

Exploring the Power Cube as a Tool for Use in Evaluation: Identifying shifts in power within women's movements in Central America

<http://powerhousenetwork.ning.com/profiles/blogs/exploring-the-power-cube-as-a-tool-for-use-in-evaluation>

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1. Introduction

I was asked to pilot the Power Cube during the formative evaluation of an aid agency's 'Women's Rights' Programme in Central America in 2010. While I had originally envisaged using the Power Cube only to analyse women's network **strategies** (as this was a mid-term evaluation and the Power Cube clearly puts an emphasis on strategies), I tried to take on board the aid agency's request that I explore the tool's possibilities of **capturing shifts in power** and results. This coincides with the need to and difficulty in capturing qualitative change. To this end I also used the Kelleher and Rao Quadrants (see appendix). In the next and longest section I explain in some detail the way I used the tool in the workshops with the agency's programme counterparts in Central America, describing some of the responses and issues that arose, and some of my own perceptions. I finish the section with the participants' feedback on the Power Cube. One limitation I had was that as I was facilitating, I couldn't simultaneously take notes. While participants kindly shared their notes with me in each of the three workshops, these were not always helpful or complete.

2. Ways in which I used the tool

Apart from including some questions on power in my interviews with counterparts, the aid agency, and third parties, I held three one-day workshops with counterparts in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala. As a way of building up to the Power Cube, I first used the Kelleher and Rao Model or Quadrants, as these form part of the Programme's change **indicators**. The counterparts worked in groups first identifying their strategies per quadrant, and subsequently the changes they had achieved in each quadrant (see Quadrant Diagram in Appendix, roughly: a) consciousness and capabilities; b) access to resources; c) deep culture, religious/cultural beliefs; and d) public policy and institutions). This was followed by a long participatory powerpoint presentation of the Power Cube, in which I used concrete examples from Latin America on different forms, spaces and levels of power, and encouraged the participants to contribute with examples, discussion and questions; this made the presentation lively. Although too long, almost all the counterparts seemed very interested in the presentation and discussion on power. After the presentation, groups were again formed to discuss the kinds of shifts in power that had taken place in the changes they had already identified in the different quadrants. This helped to anchor the group work, as the only task was to identify the particular shifts in power in the examples they had previously documented. However, this was not easy for them, or when they did do so, their logic was not always immediately apparent (at least to me). I come back to this in another section of the report. The following paragraphs illustrate the way we discussed and identified shifts in power in each country workshop.

In Nicaragua, when numbers dropped as participants had other commitments, we worked altogether as a single group. This is where the tool worked most effectively, as participants had

highly sophisticated understandings of power, and as I was able to guide the reflection on identifying the shifts in power with the examples they provided. For instance, the recent penalisation of therapeutic abortion in Nicaragua was seen as an example of hidden power and the closing of previously open spaces (Quadrant d). We also identified a shift in power regarding the sexual abuse of children: whereas before it was simply ‘hidden power’ as a taboo subject that couldn’t be mentioned, the shift in power has meant that this malpractice has become ‘visible’ and is generally condemned by society. The shift in power –as we later discussed in Guatemala– was not that sexual abuse of children is now condemned, as it has always been regarded as reprehensible, but rather that the issue has been brought out into the open, and can therefore be combated more effectively. In contrast, workshop participants in Nicaragua signalled that sexual violence against women is often regarded as ‘their fault’ (wives not ‘complying’ with their duties, being out late, wearing mini skirts, provoking men, etc.), and so shifts in power were more difficult to visualise and to bring about. Examples were also given of the hidden and visible power of the transnational corporations in the piece-work or ‘*maquila*’ industry: **power over** the women, **power to not comply** with national labour laws, as well as growing **power within, to and among** women workers to stand up for their rights. Spaces of power were also addressed, like the strategy of “bypassing the national and going to the global” (or what Keck & Sikkink refer to as the ‘boomerang effect’, included in the Power Cube). For example, CEDAW has been prioritised in this period, given the difficulties that the women’s movement have with the Sandinista Government, and that it is not a propitious moment to push for new laws or even influence public policy.

