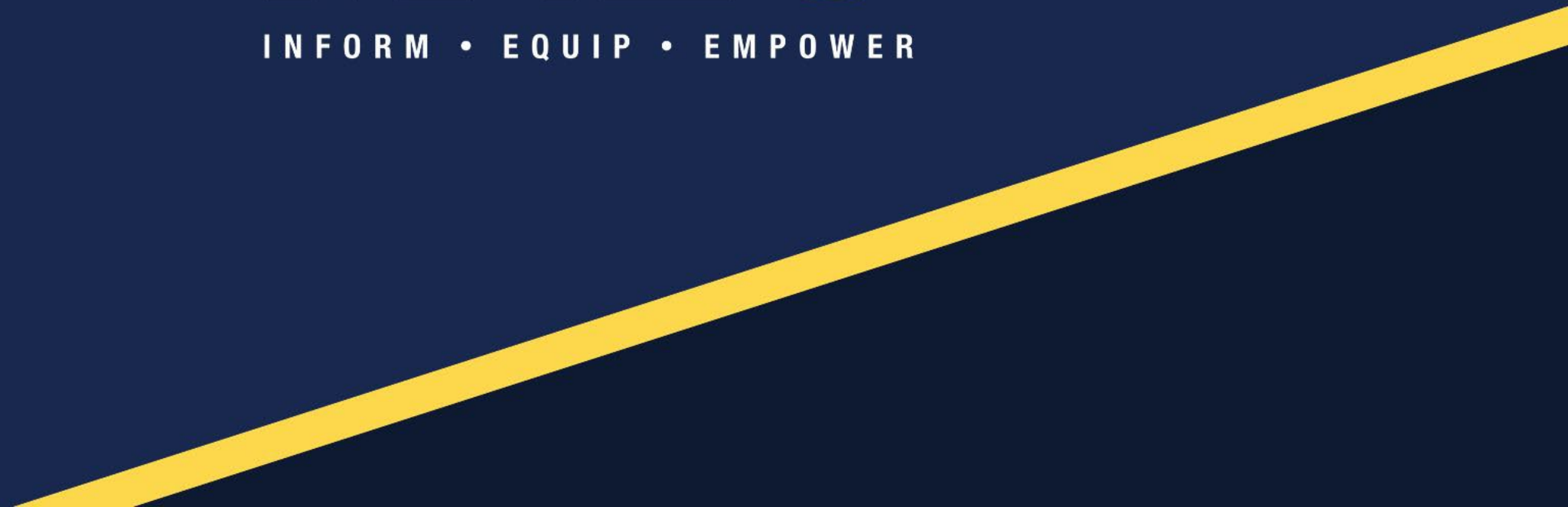




# M4LU

INFORM • EQUIP • EMPOWER





# Comprehensive Sexuality Education

May 2025

- What is Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE)
- History, Key Figures, and Facts
- Global Influence, Ideological Roots and Partners
- CSE in Schools
- How to FIGHT Back - Arguments and Talking Points
- How to FIGHT Back - Take Action

## The Sales Pitch of CSE

- Markets itself as empowerment, knowledge, and compassion
- Claims: “Knowledge is power”
- Premise: With enough information, even children can give informed consent
- Key message to students: “Only you know when you are ready”



Photo: Shutterstock

## What CSE is – and what It's Not

- Not traditional sex education (biology, reproduction, abstinence)
- Based on the belief that children are sexual “from cradle to grave”
- Core aim: unrestrained sexual expression – not health or well-being
- Includes pleasure-focused instruction, gender ideology, normalization of risky behaviors



CSE as defined by Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States (**SIECUS**):

**“Sex education must be comprehensive, medically accurate, inclusive, trauma-informed, and grounded in human rights, reproductive justice, and a sex-positive framework.”**

### NATIONAL SEX EDUCATION STANDARDS

CORE CONTENT AND SKILLS, K-12  
SECOND EDITION

FoSE  
Future of Sex Education

CSE as defined by the National Sex Education Standards (NSES)

“Age-appropriate, developmentally appropriate, and inclusive” education that covers identity, orientation, pleasure, and autonomy.”

**THE BOTTOM LINE:** CSE teaches that all sexual behaviors and identities are valid, that sexual pleasure is a right, and that kids and teens should be free to explore who they are — regardless of biology or what their parents believe.



