TOOL 2: DRIVERS OF CHANGE

Understanding that stakeholders apply different power resources to influence reform processes or: Political will does not come out of the blue.¹

1. Background

1.1. Drivers of Change (DoC) at a glance.

‘Drivers of Change’ (DoC) is an approach developed by DFID to address the lack of linkages between a country’s political framework and the work of development agencies. The approach focuses on “the interplay of economic, social and political factors that support or impede poverty reduction”.² The evolution of this approach has gone hand-in-hand with an approach to development that emphasises that: i) the way development happens, or does not happen, is shaped by political context; and ii) to be effective, donors’ country strategies must be based on a sound understanding of historical and political context. More specifically, DoC is rooted in a concern to better understand how to make change happen in specific country contexts: “It’s this black box of lack of political will that DOC analysis unpacks.”

Each DoC report identifies specific drivers. Certain themes recur frequently in the reports. These include corruption and elite capture, the role of civil society, the role of the media, and the importance of political opposition and the middle classes.

1.2. Conceptual background.

The “Drivers of Change” (DoC) approach recognises that there are context-specific foundational factors that affect the capacity for reform and opportunities for change. It strives to capture the interaction between the actor’s behaviour and economic, social and political factors that support or impede political reforms.

The DoC approach focuses on the power relationships and the institutional and structural factors affecting the political will for pro-poor policies at country level. Change drivers are not simply individual champions of reform (a common assumption by donor agencies) but rather the interaction between structural features, institutions and agents (the same holds true for Spoilers of Change and Non-Actors of Change³): What are the characteristics of the stakeholders? Who is taking decisions? What is their legitimacy? How is participation shaped? What power resources are engaged? Who is not able to participate in the reform process? Who is excluded and should be empowered to get engaged? How is public debate facilitated and shaped? As a result, this tool is better suited than many others to capturing the importance of informal institutions and relationships.

The outcome of a DoC investigation will thus look at reform processes and spaces for development in the interaction between structural features, institutions and agents. Summed up, it turns the

³ Non-Drivers of Change simply reproduce the status quo.
focus from “what” countries need to do to eliminate poverty to “how” best to support the processes of change involved – through creating demand for and enhancing the resources and skills of the poor as well as making sure relevant institutions are accountable to poor people and responsive to their interests.\(^4\)

Donors have created various tools when it comes to analyzing actors, drivers and spoilers of change: “Sida’s approach tends to gravitate towards a focus on the links between human rights, democracy and poverty reduction; formal versus informal institutions and agents, and the importance of process; the World Bank to the role of formal public institutions and informal practices within these; DFID to structural and institutional factors that support or impede poverty reduction (Drivers of Change); the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs to stability analysis frameworks and German GTZ Governance Questionnaires. International IDEA’s work on Democracy Assessment is also of relevance.”

*Power Analysis – Experiences and Challenges. SIDA Concept note, 2006.*

1.3. Focus: No rocket science. Everybody can do it. Everybody should do it.

In applying a DoC approach, one has to keep in mind that it is precisely, **not designed to be a single, overarching conceptual framework, and not an aim in itself.** Rather, it permits asking a structured, but **country-specific and flexible** set of questions which allow for a thorough understanding of the historical, political, social, economic and institutional context. “The DoC approach challenges staff to revise [and challenge] their thoughts on governance issues by suggesting that legitimate public institutions evolve through a bargaining process between holders of state power and civil society groups.”\(^5\)

A few fundamental elements should be kept in mind:

- **The timing** of the analysis is paramount: the spaces for development that offer the chance to impulse reforms are constantly evolving.
- **Have a clear focus** – both in the kinds of poverty that are to be tackled and in the changes that are therefore proposed – and a clear idea of the future use of the analysis. Keep the **operation implications** in mind from the on-start.
- **The analysis should have a holistic approach** and not simply focus on pro-poor policies – the multiplicity and diversity of stakeholders mean reform processes are complex.
- **Make sure the studies come with a determined local participation.** If purely donor-driven, the likelihood of over-looking important factors and repeating conventional wisdom are high.
- **Challenge conventional wisdom and be aware of your biases.** Critically think about the partners and their short- and long-term interests and incentives. Avoid a bias towards specific

\(^4\) Ibid.  
\(^5\) *Drivers of change. Understanding the forces for poverty reduction.* Dutch MFA
actors – successful reform policies will most probably be the result of an “alliance” of a variety of strong state and non-state actors. Keep in mind that in a reform process, particularly in developing countries that are aid-dependent, donors are not simple static watchers, but active stakeholders whose actions have repercussions.

