WaterAid+FAN GTF Programme

Learning Project 2012

Power Analysis Briefing
Review of tools and methods

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BPD Water and Sanitation, November 2012

1   BACKGROUND

1.1   What are Power Analysis Tools?

Power analysis tools are used to identify the key decision-makers and others who have power over a specific issue as well as people and organizations who can influence those people.

1.2   What do they do?

For governance advocacy, power analysis:

- Helps to map, reveal power relations, map stakeholder relationships and identify possible channels of influence as well as risks of conflict.

- Reveals hidden mechanisms of power that affect marginalized groups' participation

- Identifies the targets, allies, opponents and constituents for advocacy.

In the context of the GTF programme, Power Analysis Tools seek answers to:

- Who has the power to change WASH policies and practices and ensure equal access to services?

- Who, within and beyond the WASH sector, can influence these decision-makers?

- Who will support and who will oppose you?

- What strategies, plans and actions are needed to achieve your objectives to

1.3   Why are they important?

Power Analysis allow you to build a shared understanding of how power works around your advocacy issue. This understanding of who has power and influence is critical to the success of any advocacy work. Simple Power Analysis tools can help your organisation make the right decisions on a range of strategic issues, such as:

- Identifying the key decision-makers on your issue - both those who have "official" decision-making powers, and those that have "actual" powers.

- Prioritizing the people and groups who could be your allies.

- Assessing which uncommitted stakeholders and adversaries are worth lobbying and influencing.

- Choosing the appropriate advocacy methods and approaches to achieve change.

Advocacy is a long-term process that stretches beyond normal project timeframes. Success requires sustained, well-targeted efforts. Carrying out Power Analysis helps ensure your advocacy strategy is effective and relevant.

1.4   Who should do Power Analysis and when?

Anyone, at any time! Communities, CBOs, local and international NGOs, as well as government officials and service providers supporting the advocacy work all need to develop the capacity and routine of using Power Analysis tools. Power Analysis can be very useful at different moments of the governance advocacy process:

1. *Context Analysis:* to understand the context in order to design a programme.

2. *Strategy and Action:* to understand key actors, their power and influence on the advocacy objectives before defining or refining strategies.

3. *Monitoring and Evaluation:* to assess past policy or political changes, reflect on the impact of your strategies and determine ways to improve them.

4. *Facilitation and Learning*: introducing power concepts can trigger personal and organisational reflection, leading to better relationships within and between partner organisations.

2 KEY PRINCIPLES

2.1 Specific, thorough, iterative

Specific - Power Analysis - should be as specific as possible. Being vague is likely to result in ill-targeted advocacy efforts and the loss of opportunities.   For example, when exploring groups with influence, instead of saying "the media" it is better to identify the specific newspapers, or radio or TV programmes that specific decision-makers pay attention to. Accuracy also is essential.

> **Power Analysis for Strategy and Action**
>
> In Guatemala, Oxfam conducted a Power Analysis with indigenous women as part of a programme design process. A detailed analysis of the issues around indigenous women's political participation was achieved. Changing the ideas and beliefs about indigenous women stood out as a critical way to increase women's social and political leadership. In response, the programme team chose to include the local teachers - who have considerable power in shaping public opinion - into the target groups of the programme's activities (Cox, 2009)

Thorough - Influential people and organisations concerned with the desired policy change need to be identified at all levels (e.g. community, district, state, national) and should include those who operate outside the WASH sectors, as well as those whose powers are "informal". For example, the World Bank/IMF, relatives of the president, faith leaders, or, in the case of one American President, an astrologer!

A Repeating Process - At the beginning of your work, it is unlikely that you will have all the answers. The important thing is identifying the gaps in knowledge and then finding people who can help you fill them. Regularly repeating the power analysis exercises to build a more detailed map and understanding of power and influence, is important.

