CFP evaluation series 2003–2006: no 4

Reflections on the Uses of the 'Power Cube' Approach for Analyzing the Spaces, Places and Dynamics of Civil Society Participation and Engagement

John Gaventa
Institute of Development Studies
University of Sussex, United Kingdom

Learning by Design

October 2005

Table of Contents

1 Introduction[1]

Increasingly around the world new spaces and opportunities are emerging for citizen engagement in policy processes, from the local to the global levels. Participation, rights-based approaches and inclusion have become buzz words of development. Policy instruments, legal frameworks and support programmes for promoting them abound. And yet for civil society actors and others like, there is scepticism. Does this represent a real shift in power? Does it really open up spaces where participation and citizen voice can have an influence? Should we engage with them, or should we work to build our own social movements, organisations and alternatives in our spaces? How do we know?

For many who work in the field of citizen participation and civil society engagement the answer to when and where to engage depends in part on the answer to another question. If we do engage, will it change anything? Will increased engagement risk simply re-legitimating the status quo, or will it contribute to transforming patterns of exclusion and social injustice and to challenging power relationships? In a world where the local and the global or so inter-related, where patterns of governance and decision-making are changing so quickly, how can we decide where best to put our efforts and what strategies do we use?

Despite the widespread rhetorical acceptance of participation, rights and deepened forms of civil society engagement, it is clear that simply creating new institutional arrangements will not make them real and will not necessarily result in greater inclusion or pro-poor policy change. Rather, much will depend on the nature of the power relations which surround and imbue these new, potentially more democratic, spaces. More and more, groups who work in development – whether they are concerned with participation and inclusion, realising rights or changing policies – are also becoming aware of the need to engage with and understand this phenomenon called power.

Yet simultaneously, the nature and expressions of power are also rapidly changing. The very spread and adoption by powerful actors of the language and discourse of participation and inclusion confuses boundaries of who has authority and who does not, who should be on the 'inside' and who is on the 'outside' of decision-making and policy making arenas. Changing governance arrangements, which call for 'co-governance' and 'participatory governance' challenge our traditional categories of the rulers and the ruled, the policy-makers and the public. The use of terms such as 'partnership' and 'shared ownership' by large, powerful actors like the World Bank and the IMF invite engagement on a 'level playing field' but obscures inequalities of resources and power. The adoption by multinational corporate actors of notions of 'corporate citizenship',

blurs traditional 'us' and 'them' distinctions between economic power holders and those who might negatively be affected by their corporate practices. And in the midst of all of this changing language and discourse, rapid processes of globalisation challenge ideas of 'community' and the 'nation-state', reconfiguring the spatial dynamics of power, and changing the assumptions about the entry points for citizen action.

All of these changes point to the need for activists, researchers, policy makers and donors who are concerned about development and change to turn our attention to how to analyse and understand the changing configurations of power. If we want to change power relationships – e.g. to make them more inclusive, just or pro-poor – we must understand more about how power works.

As one small step towards this end, growing out of previous work on power, as well as ideas emerging within the work of the IDS Participation Group and the Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability, in 2002 I wrote a short paper which proposed one approach to analysing the spaces, places and dynamics of power, subsequently referred to as 'the power cube.'[2] In this approach, I argued, power must be understood in relation to how spaces for engagement are created, the levels of power (from local to global), as well as different forms of power across them. By applying such analysis, I argued, we could begin to assess the possibilities of transformative action in new democratic spaces, and how transformative possibilities of citizen action might be enlarged.

While a simple approach, it seemed to have some resonance with those with whom it was shared. As a result, over the last three years, various colleagues and I have experimented with this approach to analysing power in a number of settings. We have used it with donor agencies as a tool for reflecting on the strategies they use within developing countries, and to encourage self-reflection on the power which they as donor agencies exercise.[3] I have shared it in a workshop on political capacity building with NGOs in Indonesia, especially to analyse and reflect on the ways in which they move from work for strengthening local participation, to engage at the more national level. With my colleagues at Just Associates – who themselves have long experimented with popular education approaches to power analysis – the approach was also used at an international workshop with popular educators, campaigners and development staff from trade unions and international NGOs to discuss how to build links between local knowledge and mobilisation and broader international advocacy work, in order to challenge global economic power.[4] I have also presented and discussed the approach at various conferences, with students and with colleagues.

2 John Gaventa, 'the Uses of Power in Framing and Shaping the Spaces, Places and Dynamics of Participation', a discussion note for the Citizenship DRC, October 22, 2004. Other versions also presented at the Conference on 'Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation,' Manchester, February 27, 2003 and conference on 'the Facets of Power in International Relations', London School of Economics, October 30, 2004.
3 See, for example, Workshop on Rights and Power, www2.ids.ac.uk/drccitizen/docs/r&tpworkshopreport-final.pdf.
4 Workshop on 'Citizen Action, Knowledge and Global Economic Power: Reflecting on Current Practices and Challenges Ahead, organised by Just Associates, Action Aid and IDS Participation Group, August 1-3, 2005. Report forthcoming. For further information on the important work by Just Associates on power analysis see www.justassociates.org.

It was from one of these conferences, that an early version of the power cube framework was shared (via Irene Guijt of Learning By Design) with colleagues working in the Dutch NGO Hivos, who then proposed to use it as one element of an international study to assess the work in the field of civil society participation of four Dutch co-financing agencies (CFAs): Hivos, Cordaid, Novib and Plan Netherlands. Led and co-ordinated by Irene Guijt, this project (referred to in this paper as the Civil Society Participation Evaluation or CSPE) carried out a study and evaluation of civil society participation by the partners and grantees of these agencies in five countries: Colombia, Guinea, Guatemala, Uganda and Sri Lanka.[5] The study defined civil society participation as the 'participation of poor and marginalized citizens and civil society organizations in decision-making processes that affect their lives and creation and reinforcement of conditions to this of effect (CSPE, Synthesis report).' Responding to the terms of reference by the CFAs, the study also included a power perspective in which it used the 'spaces, place and power framework' in order 'to examine civil society in relation to development and changes in power relations by and/or on behalf of poor and marginalised people.' In addition, 'due to the choice of war-torn, (post) conflict and fragile peace countries for the evaluation, this framework was supplemented by an explicit look at how violence shapes the potential for civil society participation', drawing especially on work by Jenny Pearce in this regard.[6]

The use of the 'power cube' approach in these five countries therefore also provided a valuable opportunity to further test and evaluate its use, and to ground it in the everyday realities and perceptions of civil society actors in a diverse and important set of countries. This led to very interesting and useful discussions on the power cube approach and how it could be applied with the team of researchers in this project at a workshop in Doorn, Holland in November 2004. Follow-up reflections on its use were held in the synthesis workshop following the field work in May 2005.[7]

The purpose of this paper is fairly straightforward. In short, it is a) to provide a brief description of the 'power cube' approach (Chapter II); and b) to provide reflections on its use as an approach for power analysis in relation to the spaces and dynamics of civil society participation (in Chapter III).

The audience is primarily trainers, applied analysts, donors and civil society practitioners who want to develop their own approaches to power analysis. The approach here is not offered as a prescription, or as the 'best', 'only' or even the 'right' way to do power analysis. Rather, it is to share learning and reflections from a rich set of applications, with the hope of encouraging further applications and approaches of power analysis for action and change. In this paper, I will not attempt to summarize or

5 'Assessing Civil Society Participation at National Level' as supported by Cordaid, Hivos, Novib and Plan Netherlands 1999-2004', prepared by Irene Guijt, forthcoming.
6 Pearce, J., 2004, 'Assessing Civil Society Participation: War and Post-War Contexts.' Background paper for Dutch Civil Society Participation Evaluation, see below.
7 This paper has drawn heavily from the discussions and reports by the other participants in the Dutch Civil Society Participation Evaluation, including Grace Mukasa (Uganda), Jenny Pearce (Colombia and Guatemala), Sriyani Perera (Sri Lanka), Jethro Pettit (Uganda), Gloria Vela (Colombia), Hettie Walters (Sri Lanka) and Jim Woodhill (Uganda), Debra Gish (Guatemala) and Zander Navarro (Guatemala) with additional insights from Rosalind Eyben (IDS), as well as from Irene Guijt. I am very grateful to these colleagues, Irene Guijt, project coordinator, and the Dutch CFAs for allowing me to accompany and to learn from this process.

refer very much to the vast and often contentious academic and conceptual literature that is emerging on power, though I hope to include these broader reflections in a later paper.

2 Understanding the Spaces, Places and Dynamics of Power

Though everyone possesses and is affected by power, the meanings of power – and how to understand it – are contentious. Some see power as held by actors, some of whom are powerful while others are relatively more powerless. Others see it as more pervasive, embodied in a web of relationships and discourses which affect everyone, but which no single actor holds. Some see power as a 'zero-sum' concept – to gain power for one set of actors means that others must give up some power. Since rarely do the powerful give up their power easily, this often involves conflict and 'power struggle.' Others see power as more fluid and accumulative. Power is not a finite resource; it can be used, shared or created by actors and their networks in many multiple ways. Some see power as a 'negative' trait – to hold power is to exercise control over others. Others see power as about capacity and agency to be wielded for positive action.

Power is often used therefore with other descriptive words. Power 'over' refers to the ability of the powerful to affect the actions and thought of the powerless. The power 'to' is important for the capacity to act; to exercise agency and to realise the potential of rights, citizenship or voice. Power 'within' often refers to gaining the sense of self-identity, confidence and awareness that is a pre-condition for action. Power 'with' refers to the synergy which can emerge through partnerships and collaboration with others, or through processes of collective action and alliance building.[8]

My own view of power was shaped by my own history of engaging with power relations in a particular context. As a young graduate in political science, I began working with grassroots citizens in a remote mining valley of one of poorest parts of US in their efforts to claim political, economic and social rights *vis-à-vis* government and a London-based corporate mine owner. The conventional views of democracy and power in America which I had learned in my studies failed to explain the reality I encountered. Though violations of democratic rights, enormous inequalities in wealth, and appalling environmental living conditions were to be found everywhere, there was little visible conflict or action for change. There was something about power which over time had led not only to defeat where voices had been raised – somehow that system over time had silenced those voices altogether.[9] Much of my work then shifted to how citizens recovered a sense of their capacity to act, and how they mobilised to get their issues heard and responded to in the public agenda.

Upon coming to the Institute for Development Studies many years later, I continued to work on processes of citizen participation and engagement in other parts of the world. In the international development field, I discovered a host of approaches for participation in research and learning, advocacy and community mobilisation, poverty assessments and policy processes, local governance and decentralisation, and rights-based and citizenship-building approaches. At the same time, with their increasing

8 For further development of these debates see VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) and Kabeer, N. (2004).
9 For the account of this work, see Gaventa (1980).

acceptance in mainstream development discourse, many of these approaches risked becoming techniques which did not pay sufficient attention to the power relations within and surrounding their use. Increasingly the work of the Participation Group at IDS and many of our associates began to look for approaches which put an understanding of power back in the centre of our understanding of the concepts and practices of participation.

My own work focused mainly on the intersection of power with processes of citizen engagement in governance at the local, national and global levels. Work with Anne-Marie Goetz began to ask questions about the most important spaces in which citizens could effectively engage, and how to move citizen voice from access, to presence to influence.[10] Work with other colleagues examined how citizens participated in policy spaces surrounding poverty reduction, and concluded with a call for moving from 'from policy to power.'[11] Through the Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability, I worked and learned with a research team, led by Andrea Cornwall and Vera Schattan which was examining the 'spaces, places and dynamics' of citizen participation.[12] Some work, through LogoLink,[13] focused on citizen participation at the local level. Others focused on global citizen action.[14] In all of these, the issues of power and its links with processes of citizen engagement, participation and deepening forms of democracy were always lurking somewhere near.