- From the onset, there should be a decided **strategy for dissemination, engagement and influence** upon the completion of the study, especially geared towards the partner country. Keep in mind the different audiences the study will have to address (this might entail producing several, audience-tailored reports). Also, strive to avoid jargon and language that creates unnecessary barriers to dialogue and strive for a frank document where possible.

- In a capacity-building perspective for partner countries, the analytical process should strive to **create local capacities for information-gathering and –analysis**. Creating possibilities of an information-based discussion can be the most important contribution by donors to a reform process.

- The **PED Basic Tools** can be used both as a tool for internal SDC reflection and a common reflection tools with the intended beneficiaries of a reform and other actors. The issue of participation in the reflection process is obviously a core issue that has to be addressed from the on-set. Given the complexities and specificities of the environments in which SDC operates, the Tools do no specifically name the various stakeholders that would exist in these settings, such as reform beneficiaries, political actors, other donors and international organizations. You should determine which participant mix you wish; keep in mind that particularly with poor and disadvantaged beneficiaries, this might be an important step towards an own capacity to voice opinions and arguments (i.e. a combination of an advocacy and an empowerment strategy).

1.4. The instruments.

The second part of the document will present 5 steps with several tools, all meant to allow for the analyses necessary for a Driver of Change approach. Please note that the steps and instruments are a tool-box that should be adapted to the country - or sector-specific context. This also means that not all the tools have to be applied – in fact, even one can be enough.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of tool</th>
<th>Purpose and Perspective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 1: Analyzing pre-existing and current change processes</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Introductory snapshot</strong></td>
<td>To sum up past and current processes, and determine possible spaces for participation.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Delphi method</strong></td>
<td>Systematic, interactive forecasting method.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 2: Actor/stakeholders and their reaction and adaptation to planned changes</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The power-interest matrix</strong></td>
<td>Determining the interests and the power of the relevant stakeholders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Global actor overview – The 4 A’s</strong></td>
<td>Identify and consider the different interest groups and their potential influence by looking at actors, agenda, arena, and alliances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identification of the main actors</strong></td>
<td>To further limit the number of actors drawn from the 4A-step, distinguish between the actor’s legitimacy, resources, and ties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Step 3: How are changes negotiated – how much participatory governance is possible?</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decision-making and participation</strong></td>
<td>Applying different criteria for decision-making and participation, as the policy networks mold the riverbed in which the negotiation pursues its way and in which the actors apply their capacities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identifying interests as a negotiation preparation</strong></td>
<td>To capture the variety of present interests, the main actors are analyzed regarding their explicit and palpable interests, grade of accordance with the reform objectives, behaviour in the negotiations processes, and strategic options and concrete measures.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Step 4: Power structures and power resources</strong></td>
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</table>
### The Five - Analyzing power resources

At least five different sorts of power resources and inputs can be brought in to strengthen a policy influencing process: **Position Power**, **Financial Power**, **Expert Power**, **Negotiation Power**, and **Networking Power**.

### Step 5: How to contribute to change?

#### Force Field Analysis of the change process

To gain a comprehensive overview of the different forces – persons (actors, stakeholders), arguments, habits, customs, and attitudes - acting on a potential policy issue, and for assessing their source and strength.

#### How to follow up on the Force Field Analysis

There are different strategic options to deal with resistance: **information and communication strategies**, **support strategies**, **participation strategies**, and **negotiation strategies**.
2. Steps and tools for a “Drivers of Change” approach

The general focus

A Driver of Change analysis looks at three sequences that are building upon one another:

1. An **analysis of past and current processes in the partner country**, be they at the macro-level or country-specific. This reflects the mechanisms that have led to the current status in the country/sector.

2. Analyzing the **available spaces for development** and the interaction between structural features, institutions and actors inside these spaces.

3. Articulating a strategy for a change dynamic that will translate into **political will for policy and policy capacity**. This includes paying attention to the necessary local analytical capacity.