## Comprehensive Sexuality Education:

- Assumes children are inherently sexual and should explore that from a young age
- Promotes a “rights-based,” sex-positive model that prioritizes pleasure and identity

### Young people have the right to **comprehensive sex ed** that is:

- ✓ medically-accurate
- ✓ shame-free
- ✓ age-appropriate
- ✓ culturally-competent
- ✓ honest

- Encourages early lessons on gender, orientation, and sexual development
- Teaches that sexual desires define identity—and adults shouldn’t interfere
- Undermines parental authority & downplays risks



# History of Comprehensive Sexuality Education

History

Key Figures & Facts



## The Roots of CSE – from ‘Pseudo-Scientific’ Research to School Curriculum

**ALFRED KINSEY****1940s -1950s****“Sexual from Cradle to Grave”**

Researched adult-child sexual behavior

Redefined sexual norms through pseudo-scientific data

**MARY CLADERONE****1964****Architect of Modern Sexuality Education**

Founded the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States (**SIECUS**)

**LESTER KIRKENDALL****1960s – 1970s****Helped integrate sexuality studies into teacher training & higher education**

Allied with Kinsey & Calderone – Pushed ‘**value-neutral**’ sex ed

**EXPANSION & INFLUENCE****1980s -2000s****Policy Embedding, Writing and Delivering Curriculum**

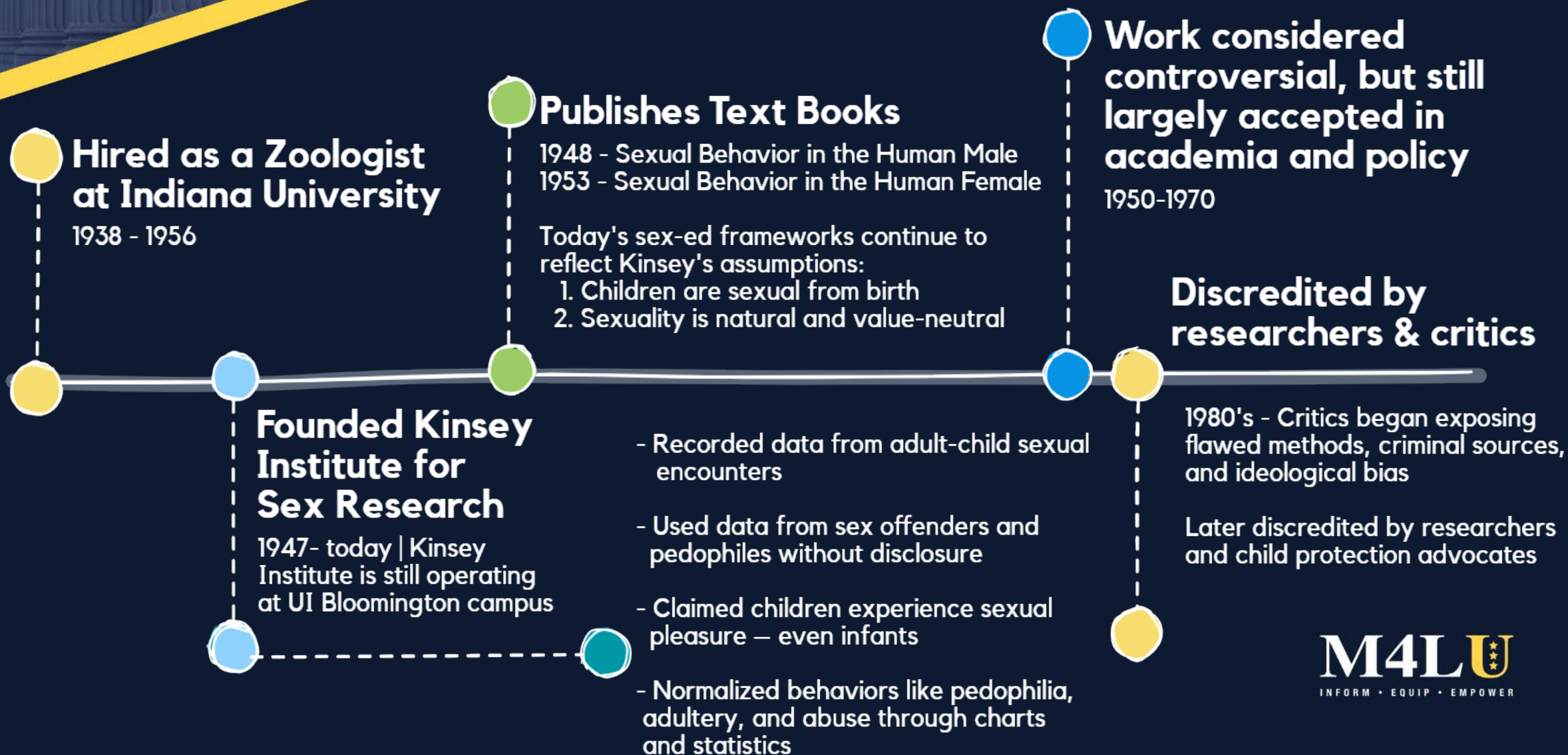
Global push from UN, UNESCO, IPPF

**Planned Parenthood** writing and delivering curriculum

**K-12 INTEGRATION****2010s – present****Normalization in schools**

Embedded in SEI, DEI, and Health classes.

