# DYNAMICS OF POWER, INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION[1]

Underneath questions of injustice and inequality is the question of power. Because people often see power negatively, it is a subject that can be uncomfortable and thus, many of us are reluctant to probe. However, our task in advocacy is to identify the negative uses and dynamics of power and transform them to constructive ends. For that reason, this section begins with some conceptual information that can help to clarify and deepen understanding of how power works. Getting to understand power may begin as a personal process where the simple act of talking about it openly can help people grapple with the controversy and discomfort surrounding the topic.

## *Defining Power*

*"Power can be defined as the degree of control over material, human, intellectual and financial resources exercised by different sections of society. The control of these resources becomes a source of individual and social power. Power is dynamic and relational, rather than absolute — it is exercised in the social, economic and political relations between individuals and groups. It is also unequally distributed – some individuals and groups having greater control over the sources of power and others having little or no control. The extent of power of an individual or group is correlated to how many different kinds of resources they can access and control.*

*"Different degrees of power are sustained and perpetuated through social divisions such as gender, age, caste, class, ethnicity, race, north-south; and through institutions such as the family, religion, education, media, the law, etc. Our understanding of power would be incomplete, unless we recognise its partner, ideology. Ideology is a complex structure of beliefs, values, attitudes, and ways of perceiving and analyzing social reality. Ideologies are widely disseminated and enforced through social, economic, political and religious institutions and structures such as the family, education system, religion, the media, the economy, and the state, with its administrative, legislative and military wings. The economic, political, legal and judicial institutions and structures set up and mediated by the state tend to reinforce the dominant ideology and the power of the dominant groups within it, even though their stated objectives and policies may be superficially egalitarian. While ideology does a far more effective job of sustaining an unequal power structure than crude, overt coercion and domination, we should not forget that it is always being reinforced by the threat of force, should anyone seek to rebel against the dominant system.*

*"But neither power, ideology, nor the state are static or monolithic. There is a continuous process of resistance and challenge by the less powerful and marginalised sections of society, resulting in various degrees of change in the structure of power.*

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1 Drawn from VeneKlasen, Lisa with Valerie Miller. *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*. Oklahoma City: World Neighbors, 2002.

*When these challenges become strong and extensive enough, they can result in the total transformation of a power structure."[2]*

### Multiple Dimensions of Power

Many advocacy strategies focus on a single dimension of power (usually the most visible). However, what makes political power especially difficult to analyze and confront is the fact that it does not always operate in visible ways. There are multiple dimensions of power that are critical to consider when analyzing a problem, planning an intervention, and/or evaluating impact. The less visible dimensions are, of course, more difficult to engage since power tends to be concealed and diffuse, embedded in cultural and social norms and practices.[3]

#### Visible Power: Observable Decisionmaking

This level includes the visible and definable aspects of political power – the formal rules, structures, authorities, institutions, and procedures of decisionmaking. Examples include elections, political parties, laws, legislatures, budgets, corporate policy, by-laws, etc. Yet even where fair laws and decisionmaking structures do exist, politics never occurs on an even playing field. Strategies for social justice that target this level of power are usually trying to change the *who*, *how* and *what* of decisionmaking to be more accountable to the poor.

#### Hidden Power: Setting the Political Agenda

Certain powerful people and institutions maintain their influence by controlling who gets to the decisionmaking table and what gets on the agenda. These dynamics exclude and devalue the concerns and representation of other less powerful groups. Difficulties in gaining media coverage can further inhibit visibility and legitimacy. By preventing important voices and issues from getting a fair public hearing, policymaking can be skewed to benefit a few at the expense of the majority. Strategies that focus on strengthening organizations and movements of the poor can build collective power and new leadership to influence the way the political agenda is shaped and increase their legitimacy and voice.

> **Different Expressions of Power**
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> **Power over:** Power is seen as a win-lose kind of relationship. Having power involves taking it from someone else, and then, using it to dominate and prevent others from gaining it.
>
> **Power with:** has to do with finding common ground among different interests and building collective strength. Based on mutual support, solidarity and collaboration, it multiplies individual talents and knowledge.
>
> **Power to** refers to the unique potential of every person to shape his or her life and world. When based on mutual support, it opens up the possibilities of joint action, or power with.
>
> **Power within** has to do with a person's sense of self-worth and self-knowledge; it includes an ability to recognize individual differences while respecting others. Power within is the capacity to imagine and have hope; it affirms the common human search for dignity and fulfillment.