Building on these experiences, we began to think about the a) inter-relationships of spaces of engagement, the b) places and levels where that might occur, and c) the forms of power found within and across them. Taken together, these three dimensions that bound and shape citizen action can be presented using the illustration of a 'power cube' which in turn can be applied to assess the ways in which power works and the transformative possibilities of participation in various spaces (Figure 1).

Though these relationships are visually presented as a cube, it is important to think about each side of the cube as a dimension or set of relationships, not as a fixed or static set of categories. Also, using the Rubik's cube concept, the entry points to the cube can be rotated – any of the blocks or sides may be used as the first point of analysis, but each dimension is linked to the other. In this presentation, we begin with the dimension of spaces.

2.1   The spaces for participation[15]

The notion of 'space' is widely used across the literatures on power, policy, democracy and citizen action. Some writers refer to 'political spaces' as those institutional channels, political discourse and social and political practices through which the poor and those organizations working with them can pursue poverty reduction.[16] Other work focuses on 'policy spaces' to examine the moments and opportunities where citizens and policy

---

10 Goetz and Gaventa (2002).
11 Brock, K., McGee, R., and Gaventa, J. (2004).
12 Cornwall and Schattan (2004). See also Citizenship DRC website www.ids.ac.uk/drc-citizen.
13 See LogoLink website for work on citizen participation and local governance, www.ids.ac.uk/logolink.
14 Edwards, M and Gaventa, J., (2001).
15 The following sections draw heavily on earlier papers on the power cube, as cited in footnote 2.
16 Webster and Engberg (2002).
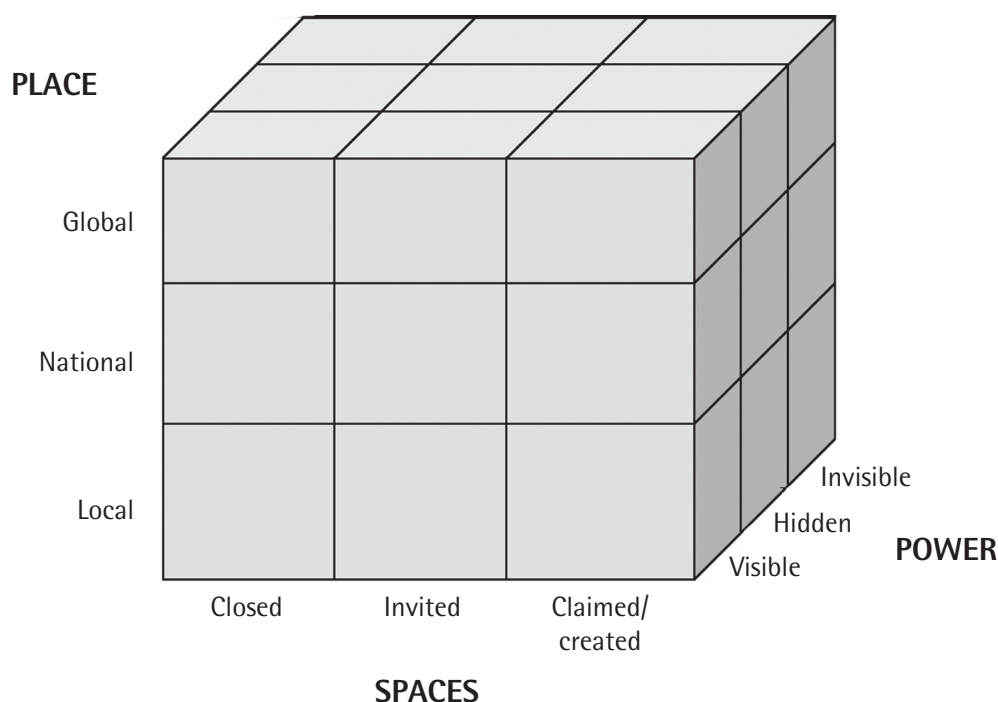
FIGURE 1 – The 'Power Cube': Power in Spaces and Places of Participation

makers come together, as well as 'actual observable opportunities, behaviours, actions and interactions…sometimes signifying transformative potential.'[17] Other work examines 'democratic spaces' in which citizens can engage to claim citizenship and affect governance processes.[18] In this paper, which takes citizen action and participation as its starting point, 'spaces' are seen as opportunities, moments and channels where citizens can act to potentially affect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships which affect their lives and interests.

As Andrea Cornwall's work reminds us, these spaces for participation are not neutral, but are themselves shaped by power relations, which both surround and enter them.[19] Among others, she draws upon French social theorists (Lefebvre, Foucault, and Bourdieu) for whom the concept of power and the concept of space are deeply linked. Quoting Lefebvre: 'Space is a social product… it is not simply 'there', a neutral container waiting to be filled, but is a dynamic, humanly constructed means of control, and hence of domination, of power.'[20]

Inherent also in the idea of spaces and places is also the imagery of 'boundary'. Power relations help to shape the boundaries of participatory spaces, what is possible within them, and who may enter, with which identities, discourses and interests. Using the idea of boundary from Foucault and others, Hayward suggests that we might understand power 'as the network of social boundaries that delimit fields of possible action.' Freedom, on the other hand, 'is the capacity to participate effectively in shaping the social limits that define what is possible' (Hayward 1998:2). In this sense, participation

---

17 McGee, R. (2004), p. 16.
18 Cornwall, A., and Schattan, V., 2004.
19 Cornwall, A. (2002).
20 Lefebvre, H. (1991), p. 24.

as freedom is not only the right to participate effectively in a given space, but the right to define and to shape that space.

So one dynamic we must explore in examining the spaces for participation is to ask how they were created, and with whose interests and what terms of engagement. While there is much debate on the appropriate terminology for these spaces, our work seems to suggest a continuum of spaces, which include:[21]

- *Closed spaces.* Though we want to focus on spaces and places as they open up possibilities for participation, we must realise that still many, many decision-making spaces are closed. That is, decisions are made by a set of actors behind closed doors, without any pretence of broadening the boundaries for inclusion. Within the state, another way of conceiving these spaces is as 'provided' spaces in the sense that elites (be they bureaucrats, experts or elected representatives) make decisions and provide services to 'the people', without the need for broader consultation or involvement. Many civil society efforts focus on opening up such spaces, through greater public involvement, transparency or accountability.

- *Invited spaces.* As efforts are made to widen participation, to move from closed spaces to more 'open' ones, new spaces are created which may be referred to as 'invited' spaces, i.e. 'those into which people (as users, citizens or beneficiaries) are invited to participate by various kinds of authorities, be they government, supranational agencies or non-governmental organisations'.[22] Invited spaces may be regularised, that is they are institutionalised ongoing, or more transient, through one-off forms of consultation. Increasingly with the rise of approaches to participatory governance, these spaces are seen at every level, from local government, to national policy, and even in global policy forums.

- *Claimed/created spaces.* Finally there are the spaces which are claimed by less powerful actors from or against the power holders, or created more autonomously by them. Cornwall refers to these spaces as 'organic' spaces which emerge 'out of sets of common concerns or identifications' and 'may come into being as a result of popular mobilisation, such as around identity or issue-based concerns, or may consist of spaces in which like-minded people join together in common pursuits'.[23] Other work talks of these spaces as 'third spaces' where social actors reject hegemonic space and create spaces for themselves.[24] These spaces range from ones created by social movements and community associations, to those simply involving natural places where people gather to debate, discuss and resist, outside of the institutionalised policy arenas.

These are not the only possible spaces – the critical kinds of spaces for engagement will vary across context and historical setting. As well be seen in the later section, many other relevant terminologies have been added to this continuum, such as 'conquered', 'instigated', or 'initiated' spaces as well. Critical though is who creates the space – those

---

21 These ideas have developed from Cornwall (2002); Brock, Cornwall, Gaventa (2002); Brock, McGee, Gaventa (2004).
22 Cornwall, A., (2002), p. 24.
23 *Ibid.*
24 Soja, E. (1996).

who create it are more likely to have power within it, and those who have power in one, may not have so much in another.

We must also remember that these spaces exist in dynamic relationship to one another, and are constantly opening and closing through struggles for legitimacy and resistance, co-optation and transformation. Closed spaces may seek to restore legitimacy by creating invited spaces; similarly, invited spaces may be created from the other direction, as more autonomous peoples movements attempt to use their own fora for engagement with the state. Similarly, power gained in one space, through new skills, capacity and experiences, can be used to enter and affect other spaces. From this perspective, the transformative potential of spaces for participatory governance must always be assess in relationship to the other spaces which surround them. Creation of new institutional designs of participatory governance, in the absence of other participatory spaces which serve to provide and sustain countervailing power, might simply be captured by the already empowered elite.

2.2   Places and levels for participation

The concern with how and by whom the spaces for participation are shaped intersects as well with debates on the places, or arenas, where critical social, political and economic power resides. While some work on power (especially that on gender and power) starts with an analysis of power in more private or 'intimate' spaces, much of the work on public spaces for participation involves the contest between local, national and global arenas as locations of power.[25] There are some that 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 to 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, as well, there are debates on the role of the nation state, and how it mediates power; on how the possibilities of local spaces often depend on the extent to which power is legitimated nationally, but shared with the locality. A great deal of work in the area of decentralisation, for instance, discusses the dynamics of power between the locality and the nation state, while other literature argues for the importance of community or neighbourhood based associations as key locations for building power 'from below'.

On the other hand, a great deal of the literature warns us of the dangers of focusing only on the 'local' in a globalising world. As we examine the dynamics of spaces and places for participation, we must also keep in mind this second continuum involving the locations and relationships of place, arenas and power. As with the earlier continuum, they show that these levels and arenas of engagement are constantly shifting in relation to the other, that they are dynamic and interwoven. Local actors may use global forums as arenas for action (e.g. Narmada Dam; Chiapas), just as effectively – or more effectively – than they can appeal to institutions of local governance. Conversely, expressions of global civil society or citizenship may simply be vacuous without meaningful links to the local.

---

25 In this paper, the 'power cube' focuses primarily on power in the 'public sphere', while recognizing that this approach is incomplete. See further discussion in section III, subsection 7.

The challenge therefore is not only how to build participatory action at differing levels, but how to promote the democratic and accountable *vertical links* across actors at each level. As Peieterse puts it, 'this involves a double movement, from local reform upward and from global reform downward – each level of governance, from the local to the global, plays a contributing part'.[26] Similarly, Harcourt and Escobar (as have some others) invent the term 'glocal' to describes 'spaces that are neither local nor global'. They write:

> glocal spaces, understood as strategic, have tremendous potential as a base for new and transformative politics and identities. Glocalities, the places and spaces produced by the linking together of various social movements in networks and meshworks of opposition, or the connection of places to global processes, are therefore both strategic and descriptive, potentially oppressive and potentially transformative. ... Glocalities are simultaneously global and place-based, and their specific configuration will depend on their cultural content as well as on the power dynamics at play.[27]

The places and levels dimension of the power cube, then, examines this vertical relationship of power across local to global arenas. As the others, the dimension can be seen as a continuum, with the categories within varied across contexts and purpose of the analysis.