National Sexuality Education Standards (**NSES**), Center for Disease Control (**CDC**)



WE HANDED OVER  
THE SCIENCE OF  
SEX TO A MAN  
WHOSE ETHICS  
WERE AS BROKEN  
AS HIS DATA —  
AND THE IMPACT  
STILL ECHOES  
THROUGH  
CLASSROOMS  
TODAY.

# Alfred Kinsey – The Man Behind the Foundation of Modern Sex Ed

Alfred Kinsey's personal life was marked by sexual obsession, moral detachment, and dangerous experimentation

- Privately exhibited bisexual behavior – engaged in homosexual relationships (including colleagues and research assistants)
- Kinsey and staff filmed themselves and others engaging in various sexual acts under the 'guise of research'
- Engaged in self-harming sexual behavior

Minimized or dismissed concept of sexual trauma, especially in children

Used data from pedophiles, normalized child sex abuse and dismissed harm

# Mary Calderone

Known as the **‘Architect of Modern Sex Education’**

- Medical Director at Planned Parenthood from 1953-1964
- 1964: Left Planned Parenthood to found SIECUS (Sex Information and Education Council of the United States)

Calderone took modern sex education mainstream:

- Shifted sex ed from biology and morality → emotions, relationships, identity and pleasure
- Rejected abstinence and reproductive only models
- Promoted “comprehensive”, “rights-based”, and “inclusive” sex education

***“Sex education should be value-neutral, without presupposed moral judgment.”*** — Mary Calderone, *Transformation of American Sex Education*

# Lester Kirkendall

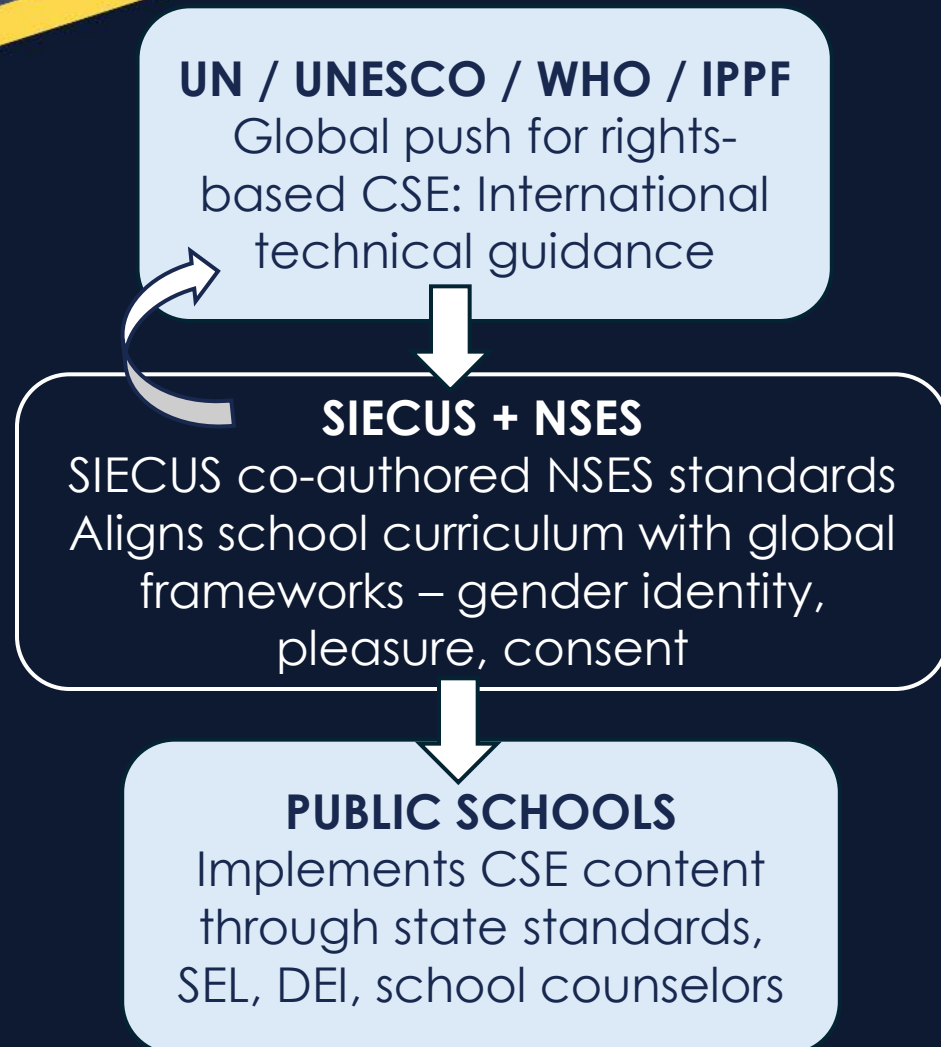
- Early sex ed advocate, aligned with Kinsey & Calderone
- Served on advisory committees shaping early sex education dialogue
- 1953: Published *Sex Education: A Guidebook for Parents and Teachers* promoting 'value-neutral' sexuality
- Helped legitimize CSE through teacher training programs
- Worked Calderone & SIECUS to legitimize comprehensive sex education
- Key figure in AASECT (American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors and Therapists) shaping policies and professional norms