In El Salvador, a young Spanish woman ‘derailed’ the workshop by her continual questioning and challenging, and then spearheaded group contestation of aid agencies in general, their agendas and the Power Cube. Actually this made the discussion far deeper and very interesting, but it was more difficult to get the participants to try to identify the shifts in power. The Spanish woman – who forms part of an anti-systemic Mesoamerican women’s resistance movement that refuses to engage with the State- considered public policy advocacy work to be a northern international aid agency **imposition** on Central American States (which are much weaker and more ineffectual than States in the Global North) and on their civil society counterparts: *“but public policies are insufficient, there are many laws in Latin America, but they don’t work and nothing changes, and still aid agencies insists on this”*. She levelled a similar critique of the Power Cube, which I found disconcerting, as not all the spaces and levels of power are related to engagement with the State, and we had already discussed ‘globalisation from below’ (de Sousa Santos 2003) –e.g. World Social Forums, etc.- as well as ‘created, gained and autonomous spaces’. However, she also interestingly contested the central Power Cube premise that by aligning the different spaces, levels and dimensions of power it is more possible to bring about significant change (opening the closed spaces and turning them into invited spaces, turning invited spaces into gained spaces, working together with autonomous spaces, etc.). She argued cogently that agendas of women who liaise with the State may not only be different but actually antagonistic to claims of women who seek total autonomy. Another woman added: *“The question is how can women ‘in resistance’ and women who engage with the State coordinate? This discussion has generated significant divisions in the women’s movement”*. In El Salvador, the Power Cube set off a lively and fascinating discussion about **strategies**, but not so much about shifts in power.

Only one group reported back identifying shifts in power; their flip-chart reads: *“In our feminist Coalition there was HIDDEN POWER –whereby one group defended its interests. This power shifted to POWER WITHIN, which is reflected in our insistence on AUTONOMY. This also has to do with INVISIBLE POWER (the discussion around Class and Gender) and HIDDEN power (a hidden agenda),*

and making power VISIBLE". This has to do with the intense debate that took place before the last elections about whether to support the FMLN¹. Given that many feminists in Central America participated in revolutionary struggle during the eighties, this is a fraught issue which brings up uncomfortable mixed loyalties. The Power Cube helped the women name what had gone on: the 'hidden agenda' of a group of ex militants who coerced other women (by making them feel guilty) to place class above gender, and the debate and affirmation of the coalition's autonomy, though at the expense of a lot of hard feelings and internal divisions. The group's flip-chart shows a clear understanding of the Power Cube concepts; they not only used these concepts but indeed the Cube brought new insights into their analysis with regards there being 'hidden agendas' at stake. My doubt is rather: does the above text written by the group make sense to anyone who isn't familiar with the Power Cube analysis? How much translation and explanation does it need? I had this same feeling (with both the Power Cube and the Quadrants) in the evaluation report I did on the Programme. It seems to me that things need to be spelled out in detail and carefully explained, and this takes up a lot of space in an evaluation report, where space is such a treasured and limited commodity!

In Guatemala I made a slight modification to the methodology –given certain tensions that often exist amongst Mayan and non Mayan women, the diversity of the networks and contexts they work in, and to ensure voice and significant participation amongst the rural and indigenous participants. One change was to allow the women to work in the kind of groups they preferred to form and I added '**community**' to the Kelleher and Rao c) and d) Quadrants (interestingly I later saw that AWID has done the same). Some participants in this workshop found identifying changes and placing these in the different quadrants quite difficult². As mentioned above, I don't have notes of the discussion on shifts in power; however, some interesting changes were identified in the quadrants, for example, rural women's capacity to negotiate a school with departmental authorities (Quadrants a, b), some husbands looking after their children when the women go to training workshops (a), women becoming owners and co-owners of land (b), after successful advocacy with the Land Fund for women to receive land-titles (d), etc.

