes be difficult to understand, and may be read quite differently based on differences in language, history and culture. What appears a space for action in one context, in another may be bounded by invisible forms of power, or historical experiences such as violence or reprisals, which limit its possibilities for change. Particularly challenging in some cases has been the idea of ‘hidden’ power, presented in the cube as forms of keeping certain issues and actors off the political agenda. But in Latin America, where there is a strong experience with military and paramilitary forces, often associated with drug cartels, discussions on hidden power can quickly elide into considerations of ‘shadow’ or ‘dark power’, referred to as *poder oculto*, or ‘co-optation of the state by violent and criminal interests’ (Pantazidou, 2012: 12; Pearce and Vela, 2005; see also VeneKlasen and Bradley in this volume). In Tanzania, Rabé and Kamanzi (2012) also report that the forms of power in the cube didn’t take into account the extent of corruption, which they suggested be called ‘shadow power’, similar to Latin American colleagues. But in Egypt, the ‘secret’ police were found to be not hidden or secret at all, but very visible in their presence, to

7 This section builds on lessons also from earlier work, including Gaventa (2005) and Pantazidou (2012). These have been supplemented by interviews with a number of users and an online survey conducted in 2017 led by Fiammetta Wegner.

the extent that NGO activists found themselves 'normalising' this power (Tadros, 2010 quoted by Pantazidou, 2012: 13) One way of contextualising the concepts of the cube is by keeping them very open, asking participants to define the levels, spaces or forms which most affect their lives, without imposing the categories given in the cube. Taking this approach in Guatemala, Colombia and elsewhere, participants identified far more levels of power and spaces and strategies for engagement, than implied by the 'boxes' in the cube (Gaventa, 2005 drawing from Pearce and Vela, 2005).

3. Highlighting gender

Aspects of the powercube approach resonate with and have drawn from feminist thinking on gender and power, especially the idea of invisible power, which focuses on norms and internalised forms of oppression, and which links closely to ideas of strengthening 'power within,' widely used in feminist analysis (Rowlands, 1997). Using the powercube can highlight issues of violence against women often hidden from public spaces (Pearce and Vela, 2005). The Swiss Peace Foundation has used the cube to focus on women's participation in peacebuilding, supplementing other forms of gender analysis, especially in conflict settings (Brank et al, n.d.). Others have used it to analyse women's participation in local governance, also combining gender and power analysis (Hossain and Akhter, 2011).

However, some have found that the powercube framework is not easily applied to gender analysis, as earlier versions did not explicitly introduce 'private' or 'intimate' spaces or 'household' levels, which have also been shown in the extensive work on gender and power to be critical realms. As a result, some later versions of the cube (see Box 1) have extended the levels dimension to the 'household level' in order to make more explicit the link between power in domestic, private spaces and public spaces. To avoid the risk of understanding gender as confined to its 'box', others have argued for the need to bring gender analysis explicitly to every dimension of the cube. Edstrom expands the powercube to the idea of 'power dice', in which one of the dice is based on the dimensions of the powercube, and another focuses on more material, cultural and ideological dimensions (Edstrom, 2015: 74).

4. Looking at the Interactions

What is most powerful about the cube is not to look at any one dimension but to think about how each interacts with the other. This is important on at least two levels. First, one has to think about what happens inside any one of the 'boxes', as it is in turn affected by what is going on in the other dimensions. For instance, while 'invited spaces' may seem like opportunities for participation, if the quality of what goes on inside the space is inhibited by forms of invisible and hidden power, then the participation that occurs may simply mean that relatively powerless groups 'echo' what the relatively powerful want to hear, rather than using the space for more meaningful engagement. Similarly, Cornwall (2004: 78) reminds us that spaces are not firmly separable: 'what happens in one impinges on what happens in others, as relations of power within and across them are constantly reconfigured.'