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**General ‘environment’/ society**

**Spaces for development/ Constituency for change**

**Structural features**

**Institutions**

**Actors**

**Entry points for donors**

**Political will for policy and policy capacity**

**Past and current donor and country processes**

**Challenges**

**Donor action:**
- Long-term and informed
- Focus on specific issues
- Necessity to be flexible
- Respect for national decision-making, willingness to compromise
- Learning-based approach
- Importance of M&E and steering capacity
- Be aware that donors are themselves actors!
Step 1: Analyzing pre-existing and current change processes

The first step in a successful Drivers of Change analysis – and most analysis, for that matter – is to sum up past and current processes and possible spaces for participation – i.e., provide a “snapshot” of the situation in which a reform process is to be launched.

For past processes, this includes looking at:

- What changed in the near past (sector reform, project of change)?
- Where did the impulse come from?
- Who/what turned out to be drivers of changes?

Topics to be analyzed include history, economics, social issues, politics, political and cultural traditions, policy and policy capacity, and the role of aid development.

With regards to the current political agenda, actors to be looked upon include, among others, Government, civil society organizations, the private sector and dynamics in the public sector.

Three different spaces for participation are possible:

- Formal institutional spaces: bureaucrats, experts, elected representative make decisions with little broad consultation or involvement
- Invited Spaces: People are invited to participate by various kinds of authorities
- Claimed/Created Spaces: Spaces claimed by less powerful actors from or against the power holders, or created more autonomously by them

DFID and NORAD tasked ODI and IPRAD with drafting an analysis of “Drivers of Change and Development in Malawi”. The first part of the document that was looking at past and current processes:

- Divided the development phases since Independence into three sub-segments, each containing different policies and policy capacities.
- Pointed out the existence of a ‘neo-patrimonial state’ and of a ‘big-man syndrome’ affecting the country’s politics.
- Noted how social traditions impacted negatively on the political system: “Colonialism superimposed elements of a modern state on hierarchical but communal societies, generating powerful legacies including an ambiguous moral attitude towards laws and administrative rules requiring honesty and professionalism in public (formal state) service. The nature of traditional society helps to explain why abuses by ‘big men’ are tolerated even when very few of the benefits filter down to ordinary people. These social features are also barriers to progressive change in their own right”. was critical of the contribution of donors and aid with regards to sustainable reform processes.

Possible additional tool: Delphi method

It is possible to combine Step 1 with the Delphi method, although this is a time-consuming tool. The method relies on an interactive work with a panel of experts, in which the experts answer questionnaires in two or more rounds. After each round, a facilitator provides an anonymous summary of the experts’ forecasts from the previous round as well as the reasons they provided for their judgments. Thus, experts are encouraged to revise their earlier answers in light of the replies of other members of their panel. It is believed that during this process the range of the answers will decrease and the group will converge towards the “correct” answer. Finally, the process is stopped after a pre-defined stop criterion and the mean or median scores of the final rounds determine the results.
Step 2: Actor/stakeholders and their reaction and adaptation to planned changes

Tool: The power-interest matrix
Organize a small-group brainstorming session with the following guiding question: **What are the interests and the power of the relevant stakeholders regarding the issue at stake?**
- Stakeholders can be organisations, groups, departments, structures, networks or individuals, but the list needs to be pretty exhaustive to ensure nobody is left out.
- ‘Interest’ measures to what degree they are likely to be affected by the project / the policy change, and what degree of interest or concern they have in or about it.
- ‘Power’ measures the influence they have over the project or policy, and to what degree they can help achieve, or block, the desired change.

### Power-Interest Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POWER</th>
<th>INTEREST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Interpretation of the grid / strategic options for cooperation management
Stakeholders placed in
- **BOX A**: Keep them satisfied, as they have a lot of power!
- **BOX B**: Engage them closely and try to influence them actively!
- **BOX C**: Don’t spend too much time with them, just monitor them on low intensity!
- **BOX D**: Keep them informed, as they are interested in the project!

If time and resources allow, further analysis can be carried out which explores in more detail (i) the nature of the power and its position and (ii) the interests that give it that position. This helps the project to better understand why people take certain stands and how they can be brought around. The final step is to develop a strategy for how best to engage different stakeholders in a project, how to frame or present the message or information so it is useful to them, and how to maintain a relationship with them. Identify who will make each contact and how, what message they will communicate and how they will follow up.
Tool: Global actor overview – The 4 A’s

For an effective impact on political negotiation processes, it is necessary to identify and consider the different interest groups regarding an issue, and then analyze their potential influence on the process.