2.1. Feedback from the workshop participants as to the usefulness of the Power Cube

The following are evaluation comments made during the workshop.

- *"It's complicated to do an analysis of this magnitude in a single day and with various different organisations. But it is interesting, as we can't talk of women's development without identifying advances, and this analysis helps us take into account many things we don't usually think about."*
- *"Very good, excellent, though I would have liked to have had more time. We can't ignore that we're being evaluated, but I feel good that you'll be able to transmit this to the agency, because there **are** changes"* [despite the difficulties of war and post conflict Central American contexts]

¹ The Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) is the political party created from the revolutionary movement after the signing of the peace accords in 1992. The FMLN won the last presidential elections, coming to power in 2009 for the first time in history.

² Interestingly, these were some of the middle class mestiza women participants; whereas the rural and indigenous women were very good at it. Perhaps this is because they tend to be more concrete in their analysis, where as people who have studied more tend to be more abstract particularly in Latin America.

- *“It’s a good exercise, as we first identified our actions and strategies, then we placed them in the quadrants, and then we identified and analysed the changes.”*
- *“It’s a bit like ‘SWOT’ as it helps you make more detailed analyses.”*
- *“Both the Quadrants and the Power Cube are too inflexible (‘cuadrados’); reality is much more interconnected, power flows and changes, network action is also fluid.”*
- *“We could use this methodology for our evaluations. It’s not always possible to make our work visible, or to work out lessons learned, but with this proposal I think it’s possible.”*
- *“The Power Cube is a useful tool if we work in public policy advocacy, if we promote laws, but if we work in spaces of resistance, this methodology isn’t helpful.”*
- Some feel they will be able to use the Power Cube in the future if they receive more training in its use, for others it’s not so easy, and some found it confusing³ (Guatemala).

Most of the participants saw the Power Cube as particularly useful as a tool to analyse reality: context and ‘conjunctures’ (10), in helping to formulate strategies (9), for evaluations (8), followed by training and research (5).

3. How easy or difficult was it to use, from an evaluator’s perspective?

Jethro Pettit gave me some useful ideas and suggestions about using the Power Cube in the workshops, though I wasn’t able to take all of them up. For example, he recommended spending half a day in exploring the **forms** of power before going on to the **levels** and **spaces** of power. As I had opted on using the Quadrants, I was unable to do so for lack of time. He also suggested “bringing power into the room” and making the workshop as experiential as possible. However, participants weren’t too keen on doing this, and actually it wasn’t necessary: Central American women’s networks have an immediate grasp and knowledge of power, and it was interesting to see how they resonated with the concepts. In Nicaragua, one woman insightfully said that she felt that the **power concepts were easily recognisable for people in social movements**, but these would be more difficult to grasp for people with little experience in social activism. This made a lot of sense and was clearly the case amongst the participants: for example, ex-trade unionists form a mass feminist working women’s movement in Nicaragua quickly grasped and used the concepts, though sometimes not quite in the same ways as set out in the Power Cube. So **lived experience of power seemed far more important than formal education**. This was also the case with the rural and indigenous women in Guatemala.

I think the decision to use the Kelleher and Rao Quadrants was useful –as it really did anchor the discussion and made it more focussed. However, we had some disagreements about what went where. For me, the systemic ‘c’ deep culture is about systems transmitting ideology on a very large scale, and the need to change society’s social imaginaries (for example, how to make violence against women unacceptable in the eyes of the wider public). So I was quite disconcerted to read the appendix of an agency review using examples under ‘c’ such as: *“shared responsibility of gender mainstreaming within the entire leadership structure, and not just with women’s committees or gender focal groups”*. Clearly we are talking about quite different levels or differences in scale. So I feel that as consultants we need to have a better understanding about the ways the quadrants –and the Power Cube- should be used on the ground (as in theory it is all very clear). Perhaps I confused participants by suggesting they move certain points from one Quadrant