Secondly, though, one must think about strategies for change that link across the dimensions, especially if the aim is to develop a more transformative agenda. In what some called the 'boomerang effect' (Keck & Sikkink, 1999) challenging power at one level may open up spaces for action elsewhere. For instance, the demands for making a 'closed space' more transparent at the global level (e.g. World Bank) may provide information or pressure that can be taken up or claimed by actors at a local level. Ultimately, we have argued, it is when strategies for understanding and shifting power connect across levels, spaces and forms that fundamental

transformation happens. The powercube can be used to map and visualise these connections, to think about gaps in the ecology of strategies that are being used, and about how to build alliances that link social change actors across all the levels, spaces and forms. In this process, understanding the role of ‘intermediaries’ – those individuals, organisations or channels that link across the aspects of the cube is particularly important.

Lessons for learning and reflection

5. Dealing with complexity

In training others to use the powercube, a number of users have found that it can be complicated for people to understand and to apply, and can be perceived as abstract from everyday experience. On the one hand, as observed earlier, the complexity of the cube is one of its strengths – by looking at interactions of forms, levels, and spaces of power we move away from simplistic and binary understandings of power to a focus on the multiple ways and places in which it manifests itself. But on the other hand, as a social change tool, it needs to be accessible and useable by those who want to apply it to their everyday experience. A number of techniques have been found to help strengthen its application, including the following:

- Link to personal experience – rather than starting with analysis of power ‘out there’, start with asking people about their personal experiences. When have they felt powerful or powerless? What kinds of spaces do they enter? Where are decisions made that affect their lives?
- Break it down into parts – particularly when being used with groups to analyse their own experience, start with an understanding of one dimension at a time and then move to the others, asking how each builds on the previous. Where you start – through the lens of forms, spaces or levels – depends on what seems most appropriate to the context and the users. Some users of the powercube have observed that understanding power across levels can be most challenging, especially when starting at the local level, as national and global levels may be perceived to be out of the realm of everyday experience.
- Use visualisation – for many the ‘cube’ is not a useful visual representation. Many have found the use of cartoons, drawings, or animations useful to illustrate the core ideas (ActAlliance, 2017; Macleod, 2011; powercube.net).

6. Combining with other tools

The powercube is by no means meant to be the only tool for power analysis, nor should it be. Other tools for power analysis are also useful. For instance, the powercube does not explicitly focus on the actors who hold or wield power, though actors can be mapped against the various dimensions. It can be used with other approaches, which can help to focus more explicitly on actors, including network analysis, stakeholder influence mapping and tools such as Net-map (Pantazidou, 2012: 9). Nor does the cube focus explicitly on power which grows from identities of race, gender, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation, where approaches based on intersectionality can be useful (Edstrom et al, 2016). The work by Just Associates, including the *The New Weave* (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002) and later publications in their *Making Change Happen* series (e.g. Miller et al, 2006; Lopez and Bradley, 2018), brings a strong feminist understanding to power analysis, including using approaches such as the ‘power flower’, which

focuses more on how one's various identities affect the possibilities of agency. In another project involving Action Aid's programming on livelihoods and women's rights, the powercube framework was combined with the Gender at Work Framework (which uses a quadrant to map individual vs systemic forms of power) to assess the shifts of power in favour of women (Delgado et al, 2016; see Rao and Sandler in this volume). Hunjan and Pettit's *Practical Guide for Facilitating Social Change* (2011) also offers a variety of tools which may be combined with the powercube.

7. *Being reflexive: putting oneself and one's organisation in the picture*

Often times NGOs, donors, social movements and charismatic individuals play a role of critical mediator in processes of change, but in so doing, they are themselves part of the power picture. By putting themselves within it they can reflect upon their own roles, values and strategies for change. For instance, though doing an exercise known as 'power twister' (ForumSyd, 2009) in which actors use their bodies to show at which levels and spaces they are spending their time and resources, some donors and NGOs have come to realise how disconnected their work in closed and invited spaces, at national and global levels, is from the spaces experienced by grassroots communities which they hope to support. The powercube has been useful in multiple ways to encourage such self-reflection, by both organisations and individuals. In an online survey of powercube users in early 2018, a number of respondents commented that the powercube helped them become more critical, encouraged them to go beyond binary thinking, to be reflexive about their own power, and to reflect and react in new ways. By reflecting on their own forms of power – such as their internalised norms of gender, race, or class – users can also be more aware of their roles as actors for change.