2.2 Dynamic, part of your organization's routine activities

Changes rarely happen overnight. Governance advocacy is a long-term effort that takes place in a changing context: actors move and so does the power balance between them. Reforms change the rules of the game. To keep advocacy efforts very effective, Power Analysis needs to reflect these changes and be revised from time to time. View Power Analysis as a picture or a map that your organisation needs to re-draw or refine regularly to ensure strategies are well adjusted to current conditions. You can update a database of organisations and people as well. This information will be precious when building relationships.

2.3 Simple, building on existing skills and knowledge

Communities and CBOs have a wealth of knowledge on power, and particularly so at community and district level. Yet they might not know enough about who the key decision-makers and influencers are at provincial and national levels. When noticing an information gap, think about who could help you. Depending on the gap, it may be useful to speak to local NGOs and local government officials; service providers; national NGOs and networks; policy experts; lobbyists; and/or journalists.

> **Let's Make It Simple!**
>
> Power Analysis should not be complicated nor time-consuming. It can be straightforward, using very accessible, tried and tested tools adjustable to all sorts of groups and conditions.

WASH skills and knowledge will often be present, yet it will be crucial that participants expand their search for key stakeholders and influencers active beyond the WASH sector. The primary target of the advocacy may end up being the Minister of Education or Finance. Unleash participants imagination by promoting reflection from multiple perspectives: organise role-

playing sessions, invite people from other organisations and other sectors to tell about their experiences…

3 POWER ANALYSIS TOOLS

3.1 Three Categories of Tools

Power Analysis can be seen as a three-stage process with a range of tools assisting each stage:

1. **Listing stakeholders and defining target(s):** in the first stage of the process, all organisations, groups and individuals concerned directly or indirectly by the policy change sought need to be identified. Tools generally consist of lists of generic stakeholders, which allows participants to define which stakeholders are most relevant in their own situation. Once the list is completed, use mapping to identify specific targets for advocacy.

2. **Mapping stakeholders:** this second stage focuses on the relationships between the target(s) and the organizations, individuals likely to influence them. Usually this involves creating a map (see below).

3. **Categorizing stakeholders:** the last stage of the process is to work out who will support your proposals, who will oppose them, and who is (as yet) uncommitted. Basic graphic tools traditionally used for stakeholder analysis help assess the level of power (or amount of influence) of stakeholders, their interest and position regarding the objectives of the governance advocacy.

Particular attention needs to be paid to the first stage of the process - listing stakeholders and defining target(s) - as it directly feeds into stage 2 and stage 3. The map and categories of stakeholders produced as a result of these two following steps will guide strategy planning.

Strategy Planning

3.2 Listing stakeholders and defining target(s)

3.2.1 Description

In every context, every issue has its own unique combination of interested stakeholders. Participants have to:

- Identify the various groups, organizations and individuals concerned with the advocacy issue.
- Define your targets: determine who are the one or two key decision-makers.

he tools available for the facilitator to foster this wide and thorough identification process consist of lists or categories of generic stakeholders.

3.2.2 Lists

The three lists below, which can be used in a very flexible way, can be very useful in helping participants identify a wide spectrum of organisation and individuals with a stake in the policy change sought.

List 1. Kinds of stakeholders

1. **Vulnerable stakeholders** are the m\ost deeply affected by the successes and failures of a policy, or by being excluded from policy benefits.
2. **Powerful stakeholders** have influence over policy implementation and are affected by its outcomes. Some may have an interest in seeing a policy succeed, others in undermining it.
3. **Implementing stakeholders** play a critical role in the implementation of policies. Their power is in the everyday routine decisions and actions.
4. **Knowledgeable stakeholders** may influence the policy process by providing (or withholding) information and skills. They may belong to other stakeholder categories or be independent informants, researchers or experts.
5. **Other affected stakeholders**: likely to be directly or indirectly affected by the policy, but who are neither very vulnerable nor powerful.