***Kirkendall was the academic who helped open the classroom door for Kinsey and Calderone's ideology.***



## KEY ORGANIZATIONS

## CSE NETWORK – Pipeline Driving the Agenda



**IDEOLGICALLY-DRIVEN SEX EDUCATION** with a  
Global-to-local pipeline: international policy  
→ national standards → local curriculum





## KEY ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS

**Advocates  
for Youth**  
Young. Powerful. Taking Over.

Youth-focused group  
co-authoring NSES,  
CSE starting in  
Kindergarten.

**SIECUS**  
SEX ED FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

**HUMAN  
RIGHTS  
CAMPAIGN**

Advocates for gender  
identity inclusion K-12  
policies including  
curriculum

**Planned  
Parenthood**  
Care. No matter what.

Planned Parenthood  
Federation of America

**Advocacy  
Organizations  
Promoting  
CSE in the US**

**GLSEN**

Teacher training & digital sex  
ed resources for schools

**answer**  
sex ed, honestly

Teacher training and digital  
sex ed resources for schools  
- Rutgers University

**guttmacher**

PP former research arm; produces data  
to support sex ed and abortion access.

**ACLU**

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# Comprehensive Sexuality Education in Schools

By the Numbers | Breaking Down the NSES | Examples | Behaviors  
What they Aren't Teaching

- 29** states and Washington, D.C., **mandate sex education** of some kind to be taught;
- 30** states **require an emphasis on abstinence** when any sex education, including HIV and sexually transmitted infection (STI) education, is taught;
- 19** states **require curricula on condoms or contraception** when sex education or HIV/STI education is taught;
- 13** states **do not require sex education or HIV/STI education** to be age-appropriate, medically accurate, evidence-based/ evidence-informed, or culturally responsive;
- 13** states require sex education or HIV/STI education to **include consent education**;
- 10** states require **culturally responsive** sex education or HIV/STI education;
- 9** states require **LGBTQ+ inclusiveness** in sex education;
- 6** states require **LGBTQ+ discriminatory** sex education.<sup>9</sup>

## Sex Ed By the Numbers

- No official U.S. national standard for CSE
- Many states follow the NSES standards as a guide
- Check your states Sex Education policies (State Department of Education website)
- Learn key terms - how 'abstinence' is defined
- CDC's "Whole School, Whole Community, Whole Child (WSCC) model may be a gateway for CSE.

Even if your school district claims, "we don't use CSE", the reality is they may still be using parts of it

## Who Writes the NSES – Sex Ed Resources

National Sex Education Standards (NSES)  
authored by:

- Advocates for Youth
- SIECUS: Sex Ed for Social Change
- Planned Parenthood (PPFA)
- Answer (Rutgers)

Part of the **Future of Sex Education (FoSE)**  
collaboration

FoSE aims to influence curriculum, teacher  
training, and policy

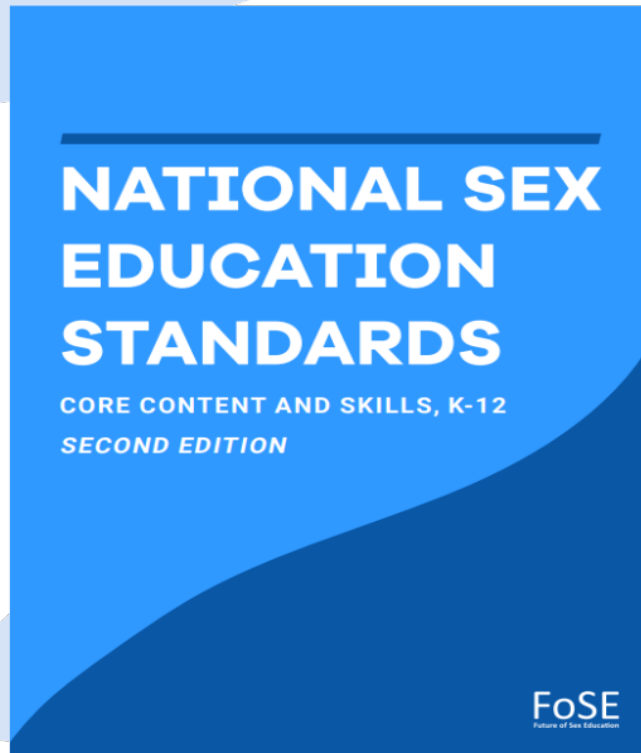
### Endorsing Organizations



Partners and Endorsing Agents of NSES

Source: [NSES-2020-web.pdf](#)

NSES - Understanding 7 key topics in sexuality education standards.