8. *Towards transformative power*

The power cube is often introduced and used with another framework of forms of power, including *power within*, *power with*, *power to* and *power for*, as contrasted with *power over* (see Rowlands, 1997 and Bradley in this volume). 'Much power analysis has traditionally focused on *power over* — the power of one actor (individual, group, institution) over another, which was the focus of the earlier theoretical work by Stephen Lukes, whose work formed an important part of the powercube's intellectual roots. Others emphasise that power can be seen in more positive and productive terms. In their study of human rights struggles for instance Andreassen and Crawford conclude 'Our studies have emphasized that power is essentially dichotomous, both positive and negative, and not a zero-sum game but dynamic, relational, and potentially expansive (collaborative power or alliance power)' (2013: 250). In my uses of the powercube, I see these types of power as highly interrelated. The power *within*, recognizing one's own agency and capacities, is closely linked to overcoming 'invisible' power. The power *with* has to do with the need to build alliances to work across all the spaces and levels of the cube, as it is difficult for any single actor to be able to do so alone. Both power *within* and power *with* are important for achieving, the 'power to' act, especially if our model of empowerment is one that emphasises collective forms of action.⁸ Power *within*, *with* and *to* taken together are necessary to challenge power *over* in a transformative way. Just Associates (Bradley, this volume) call this

8 Schultz (forthcoming) argues that the 'power to' has often been reduced to individual forms of empowerment, which can easily be co-opted, unless they it is linked to more collective forms of action.

‘transformative power’ and have added to the lexicon the term ‘*power for*’: ‘the combined vision, values and agenda of change that motivate and orient the work we do... By encouraging the imagining and creation of other possible futures, *power for* encourages, gives meaning to, and practically demands the sustained movement building efforts that generate power to, with and within – building blocks toward that changed future.’

Ultimately, power analysis isn’t an end in itself, but a tool to leverage change. Yet as we know, tools can be used for many purposes, both progressive and regressive. The powercube and other tools can be valuable starting points, in which we can ground our work for change. But equally important, we must complement the powercube analysis with this final question: what is the world that we wish to see? What is our vision of the norms, values, and institutions which we hope to achieve through challenging existing power relations? With this compass, we are more likely to be able not only to analyse power, but to use such analysis to contribute to a more just and sustainable world.

References

ActAlliance (2017) *Introducing the Powercube*. Available at: <https://vimeo.com/253176500> (accessed 20 August 2018).

Action Aid (2017) *Action for Global Justice: Strategy 2028*. Available at: http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/strategy_2028_lr.pdf (accessed 20 August 2018).

Andes, M.A. & Pettit, J. (2014) ‘Power above and below the waterline: bridging political economy and power analysis’, *IDS Bulletin*, 45(5), p. 9-22. Brighton: IDS.

Andreassen, B.A. & Crawford, G. (2013) *Human Rights, Power and Civic Action: Comparative analyses of struggles for rights in developing societies*. Oxon: Routledge.

Andreassen, B.A. & Crawford, G. (2015) ‘Human rights and development: putting power and politics at the center’, *Human Rights Quarterly*, volume 37(3), p. 662-690. Available at: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/30619243.pdf> (accessed 20 August 2018).

Blay-Palmer, A. (2016) ‘Power Imbalances, Food Insecurity, and Children’s Rights in Canada’, *Front. Public Health*, 4. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2016.00117> (accessed 19 August 2018).

Boni, A. & Walker, M. (2016) *Universities and Global Human Development: Theoretical and empirical insights for social change*. Oxon: Routledge.

Brank, B., Keller, U., Fischer, R. (n.d.) ‘Gender and Peacebuilding’, *AMS Factsheet Series on Gender and Peacebuilding*. Swisspeace. Available at: http://koff.swisspeace.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/koff/Publications/AMS_Fact_Sheet_GePB_website_052014.pdf (accessed 21 August 2018).

Brock, K., McGee, R., Gaventa, J. (2004) *Unpacking Policy Processes: Actors, Knowledge and Spaces*. Kampala: Fountain Press and Oxford: Africa Book Collective.