To identify the actors and groups associated with the topic (organizations, groups, structures, networks, individuals, etc.), a group of three to seven persons with a varied perspective on the theme should be sufficient for an efficient brainstorming. The following might help you in structuring the brainstorming, or be a good structure if group work results are to be channelled back into a plenary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concerned private sector actors</th>
<th>Concerned public sector actors</th>
<th>Concerned civil society actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Companies</td>
<td>• Ministers and their delegations</td>
<td>• Social movements and groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Conglomerates</td>
<td>• Public administration: civil servants and departments</td>
<td>• Indigenous organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Professional bodies and organisms</td>
<td>• Elected representatives (legislature)</td>
<td>• Women organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Company leaders</td>
<td>• Tribunals (judicial power)</td>
<td>• Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Financial institutions</td>
<td>• Parliament and committees</td>
<td>• Churches / religions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Local governments / municipalities</td>
<td>• Universities and research centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Police vs. Armed Forces</td>
<td>• National NGOs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Political parties
Communication media
International organizations (World Bank, UN, supranational conventions, etc.)

What are the key characteristics of the actors regarding:

**Actors**: Name and main function
**Agenda**: Mandate, mission, strategic objectives
**Arena**: Field of and reach of action
**Alliances**: Relations with other actors (ABCD*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Agenda</th>
<th>Arena</th>
<th>Alliances (*)</th>
<th>Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</table>

(*)
A = dependency regulated institutionally or through organisational structure
B = continuous information exchange with other actors
C = coordinated action with other actors
D = co-production with common resources
Tool: The identification of the main actors

To be able to limit even more the number of actors drawn from the previous 4A-step, it is useful to distinguish between three fundamental criteria:

1. **Legitimacy**: Recognition by other actors and institutional position of the actor, including assigned or acquired rights. The rights can be granted by law, depend on his mandate, or can have been invested in him by public opinion as long as considered legitimate. In the first place, this applies to the actors whose explicit aprobation is indispensable for the political reform. These actors have a veto power that can kick off or block the reform.

2. **Resources**: Knowledge, technical expertise, material capacities and resources allowing the actor to influence the political topic and direct or control the access to these resources.

3. **Ties**: Number and strength of relationships with other actors that are bound to the actor or dependent of him. In general, key actors are strongly linked by institutional and informal relationships. In other words, they have the power to influence the interests and the participation of other actors. The main actors thus exercise a fundamental influence on the structuring of the participation with regards to the inclusion in and the exclusion from policy networks and negotiations.

After the identification of the actors according to the three presented criteria, their weighing can be inserted into the following matrix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTORS</th>
<th>Total (*)</th>
<th>Legitimacy</th>
<th>Resources</th>
<th>Ties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*) Weighing
0 = does not correspond to this criteria (e.g., the actor has neither a high legitimacy, nor important resources, nor important ties).
3 = corresponds fully.

**Possible guiding questions:**

- Is there, among the identified main actors, a balance between actors from the public sector, civil society and the private sector?
- With which concrete measures can we empower a specific actor so that he can fully take part?
- Up to which point is it possible to modify the actors’ legitimacy, access to resources and ties?
- Which expected advantages and disadvantage determine the behaviour of the main actors?
Step 3: How are changes negotiated – how much participatory governance is possible?

Tool: Decision-making and participation

In the negotiations on a political proposition, the actors defend their interests and implicitly show their attitudes and preferences. The policy networks mold the riverbed in which the negotiation pursues its way and in which the actors apply their capacities, applying different criteria for decision-making and participation. The following matrix serves to analyze these preferences.