2.3   The forms and visibility of power across spaces and places

As we examine the relationships of place and space vis-à-vis participation, we must also examine the dynamics of power that shape the inclusiveness of participation within each. Here much of the literature of power is concerned with the degree to which conflict over key issues, and the voices of key actors, are visible in given spaces and places. In earlier work, building on work by Lukes I explored the differences between:[28]

> more pluralist approaches to power, in which contests over interests are assumed to be visible in public spaces, which in turn are presumed to be relatively open;

> a second form of power, in which the entry of certain interests and actors into public spaces is privileged over others through a prevailing 'mobilisation of bias' or rules of the game; and

> a third form of power, in which conflict is more invisible, through internalisation of powerlessness, or through dominating ideologies, values and forms of behaviour.

In more recent work which in turn builds upon this approach, VeneKlasen and Miller argue more simply for distinguishing between the visible, hidden and invisible (or internalised) forms of power (see Box 1 and Appendix 1).

The importance of this for how we analyse the dynamics of participation in differing spaces and places is relatively obvious. Historically, many pluralist studies of power have mainly examined power in its visible manifestations. One looked at who

---

26 Quoted in Mohan, G. and Stokke, K., 2000, p. 263.
27 Harcourt, W., and Escobar, A., (2002), p.13.
28 Lukes, S. (1974) and Gaventa, J. (1980).

participated, who benefited and who lost in order to see who had power. But as we have seen, power in relationship to place and space also works to put boundaries on participation, and to exclude certain actors or views from entering the arenas for participation in the first place. Or power, in its more insidious forms, may be internalised in terms of one's values, self-esteem, and identities, such that voices in visible places are but echoes of what the power holders who shaped those places want to hear. Such power analysis points again to the importance of establishing the pre-conditions of participation in for new institutional spaces to lead to change in the status quo. Without prior awareness building so that citizens possess a sense of their own right to claim rights or express voice, and without strong capacities for exercising countervailing power against 'rules of the game' that favour entrenched interests, new mechanisms for participation may be captured by prevailing interests.

BOX 1 – Forms of Power

Visible Power: Observable Decisionmaking
This level includes the visible and definable aspects of political power – the formal rules, structures, authorities, institutions, and procedures of decisionmaking. ...Strategies that target this level are usually trying to change the '*who*, *how* and *what'* of policy-making so that the policy process is more democratic and accountable, and serves the needs and rights of people and the survival of the planet.

Hidden Power: Setting the Political Agenda
Certain powerful people and institutions maintain their influence by controlling who gets to the decisionmaking table and what gets on the agenda. These dynamics operate on many levels to exclude and devalue the concerns and representation of other less powerful groups... Empowering advocacy strategies that focus on strengthening organizations and movements of the poor can build the collective power of numbers and new leadership to influence the way the political agenda is shaped and increase the visibility and legitimacy of their issues, voice and demands.

Invisible Power: Shaping Meaning and What's Acceptable
Probably the most insidious of the three dimensions of power, invisible power shapes the psychological and ideological boundaries of participation. Significant problems and issues are not only kept from the decisionmaking table, but also from the minds and consciousness of the different players involved, even those directly affected by the problem. By influencing how individuals think about their place in the world, this level of power shapes people's beliefs, sense of self, and acceptance of the status quo – even their own superiority or inferiority. Processes of socialization, culture and ideology perpetuate exclusion and inequality by defining what is normal, acceptable and safe. Change strategies in this area target social and political culture as well as individual consciousness to transform the way people perceive themselves and those around them, and how they envision future possibilities and alternatives.

Adapted by Just Associates from 'A New Weave or Power, People and Politics: the Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation, by Lisa VeneKlasen and Valerie Miller, Oklahoma: World Neighbors, 2002.

Each of these continua – space, place and forms of power – exists in relationship with the other, and will affect the complex dynamics of citizen engagement in any given context. The local, national, and global agenda affects the opening and closure of invited spaces; the visibility of power is shaped by who creates the space; in turn prior participatory experiences which have helped to overcome forms of invisible and hidden power may strengthen the possibilities for success of new institutional designs for

participation. In any given issue or conflict, there is no single strategy of entry point for participation. Much depends on navigating the intersection of the relationships, which in turn creates new boundaries of possibility for action and engagement. Like a Rubik's cube, sometimes the dimensions may align with one another; at other moments they are more chaotic, random and confused.

However, intersections of spaces in different ways may also contribute to new possibilities for challenging hegemonic power relations. For instance, the opening of previously closed spaces can contribute to new mobilisations and conscientisation, which may have the potential to open those spaces more widely. Power gained in one space may be used to enter new spaces. From the point of view of social actors who are seeking to change power relations, we need also to investigate how this analysis of power and participation opens new entry points and possibilities for transformational change. Thus, an analysis of the power relations which surround and fill new spaces for democratic engagement is critical for an assessment of their transformative potential.

3 Uses of the Power Cube for Learning, Reflection and Analysis

While the framework outlined in the previous section grew out of conceptual and empirical work on power, as outlined in the beginning of this paper, I have had the opportunity to apply the approach to facilitate learning, reflection and analysis amongst civil society activists, students, donors and others, as well as to learn from colleagues who have also done so. In particular, in the Dutch CFA evaluation, 'Assessing Civil Society Participation', each research team in Colombia, Guatemala, Uganda, Sri Lanka and Guinea used this 'power cube' approach within their field work. Overall, the findings from the Civil Society Participation Evaluation (CSPE) provide rich country level examples which illustrate every dimension of the power cube frame, and which give us a number of insights to power, participation, and strategies for change.

FIGURE 2 – Visual uses of the power cube in Sri Lanka workshop (photo: Hettie Walters)

Though each team in the project used the approach, they did so in different ways and through various innovations and adaptations (See also Appendix II). In Sri Lanka, the team used a visual approach, illustrating the concepts of 'closed, invited and claim spaces' through popular diagrams, as seen in figure 2 above. These diagrams were then used in focus group workshops to initiate discussion among civil society organizations and participants on the kinds of spaces in which they engage, and the dynamics within them. In Colombia, the research team used an even more open-ended approach, in which the concepts were only broadly presented, and participants in the workshops developed their own categories within them. In so doing, says one researcher, 'we gave

the audience a clear and blank canvas, as it were, so that they could draw where their focus was – they created their own dimensions, their own cube, their own spaces.'[29] In Guinea, the team reports that it did not use the power cube explicitly in its entire sense, but 'used bits and pieces of it at different moments; sometimes we were talking about the spaces, sometimes in on the moment we were talking about the places and at another moment we were tried to discuss some of the power and the violence issues.' In the case of Guatemala, while in the first round of research the team found it difficult for people to engage with discussions about power, in further work in which the concepts were linked to the situated practice of local groups, new insights were developed about the kinds of spaces in which groups engaged, and those could then be used to categorize and analyze the overall profiles of the CFA grantees. The Uganda team used the overall framework and national and district level workshops, as well as in interviews, and reported that 'the representatives from the partner organizations found it a useful and insightful tool for discussing at a deeper level issues of power and strategies for advocacy, such as choosing when and how to engage in different spaces. (CSPE, Uganda Case Study). Overall, as a result of these applications, the synthesis report concludes:

> The 'spaces, places, power' framework chosen by the CFAs to guide this evaluation has proven a valuable and dynamic tool to encourage power analysis and to stimulate discussions of strategies and dynamics of participation with the CSOs. The workshops where partner organisations met to discuss their strategies of 'civil society participation' were widely appreciated by participants. It highlighted the changing in-country political realities, which had, on the whole opened up new spaces for engagement. Rich country level examples illustrated every dimension of the frame, providing insights into strategies for change as discussed throughout this report. The ways in which the dimensions are filled differs greatly across context, shaped as they are by the histories and realities of violence and conflict (see 5.2), hence there is no recipe of what constitutes effective participatory action (CSPE Synthesis Report, p. 44).

The report goes on to recommend that the CFAs and their partner organisations continue to develop approaches to power analysis in order to deepen the contextual analysis of their work and to work with partners on finding other strategies and avenues for advancing their rights based work.

In light of this recommendation, and the interest expressed by civil society organizations and others to experiment with the power cube approach more broadly, it might therefore be valuable to share further some of the lessons and insights gained through this and related applications of the approach. From applying the power cube approach and participating in workshops with others who have done so, the following nine reflections emerge which suggest ways in which such power analysis might be used, refined and deepened.

29 Synthesis workshop discussion.

3.1 Use with caution! Power analysis means a dynamic, not a static approach

The danger of the 'matrix' or 'cube' approach is that these boxes become used as static categories, or become a checklist of strategies of methods to be applied uncritically in different settings. In the field, when it was presented simply as a cube, 'there was an immediate tendency to want to fill in the boxes.'[30] But to do so is to miss the mark. Rather, the value of the power cube approach is to promote critical reflection about the relationships involved, not simply to categorize the types of initiatives going on. The approach is not one to be used as a checklist or a static tool to plan policy or projects, nor to produce standardised indicators to monitor and track them. Nor is it best used for planning how to begin a programme – while it can be used to analyse the contexts of power, much of the understanding gained in the CSPE project was gained through reflections gained through the process of challenging power, giving insights *after the fact* which perhaps might not have been as rich *a priori. R*ather than a set of fixed boxes, then, in practice the power cube should be seen more as an illustration of concepts and sets of relationships that are constantly dynamic and changing. Indeed, the work in the field shows that the spaces of engagement, as well as the levels and forms of power, are constantly shifting, and are each influx in relationship with each other.

It is also important that power analysis be used in relationship to specific contexts. The ways in which the dimensions of it are reflected, and the spaces filled, will vary a great deal across the settings in which it is to be used. While the ingredients of change make look somewhat similar across contexts, there is no universal recipe of what constitutes effective participatory action. What may look like an open, invited space for engagement in one setting may in fact be surrounded by historical barriers of fear, violence and exclusion in another. Or, a project that appears to be focusing on 'service-delivery or instrumental approaches to participation, may within that context actually be helping to create the micro-spaces or conditions for new skills and leaders who will challenge power more directly at a later time. In this sense, an important part of the CSPE project was the way which it grounded the power analysis through a focus on the 'situated practice' of civil society actors, thus helping to understand the dynamics of power and possibilities for change 'with reference to actual political, social, cultural and historical particularity rather than idealized notions of democratic practice'.[31]

3.2 Understanding the diversity and fluidity of spaces of engagement

With the importance of context in mind, we have also seen how the kinds of spaces considered relevant for engagement, and their categorization, will vary by different actors in different historical and political settings. While the power cube presented the spaces for engagement along a continuum – from the closed, to the invited, to the claimed – the field work from several of the country case studies extended and revised these concepts in a number of ways. For instance, the categorization of spaces for engagement arising from the Colombian context and later applied to the Guatemalan case, distinguished between spaces which are:

---

30 *ibid.*
31 Cornwall, A. (2002), page 29, quoted by Guijt, I., CSPE Synthesis Report, page 32.

- formal by invitation (participation is officially offered in some way)
- formal by right (participation is mandated or legislated)
- created by non state institutions (e.g. by church, parties, donors)
- created by CSOs (e.g. by NGOs or grassroots organisations)
- collective transitory action (such as protests or land occupations)

Linking back to the contextual understanding, the team observes that this 'analysis coincides with a period of growing polarization, frustration and closing of opportunities within informal and invited spaces in and Guatemala as well as increasing levels of violence and fear' (Guatemala Case, CSPE).