Brosnan, L. (2012) 'Power and Participation: An Examination of the Dynamics of Mental Health Service-User Involvement in Ireland', *Studies in Social Justice*, 6(1), pp. 45. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.26522/ssj.v6i1.1068> (accessed 19 August 2018).

Brugger, A. (2017) *Power Relations in the Global Production Net-work for Orthodox Himalayan Tea Analyzing Fairtrade Tea Production in East Nepal and Darjeeling Through the Power-as-Translation Framework and the Power Cube*. [Master's Thesis]. Department of Geography, Human Geography Unit, University of Zurich.

Christian Aid (2016) *Power Analysis – Programme Practice*. Available at: <https://www.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/power-analysis-programme-practice-paper-jan-2016.pdf> (accessed 20 August 2018).

Cornwall, A. (2002) 'Making spaces, changing places: situating participation in development'. *Working Paper series*, 170. Brighton: IDS.

Cornwall, A. (2004) 'Spaces for transformation? Reflections on issues of power and difference in participation in development', in: Hickey, S., Mohan, G. (Eds.), *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation?, Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development*. London: ZED Books.

Dahl, R. (1961) *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Delgado, M., Guijarro, D., Otero E., (2016) *Description and analysis of the methodology applied to the Evaluation of ActionAid work on women's rights*. Available at: http://multiplyingimpact.care2share.wikispaces.net/file/view/Methodology+report_final.pdf (accessed 22 August 2018).

Edström, J. (2015) 'Undressing Patriarchy in the Male Order Development Encounter', In *Engaging Men in Building Gender Equality*. Newcastle Upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Edström, J., Singh, S.K., Shahrokh, T. (2016) 'Intersectionality: A Key for Men to Break Out of the Patriarchal Prison?', *IDS Bulletin*, 47(5), pp. 57-74. Brighton: IDS.

Ferreira, R., Ebersöhn, L., Mbongwe, B.B. (2015) 'Power-Sharing Partnerships: Teachers' Experiences of Participatory Methodology'. *Progress in Community Health Partnerships: Research, Education, and Action*, 9(1), pp. 7–16. Available at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/25981417> (accessed 20 August 2018).

Feruglio, F. (2017) 'Do More Empowered Citizens Make More Accountable States? Power and Legitimacy in Legal Empowerment Initiatives', *Making All Voices Count Research Report*, Brighton: IDS.

Fooks, L. (2012) *Power and Fragility: Governance Programming in Fragile Contexts: A Programme Resource*. Oxfam. Available at: <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/power-and-fragility-governance-programming-in-fragile-contexts-a-programme-reso-253944> (accessed 20 August 2018).

ForumSyd (2009) *Powercube.net*. Available at: https://www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/powertwister_forumsyd.pdf (accessed 22 August 2018).

Gaventa, J. (1980) *Power and Powerlessness in an Appalachian Valley*. Oxford: Clarendon and Urbana, Illinois: Illinois University Press.

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', *CFP evaluation series 2003-2006*, 4. Netherlands: Mfp Breed Network.

Gaventa, J. (2006b) 'Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis', in *Power, Exploring Power for Change*, *IDS Bulletin*, 37(6), pp. 23-33. Brighton: IDS.

Gaventa, J. (2007) 'Levels, Spaces and Forms of Power: Analysing Opportunities for Change', in Berenskoetter F. & Williams, M.J. (eds.), *Power in World Politics*. London: Routledge.

Gaventa, J. & Martorano, B. (2016) 'Inequality, Power and Participation – Revisiting the Links', *IDS Bulletin*, 47(5), pp. 11-30. Brighton: IDS.

Guijt, I. (2005) 'Assessing Civil Society Participation as supported In-Country by Cordaid, Hivos, Novib and Plan Netherlands: Synthesis Report'. *CFP Evaluation Series 2003-2006*, 4. Netherlands: Mfp Breed Network and Learning by Design.

Guijt, I. (2008) 'Civil Society Participation as the Focus of Northern NGO Support: The Case of Dutch Co-financing Agencies' in Bebbington, A., Hickey, S., Mitlin, D. (Eds.), *Can NGOs make a difference? the challenge of development alternatives*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Harris, J. (2017) *National manifestation of an international idea: Multi-sectoral approaches to stunting reduction and the transfer of nutrition policy to Zambia*, [PhD thesis]. London: SOAS, University of London.