The location of the main actors in the matrix allows – together with the global actor view (cf. Step 1) and particularly the aspect of intra-actor alliances – to draw a series of conclusion:

- What are the actors with a high interest in new knowledge and with an openness to participation?
- How can we tie these actors to the others?
- Which concrete measures can help to slowly move the actors towards the blue quadrant?
The interests of the main actors in a policy network tend to be different. This is logical, given their different experiences and expectations vis-à-vis the political proposal on the table. Any negotiation raises reservations, silent or open opposition or scepticism. At the latest, actors discover their mutual dissonances when asked to express their interests. The motives for opposition are diverse and closely linked to the structure of the negotiation process: the proper interests and fears of the actors (e.g., regarding the loss of power) are reinforced by mutual distrust. It is thus imperative to structure the process through various interventions, among which are:

- Learning to deal with antagonism, to convert reservations/resistances into open expression.
- Making sure the actors have clear and transparent information on the political proposal (mutual confidence-building between main actors, facilitating meetings, informal spaces).
- Allowing the actors to share new information.
- Creating some minimal negotiation rules and sharing a common agenda.
- Creating a favourable environment for the negotiations.
- Focalizing the interest on possible effects of the new policy, keeping in mind that a political proposal has clear beneficiaries as well as disadvantages and risks for others.

The following matrix helps in identifying the different concrete measures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political theme / reform proposal:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1 MAIN ACTORS</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Explanation of the matrix:**
1 = cf. the tool “Actor mapping” in Step 2: Identification of the main actors.
2 = Interests which the actors express in public statements and in the negotiations.
3 = 0 (no coincidence with the objectives of the reform proposal) to 3 (the actor coincides fully).
4 = Cf. Step 1.
5 = Concrete measures regarding: (i) Information and communication (ii) Structure of the negotiation process and participation in the process; focus advisory on achieving a common understanding of proceedings, negotiations spaces, timetable and definition of the agenda. (iii) Strengthening the relations between the main actors and the recognition of their mutual interdependence. (iv) Empowering specific actors so they can actively participate; facilitate their participation alongside the crucial political instances. (v) Creating mutual trust; create spaces for personal relations, field visits to present concrete examples. (vi) Access to new knowledge; organize open workshops with experts on specific topics. (vii) Moderation of negotiation processes; promote situations in which everybody wins. (viii) Registering advances and permanently evaluating the process.

The matrix – a way of simplifying reality – helps to better understand the negotiation process. First and foremost, it is very useful to ask yourself the following:

- Which interests do the main actors have vis-à-vis the political reform?
- How do these interests coincide with the interests of other actors?
- How can we take advantage of the complementarities between the actors?
- Which possible effects does the negotiation style on the negotiation process?
- How can we level the knowledge on the political proposal?
- Which are the strategic options and the concrete measures in order to ease the process?
Step 4: Power structures and power resources

**Tool: The Five – Analyzing power relations**

To succeed, policy influencing processes require planning, specifically through the **strategic application of organisational power resources**. Success stories suggest that influencing objectives are more likely to be achieved when the influencing organisation offers something that another organisation needs and moreover, when it provides resources in a timely way. At least five different sorts of power resources and inputs can be brought in to strengthen a policy influencing process:

1. **Position Power** - achieving influence through holding influential positions in an institutional structure. Essentially influence derived from official status or title, access or “seat” at the policy table. Includes influence through good image (visibility, reputation management).
2. **Financial Power** - achieving influence through financial leverage, financial resource transfers and related incentives and pressures. Includes influence through format of funds (the amount, the timing and the conditions attached) as well as quantity.
3. **Expert Power** - achieving influence through knowledge and experience. The capacity to manage and relate concepts (read the context, questioning, comprehensive view etc.)
4. **Negotiation Power** - achieving influence through good communication and social skills (diplomacy, empathy, managing conflicts, cultural sensitivity, relationship building, informal contacts), as well as negotiation skills. It includes self-critical awareness (sharing and openness, systematic self-analysis of failure and error).
5. **Networking Power** - achieving influence through developing alliances and networks. The capacity to increase the organisation’s leverage by building up various forms of formal and informal partnerships.

Another element that can be added is **Information Power** – the capacity to control the information flow and define the information content.

Three points we have to keep in mind when assessing our influencing capacity:

1. Financial and position power are necessary but **not sufficient** conditions for influence. The art of influencing requires far more strategic precision and flexibility in the use of other types of power that are much more intangible – expert, personal and negotiation.
2. All the competencies needed in policy influencing are very unlikely to be found in only one person, no matter how brilliant s/he might be. Policy influencing work thus requires a **combination of personal and institutional skills**, reflecting a whole range of different sources of power.
3. Legitimacy as a policy influencing actor is not only based on expertise and social skills but also on the **capacity to reflect on one’s failures and successes as a team**. This sort of learning power is crucial in the long term.