³ This was particularly the case of the person taking the notes, whereas some of the participants seemed riveted by the Power Cube analysis and clearly wanted to receive in-depth training on its concepts and uses.

to another (like putting the “men looking after the children while the women go to training workshops” in a) and not in c.) Various participants felt quite frustrated particularly by the Quadrants but at moments also by the Power Cube, as they found it difficult to identify and place changes in the Quadrants and name the shifts in power. In Guatemala, participants said that it was fine talking about the concepts *“but it is difficult to translate this information into a new methodology”*. Of course this may reflect on my own methodological routes and choices.

But this brings out what I consider to be the ‘Achilles’ heal’ of both the Quadrants and the Power Cube: they invite you to literally “put things in boxes”. So even though the Power Cube constantly reminds us **that it is not a checklist and that these are spectrums or continuums of power** (and I also constantly reminded the workshop participants of this in my presentation), because they are visually square, it is hard to resist doing this, particularly when seeking to identify **shifts** in power. And deciding where to place specific changes analytically was not only questionable –as it depended on how people saw things and what aspect you were emphasising⁴- it also created confusion and frustration. In that sense, the above-mentioned criticism is valid: *“Both the Quadrants and the Power Cube are too inflexible (‘cuadrados’); reality is much more interconnected, power flows and changes, network action is also fluid.”* It’s obviously a question of **how** you use these analytical tools, but I consider my way of thinking and analysing to go against dichotomies, recipes and rigid categories, and yet I fear I fell into the trap.

Despite this, I felt very much at ease with the Power Cube, and had circumstances been different, I would have used it as my evaluation report’s conceptual framework. One lesson learned is that the Power Cube is best used for evaluations **when it is written into the terms of reference** and is the **only** conceptual framework being used. Also, it needs to be explained in detail (as in John Gaventa’s paper in the Dutch Civil Society evaluation CFP evaluation series 2003-2006: no 4) for stakeholders who will read the evaluation report and who are unfamiliar with the Power Cube, so that they can follow the consultant’s observations. From this experience, I realised I shouldn’t be too ambitious conceptually (i.e. avoid trying to do too much). Originally, given the levels of violence in Central America (and its particular impacts on women) I had wanted to bring in Jenny Pearce’s thoughts on **violence** and power (in her paper in the same evaluation series), but for very particular circumstances surrounding the evaluation, I was unable to highlight the Power Cube nor the violence and power approach in my evaluation report.

4. The dimensions of the Power Cube I found useful

I found the three ‘faces’ of power extremely useful, especially ‘invisible power’ for addressing the internalisation of oppression and the processes women (indigenous peoples, and others suffering marginalisation, discrimination and exclusion) go through in becoming aware of inequality, sexism, racism, etc. The **‘shift in power’ from ‘invisible power’** (and hidden power) to the feminist concepts of ‘power to’, ‘power with’ and ‘power within’ are clearly **relevant** when we’re **addressing gender issues** and women’s empowerment. I have used the feminist power concepts for years, but I really like the way these have evolved and deepened, for example, the Power Cube talks of “the human search for dignity and fulfilment” and “the capacity to imagine and have hope” for power within. This is especially relevant for indigenous peoples and women, and not

⁴ For example, in Nicaragua a participant asked me if non-formal education should go into the a) or b) quadrant: if you look at it as building a person’s capacities it would go in a), but if you see it as an objective example of access to resources, it would go in b).

even mentioned, for example, in the World Bank's definitions of empowerment (WB 2002). I was surprised that most of the participants were unfamiliar with these feminist concepts of power.

Without a doubt, when **discussing strategies**, what creates the greatest debate, differences of opinion and in-depth discussion are the '**invited spaces**'. We had long, useful discussions about different aspects of this issue: participatory and co-governance versus governance as a neoliberal form of control; "civil society dancing with the World Bank without going to bed with him" as Jenny Pearce would say⁵; the 'critical insider' versus cooption and "*the trade-offs and tough choices you have to make*" (in your strategies)... and the "*tensions between being an outside advocate and watchdog, and being invited to consult with and collaborate with powerholders*" (Guijt 2005: 196). Though as we saw in the case of El Salvador this can be a real area of contention in social and women's movements.