## 1 Consent & Healthy Relationships

## 2 Anatomy & Physiology

## 3 Puberty & Adolescent Sexual

"Describe the role of hormones  
"...and the potential role of hormone blockers on young people who identify as transgender"

## 4 Gender Identity & Expression

"Define differences between cisgender, transgender, gender nonbinary, gender expansive, and gender identity"

"Differentiate between sex assigned at birth, gender identity, and gender expression"

## 5 Sexual Health

"Define sexual identity and explain a range of identities related to sexual orientation (e.g., heterosexual, bisexual, lesbian, gay, queer, two-spirit, asexual, pansexual)"

## 6 Sexual Health

## 7 Interpersonal Violence

"Define sex-trafficking, sexual exploitation, and gender-based violence"

## Guiding Principles & Values

High Expectations  
Functional Knowledge & Skills  
Trauma-Informed  
Social, Racial, & Reproductive Justice & Equity  
Intersectionality  
Language Inclusivity



## How NSES Influences Curriculum Nationwide

- NSES (National Sex Education Standards) — developed by Advocates for Youth, Answer, and SIECUS — serve as a de facto national framework even though there is no federal mandate.
- Their materials are often pre-approved or recommended by state departments of education
- Through professional development, teacher trainings, federal funding (e.g., Personal Responsibility Education Program)PREP, Teen Pregnancy Prevention Program( TPP), and lobbying, they shape what enters the classroom.



## Primary Writers & Organizations Behind School Based Sex-Education

### CSE Curriculum & Developers:

- **Planned Parenthood** – Sex Ed To-Go, Get Real
- **Advocates for Youth** – Rights, Respect, Responsibility (3Rs)
- **Answer** – Sex, Etc. (Rutgers University)
- **SIECUS** – “Sex Ed for Social Change” model
- **FLASH** (used in multiple states, incl. WA, OR, CA)
- **Amaze.org** – animated videos for all ages (Partners with Advocates for Youth and Answer)

In addition, CSE curriculum often extends beyond the classroom — linking to outside websites and videos that supplement, embed, or expand on the core lessons without parental review.

## CSE Curriculum – Just the Surface

### What Parents Are Shown

- Polished classroom slides or handouts
- Labels like “evidence-informed” or “abstinence-based”
- Topics like “healthy relationships,” “consent,” or “gender identity”
- Assurance that the material is “age-appropriate”

### What Parents Don't Know

- Supplemental materials – digital resources, links & references, other outside resources
- Some lessons are delivered by outside 3<sup>rd</sup> parties like Planned Parenthood or affiliates

## CSE Curriculum – Example from ETR (Education Training, and Research)

- Major developer of sex ed curricula like FLASH and Positive Prevention Plus
- Focused on "equity-centered" and "inclusive" sexuality education
- Funded by federal grants, state contracts, and progressive foundations
- Partnered with CDC, HHS, and Office of Population Affairs
- Used in dozens of states and hundreds of school districts nationwide
- Curricula align with NSES and often embed external links to resources



**sex. etc.**

SEX ED YOUR SAY ACTION CENTER BLOG FUN TEEN STAFF

**Asexual? Aromantic? Here's Why Representation Matters**  
Scout (they/them), 19, talks to teens who identify as asexual and/or aromantic about seeing themselves represented in the media.  
[Read More](#)

**SEX, ETC. POLL** ☒  
Is masturbation a taboo topic among you and your friends?  
It's taboo for girls, but not for guys.  
Yes, it's taboo...for everyone.  
Not at all  
I don't know.  
[SUBMIT](#)

**HOT TOPICS**  
Birth Control  
HIV/AIDS & STDs  
Pregnancy  
Your Body  
LGBTQ  
Abuse & Violence  
Relationships  
Sex

**JOIN OUR NETWORK**  
Instagram Facebook YouTube

**TAKING THE AWKWARD OUT OF SEX ED**  
[LEARN MORE](#)

**amaze**

Did you know that one in three teens in the U.S. has experienced...

**SCARLETEEN**  
sex ed for the real world  
inclusive, comprehensive, supportive  
SEXUALITY and RELATIONSHIPS  
info for teens and emerging adults

It's no longer enough to ask **what curriculum** is being used.

Parents must ask: **"What materials and websites are being used alongside it?"**

**Planned Parenthood**  
Care. No matter what.

**amaze**

**COLUMBIA HEALTH**

**GO ASK ALICE!**

**Scarleteen**  
QUEER SEX ED FOR ALL SINCE 1998

**READ UP ASK FOR HELP PITCH IN**

**ask for help: boards · chat · text advice · external resources**

**ASK FOR HELP**

Scarleteen began with direct questions from young people and continues to offer and prioritize our direct services. You can access different kinds of help from us tailored just for you, with our text service, live chat, moderated message boards, and more. We can provide all of our direct services to people age 13 and up.