Adapted from Shutt (2010)

List 2. Potential stakeholders

For each type of stakeholder presented in the classification below, find organisations concerned by your advocacy and identify key individuals:

1. Government Decision-makers and Actors:

At National, Provincial/State, and Local/Municipal/District level. Others

2. Other influential Actors:

Business/Corporate; Media; Political Parties; NGOs; Community Groups; Membership Groups; Labor; Religious Institutions; Academics and Professionals; Others

2. International Actors:

Donors and Foundations; NGOs and Support Groups; UN Bodies; World Bank and IMF; Other Government; Banks; Multinational Corporations; Others

Adapted from Veneklasen (2002)

> **List 3. Stakeholders of government policies**
>
> **1.Within government**
> - *The legislatures,*
> - *The executive power*
> - *The judiciary power*
>
> Other stakeholders in policy implementation:
> - *The auditor-general*, warrant of the honest and transparent use of public funds
> - *The national statistics office* records, analyses and supply data for policy planning and implementation
> - *Commissions and boards* overseeing cross-cutting issues (e.g. human rights) or providing support to specific sectors (e.g. energy, agriculture or water)
>
> **2.Outside government**
> - *The beneficiaries* of policies
> - *Those excluded* from or harmed by policy implementation
> - *The public* who have the right to know how their country's resources are used to combat poverty.
> - *CSOs* involved in the formulation, implementation or M&E of these policies. International CSOs may also have a keen interest in policies that fall within their focal areas or which they have contributed to.
> - *The media* is extremely important: journalists in can draw attention about policy issues.
> - *The private sector* may have a stake in policy implementation, especially if the policy has (or intends to have) an effect on employment, economic stability and skills development.
> - *Donors and IFIs* have often a powerful influence on policies in the policy development process and during implementation (via the release of funds)
>
> *Adapted from Shutt (2010)*

3.2.3 Tips for facilitators

Using the above lists and categories will help participants identify all the individuals and organisations concerned with the desired policy change. The talent of the facilitator will also be decisive in making this exercise swift, rich and interactive, tapping deep into participants' knowledge and experiences.

▶**Introduce dimensions of power** - Power is not just about formal political structures. Introducing dimensions of power can help participants think more systematically of groups, institutions and individuals with power and influence.

> **Some dimensions of power:**
> - *Level:* national, district, local, household
> - *Form:* visible, hidden, invisible
> - *Space:* invited, closed, create
>
>   c.f. Annex 5.1

▶**Use first-hand experiences -** Start from personal experience, examples for the day-to-day work and lives of participants to introduce these dimensions. Audiovisual material (e.g. power related cartoons, video clips) can stimulate reflection.

▶**Provide new perspectives -** Proposing participants to look at the problem from other angles is often a good way of helping the group to restart when the process seems stalled. The audience can be divided in groups with each tasked to reflect who would they seek to target and influence and how, if they belonged to another sector (e.g. Telecom, Education), country, or social group. Invite participants to tell the story of their previous advocacy work. Examples of advocacy work outside the WASH sector (e.g. HIV campaign) are likely to stimulate cross-sector thinking, which is often needed to uncover key stakeholders.

▶ **Encourage participants to think beyond "formal" or "official" power.** One example might be that the Minister of Water may seem to have power over WASH decisions, but actually decisions

may be taken by the Finance Minister, President, multilateral donors, etc. Another would be that s/he is strongly influenced by the private sector, limited by having to do what powerful members of the military or national elite prioritise. If s/he is ambitious s/he might be strongly influenced by those parts of the media that other politicians or constituents use. If s/he is religious, then faith leaders might have a strong influence, etc.

3.3 Mapping stakeholders
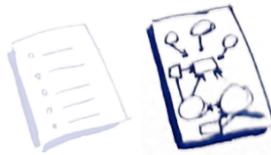
3.3.1 Description

Mapping stakeholders builds on the outputs of the first stage of power analysis: a comprehensive and detailed list of stakeholders and one or several target(s).