One of the things I really like about the Power Cube is its inclusion of the **problem of power within civil society organisations and movements**, bringing out that issues of power are not only 'out there'. These kinds of issues are often taboo (hidden power!) within social and women's movements, and need to be addressed. The Power Cube is particularly well suited for addressing these issues. (See recommendation below).

5. Reflections about how the tool helped (or didn't help) women discuss their strategies in the face of power and/or name qualitative progress in areas related to power

Using the Quadrants first and then the Power Cube did help women talk about their organisational strategies, and **what they were trying to achieve** with them. In Latin America, where people tend to generalise and talk theoretically, it **helped** the participants to be very **specific** in their examples and their achievements. Some women had a hard time identifying **changes**, it was much easier for others, but seeing change as 'shifts in power' was difficult for most. In all three countries, the most easily identified shift in power was from **invisible power** which subordinates women –i.e. the internalisation of oppression and the naturalisation of power, making it 'natural' or 'normal' for women to be mistreated by their husbands or made to stay 'in their place' in the home, etc. - to becoming aware of their oppression, being able to stand up for their rights, etc. Thus, 'invisible power' gives way to '**power within**', '**power to**' and '**power with**'. Shifts in 'hidden power' to making power 'visible' were also relatively easy to track (like the example above about sexual abuse of children). However, I was left feeling that sometimes there aren't adequate ways of naming power or capturing the power shifts. For example, once the sexual abuse of children has been named (and thus is no longer 'hidden power'), what kind of power is it? Simply power over? Does that adequately describe the kind of power? Or is it so general that 'power over' covers too wide a range of issues? Also, the abuse of power isn't what has changed, but rather making the taboo issue visible, and starting to combat it (whilst other aspects of context like growing poverty and natural disasters might contribute to increasing the problem, as is the case with gender violence). This also made me wonder if we weren't being very mechanical, and whether I had rightly understood the concept of 'shifts in power'. So there is **a need for further discussion about what exactly we mean by 'shifts in power'** and how we talk about and capture them. Although the 'Power Spectrum Diagram' (developed for OGB by Jethro Pettit and Jo Rowlands 2007) addresses some of these issues, I see these more as **effects** of different kinds of power (or how different kinds of power relate to each other), rather than 'shifts in power'.

⁵ Workshop on Civil Society Participation with Jenny Pearce, organised by CALDH, Guatemala, 1999.

We didn't have time to go into enough detail. My impression is that the Power Cube lends itself more to **analysing strategies** than identifying 'shifts in power'. One woman said that the only shifts in power it could document in the lives of women were from 'invisible power' and 'power over', to 'power to, power with and power within'. She also felt that most of the power in the Power Cube was negative power. While we can also include some aspects of public, private and intimate power, I think she has a point. Hidden power would hardly be good to acquire! And levels of power are definitely more related to strategies than to capturing change in women (except to think about changes for women in the home, in the community, in the public space, etc.).

6. Reflections on the effectiveness of the tool as compared to other discussions or tools related to power

The Power Cube brings on board different major works and perspectives on power, and includes as additional reading significant approaches on power which are less central to the Power Cube approach (such as Foucault and Bourdieu). Perhaps further reading could also include John Gledhill's "Power and its Disguises", so cited by the anthropologists I work with. In terms of tools related to power, IDS works closely with Just Associates and its approach dovetails with VeneKlasen and Miller's *A New Weave of People, Power and Politics*. Other analyses and tools, like Action Aid's 'Critical Webs of Power', also draw on VeneKlasen and Miller. What I liked about Actionaid's approach (Chapman 2005) is that it talks more about **negative and positive power**, as well as "opening cracks in the system" (p.12) and encouraging people to "identify and use their own sources of power such as commitment, humour, numbers, political awareness, persistence, imagination, solidarity and song among others" (ibid). Again, this refers mainly to strategies, but I would say it shows a wider outlook on advocacy, which I share. These could also become indicators for capturing agency.