Hossain, M. (2017) 'Inequality, hunger, and malnutrition: Power matters'. In *Global Hunger Index*. Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute. Available at: https://doi.org/10.2499/9780896292710_03 (accessed 19 August 2018).

Hossain, N. & Akhter, S. (2011) *Gender, Power and Politics in Bangladesh a study for the Upazila Support Project*. UNDP Bangladesh. Available at: <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/bangladesh/docs/Publications/Gender%20Power%20and%20Politics%20study.pdf> (accessed 21 August 2018).

Hunjan, R. & Pettit, J. (2011) *Power: A practical guide for facilitating social change*. London: Joseph Rowntree Foundation; York: Carnegie UK Trust, Democracy and Civil Society Programme.

Idler, A., Mouly, C., Miranda, L. (2015) 'Power Unpacked: Domination, Empowerment and Participation in Local Guatemalan Peace Forums', *Journal of Peace, Conflict & Development*, 21, pp. 1-40. Available at: <https://www.bradford.ac.uk/social-sciences/peace-conflict-and-development/issue-21/Power-unpacked.pdf> (accessed 19 August 2018).

Joint Evaluation (2013) 'Support to Civil Society Engagement in Policy Dialogue', *Bangladesh Country Report*. Available at: https://www.sida.se/contentassets/fc5901ae284f4e85bf72bb46a3544297/support-to-civil-society-engagement-in-policy-dialogue---bangladesh-country-report_3447.pdf (accessed 19 August 2018).

Kaim, B. (2013) *Who are we to care? Exploring the relationship between participation, knowledge and power in health systems*. Zimbabwe: Training and Research Support Centre, Community of Practitioners on Accountability and Social Action in Health (COPASAH).

Keck, M. E. & Sikkink, K. (1999) *Activists beyond Borders, Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Larkin, L. & Clark, S. (2017) *Refugees flexing social power as agents of stability: creating modes of economic livelihoods in Kenya's camps*. U.S.: Construction Engineering Research Laboratory. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.21079/11681/25761> (accessed 19 August 2018).

Lay Lee, T. (2012) 'Rethinking power and rights-promoting NGOs in China', *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 5(3), pp. 343-351. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17516234.2012.731177> (accessed 19 August 2018).

Lopez, M. & Bradley, A. (2017) *Making Change Happen, Rethinking protection, power and movements, Lessons from Women Human Rights Defenders in Mesoamerica*, Just Associates. Available at: https://justassociates.org/sites/justassociates.org/files/jass_mch6_rethinking_protection_power_movements_4.pdf (Accessed 10 October 2018).

Lukes, S. (1974/2005) *Power: a radical view*, 2nd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Luttrell, C., Quiroz, W.S., Bird, K. (2007) 'Operationalising empowerment: A framework for an understanding of empowerment within SDC', *Working Paper 308*. London: ODI.

Macleod, M. (2011) *Exploring the Power Cube as a Tool for Use in Evaluation: Identifying shifts in power within women's movements in Central America*. Available at: <http://mornamacleod.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Exploring-the-Power-Cube-as-a-Tool-for-Use-in-Evaluation-Final.pdf> (accessed 22 August 2018).

McGee, R. & Scott-Villiers, P. (2011) *Christian Aid 'Power to the People' Mid-Term Review report*, unpublished.

Miller, V., VeneKlasen L., Reilly, M. and Clark, C. (2006) *Making change happen: Power. Concepts for revisioning power for justice, equality and peace*, Washington, DC: Just Associates. Available at: <http://www.justassociates.org/sites/justassociates.org/files/mch3- concepts- for-revisioning-power-2011upd.pdf> (accessed 20 August 2018).

Muir, j. & McMahon, M. (2015) *Involving easy to ignore groups in housing policy and strategy in Northern Ireland*. Available at: <https://www.housingrights.org.uk/news/involving-easy-ignore-groups-housing-policy-and-strategy-ni> (accessed 19 August 2018).