Using the power cube, some researchers found it useful to categorise the work of various civil society groups within it (See Appendix IV). Yet, the static view was only partial. The studies also found that the civil society groups being examined moved across spaces and levels constantly, just as these also were opening and closing to reflect changing political realities. As civil society groups occupied one space, they were invited to enter others. Examples such as these, of which there are many, point to the importance, again, of not categorizing the significance of any given an initiative in a given space only at a fixed point of time. In terms of strategy, this points to the importance also of organizations being able to have the 'staying power' to move across spaces of engagement over time, to retain links with groups working within other spaces, and to have the different capacities for engagement demanded by different spaces in differing moments.

While the studies from some countries illustrate the changing, contextual nature of political spaces, the team from Uganda found it useful also to discuss the different domains in which such civil society participation might engage. These domains – later developed in the synthesis workshop with all of the teams – illustrate the kinds of participatory initiatives in which citizens and civil society organizations might be engaged, including [see also Appendix III]:[32]

- citizenship strengthening
- citizen participation in CSO governance, program monitoring and accountability
- citizen participation and local development in service delivery initiatives
- citizen and CSO participation and advocacy and structural change
- citizen participation and economic life
- social capital, dignity culture and identity

In terms of the power cube analysis, one could apply the understanding of spaces, levels and forms of power to the analysis of participation in any one of these domains, as well as to think about how power and spaces in one domain may be used to leverage more power and space in another.

32 CSPE, Synthesis report.

3.3 Thinking vertically: analysing the levels and places of engagement

The Civil Society Assessment study also illustrated interesting and important work by civil society organisations at every level of the vertical dimension of the power cube – which, one recalls from the earlier part of this paper – attempts to understand the places in which spaces for participation might be constructed, along a continuum from locality to more international. However, as in the example of the spaces of participation, the approach also illustrated the importance of seeing each dimension also as a flexible, adaptable continuum, not as a fixed set of vertical categories for engagement. As in the types of spaces, the relevance and importance of levels and places for engagement will vary according to the purpose of differing civil society organisations and interventions, the openings that are being created in any given context, etc. This adaptation is seen, for instance, in the Colombia study, which lists eight different levels of civil society engagement in the public sphere, each of which has its own types of spaces, including the international, national, departmental, regional/provincial, municipal, communal, and neighbourhood levels. Many of these are shaped by the relevant legal frameworks of governmental administration, and may differ across rural and urban communities. In Guinea, where much of the work of PLAN had to do with promoting and protecting the rights of children, the team cited the importance of the family level as an arena of decision-making which affects the life of the child. They were also able to notice how work with a Children's Parliament had contributed to impacts not only at the community level, but within families, where children said that their role had changed, and that adults listen to them more (CSPE, Guinea Case Study).

While the politically and strategically relevant arenas for engagement will vary across levels and in different contexts, one theme that came up in several of the study findings had to do with the apparent disconnection of citizen engagement at the different levels, especially between the global and the local. By including the global level in the power cube, the approach does help to highlight the importance of the international level of engagement, such as the pressure on the Colombian or Sri Lankan governments brought by international agencies to end patterns of conflict and violence. At the same time, a common theme across the studies had to do with the lack of relationships and links that can exist between those organizations doing advocacy, often led or supported by international NGOs, at the national and international levels, with those working at the more local level. For instance, the report from Uganda reported,

> While the scope of our study did not include the international civil society participation initiatives supported by the CFAs, we did inquire about the connections between global campaigns (whether CFA-supported or otherwise) and the advocacy work of Ugandan CSOs at national and local levels. Some CSOs would like stronger and more sustained contact with global initiatives, to be able to contribute their voices and experiences. [As one local (regional) CSO leader said, *'At the international level there are issues which are not being addressed at the grassroots. For example, changes in agricultural sector, many changes but farmers may not get good prices due to global pricing. How can our donors help us to link to these global campaigns around trade, using our grassroots experience?'* At the same time, we heard a number of concerns that links made by donors between their CSO partners and to their global campaigns need to be done with greater sensitivity to the national context and priorities, and that they be sustained and not temporary. Just as local CSOs feel, at times manipulated by national advocacy agendas, so national CSOs feel used by global campaigns. [CSPE, Uganda Case Study]

This subject was pursued further in a recent workshop on 'Citizen Action, Knowledge and Global Economic Power', where the power cube approach was to used to reflect and analyze the different kinds of civil society initiatives which were going on at different levels. In doing so, the disconnections between those who are speaking at the global level and those who are experiencing problems of poverty or economic injustice at the local level were highlighted. The workshop then focused on ways of overcoming the disconnection.[33]

Looking across the levels of engagement also raises the important question of representation – of who speaks for whom across the intersections of spaces and places, and on what basis – a critical one. Representation is found in each continuum, as we look for instance at who speaks in the intersection between peoples associations' and invited spaces; between the local, national and global or on behalf of the poor and 'invisible'. Effective representation across spaces involves legitimacy, which may be drawn from a number of sources – including voting, trust, identities, and various communication and accountability mechanisms. One adaptation of the power cube would be to represent the various actors and initiatives at various levels and spaces, and then attempt to illustrate the forms and representation, communication and mutual accountability that may or may not exist across them.

3.4   Types and forms of power

Several of the teams reported that while the forms of power outlined in the cube could be drawn from discussions with civil society groups, this was perhaps the most difficult dimension to discuss. To many, the definitions of 'visible, hidden and invisible' were not clear. While grassroots activists could relate to hidden forms at the local level, sometimes this was more difficult at the national and international level, which may have be outside of their direct, personal experience. As one team member put it: 'people can relate to it at a personal and local level but at national level, the further you go up the scale, the least tangible it becomes, for people to articulate what they feel power is.' On the other hand, the case studies are full of illustrations of the various forms of power, ranging from internalised power relationships growing from gendered power and domestic violence, to more visible forms of power in debates and negotiations in invited spaces.

Part of the difficulty for the discussions around the types of power may be in how the concepts of the cube are framed themselves. In the CSPE, the spaces and levels dimensions are foreshadowed, with the questions of power that shape those spaces illustrated as the third dimension of the cube. As one of the researchers said, 'we for example, never asked partners were participants in the workshop whether they suffered from hidden or invisible power. We tried that once, but there something else there at the level of our interpretation. It was the spaces and the places they were more clearly there is concepts to be discussed with the partners. The issue of power and violence was much more implicit in our interpretation.'[34]

33 Global Economic Power workshop report, forthcoming.
34 CSPE synthesis workshop discussion.

On the other hand, if one thinks about the power of approach as a sort of Rubik's cube, it is very possible to shift the viewpoint to highlight an analysis of the forms of power, and how they are experienced in everyday life, as illustrated in Figure 3. In other workshops, this approach has been used, which tends to make power the greater focus, and makes a bit more secondary the discussion about strategies of engagement related to particular places and levels.
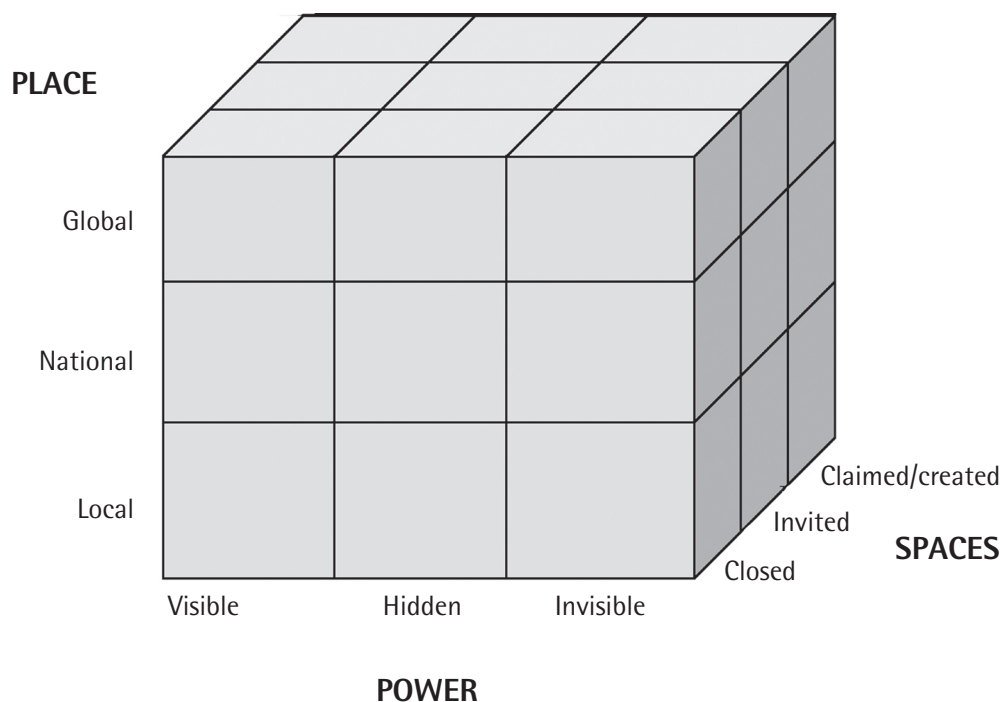

FIGURE 3 – Reorienting the 'Power Cube' to highlight power

As referred to earlier in Box 1, a great deal of work has been done on participatory ways of analyzing the 'visible, hidden and invisible' forms of power by colleagues at Just Associates. In the matrix in Appendix I, they illustrate further the meanings of these forms of power and to provide examples of how they are experienced. This framework was also used in the workshop on Global Economic Power to analyze the forms and mechanisms of power which civil society organizations were confronting in their work at various levels, as illustrated by photographs below (see Figure 4).