**teensource.org**

**TrevorText**  
Text START to 678678

**TrevorChat**  
TrevorChat.org

**TrevorLifeline**  
866.488.7386

**THE TREVOR PROJECT**  
Saving Young LGBTQ Lives



**Project Description:** AMAZE is a project of Advocates for Youth and Youth Tech Health. The initiative is comprised of a series of more than 160 animated puberty and sex education videos and resources that have been viewed more than 55 million times in the U.S. alone. The video series targets young people ages 10 to 14, their parents, educators, and clinicians—regardless of where they live or what school they attend. Videos are made available via AMAZE.org YouTube channel and at [www.amaze.org](http://www.amaze.org). In addition, Amaze partners with organizations and agencies in more than 100 countries.

# AMAZE Videos – Cartoons with Consequences

AMAZE videos use cartoons to desensitize children to graphic sexual content, normalize risky behavior, and bypass parental oversight—all under the guise of education.



# How does CSE Compare to Other Sex Ed Programs

| Aspect                  | Abstinence-Until-Marriage (SRA)             | Traditional Sex Education                  | Comprehensive Sex Education (CSE)                  |
|-------------------------|---|--|--|
| Core Focus              | Risk avoidance, self-control, marriage goal | Biology, reproduction, and abstinence      | Sexual pleasure, identity, and expression          |
| Message to Students     | Avoid all sexual activity until marriage    | Delay sex for health and emotional reasons | You decide when you're ready; pleasure is a right  |
| View on Gender          | Rooted in biological sex                    | Based on biology                           | Based on feelings and social constructs            |
| Parental Role           | Central and respected                       | Respected and encouraged                   | Often bypassed or seen as a barrier                |
| Risk Discussion         | High-risk behaviors discouraged             | Emphasizes avoidance of STIs and pregnancy | Focuses on risk reduction; avoids moral framing    |
| Identity and Morality   | Grounded in faith, values, or tradition     | Acknowledges values and boundaries         | Promotes identity exploration without limits       |
| Instructional Materials | Value-based, modest, science-informed       | Clinical and factual                       | Includes graphic books, websites, and role-playing |





# CSE: Ignored Facts, Real Risks



**A single sexual encounter can result in irreversible outcomes; lifelong STIs, HIV, or unplanned pregnancy. This risk is downplayed or ignored in curricula.**

## Medical Risks Ignored

- Adolescent girls' cervical immaturity increases STI risk.
- High-risk acts like anal sex are normalized, despite higher HIV/infection dangers
- Teens lack neurological maturity for safe-decision-making

## Misleading Teen Pregnancy Narrative

- Abortion framed as "routine care" omitting emotional and physical consequences
- Teen pregnancy decline largely due to abortion and contraception – not behavioral changes
- Porn and media fuel early sexual behavior

## Undermining Parents

- Parents are a child's first protectors – uniquely equipped to guide them with love, wisdom, and values

### **INSTEAD CSE:**

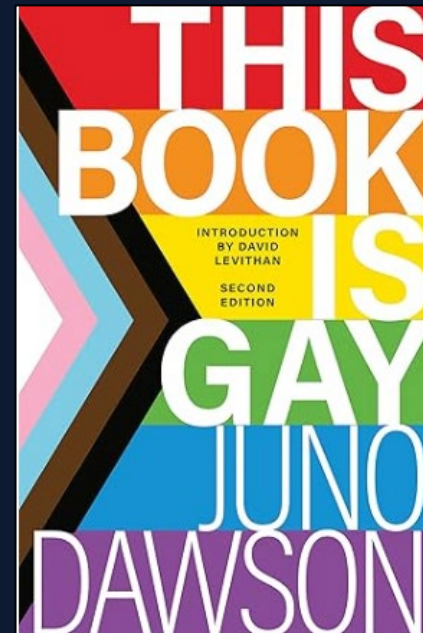
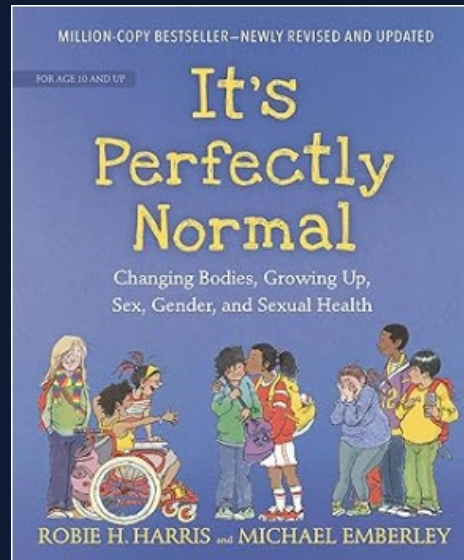
- Labels parents as "barriers to information"
- Curriculum promotes seeking help from "trusted adults" or hotlines – excluding parents

# Sexual Content in Books in Schools

Sexual content is not just in the curriculum – these messages show up in book available in schools



Page from 'Let's Talk About It'



Where is the  
line between  
education &  
exploitation?