#### Invisible Power: Shaping Meaning

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

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[2] From the Asia Pacific Bureau of Adult Education's (ASPBAE) 1993 study undertaken with FAO's Freedom from Hunger campaign as quoted in *Women's Empowerment in South Asia – Concepts and Practices*, Srilatha Batliwala, ASPBAE/FAO (Draft), 1993.
[3] See VeneKlasen with Miller (2002).

not only kept from the decisionmaking table, but also from the minds and consciousness of the different players involved, even those directly affected by the problem. By influencing how individuals think about their place in the world, this level of power shapes people's beliefs, sense of self, and acceptance of their own superiority or inferiority. Processes of socialization, culture and ideology perpetuate exclusion and inequality by defining what is normal, acceptable and safe. Justice 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.

Developing empowering strategies for justice and solidarity requires attention to how the strategy may address or impact these various dimensions of power. In the following chart we explore how the dimensions (visible, hidden, invisible) appear at different levels: micro and macro. By micro power, we refer to what some call the intimate and private realms of power. The *intimate* realm has to do with one's sense of self, personal confidence, and relationship to body and health. The *private* realm refers to relationships and roles in families, among friends, sexual partnerships, etc. We also include as micro power, power relationships of a limited scope – within organizations and communities. By macro power, we are referring to the influences on decisionmaking and debate at a national and international level as well as the consciousness of the broader society. While many of these spaces overlap and intersect, having some notion of these varied power dynamics can help to develop more holistic and comprehensive strategies. For example, most change strategies aim to transform elements of the macro power system. However, experiences with empowerment tell us that changes in macro-level power will not be sustained unless accompanied by transformation of micro-level power as well.

|  | **Micro power**  *(Power dynamics that take place within an individual, organization and community)* | **Macro Power** *(Power dynamics that shape national and international arenas and broader public spaces)* |
|---|---|---|
| **Visible**<br><br>*Observable Decision Making* | What does representation look like within our organizations and strategies (who is speaking for whom and what are class, race, gender, and other differences)?<br><br>Who are the leaders and are there opportunities for new leadership?<br><br>What are the coalition dynamics?  How are decisions made?  How is conflict managed? | What does representation look like in formal political spaces, international financial institutions, etc.?<br><br>How are public policy decisions made (who is included and who is not in the process)?<br><br>How do decisionmakers interact (or not) with citizens? |
| **Hidden**<br><br>*Setting the Political Agenda* | Within family/ community/ organizations/ movements, what agendas dominate?<br><br>Are gender, class, ethnicity and other dimensions integrated into justice strategies?<br><br>How is information gathered and used?  To what extent is practical knowledge valued alongside technical expertise? | What institutions and/or individuals have access to the decisionmaking process and how is this access determined?<br><br>How do civil society groups project their agenda and get their issues on decisionmakers' agendas? How are spaces created to negotiate with decisionmakers?  How is information used and produced? |
| **Invisible**<br><br>*Shaping Meaning* | How are internalized social (race/gender/ ethnic/class/etc.) roles and stereotypes played out in family, work and community?<br><br>Do people think they are too "stupid" to understand the problems that affect them?<br><br>Do they think they have no role and no right in changing their situation and that they're to blame for being poor? | Is there systematic discrimination/exclusion whether on basis of race, class, gender, age, etc.?<br><br>How are problems "sold" to the public – as natural, inevitable? Are people made to feel that they have any role in the solution?<br><br>What is the paradigm of development that underlies decisionmaking. |

*Developed by Just Associates, 2003*

In thinking about the different levels of power, gender theory adds another important perspective by reminding us that each individual's experience of power and powerlessness will be different based on gender, race, class, age, or any other number of factors.  For example, a woman politician who appears confident in public may accept a subordinate role in her family; she may even survive abuse in her private relationships while keeping up with the demands and image of her public duties.  With the challenge of AIDS prevention, we see many seemingly educated, empowered women and men around the world fail to take measures to protect themselves against the disease despite the knowledge and resources to do so.  Acknowledging these layers and contradictions can be helpful in understanding the tensions generated by empowerment for many people.  Change strategies that focus solely on the public realm may overlook critical challenges facing people, especially women, when they return to their homes and families.