Like the spaces of participation, the forms of power are not fixed and static, but constantly interact with one another. Perhaps some of the most powerful stories of power, and how they constrain participation, are found when these several continua come together to re-enforce one another. For instance, it is the *combination* of the way that fixed spatial locations, in turn intersect with histories of closed decision-making spaces the capacity to control the visibility of conflict, when power is seen in its most concentrated and hegemonic forms. However, as we discussed in section II, intersections of spaces in different ways may also contribute to new possibilities for challenging hegemonic power relations.
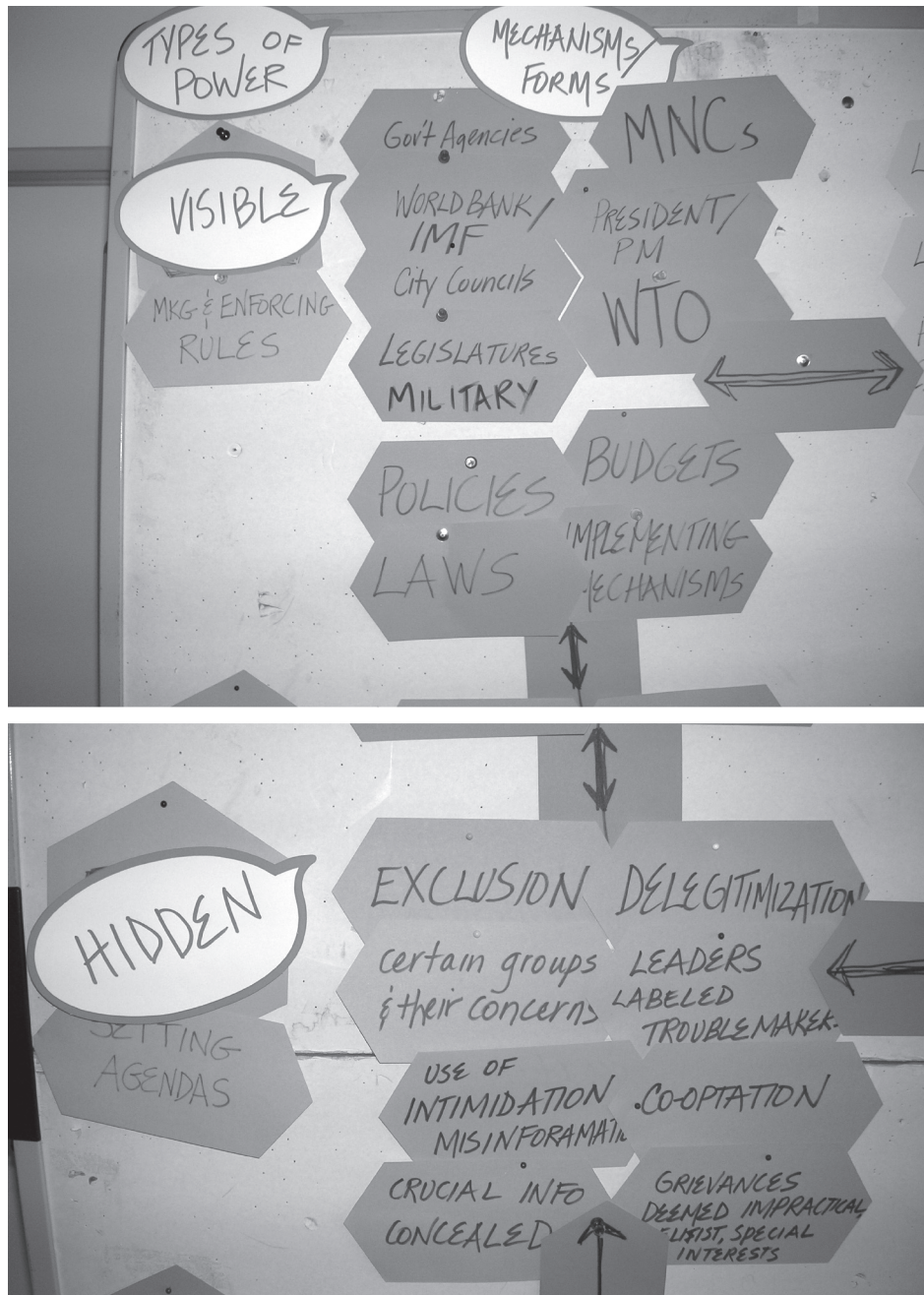
FIGURE 4 – Photographs illustrating analysis of Types of Power, Global Economic Power Workshop IDS, August 2005

3.5   Analyzing strategies within and across spaces and levels

One of the key uses of the power analysis is to help think about strategies that can be used to claim or enter spaces and challenge forms of power, within and across levels of engagement (see Figure 5). The matrix developed by Just Associates helps also to illustrate the kinds of strategies that may be associated with each kind of power (See Appendix I). At the level of visible power, the focus is often on changing or challenging formal laws, policies or decision-making processes, and the strategies may involve advocacy strategies such as lobbying and monitoring, policy research, or work with the media.

BOX 2 – Using the power cube to analyse how power affects sex workers in India

Following on from a workshop on Rights and Power at IDS, the framework was also by CARE
– India, in work with sex workers on an HIV/AIDS project. They illustrate the various forms of power:

• Visible power – This level of power includes the visible and definable aspects of power.
  These may include the formal rules, structures, authorities, institutions and procedures of
  decision making like IPTA act which controls sex trade, police and administration who hails the
  authority to 'guard' and control the entry of individual in the sex trade, power of local goons in
  dictating terms and condition of trade and sex practices.

• Hidden power: This level of power is less obvious, certain powerful people and institutions
  maintain their influence by controlling decision-making. These dynamics exclude and devalue
  concerns and representation of other less powerful groups. These groups' issues are seldom seen
  as mainstream and newsworthy. In a brothel-based setting, the 'brothel owner' or a local leader/
  big brother is mostly not present at the brothel, but still has a major role to play in decision
  making. Therefore, even by being absent, he/ she might be exerting power through a different
  mechanism. Similarly Madam could be a mere agent for operationalising power, whereas the
  true power broker is someone else playing behind the curtain.

• Invisible (Internalized) power: By influencing how individuals think of their place in the world,
  this level of power shapes peoples beliefs, sense of self and acceptance of their own superiority
  or inferiority. Socialized consent prevents people from questioning or envisioning any
  possibilities for changing these relationships or addressing injustices – e.g. the social norms and
  values attached to sex, sexuality and sex trade –act as a powerful tool to subjugate sex workers
  and prevent them to raise their voices against exploitative practices employed by the powerful
  lobbies in the society.

From 'Understanding Power and Creating Spaces: Sex Workers Voices in HIV Prevention' www.careindia.
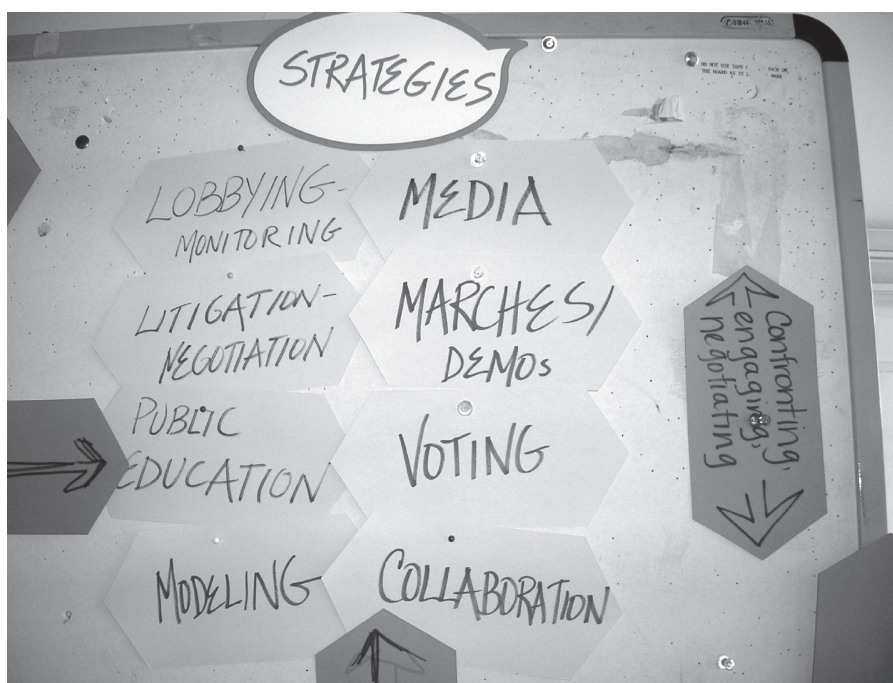org:8080/understanding.pdf

FIGURE 5 – Articulating strategies associated with each kind of power

At the level of hidden power, the focus is on challenging the barriers – institutional and symbolic – which keep certain issues and actors from reaching these more visible sphere – it is about putting an issue to decision-making table. Here, the strategies involve mobilising against forms of discrimination and exclusion, using participatory research to document and surface abuses of power and injustices, and building coalitions that give stronger voice to those who have been excluded. At the level of invisible, or internal power, where the concern is dealing with internalised forms of powerlessness and a lack of a sense of agency to act, the strategies often have to do with awareness building and consciousness raising, recovering and legitimating suppressed or forgotten forms of knowledge and culture, or building confidence and identities to act.

Further work in the CSPE project, especially in Colombia and Guatemala focused more on what strategies could be used by social actors once they got into a participatory space. Asking people to name the strategies used in invited spaces, the team came up with a list of 12 such strategies (see Box 3).

BOX 3 – Strategies of Participation Within Political Spaces Developed by Jenny Pearce and Gloria Vela, March 2005

English translation	Spanish
Decision Making	Toma decisiones
Debate	Debate
Building Agreements	Concertación
Influence	Incidencia
Interlocution	Interlocución
Lobbying	Cabildeo
Protest	Protesta
Accountability	Rendición de Cuentas
Making Visible	Visibilización
Pressure	Presión
Articulation	Articulación
Follow up	Seguimiento
Forming Public Opinion	Formación de Opinión Pública
Scrutiny and Recommendation	Escrutinio y Recomendación
Resistance	Resistencia)
Proposal	Proposición
Negotiation	Negociación
Peace-building	Construcción de Paz
Complaint	Queja
Encounter	Encuentro
Mobilization	Movilización

Colombia Case Study, 'Civil Society Participation Evaluation'

The team goes on to report that the predominant goals within each space are 'building agreements, making proposals and interlocution' By contrast, actual decision making still had little civil society engagement. There was, quoting one of their interviewees, 'much participation, little transformation.' (CSPE, Colombia case study). A similar concern about the need to understand better the strategies of engagement *within* the

spaces also emerged from the Sri Lanka case, where a great deal of work was spent getting tea plantation workers to the spaces for negotiation and dialogue, but less attention was paid on the skills and strategies for using the space effectively once they were there.

If it is important to examine the strategic questions of how to enter and claim spaces for participation, as well as the strategies that can be used within them or the *intra-spatial* goals, it is also important to look at how strategies link across the spaces, levels and types of power, or the *inter-spatial goals* which different actors and social movements take on board. For instance, a strategy may be very effective at confronting visible power, and thus winning the issue, but do very little about changing the hidden and invisible forms of power in the process. As pointed out earlier, global campaigns may be built very effectively at the global level, but may not actually connect to the daily power realities faced at the local level by those whom the campaign is meant to benefit. At the Global Economy Workshop one of the key concerns, for instance, was how to build the links between campaigning and advocacy work at the global level that often drew upon professional forms of knowledge and expertise to change key policies, and local level organising and popular education work that drew on different forms of knowledge and capacity, described by one workshop participant as the tension between *winning* the issue in the short term vs. *building* organisational capacity and awareness in order be better able to deal with underlying issues over the long term.[35] The challenge then becomes how to build networks and coalitions across levels and forms of power, to challenge each of its dimensions together. This also requires civil society actors learning and playing multiple roles, with diverse skills.

From a movement-building perspective, it is perhaps when social actions are aligned across levels, forms of power and spaces that real 'breakthroughs' or turning points in existing structures may occur. This does not happen often, as many forms of engagement of power are working in their own space or level, and are not engaged with and synergising with those working with others. But when such alignment of action does occur, massive changes can also occur very quickly. For instance, in the American civil rights movement, it was when years of critical educational work, organisational building and national policy litigation came together – sparked by the symbolic act of Rosa Parks refusing to give up her seat on the bus in Alabama – that real change began to occur. For the purposes of education and training using the power approach, a key question for discussion then might be 'what are the barriers which keep social movements or actors from connecting up? What would change look like it they did?'

3.6   What goes on inside the space? Who participates with what knowledge and values?

From the projects using the power cube approach, especially the work with the CSPE project, a key concern is also not only how to enter and engage with the spaces of power, but how to also change the culture of participation within the spaces as well – it's about quality of engagement as well as the quantity. As Guijt writes in the synthesis study, it is important to 'invest in improving the internal participatory culture and practice, which can contribute to the quality with which the work in other spaces occurs,

35 Global Economy workshop.

for example via the nature of representation or the clarity of vision and priorities' (CSPE Synthesis Report, p. 46).