Nelson, V., Tallontire, A., Opondo, M. Martin, A. (2016) 'Pathways of Transformation of Transgression? Power Relations, Ethical Space and Labour Rights in Kenyan Agri-Food Value Chains', in Goodman, M. & Sage, C. *Food Transgressions: Making Sense of Contemporary Food Politics*. Oxon: Routledge.

Oxfam (2014) *Quick Guide to Power Analysis*, Oxfam Policy & Practice. Available at: <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/quick-guide-to-power-analysis-313950> (accessed 20 August 2018).

Pantazidou, M. (2012) 'What next for power analysis? a review of recent experience with the powercube and related frameworks', *IDS Working Paper*, 2012(400). Brighton: IDS.

Pearce, J. (2007) 'Violence, Power and Participation: Building Citizenship in Contexts of Chronic Violence', *Working Paper 274*. Brighton: IDS. Available at: <https://www.ids.ac.uk/files/Wp274.pdf> (accessed 20 August 2018).

Pearce, J. (2009) 'Bringing Violence into the Power Cube', *powercube.net*. Available at: http://www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/violence_powercube.pdf (accessed 20 August 2018).

Pearce, J. & Vela, G. (2005) 'Assessing Civil Society Participation as supported In Country by CORDAID, HIVOS, NOVIB, and Plan Netherlands', *Colombia Country Report, report on the Programme Evaluation*. The Netherlands: Mfp Breed Netwerk.

Pettit, J. (2013) *Power analysis: a practical guide*. Stockholm: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). Available at: https://www.sida.se/contentassets/83f0232c5404440082c9762ba3107d55/power-analysis-a-practical-guide_3704.pdf (accessed 20 August 2018).

Pettit, J. & A. Mejía Acosta (2014), 'Power above and below the waterline: Bridging political economy and power analysis', *IDS Bulletin* 45.5: 9-22

Powercube.net (2009) *Handout on Power Cartoons*. Available at: <http://www.powercube.net/> (accessed 22 August 2018).

Rabé, P. & Kamanzi, A. (2012) 'Power Analysis: A Study of Participation at the Local Level in Tanzania'. *ASC Working Paper 105*. African Studies Centre: The Netherlands.

Roberts, T. & Hernandez, K. (2017) 'The Techno-centric Gaze: incorporating citizen participation technologies into participatory governance processes in the Philippines', *Making All Voices Count Research Report*. Brighton: IDS.

Rodríguez de Francisco, J. & Boelens, R. (2014) 'Payment for Environmental Services and Power in the Chamachán Watershed, Ecuador', *Human organization*, 73(4), pp. 351–362. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.17730/humo.73.4.b680w75u27527061> (accessed 19 August 2018).

Rowlands, J. (1997) *Questioning Empowerment: Working with women in Honduras*. Oxford: Oxfam.

Schutz, A. (forthcoming, 2019) *Empowerment*. Routledge Press.

Seeboldt, S. & Salinas, A.Y. (2010) *Responsibility and Sustainability of the Palm Oil Industry: Are the Principles and Criteria of the RSPO feasible in Colombia?*. The Hague: Oxfam Novib and Bogota: Indepaz.

VeneKlasen, L. & Miller, V. (2002) *A new weave of power, people & politics: the action guide for advocacy and citizen participation*. Rugby: Practical Action Publishing.

Whaley, L. & Weatherhead, K. (2015) 'Power-Sharing in the English Lowlands? The Political Economy of Farmer Participation and Cooperation in Water Governance', *Water Alternatives*, 8, pp. 820-843. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272165212_Power-Sharing_in_the_English_Lowlands_The_Political_Economy_of_Farmer_Participation_and_Cooperation_in_Water_Governance?enrichId=rgreq-919395145045d1f0b222398fae535fe7-XXX&enrichSource=Y292ZXJQYWdlOzI3MjE2NTIxMjtBUzozOTYzNDc4Nzk1MTAwMThAMTQ3MTUwODEwNjQzOQ%3D%3D&el=1_x_2&_esc=publicationCoverPdf (accessed 19 August 2018).