7. Ways this tool captures gender and/or feminist aspects related to power

There are some extremely interesting **emerging feminist evaluation tools**, in particular AWID's recent and excellent document: *Capturing Change in Women's Realities: A Critical Overview of Current Monitoring & Evaluation Frameworks*, by Srilatha Baliwala and Alexandra Pittman (June 2010). I believe that *Capturing Change* and the Power Cube work very well together: whereas the former critiques existing PME approaches, and begins to set out an emerging feminist approach to monitoring and evaluation, the Power Cube contributes to ensuring a deeper understanding of power in contexts, strategies for change, social movements, etc. I do think, though, that both could deepen their analysis of **other asymmetrical power relations** –in particular, in the case of women, in terms of: ethnicity/racism, nation, class⁶, age and sexuality- and how these combine and intersect with gendered relations of power⁷. In contexts like Central America, other issues emerge –linked to power- such as **mixed loyalties** (e.g. to the left, to the women's movement). AWID and the Power Cube mention these asymmetrical power relations, but the emphasis is very

⁶ I am referring to urban middle class feminists versus working and rural women.

⁷ In that sense, the Power Cube may like to include something on **Intersectional Analysis**, developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1994), AWID: "Intersectionality: A Tool for Gender and Economic Justice", Women's Rights and Economic Change, No.9, August 2004, <http://www.awid.org/Library/Intersectionality-A-Tool-for-Gender-and-Economic-Justice>, and Muñoz Cabrera, Patricia, editor Mandy Macdonald. 2010. *Intersecting violences. A Review of Feminist Theories and Debates on VAW and Poverty in Latin America*. www.cawn.org

much on **gender**, whereas for black and indigenous women, racism can be equally as important, and for women living in poverty, class is a key issue.

The Power Cube includes major feminist approaches to power: ‘power over versus power to, power with and power within’ and ‘public, private and intimate power’. One aspect that could be incorporated more –particularly important in present times - is **backlash**. While the CFP evaluation series refers to ‘*staying power*’, this is more related to civil society organisations’ capacity to be effective over time by adopting different strategies. ‘Backlash’ is particularly significant in feminist approaches to evaluation, as it names the reactions to gains made by women and feminists movements, the reversals and efforts to hold onto the gains. The workshop discussions – particularly in Nicaragua- brought home that **change isn’t lineal**, and that reversals are often more the case than “qualitative **progress**”. I think the Power Cube addresses this, when stressing the need to look at all dimensions of power, as concentrating on only certain aspects may unleash other power issues.

Although Irene Guijt talks about ‘*situated practice*’⁸, the Power Cube doesn’t, and perhaps it doesn’t bring out enough -as it wasn’t originally intended as an evaluation tool- the need to document the **lived experience of different women** in order to highlight the particular aspects and range of change. Batliwala and Pittman give the following example: “*Three years ago, when the landlord in whose fields I work addressed me, I would answer him looking down at his feet. Now, I answer with my eyes on his chest. Next year, I will be strong enough to look him right in the eyes when I speak to him*” (*Capturing Change...* 2010 Box 3: 14). This wouldn’t be particularly relevant for a middle class feminist, but can signify a huge step for an indigenous *campesina* or a *maquila* worker towards her boss.

8. The Power Cube as an Evaluation Tool

After this pilot experience, I think the Power Cube is particularly relevant and useful for addressing contexts and **evaluating strategies**, and tend to conclude that only specific concepts (in particular, the feminist approaches to power) are more geared to capturing qualitative changes in the lives of women. The combination of the using the Quadrants and the feminist approaches to power go well together, as well as other methodologies, such as the Most Significant Change or Critical Stories of Change (ActionAid). I also think the Power Cube can contribute to **visualising** change, but **not to measuring** change, but surely visualising –or capturing- change is what is important.