The tools used to map power usually consist of concept maps, which are basically made of labels or text boxes (which can take any shape and colour), representing institutions, groups or individuals and links or arrows of influence between them. Drawing these simple maps focuses the attention of participants on the type of relationships that exist between the stakeholders involved in the policy change. Paths of influence, which ultimately reach the target(s) appear clearly on the map and key influencers can then be identified.

> **Tips to draw your map**
>
> If you choose to draw your map with markers, use a pencil first until you are happy with its overall shape.
>
> Using post-its on a flip chart or a wall, or paper cards and a sticky cloth will let you rearrange the elements of the map as it expands.
>
> Take pictures of it or store it to be able to use it and revisit it regularly.

3.3.2 Power mapping

There are many power mapping tools but most share the same basic structure: text labels and arrows. The following instructions provide the steps to follow with the most common form of power mapping. In this case, post-its are used. The same steps apply if you actually draw the map.

Instructions:

1. Using your list of stakeholders, place the most important decision-maker(s) on the issue (your target) in the centre of the space you will use to draw the map

2. Start adding post-its labelled with the name of the decision-makers, organizations and individuals with influence present on your list of stakeholders.

3. Draw links or arrows between the post-its to reflect the relationships between the stakeholders. Specify the direction of influences (they may be one-way, or two-way)
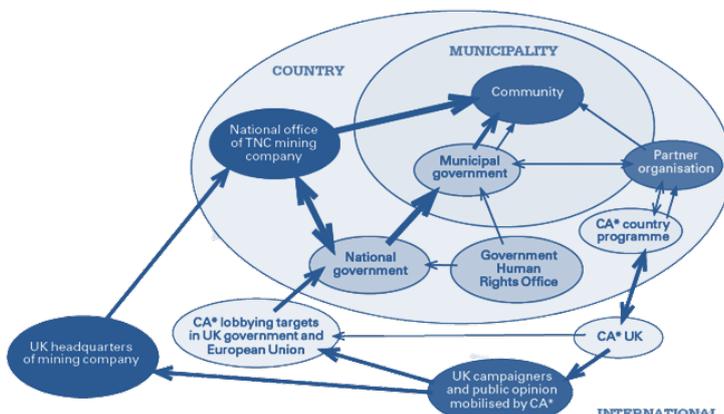
Example of Power-relationships mapping (Shutt for Christian Aid, 2010)

**Hand Washing in Kenya: power and influence map - example from a workshop exercise**
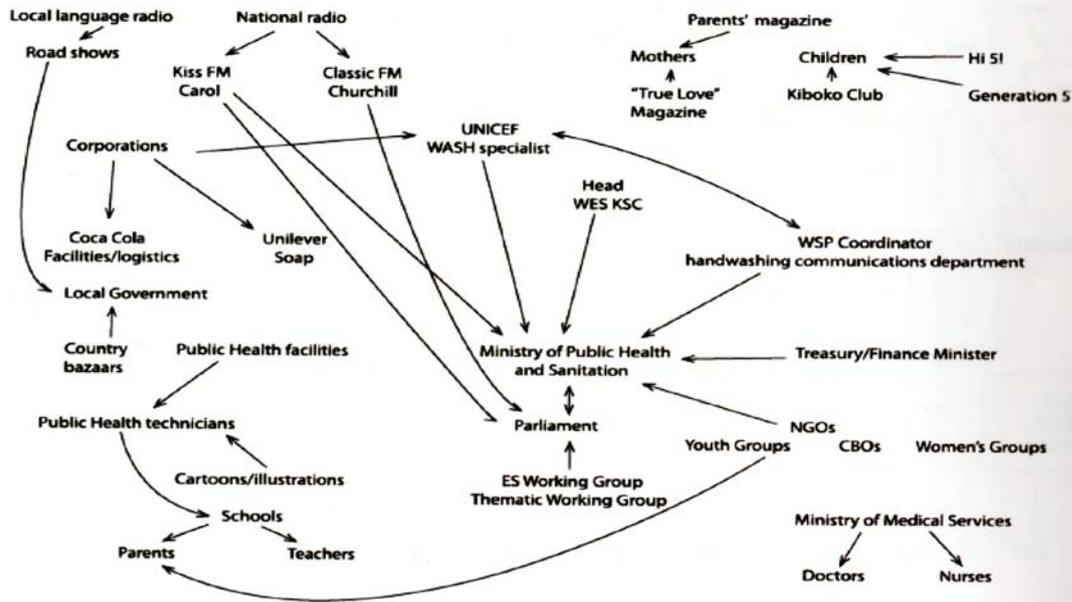
Coulby, Advocacy and Policy Influencing: Training Manual for ANEW Members (2009)