## *Power and Conflict*

> Power is integral to all conflict . . . practitioners must become aware of their own power, their assumptions about power and the values and goals they bring to conflict situations. They must also explicitly assess how power is operating in the conflictive relationships, evaluate their own role, and seek the appropriate process in conflicts of significant power imbalance ... In each conflict situation, it is important to ask questions such as: What are the sources of power for those in conflict? Is there a significant power imbalance? Is power being misused or abused? How can the less powerful become more empowered? What intervention is most appropriate?
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> *Carolyn Shronk-Shenk, Mediation and Facilitation Training Manual. Akron, PA: Mennonite*
> *Conciliation Service, 2000.*

Adam Curle, one of the pioneers in conflict resolution, highlights the problems of power in peacemaking and emphasizes consciousness-raising, advocacy, and negotiation as critical moments in the process. The matrix on the next page provides a synopsis of his ideas (see also John Paul Lederach). He traces the movement from unpeaceful to peaceful relationships by comparing levels of power with levels of awareness and moments in the process. When a conflict is hidden or latent, education and consciousness-raising help make people aware of the problem and the power imbalances inherent in the situation. [4]

As people become conscious of a conflict and their own interests, many move to action and confront the problem through advocacy and activism. If successful, the process increases the balance of power and legitimizes their efforts for change. Once inequities have been addressed, and only then, do negotiation and sustainable peace become possible.



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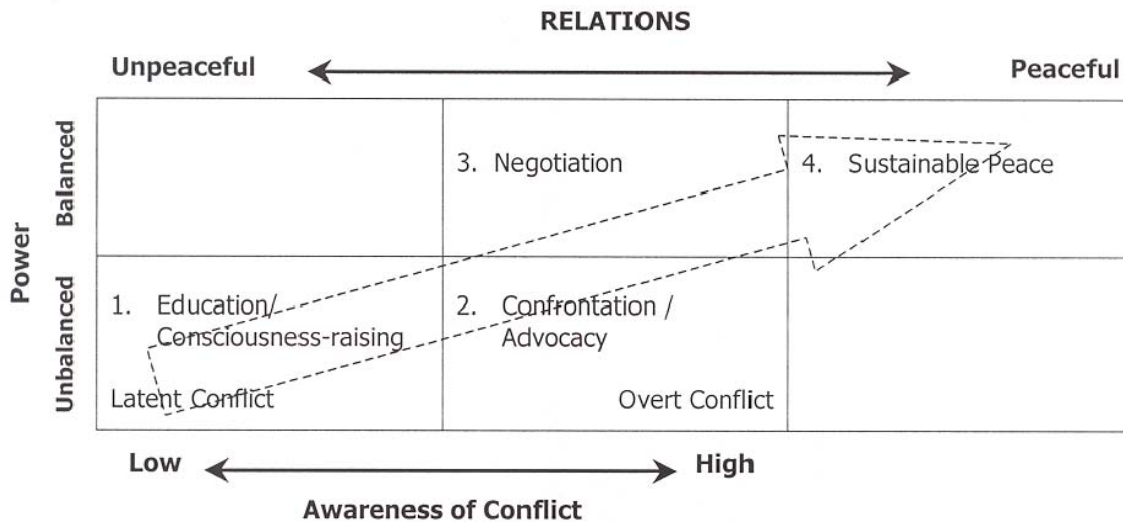
[4] This discussion is based on Adam Curle's Framework for Moving to Peaceful Relations in Making Peace, Tavistock, 1972. John Paul Lederach, Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures, Syracuse UP, 1995.

## Breaking the Ice Around Power

### Identifying Sources and Uses of Power[5]

This exercise is a quick way to introduce the concept of power and encourage people to recognize their own power and potential. It should only take between 30 – 45 minutes.