And, and as reflected in the three dimensional approach of the power cube, forms of visible, hidden and internalised power affect every space and arena for action. Power is not just what the large, global external actors have (have or do) in relationship to more local civil society actors. These forms of power reside within locally claimed or created spaces as well. Thus, it is also important to look at how the internal relations of civil society organisations also change or re-enforce power relations. As an activist with Casa de la Mujer, a feminist civil society organisation in Colombia, is quoted as saying:

> Women must ask themselves, do they want to replicate exclusionary practices or encourage other types of political practices? Participation is about developing the commonality in our needs and how to negotiate individual and collective needs. Do we come together to put forward our needs or do we want to be exclusionary? Our proposals are not just for women, but for our families, for everyone. What type of political practices do we want to build? How do we not repeat other practices, including those amongst women? Power is denied us, how do we recognise the power of others? I don't know whether we have an alternative idea of power. ...Power for what? Do we want power for human beings? Yes, but not that of men, based on exclusion. We want a power that permits men and women to reach agreements. That doesn't mean that women are only victims. It means a construction. What is in us, which also reproduces exclusionary practices? (quoted in CSPE, Colombia Case Study).

This point also illustrates an understanding of the relational nature of power: Those who are relatively powerless in one setting, may be more powerful in others. 'Empowering' actors to claim power in one space may strengthen their power over others in another space. How they then use and exercise that new power is critical.

In exploring these questions of the kinds of how power is being used, created and re-created in participatory spaces, power analysis can also ask questions about 'Who is participating in the space? What is the quality of the interaction? Of the deliberation which is occurring? How do the cultures, values and knowledge prevalent in one space can re-enforced or excluded within others?' Such an approach was taken in part by recent work in a study of poverty policy processes in Uganda and Nigeria. Using an approach to identify peoples' perception of different 'policy spaces' that affect poverty at different levels, they also asked, 'whose knowledge is used in the spaces? Whose understanding and version of poverty is reflected there? Who are the key actors in each space? How are the connected to those in other spaces, and those on the outside?'[36]

3.7   Bringing in gender analysis

In some workshops which have used the present version of the power cube, questions have been raised about why it only focuses on 'public space' and does not include within the 'private' or 'household' space which are known, from vast work on gender and power, also help to shape power relations, especially through the hidden and invisible forms of power. One approach to deal with this is simply to add another 'level'

36 See Karen Brock, Rosemary McGee and John Gaventa (eds), 2004.

or place of power to the analysis. As discussed above, for instance, the dimensions of the cube should not be seen as fixed, but as flexible, to be adapted to the situations and contexts which are being analysed. This, for instance, is what was done in the Guinea study when they highlighted the level of the family in analysing the power outcomes in the work of Plan Guinea (see Box 4).

Box 4 – How one International NGO approaches power – an example of using the power cube to reflect on donor strategy

Plan Guinea's activities and their impacts can be viewed as follows in 'power cube' terms:

- In essence, Plan Guinea works at the local level, to a limited degree at the regional level and scarcely at the national level.
- Plan Guinea does not work against the invisible power but will use it where necessary to arrive at its ends; Plan Guinea does not work with hidden power but instead concentrates its efforts on visible power.

Rather than creating inviting spaces or help claim space, Plan Guinea attempts to open closed spaces or to allow for actors in closed spaces to evolve and find a way out.

From CSPE, Guinea Case Study

The danger in the current visual version of the cube is that not to build it in risks that gender analysis will be ignored. On the other hand, the danger of simply adding a 'box' is that gender relations will remain there, when if fact one can argue that the power embedded in gender relations and the household affect actors at every level of power, from the community to the international, and can be used to understand and analyse each of the dimensions. Another approach, however, is to overlay or infuse the whole approach with a strong gender perspective. By focusing on gender relations as an overall purpose of its work, the CSPE project illustrated the ways in which gender and power intersect across the cube, not only within one bit of it. As the report concludes, 'gender relations in civil society participation are a clear illustration of the cross level-nature of CSP. Gender relations arose in many, if not most, organisations and activities, either as a central priority or as one that needed to be addressed within the context of other issues' (CSPE, Synthesis Report p. 46) The report then went on to examine how work was needed by CFAs and CSO at every level to get the 'cross-level action that is required to change patriarchal relations' ...Work on women's awareness and competencies must be matched with efforts to obtain openness by the political spaces in which women are expected to exercise their voice to listen. Structures, procedures and attitudes at all levels of the administration need concerted efforts...' (CSPE, Synthesis Report, p. 46).

Another approach, of course, is to supplement the spaces, levels, and forms of power analysis with other ways to analyse the interaction of gender and power relationships, of which there are many. A good resource is the guide by Just Associates, *The New Weave,* which adds to the exercises on forms of power other approaches which focus on the links between the public, private and intimate realms of power.[37] Other popular education approaches, such as the 'Power-Flower' exercise put more emphasis on understanding multiple forms of power, and the ways in which affect one's self-image of agency.

---

37 See VeneKlasen and Miller (2002), pp. 51-53.

3.8   Linking power and violence

As mentioned earlier, the CSPE project carried out its analysis in countries affected by extreme forms of conflict and violence. An important part of the project therefore was to understand how violence linked to power, and also affected the dynamics of civil society participation.

In so doing, while we had some interesting conceptual discussions, about the relationships of power and violence, we also recognized that the power cube could be used as a 'power-violence' cube both by asking how violence shaped the spaces of participation and forms of power at every level, but also by looking especially at how forms of violence could be used as one dimension of the approach to highlight the violence analysis – e.g. looking at visible, hidden and invisible forms of violence, rather than of power, and examining the links between the two. As one researcher reflected, 'we talked a lot about violence and power. I think our main recommendation for the group is that there are a lot of really detailed issues involved in how violence becomes power. It is both internalized and contextual. It cuts right across the forms of power. More work is needed to actually deepen how violence works as a form of power and to internalize disempowerment – visible, hidden and invisible.'[38]

By making these links, striking insights were gained into the ways that violence, and often violence linked to gendered forms of power, shaped the possibilities and forms of civil society engagement As Pearce and Vera write in their Colombia report,

> Violence potentially enters the power cube, we have argued; it is not just an external contextual factor and it impacts on the culture of participation within spaces. Experiences of violence and abuse can deeply affect how individuals use and feel in a participatory space, and in a country such as Colombia where so many individuals have direct and indirect experience of violence and aggression, this must be taken into account when reflecting on how best to use spaces for creating change. ...The field visits demonstrated the differential participatory impact (closing or triggering) on spaces for participatory action of violence (whether perpetrated by guerrilla, paramilitary, drugs trafficker, state security and criminal gangs) or internalised fear of violence or aggressive behaviour within these spaces; and of power (visible in the sense of traditional political elites and corrupt practices, and invisible in terms of differential knowledge, skills and experience of the public space... And critical to the relationship of power and violence to participation is their gender dimensions. The overwhelming number of violent deaths in Colombia involves young men (15-44) as victims and perpetrators. However, women and children are high amongst the victims of sexual abuse, domestic violence and forced displacement (CSPE Colombia Case Study).

The Sri Lanka case study also pointed very strongly to the links between power, violence and gender. It describes, for instance, the example of a Butterfly Peace Garden, a project which has been critical as 'physical claimed space...where violence ends and reconciliation, healing and friendship can make a new start.' It also uses the 'levels' of the power cube to analyse the divisions and potential linkages between those groups working for peace at the 'track one level' (the national/international), to the 'track 3 level' (the local, grassroots level), and in so doing points to an important issue of working across levels and spaces in conflict reduction and peace building processes (CSPE, Sri Lanka Case Study).

38 CSPE Synthesis Workshop.

3.9   Being reflexive about power – seeing ourselves as part of the equation

There is often a tendency to want to analyse power relations 'out there', to examine the power that empowers and dis-empowers 'the others' in civil society with whom donors, academics, development professionals, etc. often work. But, to do so ignores the fact that 'we' are also part of the power frame – and indeed, even facilitating and using power analysis through approaches like the 'power cube' can contribute to discourses and relations of power as well.

In several uses of the power cube approach, it has also been used, in particular, to understand the role that donor agencies play in dealing with power relationships, as well as to reflect on their own power as actors. In the CSPE project, findings and recommendations point very clearly to the importance of donor agencies recognizing the power which they have to create, link, widen and close spaces for participation. In general, the project also pointed to a strong need for more self-conscious processes of reflecting and analysing on power relations by and within both CFAs and CSOs, for civil society participation to more effectively transform power.

By asking such questions about the role of donors and international NGO's, some interesting insights can emerge. Though the case studies on the work of Plan Guinea concerns arose about donor-created spaces as parallel spaces, which while enabling participation could over the long-term weak other state-based institutions. At the same time, the Guinea case study reports important findings about how PLAN does attempt to deal with and confront power relations.

To do such analysis is not always easy and is sometimes uncomfortable, however (see Box 5). In one workshop with Swiss donors, the power cube was re-created as a giant matrix on the floor, with the third dimension reflected in a card which each person. Donors were first asked to discuss where the most promising strategies for change might be in the countries where they worked – and many identified those involving 'claimed and created spaces' at the local level. Then, they were asked to physically position themselves in the spaces and levels where they as donors actually worked, and to reflect, using cards which they stuck to their bodies, the forms of power they held. When they put themselves in the picture (in a very energizing version of 'power twister'), it was clear that many did or could not work as donors in the spaces they thought might be best for change, but needed to work in more visible, national spaces. This led to a very useful discussion on the role and power which donors had and the barriers to linking there work to the model of change they would like to see.

In another workshop on rights and power, donors were asked to act out through mini-dramas, their own power in particular spaces, and to discuss how to deal with the dilemmas this posed. In one exercise, 'the power pot', donor staff were asked to position themselves in relationship to the power hierarchies felt within the international donor community, and how this in turn affected their role and strategies as actors. As described in the workshop report,

> To help link power to personal experience, workshop participants assumed different roles—from ambassador to nanny—to enact at a 'cocktail party' at the embassy of Norlandia in the country of Surlandia. Participants situated themselves in relationship to a 'power pot', depending on how much personal power they perceived they would exercise at the party in their respective roles. A pattern of concentric circles emerged surrounding the power pot, where those more distant

BOX 5 – Using the Power Cube to Reflect on Donor Power

John Gaventa's presentation of the 'Power Cube' and the group exercise on the places, spaces and faces of power was illustrated by Rosalind Eyben's story of donor practice in Bolivia.

This concerned the challenges arising from a donor decision to support grass roots movements' efforts to secure identity cards and thus the right to vote. For a donor to support voting rights in the name of 'democracy' without examining the forms of power behind it is simply to re-enforce democracy of the 'included'. Her story showed the perils of engaging with actors from below who challenge existing assumptions and powers. Rosalind described them as 'nasty civil society' as distinct from 'nice civil society' which is often a donor creation and with whom donors feel more comfortable.

The presentation ended with lessons that she had learned from the experience she shared and these included: the need to have contextual knowledge, support with the donor organization, trust in local partners, preparedness to take informed risks, good timing, bridge building among local stakeholders, and being transparent and conscious of our own biases.

Some critical questions on donors' role:
§   Is our analysis over-influenced by accepting the views of those in power?
§   If so, is a different analysis the first step to our supporting a transformation in power relations?
§   What are the risks we run in describing things and presenting ideas that challenge existing orthodoxy?

Participants discussed some of the contradictions and tensions for donors when seeking to change unequal power relations in support of poor people. How does our own personal history and location influence the way we interpret and support participatory governance? What are some practical ways of broadening our political analysis to go beyond the views of those who are in power? What are the risks we face in describing things and presenting ideas that challenge existing orthodoxy? . Our own intervention may trigger conflicts and we need new methods and competencies if we are to be effective in supporting participatory governance initiatives.