3.3.3 Influence map

In the influence map, which slightly varies from the power maps above, stakeholders are organized in a pyramidal shape with the primary target(s) or key decision-maker(s) on top, chiefly influenced by their opinion-leaders and advisors just below. The latter are influenced by a number of individuals and organizations, which surround them and form the base of the pyramid.
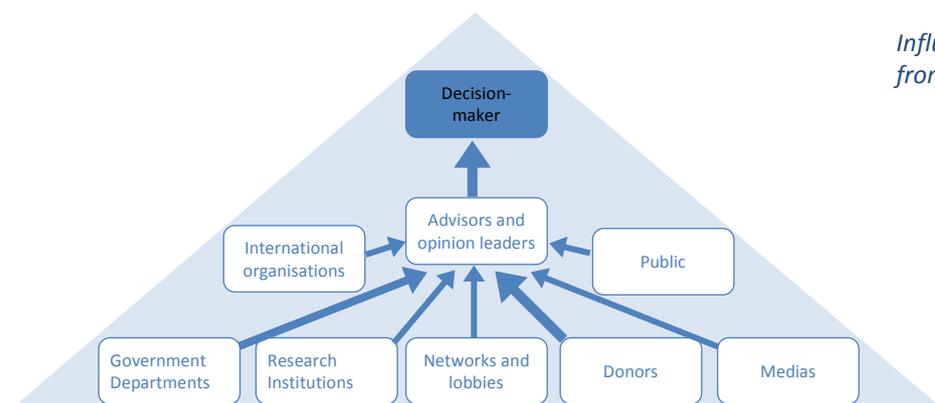
Influence map, adapted from VSO (2009)

3.3.4 Chapati or Venn diagram

Example of a Venn diagram
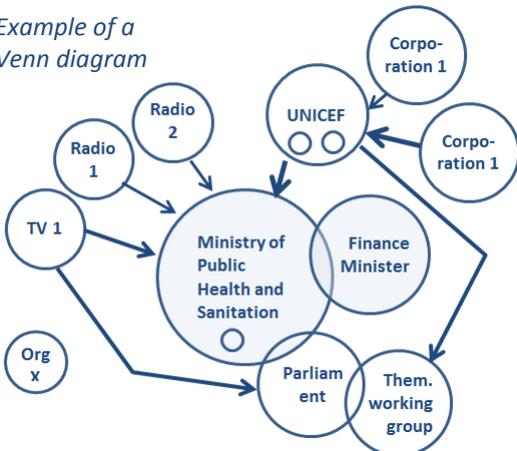
These diagrams depict stakeholders using circles of different sizes to reflect their relative importance.

The proximity between circles indicates their degree of interaction: an overlap means much collaboration and an isolated circle describes a disconnected stakeholder. Arrows indicate the direction and level of influence (e.g. thin: limited contact; thick: some cooperation in decision-making; very thick: considerable influence). Subsets can be created to highlight key organisations, departments or individuals. Targets are usually placed at the centre of the diagram.

In Chapati diagrams, stakeholders can take any shape, which can be made of locally available material (e.g. chapati bread, paper/newspaper, cloth, stones, sticks, etc.). No flipchart, markers or post-its needed!