## From Education to Exploitation

- CSE materials often sexualize children under the guise of education
- AMAZE videos, explicit books, and online links present adult themes to minors
- Teaching sexual consent, pleasure, and identity at young ages blurs boundaries
- Repeated exposure desensitizes kids to adult behaviors and language
- This creates conditions that predators exploit—normalizing access, language, and secrecy
- Trusted adults deliver messages that would be considered grooming in any other context





# FROM AWARENESS TO ACTION

Arguments and Talking Points

Taking Action

Parent Action

**The anti-CSE ideological framework is deeply rooted in patriarchal values and uses rhetoric about protecting the nuclear family as a thin veil for misogyny and desire to control women's lives and bodies.**

*Quote from SIECUS "Exposing Hate" Report*

When the people writing the curriculum view parents and faith communities as threats, we shouldn't be surprised when they try to remove us from the conversation.

## SIECUS – Sex Ed for Social Change Report

In 2023 SIECUS released a report called **"Exposing Hate: The Truth About Attacks on Our Kids, Schools, and Diversity"**

- Partnered with Advocacy for Youth, Human Rights, American Atheists, IPAS Partners for Reproductive Justice, Equality Federation and URGE: Unite for Reproductive & Gender Equity
- Frames opposition to CSE, DEI, and LGBTQ content as a coordinated **"moral panic"** driven by political extremists, accusing critics of spreading misinformation, targeting educators, banning books, and endangering student wellbeing — while offering messaging strategies to defend inclusive education.



## CSE Rebuttal FAQ

- "Kids are having sex anyway — we need to educate them."  
**Response:** Teaching children that sex is inevitable lowers expectations. We should raise the standard, not surrender to it. Just as we teach kids not to smoke or do drugs despite peer pressure, we can teach them that self-control, delayed gratification, and dignity are not only possible — they're admirable.
- "We have to teach kids about consent."  
**Response:** Consent is important, but CSE frames it as permission to say "yes." What students also need is the courage and conviction to say "no" — and to know that saying no is responsible and strong. True empowerment includes knowing when to walk away.
- "Abstinence doesn't work."  
**Response:** CSE misrepresents abstinence as naive or outdated, but abstinence is 100% effective in preventing pregnancy and STIs. Risk avoidance, not risk reduction, should be the foundation — especially for youth.



## CSE Rebuttal FAQ

- "CSE is evidence-based and inclusive."  
**Response:** CSE may be "evidence-informed" by ideological standards, but it often omits basic medical and developmental truths, such as the vulnerability of adolescent girls or the realities of brain development. Inclusion shouldn't mean lowering safety standards.
- "Parents can't be trusted to teach this."  
**Response:** Parents are a child's first and best educators. Rather than being sidelined, they should be equipped and empowered. Schools should support parents — not replace them.
- "What about kids whose parents don't teach them?"  
**Response:** Schools can fill educational gaps without promoting ideology. Teaching basic anatomy, safety, and respect doesn't require graphic content or gender theory. When parents fall short, we don't abandon standards — we raise them, offering values-based education that protects kids without undermining families.

## CSE Rebuttal FAQ

- "CSE prevents harm."

**Response:** In reality, CSE often glosses over the harms — like emotional trauma, lifelong STIs, and the impact of early sexualization. Withholding key facts in the name of “empowerment” doesn’t protect kids — it exposes them.

- "We're preparing kids for the real world."

**Response:** The real world is full of risk — which is why education should be a safeguard, not an on-ramp. Kids need truth, not ideology. Real preparation includes moral clarity, boundaries, and protective guidance.

The best education uplifts, informs, and protects. If a curriculum ignores biology, minimizes risk, undermines families, and pushes ideology — it isn't education. It's indoctrination.



## TAKE ACTION

## ENGAGE

EXPOSE

EDUCATE

ACTIVATE

TAKE ACTION

## ENGAGE

*Learn the language of CSE. Know the euphemisms: “age-appropriate,” “rights-based,” “gender inclusive,” “affirming”*

- Submit **OPT OUT** forms to your school to exclude your child from Sexuality Education instruction ([Freedom in Education](#) has templated letters)
- Ask questions — teachers, principals, school board: What are the policies? Request to review curriculum & school materials (libraries, counselor resources).
- Attend school board meetings: comment, review agendas,
- Join curriculum review or parent advisory committees.
- Join a group like Moms for Liberty — find or start a local chapter.