The specific power of Swiss agencies was also considered. Did NGOs not have power because they had no money? Did the SDC and other parts of the Swiss government not sufficiently exercise power in support of its objectives because of its history of neutrality? The importance of understanding power relations in the local context and assessing one's own power as a donor were emphasised as vital elements of improved donor practice.
SDC/IDS Workshop on Participatory Governance, Berne 18-19 September 2003

from the power pot were also more distanced from each other and those close to the power pot were closer together. The powerless emerged as fragmented rather than unified, where those with more power were closely linked.[39]

In a time when many donor agencies are moving towards concerns with performance based management, and its cultures of outcomes and target, encouraging such reflexivity on how they contribute to power, how they use their own power, and how they change power relations is an important process.

---

39 Development Research Centre, Rights and Power Workshop Report (2003).

4 A (not so) Final Word

The Dutch CSPE, as the other projects mentioned here, point to the importance and potential of bringing power analysis into work on building civil society engagement and participation across a number of domains. Such work is useful for developing and reflecting on strategies of change and for building new strategies. As the examples also point out, however, the tools and process of analysis must be deeply rooted in the context and purpose of the exercise. The 'power cube' approach is one of many approaches to help to do so. But, as the nine reflections above illustrate, the approach is to be used with adaptation, innovation, and most importantly with care and self-reflection. Otherwise, the cube – and those researchers like me who have the privilege of writing about and watching such processes – will have more power than we should. I look forward to future innovations and development of new approaches to participatory power analysis as well.

5 References

The reports from the Dutch CFA evaluation 'Assessing Civil Society Participation' project, as supported by Cordaid, Hivos, Novib and Plan Netherlands, include the following:

Irene Guijt. 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'.

Jenny Pearce and Gloria Vela. 2005. Colombia Country Report for the Dutch CFA Programme Evaluation 'Assessing Civil Society Participation as Supported In-Country by Cordaid, Hivos, Novib and Plan Netherlands 1999-2004'.

Marlene Buchy and Marie Yvonne Curtis. 2005. Guinea Country Report for the Dutch CFA Programme Evaluation 'Assessing Civil Society Participation as Supported In-Country by Cordaid, Hivos, Novib and Plan Netherlands 1999-2004'.

Grace Mukasa, Jethro Pettit and Jim Woodhill. 2005. Uganda Country Report for the Dutch CFA Programme Evaluation 'Assessing Civil Society Participation as Supported In-Country by Cordaid, Hivos, Novib and Plan Netherlands 1999-2004'.

Sriyani Perera and Hettie Walters. 2005. Sri Lanka Country Report for the Dutch CFA Programme Evaluation 'Assessing Civil Society Participation at National Level as supported by Cordaid, Hivos, Novib and Plan Netherlands 1999-2004'.

Debra Gish, Zander Navarro, Jenny Pearce and Jethro Pettit. 2005. Guatemala Country Report for the Dutch CFA Programme Evaluation 'Assessing Civil Society Participation as Supported In-Country by Cordaid, Hivos, Novib and Plan Netherlands 1999-2004'.

Secondary Literature:

Brock, K., Cornwall, A., and Gaventa, J. (2001) 'Power, Knowledge and Political Spaces in the Framing of Poverty Policy'. *IDS Working Paper* 143.

Brock, K., McGee, R., Gaventa, J. (eds) (2004) *Unpacking Policy: actors, knowledge and spaces in poverty reduction.* Kampala: Fountain Press

Cornwall, A. (2002) *Making Spaces, Changing Places: Situating Participation in Development,* IDS Working Paper 170.

Cornwall, A. and Schattan, V., eds., (2004), *'New Democratic Spaces?',* IDS Bulletin, Vol. 35, No. 2.

Development Research Centre, Rights and Power Workshop Report (2003), www2.ids.ac.uk/drccitizen/docs/r&pworkshopreportfinal.pdf

Edwards, M. and Gaventa, J. (2001) *Global Citizen Action*, Boulder; Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers.

Gaventa, J. (2004). 'Towards Participatory Governance: Assessing the Transformative Possibilities', in Hickey, S., and Mohan, G., eds., *.From Tyranny to Transformation*, London: Zed Books.

Gaventa, J. (1980), *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Goetz, A.M. and J. Gaventa (2001) 'From Consultation to Influence: Bringing Citizen Voice and Client Focus into Service Delivery.' *IDS Working Paper 138.*

Harcourt, W., and Escobar, A., (2002) 'Women and the Politics of Place', *Development* 45(1), p. 13.

Hayward, C.R. (1998) 'De-Facing Power. *Polity* 31 (1).

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space.* London: Verso. p. 24.

Lukes, S. (1974). *Power: A Radical View.* London: Macmillan.

McGee, R., 'Unpacking Policy: Actors, Knowledge and Spaces,' in Brock, McGee and Gaventa (2004), pp. 1-26.

Mohan, G. and K. Stokke (2000) 'Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism', *Third World Quarterly* 21 (2): 247-268

Kabeer, N. (2001), *Reversed Realities: Gender hierarchies in Development Thought*, London: Verso.

Soja, E., (1996.*) Third Space: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other imagined places*. Cambridge MA: Blackwell.

VeneKlasen, L., and Miller, V. (2002) *A New Weave of People, Power and Politics: the Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*. World Neighbors: Oklahoma City.

Webster and Engberg-Petersen L., (2002), (eds) *In the Name of the Poor: Contesting Political. Space for Poverty Reduction*. London: Zed Books.

APPENDIX I
Handout on 'Understanding Power' from Veneklasen and Miller, Just Associates, 2002

Mechanisms through which these dimensions of power operate:	Examples	Responses/Strategies
Visible: Making & Enforcing the Rules Formal institutions & officials: President, Prime Minister, legislature, courts, ministries, police, military, etc. United Nations, IMF, World Bank; Private sector: industry, multinational corporations, chamber of commerce, businesses, etc. Instruments: Policies, laws, constitutions, budgets, regulations, conventions, implementing	Biased laws/policies (e.g. health care policies that do not address women's reproductive needs); Decisionmaking structures (parliaments, courts, IFI governance, etc.) favor the elite or powerful and are closed to certain people's voices and unrepresentative; The principle of 'equality' may exist in law, but parliaments and courts are not fairly representative of women and minorities.	• Lobbying & monitoring • Negotiation & litigation • Public education & media • Policy research, proposals • Shadow reports • Marches & demonstrations • Voting & running for office • Modeling innovations • Collaboration • Etc.
Hidden: Setting the Agenda *Exclusion & delegitimization:* Certain groups (and their issues) excluded from decisionmaking by society's unwritten rules and the political control of dominant and vested interests. They and their grievances are made invisible by intimidation, misinformation and co-optation. Often, formal institutions with visible power, also exercise hidden power.	Leaders are labeled trouble-makers or unrepresentative. Issues related to the environment are deemed elitist, impractical; domestic violence, childcare are private, individual issues not worthy of public action; labor rights are 'special' interests and not economically viable. The media does not consider these groups' issues to be mainstream or newsworthy. Crucial information is concealed or inaccessible.	• Building active constituencies around common concerns • Strengthening organizations, coalitions, movements, and accountable leaders • Mobilizing around shared agendas; demonstrating clout through direct action • Participatory research and dissemination of information that legitimizes the issues of excluded groups • Etc.
Invisible: Shaping Meaning, Values & What's 'Normal' *Socialization & control of information:* Processes, practices, cultural norms, values and customs shape people's understanding of their needs, rights, roles, possibilities and actions in ways that deter effective action for change.	Among marginal groups, socialization internalizes feelings of powerlessness, shame, anger, hostility, apathy, distrust, etc. coupled with lack of basic information/knowledge needed to participate- articulate demands. Gender, race and class are critical factors to consider – people internalize sense of rights. e.g. Poor farmers blame selves for poverty despite unequal access to global markets or decent prices or wages.	• Education for confidence, citizenship, collaboration, political awareness & analysis, using alternative media • Sharing stories, speaking out and connecting with others, affirming resistance, linking concrete problems to rights • Investigation, action research and dissemination of concealed information • Popular education tied to organizing.

POWER OVER

TRANSFORMING POWER

Confronting, engaging, negotiating

Building collective power

Building individual and collective power

APPENDIX II
Brainstorm of Questions relating to the dimensions of the power cube for use in fieldwork. From Doorn Workshop, Civil Society Participation Evaluation Project, November 2004

Note: Referring back to the power cube, we want to think of each dimension of the cube more as a continuum, not something which is so precise and fixed as implied in the cube presentation. We can think of a series of question around each theme – *spaces*, *places* and types of *decision making power.*

We can also ask questions related to what goes on inside the 'spaces' in the cube – which *actors* enter them, with what *knowledge* and *values?*

Finally, if could easily imagine the cube as a 'violence' cube as well, thinking of violence rather than power as a key dimension. This might give us another snapshot into what shapes and fills spaces of participation. Using both 'shapshots', and mentally overlaying them, we could perhaps develop better understanding of how power and violence interact, and how participation can be used to challenge visible, hidden and internalized forms of violence as well as power.

These questions are the type that might be used with CSOs and their partners to understand better the 'situated practice' of participation.

General open ended
- What issues are you engaging with and how?. In your work on these issues (e.g. human rights, governance, gender, etc.),what strategies do you use to help strengthen participation?
- How do you see your work helping to strengthen the participation of poor and marginalized people in decisions that affect their lives?

Places
- What levels of power or decision making is your work trying to affect? E.g.
- Are you working to strengthen participation in decision-making
  - In the family or household (e.g. empowerment of youth or women)?
  - In local institutions or civil society organizations?(e.g. schools, hospitals)?
  - In local government and municipalities?
  - At the national level (e.g. PRSP policy)?
  - At the global level (e.g. international peace or human rights accords, trade policy)?

- Why do you focus on these levels? How is your work affected by power and decisions at the other levels?
- Do you have links with groups working at the other levels? What kinds? Are the there examples of alliances across the levels that strengthen each other? Tensions?

Strategies and Spaces

- In this work, what kinds of 'spaces' or arenas for participation are you entering or challenging or trying to build? For instance,
  - Does your work focus on trying to challenge or influence existing authorities and powerholders about decisions they are making, e.g. through advocacy, campaigns or direct organizing work? Are you trying to challenge decisions that are normally taken behind 'closed doors', and how?
  - *And/or,* Are you and the people you work being invited to participate in shared decision making spaces (e.g in consultations, joint decision making councils, multi-stakeholder forums?) Do you try and create these spaces for dialogue and shared decision making yourself? What are some of the strategies you are using?
  - *And/or*, does your work strengthen participation by people in places independent of the normal authorities and decision-makers? Are you strengthening or creating new opportunities for peoples participation? Do you help people manage and control their own services? Build an independent social movement? Strengthen their own associations and community organizations?

- Which of these strategies are most effective for strengthening real participation and decision-making power? Why?
  - What are the trade-offs and tough choices you have to make amongst them? For instance, are there tensions between being an outside advocate and watchdog, and being invited to consult with and collaborate with powerholders?
  - How do you navigate all of this? How you decide when to engage and when not, because it might not be worthwhile, e.g. might be a waste of time or lead to cooptation?

Actors, knowledge, power, violence

- Who engages in your strategies? In the spaces that you are trying to build or occupy? Whose participation does your work strengthen? What is your organizations' relationship to them (e.g. members, beneficiaries, clients). How do they help shape your strategy?
- Who's *not* participating? What are the barriers? What is keeping certain key issues, or problems from being raised publicly?
- What kinds of knowledge to people bring to the table when they participate? Is it seen as legitimate by the experts and authorities? Do people have the awareness and confidence in their knowledge to participate in public arenas (e.g. knowledge of rights)? How do issues of knowledge and awareness keep people from participating in decision making that affect them? What strategies do you use to challenge these barriers?
- Is your work for building peoples participation affected by problems of violence or conflict? How? Can peoples participation help to counter violence and conflict? How have you found it does so?
- What do you find inspires and motivates people to want to claim or challenge power or participate more directly in decisions that affect them? Are they trying to win a specific issue? Get a piece of the pie? Or are there some other values they are standing for – like respect, or justice? How do these differ from those in power?