**Step 1: Identify the power resources**

Guiding question: Which power resources does each one of the main actors have? In a first step, the application can focus on three to five actors so as to unify the criteria on power resources.

**Step 2: Visualize and compare the resources**

To visualize the profile of the different actors and of the own organization, classify the different criteria on the scale 0 to 4 (= significant power):
Financial Power
Expert Power
Position Power
Negotiation Power
Networking Power

PED Network Basic Tools
Step 5: How to contribute to change?

Organizations can be understood as relatively stable social systems in a quasi-stationary equilibrium. The system is, however, only calm and seemingly equilibrated because the sum of movements and opinions weigh up in a zero-sum-game. This fragile equilibrium is the starting point for any change.

In the framework of the design of change processes these resistances should not be avoided, but used as a resource (working with resistance). Each and every form of quiet or open resistance has to be understood as an expression of interest and participation. This means that, in the case of a withdrawal and inner emigration, the actor has to be supported in explicitly voicing his objections against the change objective.

Professional change management avoids hasty alliances with actors enthusiastically supporting the change objective; rather, it gives particular attention to actors that raise concerns and are sceptical and reticent. On the one side, much can be learned from these actors, given that there are reasons for their resistances. On the other side, the interest for their arguments integrates these actors.

The analysis of the framework of process design concentrates on the following question: How must the change process be designed so as to reinforce or attenuate individual arguments and behaviour patterns?

To locate resistances, a force field analysis is recommendable. It analyzes how key actors relate – positively or negatively – to planned changes.

Tool: Force Field Analysis of three intervention fields: actions, relations, rules

The force field analysis was developed by Kurt Lewin (1951) upon the underlying assumption that social and political change occurs when the field of influences is changed. The tool is a powerful method for gaining a comprehensive overview of the different forces – persons (actors, stakeholders), arguments, habits, customs, attitudes - acting on a potential policy issue, and for assessing their source and strength.

The procedure is based on the idea that every policy issue is held in balance by the interaction of two opposing sets of forces – those seeking to promote change (driving forces) and those attempting to maintain the status quo (restraining forces). Status quo or a stable situation is defined as a balance of forces. Thus, in order for any change to occur, the driving forces have to exceed the restraining forces, thus shifting the equilibrium of the system. In practice it is assumed, that the most promising change strategy is working on the restraining forces. This means that we have to pay attention to open and discrete forms of resistance to change, that we have to show interest for resistance in terms of arguments and behaviour and provide opportunities that resistance can be expressed openly. Therefore facilitation of change requires a highly participatory approach.

The force field analysis is a method to:

- explore the balance of changing forces involved in the policy issue,
- investigate different expressions of the forces in terms of power resources, arguments, behaviour, etc.
- identify the most important players: stakeholders that are opponents, allies or indifferent to change,
How to apply the tool

1. Draw the diagrams below onto a flip chart.
2. Agree on the policy issue at stake (area of change) to be discussed and write it down in the heading blue box of the diagram.
3. List the main actors / stakeholders that may exercise influence on the policy issue.
4. Identify arguments and behavioural patterns that you can attribute to these stakeholders. Put them in the first or the third column as driving forces or restraining forces. Be aware that a “force” can be expressed in different ways, e.g. as a political and institutional position of an actor, the control power on the issue, the influence on public opinion, the networking power, the negotiation performance, knowledge and evidence based arguments.
5. Assign the forces according to their strength and importance as weak (+)/(-) or strong (++)/(--). Be aware that each stakeholder might show driving and restraining forces at the same time.

## Policy issue at stake:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arguments, behavioural patterns IN FAVOR of the proposed change or reform</th>
<th>ACTORS or STAKEHOLDERS exercising incidence on the negotiation process</th>
<th>Arguments, behavioural patterns AGAINST the proposed change or reform</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Discussion of the Force Field Analysis

The established matrix enables a discussion on various relevant issues of the change process:

- Revealing ambiguous positions and different expressions of resistance.
- Identifying white spots and ignorance about the positioning of stakeholders.
- Comparing different stages of knowledge and informed participation.
- Enhancing awareness for the stakeholders that are reluctant or against the change processes and therefore need to be addressed particularly.
- Identifying the lack of access to knowledge and communication.
- Providing information about alliances among the stakeholders.
- Providing inputs for optional interventions.
- Advising monitoring of the change process.