I think the Power Cube could be an **extremely useful tool for doing diagnostic studies** on the **internal power dynamics within organisations** and networks, to identifying practices that are often not named. In this case, using the Power Cube for a diagnostic study would then provide a **base-line**, which could then be used to track change. This then could become an evaluation tool (i.e. mapping change in organisational power dynamics over a period of time). But I see this more for **organisations and movements**, not for qualitative **changes in women**.

⁸ “*Treating participation as situated practice calls for approaches that locate spaces for participation in the places where they occur, framing their possibilities with reference to actual political, social, cultural and historical particularity rather than idealized notions of democratic practice*” (Cornwall 2002:29, in Guijt 2005: 62).

9. Recommendations about the use of this tool

- The use of the Power Cube should be **integrated into** each evaluation's Terms of Reference, and should constitute the evaluation's primary conceptual framework;
- Having greater initial clarity and consensus about what exactly "shifts in power" refer to when capturing and naming qualitative changes in power would be helpful both conceptually and methodologically.
- Workshops with counterpart organisations work well, but at least two days are needed to do the exercise properly.
- When working specifically on gender issues, bringing the Power Cube together with the Kelleher and Rao Quadrants works well. However, greater previous discussion and agreement is needed around certain aspects of the quadrants, particularly concerning the scope and scale of systemic 'deep culture', and also where **organisation** and **agency** fit into the quadrants.

10. Recommendation for next steps in reflecting on the use of the Power Cube in evaluations

- Carry out several evaluations in different regions and continents, with the Power Cube analysis specifically written into the TOR, and then compare the different findings. The TOR would need to be quite similar to enable comparisons and contrasts being made.
- The Power Cube could be extremely useful for working on issues of power **within** organisations and social movements, contributing to overcoming some of the historical problems of authoritarianism which permeate Central and Latin American societies (I don't know enough about other regions, though I imagine it would be similar). In particular, it could contribute to creating more awareness of the power relations **between women**, improving respect and inclusion of difference amongst women. This means inclusion of the differing needs, demands and interests of diverse women (in terms of age/adultism, class: worker and rural women, indigenous and afro-descendents, sexuality, women's relationship with the left, etc.). These could take place in different continents to compare and enhance organisational learning.

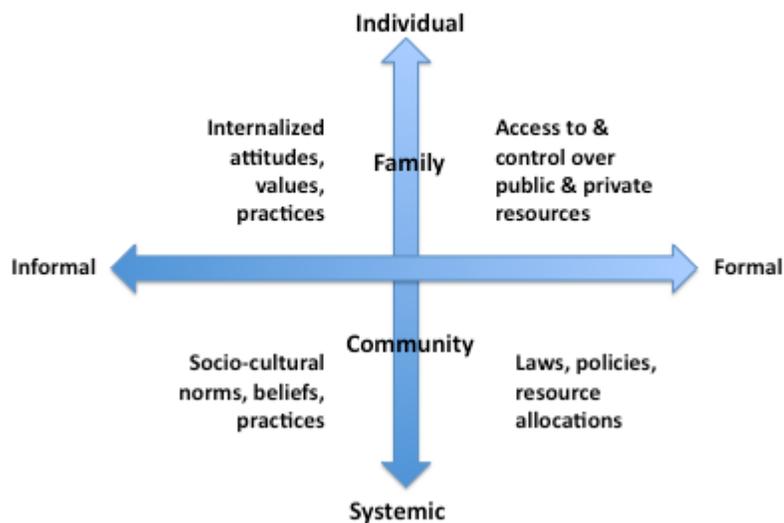
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APPENDIX KELLEHER AND RAO MODEL OR QUADRANTS

Domains of Change in Gender Power



NB: The diagram above –taken from an AWID document– has actually included ‘family’ and ‘community’, not originally in the model.