3.4 Tools to Categorize

Year 1
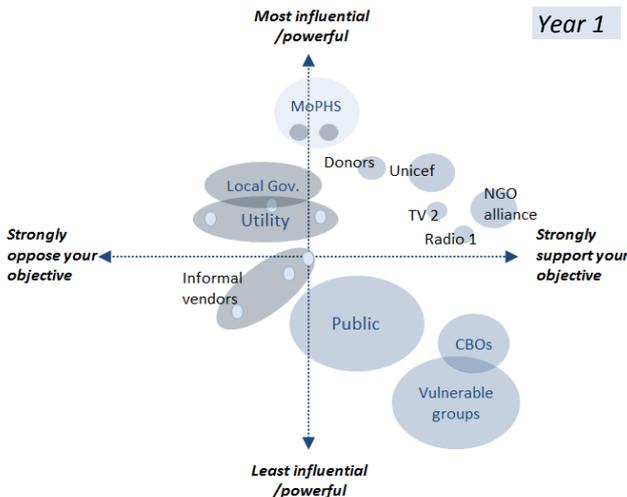
3.4.1 Description

Stakeholders have all been listed, and targets and influencers identified and mapped out as part of the first and second stages of the Power Analysis process. The aim of the final stage is to identify the likely allies, enemies, and (yet) uncommitted stakeholders. So the work is about categorising stakeholders according to their level of power and their interest or position regarding the objectives of the governance advocacy. The graphical methods used are commonly found in stakeholder analysis toolkits.

Year 3
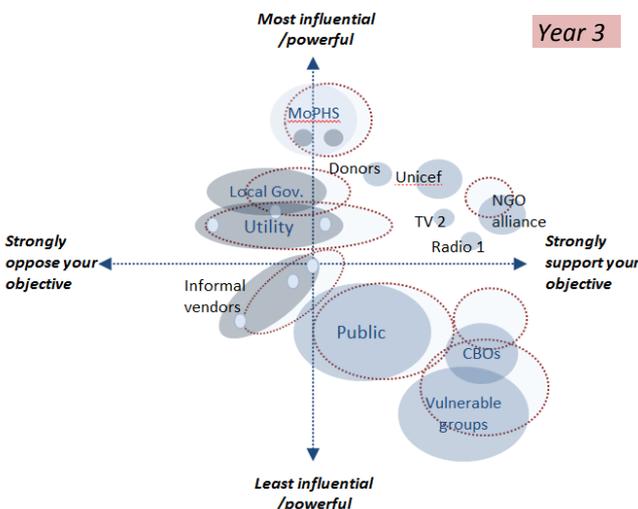
3.4.2 XY Graph

Instructions:

1. Using all the space of a flipchart, draw a cross with a horizontal arm (the X axis of the XY graph) and a vertical arm (the Y axis).

2. Taking the list of stakeholders prepared during stage 1, write them down (with a pencil or on a post-it) one after the other on the XY graph given that:

a) *the more powerful and influential, the higher* on the map, and

b) *the more supportive* of your governance advocacy objective, *the*

XY Graph ranking stakeholders according to their power and position regarding a proposed policy change. Bottom: the graph has been updated after two years showing an evolution of the power and position of certain stakeholders.