Links with others

- What the key and most supportive relationships that you have to strengthen your work for participation? (donors, organizations, friends, those in power)? What kinds of support helps you the most? What kinds of support don't you need?

- What role do the CFAs play to help you do this work? What could they do to strengthen your work on participation? What messages do you want to give to them about the strategies for building participation they should support? And how?

Impact stories
- What differences to you see participation making? To whom?
- What would you consider the most important success or result from your work on strengthening participation? How has it made the most difference?

APPENDIX III

The CSP Landscape – Domains of Citizen and CSO Participation (with specific reference to poor, marginalised and vulnerable people). Civil Society Participation Evaluation Synthesis Report 2005

Domain of Participation and Achievements	Role of CSOs in Achieving Progress	Examples of Progress within Domain
Citizenship strengthening – Well informed people in the process of becoming citizens who can understand their rights and are able to constructively and effectively engage in claim making, collective action, governance and political processes.	• Raise awareness about rights • Make information accessible to people • Engage people in processes of internalisation and learning • Build the capacity of people to engage effectively with claim making and political processes	• People have their basic human and physical needs met as a condition of citizenship • People are aware of their human and democratic rights • People have information about issues that affect them • People have the capacities and confidence to articulate their interests and needs and engage in democratic processes to claim their rights
Citizen participation in CSO governance, programming, monitoring, and accountability – Critically (self) reflective, democratically functioning and accountable CSOs that are responsive to the rights, values, aspirations, interests and priority needs of their constituencies.	• CSOs listen to and learn from people, concerning their values, aspirations and priorities • CSOs seek critical discussions on their own understandings and application of participation, vibrant democracy, power inequalities • Develop grass roots support and engagement • Establish policies and mechanisms for democratic / inclusive governance and decision-making (of CSOs) • Ensure mechanisms that engage constituencies in (CSO) decision-making • Implement (CSO) downward accountability	• People's values, aspirations and needs are reflected in CSOs' mission, purpose and strategic priorities • Regular critical (self)-reflection on what makes a healthy participatory culture • Transparency of CSOs • Democratic procedures and good governance mechanisms in CSOs • Participation of CSOs' constituency and others in CSO policy development, strategy development and programme planning
Citizen participation in local development and service delivery initiatives – Local development and service delivery designed, implemented, monitored and evaluated with much citizen participation that empowers and reduces dependency.	• Engage women, men and children in the design and planning of service delivery • Establish people-based management structures • Establish participatory monitoring mechanisms • Build capacity of women, men and children to take on new roles and responsibilities • Encourage and supporting government and business to involve women, men, children, and CSOs	• People are involved actively in development planning • People are involved in service delivery monitoring • People participate in management boards • People are being supported and encouraged (empowered) to establish and manage their own development initiatives

Citizen and CSO participation in advocacy and structural change – The advocacy work of CSOs is legitimate and relevant in relation to their constituency and citizens gain a direct voice in advocating for their rights, needs and interests.	• Undertake adequate research and consultation with constituencies on advocacy needs • Establish mechanisms that enable people to participate in setting the advocacy agenda and strategy • Create mechanisms and spaces for people to have a direct voice in advocacy • Encourage and support government and business to involve people/ CSOs • Support people/CSOs participation in democratic and consultative spaces	• CSOs develop advocacy campaigns based on thorough consultation with people/their constituencies • People involved in setting advocacy agendas and strategies • People, independently and as part of CSOs, are supported to advocate for their rights and interests • People and CSOs effectively participate in democratic and consultative spaces
Citizen participation in economic life – Market engagement by poor, vulnerable people on their terms and for their needs, and making the concept of pro-poor economic growth a reality.	• Undertake adequate research and consultation with constituencies on market obstacles and opportunities • Establish mechanisms that enable people to participate in setting the economic agenda and strategy and supporting them to participate • Create mechanisms/ spaces for people to have a direct voice in economic transactions • Encourage and support government and business to involve actively people/CSOs in economic forums	• Small producer groups engage with marketing boards • Development of new markets for produce from small-scale producers • Successful cooperative ventures with small-scale producers • Innovative micro-credit initiatives for marginalised groups • Initiatives with corporate social responsibility
Trust, dignity, culture and identity – Create the ability to have mutually respectful social relationships and engendering trust in others based on positive experiences	• Support and encourage cultural and recreational activities that contribute to respectful, collaborative relationship building and self-confidence	• Youth engaged in local sports/cultural activities • Vibrant community centres that appeal to all ages • Informal support groups for minorities

APPENDIX IV
Use of Levels and Spaces to Classify types of projects, Civil Society Participation Evaluation, Jenny Pearce and Gloria Vera, Colombia Case Study

Espacio Nivel	Formales participación por Invitación	Formales participación por derecho	Creados por Instituciones	Creados por Organizaciones	Acción Colectiva Transitoria
Internacional	Cordaid Novib		Novib	Cordaid Novib	
Nacional		Cordaid		Cordaid Novib	Cordaid Novib
Departamental	Cordaid	Cordaid Plan Internacional	Cordaid Novib	Cordaid Novib Plan Internacional	Cordaid Novib
Subregional/ Provincial			Cordaid Novib	Cordaid Novib	Cordaid Novib
Municipal	Novib	Cordaid Novib	Cordaid Novib Plan Internacional	Cordaid Novib	Cordaid Novib
Comunal / Corregimental		Cordaid	Cordaid Novib	Cordaid	
Veredal/Barrial	Plan Internacional		Plan Internacional	Plan Internacional	
Comunitario			Plan Internacional	Cordaid Plan Internacional	

Niveles, espacios y propósitos intra–espaciales

Propósitos Intra–Espaciales: Articulación (Art), Cabildeo (Cab), Concertación (Con), Consulta (Cons), Construcción de Paz (CPaz), Debate (De), Encuentro (En), Escrutinio y Recomendación (ER), Formación Ciudadana (FCiu), Formación de Opinión Pública (FOP), Incidencia (Inc), Interlocución (Int), Movilización (Mov), Negociación (Ne), Queja (Qu), Presión (Pre), Proposición (Prop), Protesta (Prot), Rendición de Cuentas (RC), Resistencia (Res), Seguimiento (Seg), Toma decisiones (TD), Visibilización (V)

Espacio / Nivel	Formales participación por Invitación	Formales participación por derecho	Creados por Instituciones	Creados por Organizaciones	Acción Colectiva Transitoria
Internacional	• Embajadas: Inc, Cab, Vis, Prop • Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos: Inc, Cab,		• Red Interamericana de Derechos Humanos: Inc,	• Coordinación Colombia-Europa-EEUU: Art, Int, Seg, Vis • Plataforma Interamericana de DH, Democracia y Desarrollo: Art, Con, Inc, Vis, Prop • Foro Social Mundial: De, Res, Prop, Art, Vis • Red Interamericana de Derechos Sexuales y Reproductivos: En, Vis • Foro Panamazónico: De, Art	
Nacional		• Consejo Nacional de Planeación: De, Int, Inc, ER	• Alianza por la infancia: ¿?	• Alianza de Organizaciones Sociales y Afines por una Cooperación Internacional para la Paz y la Democracia en Colombia: Art, Con, Seg, Inc, Pre, Prop • Plataforma de Derechos Humanos, democracia y desarrollo. Capítulo Colombia: Art, Con, Inc, Vis, FCiu • Mesa Mujer y Conflicto Armado: Art, Cab, CPaz • Mesa de Concertación de Mujeres: Con, De, Art • Ruta Pacífica Juntas de Servicios Públicos (Movimiento Social): Con, Inc, Vis, Cab, CPaz, Mov • REDPRODEPAZ. Red Nacional de Programas de Desarrollo y Paz: Art, Con, Ne, Prop, CPaz • Medios para la paz: Con, Inc, CPaz • Asamblea Permanente de la Sociedad Civil por la paz: Art, Con, Int, Cab, D, FOP, Prop, CPaz, Mov • Congresos sobre Reciclaje: Art, Inc, Cab, Con • Confluencia contra la guerra y contra la democracia: Con, Inc, FOP, Prop, CPaz. • Red de Justicia Comunitaria y tratamiento de conflictos: Art, Inc, FCiu, CPaz	• Marcha 'Antorcha de la Paz' ANR: Vis, Mov, FOP, Pre.

Departamental	• Comisiones de Paz: CPaz, Int	• Red del Buen Trato??: Art, Inc, Con, Prop • Consejo Departamental de Planeación: ER, Inc	• Asambleas Constituyentes??: De, Con, Int, Prop	• Red del Buen Trato: Art, Inc, Prop, Vis. • Asamblea Permanente de la Sociedad Civil por la paz: Art, Con, Int, Cab, D, FOP, Prop, CPaz,Mov • Mesas de trabajo para atención a desplazados: Art, Prop, Inc • Red de consejeros de planeación: Art, Prop, FCiu • Foro Social Santander: De, Prop, Mov, Art.	• Marchas del Silencio: Vis, Pro, Mov • Marchas de la Ruta Pacífica: Vis, Pro, Mov, FOP
Subregional/ Provincial			• Asambleas Constituyentes??: De, Con, Int, Prop, FCiu • Consejos Comunitarios del Presidente: Qu, Int	• Asambleas Constituyentes??: De, Con, Int, Prop, FCiu • Red de líderes del Suroccidente Colombiano: Art, Inc	• Marchas de Mujeres Oriente Antioqueño: Pro, Mov, FOP • Vía crucis de Montes de María: Pro, Mov
Municipal	• Juntas de Servicios Públicos: TD, Seg • Consejos Municipales de Política Social: Inc, Prop	• Veeduría Ciudadana a Plan de Desarrollo–Medellín (parte del Sistema Municipal de Planeación): RC, Seg, Inc • Consejo Municipal de Planeación –Medellín: delegados escogidos por el Alcalde de una terna: ER, Seg, Con, • Consejo Municipal de Planeación Participativa –Cali: Con, ER, De, • Laboratorio de Observación de la Gestión Pública –Cali: Seg, ER, Int,	• Asambleas Constituyentes??: De, Con, Int, Prop, FCiu • Presupuestos Participativos Medellín: Con, Prop, FCiu • Audiencias sociales en Valle (urbanos y rurales): Int, Con • Congresos ciudadanos en Medellín: De, FOP • Red de agricultura urbana del Distrito en Bogotá	• Asambleas Constituyentes??: De, Con, Int, Prop, FCiu • Territorios de Paz: Res, Cpaz • Foro del Agua en Tabio: Prop, Con • Consorcio Recicladores por Bogotá para la inclusión de los Recicladores en el Plan Maestro de Basuras: Con, Cab, Prop, • Mesas de trabajo para el Plan Maestro de Basuras • Mesas de Concertación (varios temas y actores): Con, Ne	• Mujeres familiares de secuestrados: Vis, Mov • Mujeres en Pie (Bucaramanga): Mov, Vis, Prot, FOP
Comunal / Corregimental	• UPL y UPZ?? • Consejos Locales de Planificación Participativa: D, Prop, Con, FCiu, Int	• Consejos Consultivos del Presupuesto Participativo-Medellín: FCiu, Con, Prop, TD			
Veredal/Barrial					
Comunitario				Comunidades de Paz: Res, CPaz	