## TAKE ACTION

ENGAGE  
**EXPOSE**  
EDUCATE  
ACTIVATE

## TAKE ACTION

### EXPOSE

- If laws or opt-out forms are ignored — EXPOSE it.
- File FOIA/Open Records requests for curricula, training materials, policies.
- Document everything: dates, names, content—show receipts. Photograph or screenshot concerning content in assignments or displays.
- Submit written concerns to school staff and board members to build a paper trail.
- Share findings with local media, write letters to the editor, or post on social media.
- Organize a local rally or awareness event to highlight the issue. Highlight ties between Planned Parenthood, SIECUS, and local curriculum



## TAKE ACTION

ENGAGE

EXPOSE

**EDUCATE**

ACTIVATE

FIGHTING BACK – TAKE ACTION

## EDUCATE

- Host events to educate — tailor messages to legislators, parents, or the public
- Use M4LU's resource library and toolkits to equip others.
- Create one-page, high level information resource on the topic (can use QR codes to link to additional resources)
- Partner with local churches or civic groups to build awareness.
- Translate complex policy language into understandable talking points.
- Attend other sponsored events to stay informed on topics related to education



## TAKE ACTION

ENGAGE

EXPOSE

EDUCATE

**ACTIVATE**


TAKE ACTION

## ACTIVATE

- Work with state lawmakers to restore biological truth and parental authority.
  - schedule in-person meetings with lawmakers — bring local stories.
  - Support or draft legislation — you can use legislation from other states as a starting point.
- Work with the school board
  - Propose district-level policy changes on sex education
  - Speak at school board meeting open comments
- When discussing CSE, lead with medical and developmental truths. Try to reframe the debate and familiarize yourself with the talking points
- Run for school board or support aligned candidates  
Check out the Moms For Liberty [resources](#)

## PARENTS LEADING AT HOME

- Talk to your kids early with age-appropriate sex education — before schools do.
- Reinforce the message – It’s OK to wait. It’s OK to walk away.
- Promote moral courage – Saying “no” is responsible and strong.
- Review classroom materials at home — help children process conflicting ideas.
- Be present – Let them know you’re available for questions and support. Your influence is powerful and long-lasting
- Strengthen your bond daily—children will spend about 15,000 hours in school from kindergarten through 12th grade. Your influence at home is essential.



*We don't need to match their funding. We need to match their commitment. When informed parents speak with clarity and courage, we can reclaim education from those who seek to redefine it.*

**“Know what they’re teaching. Say no. Be Louder.”**

*- Miriam Grossman, MD*



For more information and resources, please visit  
the M4LU CSE Toolkit at:  
<https://m4lu.org/resources/>

## Appendix:

Exposing Hate: The Truth About Attacks on Our Kids, Schools, and Diversity SIECUS

<https://siecus.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/SIECUS-2019-Sex-Ed-State-Law-and-Policy-Chart-Final.pdf>

[https://answer.rutgers.edu/page/state\\_policy/](https://answer.rutgers.edu/page/state_policy/)

<https://amaze.org/>

# NSES Age-Grade Mapping

| Grade | Consent & Relationships   |  |  | Gender Identity & Expression                                     | Sexual Orientation & Identity                               | Sexual Health  | Interpersonal & Sexual Violence                      |
|-------|---|--|--|--|---|--|--|
| K–2   | Basic understanding of personal boundaries, 'No means no' consent | Correct names for body parts                           | Basic body changes, self-image                           | People express gender in many ways - Gender stereotypes          | Some people love/are attracted to same or different genders | Bodies are private; ask trusted adults               | Safe vs. unsafe touch, talk to trusted adults        |
| 3–5   | Asking for and giving permission;                                 | Reproduction basics, puberty introduction              | Physical / emotional puberty changes                     | Respect different gender roles and identities                    | Respect for all kinds of families and identities            | Puberty hygiene, basic intro to reproduction         | Identify bullying, teasing, and harassment           |
| 6–8   | Digital consent, peer pressure, power dynamics                    | Detailed reproductive anatomy, menstruation, erections | Sexual thoughts, emotional changes, identity development | Difference between gender identity, expression, and assigned sex | Define sexual orientation; challenge stereotypes            | STIs, contraception, safer sex practices             | Recognize grooming, abusive relationships, reporting |
| 9–12  | Consent laws, communication in romantic/sexual relationships      | Pregnancy, fertility, contraception options            | Sexual feelings, behavior, and responsibility            | Gender as fluid, intersectional awareness, advocacy              | Explore LGBTQ+ rights, relationships, and bias              | PrEP, PEP, pregnancy options, sexual decision-making | Consent laws, human trafficking, power imbalance     |