further on the right hand-side ('neutrals' stand on the Y axis, enemies on the left)
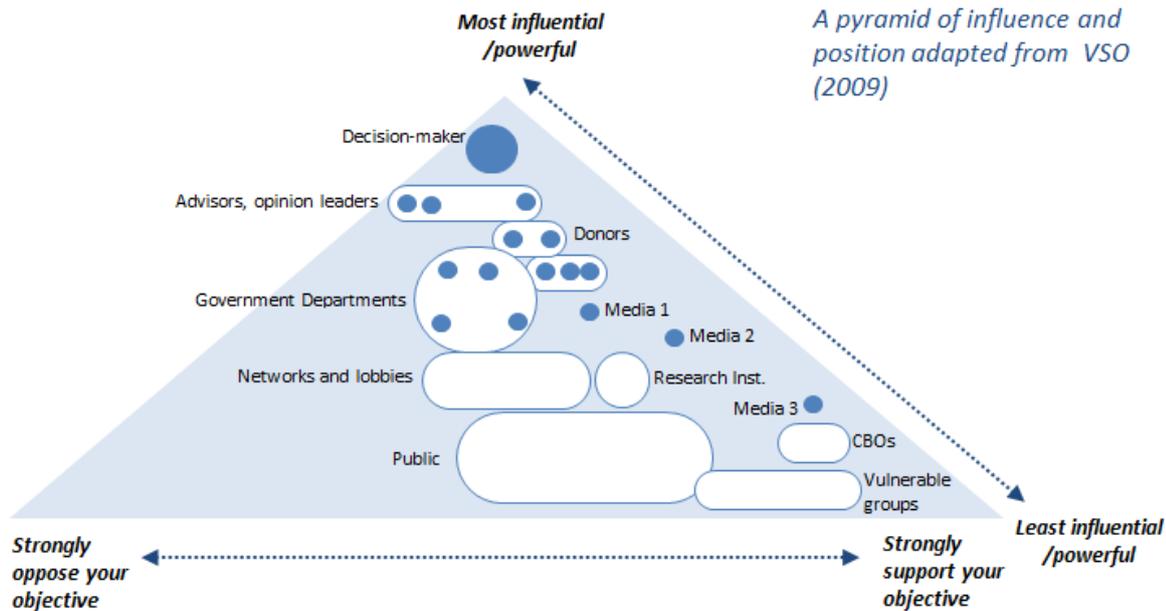
3. Highlight any significant differences between departments or key individuals within a same organisation

4. Brainstorm the reasons behind the positions on the graph chosen for each stakeholder. Does everyone agree? Take notes and ask many questions:

a) Are they a supporter, an ally or uncommitted?

b) Why do they support or oppose your objective? What is their agenda, either stated or implicit? Their priorities?

c) What drives them to take this position, and what constraints do they face that might make it difficult for them to move from this position? (These may be ideological, personal, cultural, social financial, political, based on the views of their supporters, patrons and voters).

5. Rearrange the stakeholders on the graph as needed (this will be easier with post-its)

6. You can also circle each stakeholder in a way reflecting the number of persons in the group.

3.4.3 Pyramid of influence

The pyramid of influence is a blend of the XY Graph and the influence map used to map stakeholder relationships (see section 3.3.3). Stakeholders are arranged within a pyramidal space following two basic rules:

- the more powerful and influential a stakeholder, the closer to the top of the pyramid
- the more supportive of your advocacy agenda, the closer to the right slope of the pyramid

Other than those slight differences, the very same instructions as for the XY graph apply here. Using this tool may be particularly relevant if you have opted for an pyramidal-shaped influence map in the second stage of the process.

Most influential /powerful

A pyramid of influence and position adapted from VSO (2009)

Decision-maker

Advisors, opinion leaders

Donors

Government Departments

Media 1

Media 2

Networks and lobbies

Research Inst.

Media 3

Public

CBOs

Vulnerable groups

Least influential /powerful

Strongly oppose your objective

Strongly support your objective

3.4.4 Determine categorise of stakeholders

Categorising stakeholders as allies, opponents and neutral players is essential to define or refine the strategies of your governance advocacy. Getting participants to create a XY Graph or a pyramid of influence and agree on its shape will usually have stirred reflections upon the attitude of each stakeholder towards your advocacy objective. At this stage, participants need to classify them as:

- 'Opponents': individuals or organisations who may oppose the advocacy campaign; or
- 'Allies' : those who will support your advocacy, either because they will directly benefit, or because they have sympathetic concerns and similar values; or
- 'Neutral players': individuals or organisations who have no position on the agenda (i.e. uncommitted stakeholders)

Keeping in mind how much influence each stakeholder has over the issue (how high they are on the graph or the pyramid) is very important. A fierce opponent with very little influence is not worth worrying over. Discuss the reasons behind the neutrality of uncommitted stakeholders. Some positions may be so entrenched that it would make it a waste of effort to try to influence them.