Throughout the process rich discussion, debate and dialogue should emerge, as this is an important part of the exercise. Findings and ideas may well come up to do with concerns, problems, symptoms, solutions. It is useful to record these and review where there is a consensus.
on an action or a way forward. By using the tool in a periodic way during a change process, it may also help to better understand different interventions of the stakeholders and the changes of their positions, arguments and behavioural patterns.

Be aware that alliances with driving forces may boost unintentionally resistance
First of all, professional change management requires awareness and interest in open and discrete expressions of resistance.

Develop different strategic options of possible intervention
Analysing the Force Field does not lead to one, but different possible paths to change the equilibrium of the system. In most cases it is necessary to check out and learn from different alternatives by practical small interventions that "irritate" the system. Kurt Lewin said: If you really want to know how it ticks, try to change it.

Tool: How to follow up on the Force Field Analysis

If the analysis shows opposition against a planned change, there are different strategic options to deal with this resistance:

1) Information and communication strategies
Information and communication strategies make sense if the resistance is due to information deficits, rumours and misinterpretations. Through special communication and information processes the information asymmetry between the concerned actors and the owners of the process – which spun the resistance in the first place – is reduced and the trust in change strengthened. The precondition is the existence of a clearly communicable rational advantage through the communication project.

2) Support strategies
Support strategies are to be applied if the resistance is due to adaptation problems, e.g. with regards to procedural novelties. The aim of such a support strategy is the qualification of the concerned actors through knowledge and information transmission – i.e., Capacity Development.

3) Participation strategies
Participation strategies make sense if there is a substantial resistance potential with the concerned actors. The aim is to give them more ownership of the change process and there through increase their willingness to change.

4) Negotiation strategies
Negotiation strategies make sense if a win-win-situation with clear advantages cannot be easily attained, given that clearly visible disadvantages are built into the change process, which leads persons or interest groups to try to maximize their win-loss-ration. In this case, resistance is the result of the behaviour tendency to protect the status quo. The situation can be defused if the different actors try to achieve a compromise on the base of commonly formulated objectives.

Depending on the situation, the preconditions and the objective these strategies can also be combined and be applied as a mix.
3. Lessons learnt – Opportunities and challenges

Lessons learnt – Opportunities
A review study carried out by the OECD (2005) found the following main Drivers of Change (DoC): external actors, ethnicity/discrimination and conflict for structural drivers; corruption, public administration reform and political opposition for institutional drivers; and elite capture, civil society and media/information with regards to agents. In general, to enhance the analytical and the implementation power of the approach, the analysis should centre on the DoC within the actors.

The OECD study also found that the DoC approach “had served to structure (...) (the donors’) thinking, to make implicit knowledge explicit, to give them a shared language and basis for discussion of the political and institutional context and its impact on development, and to legitimise this discourse.” Effects of applying the approach were said to range from a limited change in programme selection, programme design and implementation (including the management of multi-donor budget support) to a downward adjustment of the expectations for economic and political progress.

Lessons learnt – Challenges
Review studies reveal at least four contentious issues with regards to the approach:

• First of all, a Power and DoC analysis’ long-term horizon can go counter to institutional objectives’ more immediate views, e.g. with regards to short-term spending targets and short-term interventions to achieve the MDG. Also, the focus on informal institutions might run counter to the accountability imperative, which is more easily respected when working with formal institutions.

• Regarding the on-going discussion on aid effectiveness, it is true that the analysis can contribute to more aid effectiveness through increased donor harmonization, a more informed decision-making and risk-avoiding and a more incremental approach. However, a DoC analysis raises the question whether donors dismiss or accept the way their partners regard power. More importantly, the analyses often generate findings that challenge the implications of increased ownership and the speed with which the alignment and harmonization drive is implemented, and question the rationale for increased aid investments and the utilisation of new aid instruments.

• A DoC analysis places development actors in the arena of political analysis, where their interests and priorities – and the mere fact of the analysis being carried out – might collide with that of other international actors and other actors in their home country (the political sections of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, for a start).

• By pointing out reform bottle-necks and the weight of informal institutions, the analysis might lead to risk aversion.