After the Power Analysis is completed the next step will often involve determining the most appropriate influencing strategies, taking into account who the key targets are, what category each stakeholder belong to, and the channels of influence revealed through the power mapping stage (see annex 5.2).

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http://www.policy-powertools.org/

4.3 Papers on the analysis of power

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Gaventa J. (2006).Finding the Spaces for Change: A Power Analysis. Institute of Development Studies. IDS Bulletin Volume 37 Number 6. Accessed 16/10/2012 http://www.forumsyd.org/upload/tmp/kapacitet/amnen_metoder/demokrati/PowerAnalysis_John_Gaventa.pdf

5 ANNEXES

5.1. Exploring dimensions of power with the Powercube framework
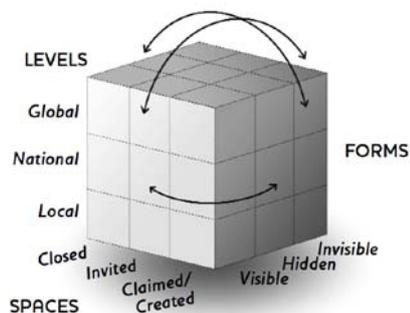
Levels

Levels: "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." […]

Closed spaces. Though we want to focus on spaces and places as they open up possibilities for participation, we must realise that still 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.

Spaces

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' (Cornwall 2002). 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' (Cornwall 2002). Other work talks of these spaces as 'third spaces' where social actors reject hegemonic space and create spaces for themselves (Soja 1996). 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. […]

Forms

Visible power: observable decision making. This level includes the visible and definable aspects of political power – the formal rules, structures, authorities, institutions and procedures of decision making … Strategies that target this level are usually trying to change the 'who, how and what' of policymaking 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 decision-making 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 organisations 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.

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

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

Invisible power: shaping meaning and what is 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 decision-making 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 socialisation, 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 envisage future possibilities and alternatives. *(excerpts from Gaventa, 2006)*

Power 'to', 'within', 'with'

Power 'to' refers to the capacity to act; to exercise agency and to realise the potential of rights, citizenship or voice.

Power 'within' 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.

5.2. Using power mapping to inform the advocacy strategy

Dealing with opponents and allies

Strategies for dealing with opponents:	*Strategies for dealing with allies:*
• Persuading them that your position is right, or weakening their opposition to your position • Reducing their influence (often by affecting their credibility by successfully countering their arguments) • Seeking some common ground on some issues and agreeing to disagree on others.	• Persuading the ally that your position is right • Persuading the ally that the issue is important enough to warrant action • Building alliances.
What you need to find out about your opponents:	*Key things you need to find out about your allies:*
• Why do they oppose you? • How actively will they oppose you? Will they be reactive (just counteracting your moves) or proactive? • What will they do to challenge you? What battleground are they likely to choose? • How much power do they have (money, influence, numbers)? • What are their strategies and tactics? • What are their policies and beliefs? Are there areas where you might agree? • Who influences them? Who is influenced by them?	• How well do they support your advocacy issue? • Do they have any misgivings about your advocacy campaign? If so, what are they? • What do they hope to gain from the advocacy? • How well resourced are they in terms of the campaign? • What are they willing to do to support the campaign? • How involved and informed do they expect to be? • Do they have issues with any other prospective allies?

(Cox, 2009)

Four General Strategies for stakeholders relations management

Stakeholder power/potential	High potential	Low potential
High Power	Collaborate with	Mitigate impacts, defend against
Low Power	Involve, build capacity and secure interests	Monitor or ignore

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