Show or hand out copies of the illustrations below and then ask participants to:
*   Identify and describe the kind of power depicted in each of the four drawings.
*   Explain the impact of this kind of power on people's participation in development.
*   Explain the impact of this kind of power on policies and program to address poverty.

Next, discuss the following two questions:
*   What are the main sources of power?
*   What are your potential sources of power as a citizen?

**Power Flower[6]**

This exercise is a useful introduction to a broader analysis of power. It helps to:
- identify who we are individually and as a group in relation to those with power in our societies;
- deepen our understanding of how identity, power, subordination, and exclusion affect our organizations, ourselves as individuals, and advocacy planning.
- illustrate how power is dynamic and relational.

The *Power Flower* looks at who we are in relation to those who have power in society. We use the outer circle of petals to describe the dominant social identity. The group usually fills in the outer circle of petals together. We use the inner petals to describe the social identity of individuals. Participants usually fill in the inner petals by themselves.
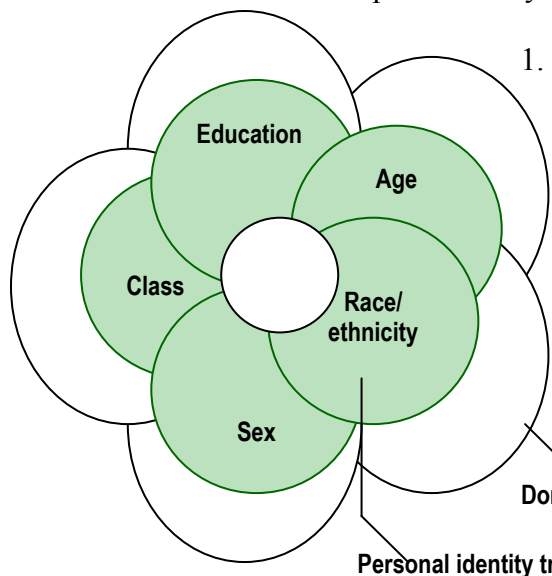


1. Before the exercise, draw the power flower on a large piece of paper and place it on the wall. Each petal represents one category, which can include: sex, race, ethnic group, language, religion, family type of arrangements (single, extended, etc.), social class, age group, education, ability/disability, geographic region (origin), geographic region (current), etc.

1. As a group, discuss each category and the characteristics of those who have most power in the society. In the outside circle of the petal, fill in these dominant characteristics. (For example, which sex or which ethnic group has the most power.)

3. Hand out pieces of paper with pre-drawn flowers on them to each person. Ask people to work individually and write in the outer circles of their flowers the dominant characteristics that were agreed on by the group.

4. Ask each person to write their own identities for each petal/category on the flower's inner circle.

*Discussion*
Once each person has completed their flower, the facilitator can lead a discussion around questions such as:
- How many of your individual characteristics are different from the dominant identity? Which characteristics cannot be changed? What does this say about your own power or potential for power?
- What does the exercise reveal about us as a group? What are the differences and similarities in relation to the dominant power? How can that influence our work?
- What does this exercise tell us about identity and power more broadly?

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[6] From VeneKlasen with Miller (2002). *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics.* Oklahoma: World Neighbors.

## Power, Political Participation, and Social Change[7]

**Using this tool:** This tool will help participants deepen their understanding of power as a three-dimensional, dynamic process. It asks people to think about how the various dimensions of power impact their work and the kinds of strategies that can influence those dimensions.

Before starting the exercise, be sure that people are familiar with the distinctions between visible, hidden and invisible power. You may want to give them a handout, drawing from the material on page 47. Discuss the example provided to help clarify the distinctions. It may also be useful to return to the results of earlier analysis exercises to draw out examples of the various dimensions of power already identified.

Time estimated: 1 ½ - 2 hours

Introduce this exercise by reminding the group that power operates in different ways to affect people's ability to promote justice and social change. Participation in public decisionmaking seems relatively straightforward on the surface. It appears to be determined by the political context, clout, resources and expertise of different political actors. Yet invisible and hidden mechanisms of power shape the effectiveness of citizen participation. These mechanisms can lead to powerlessness, conflict, marginalization and resistance. Different strategies are required to counter these mechanisms so that political participation can be more inclusive and so people can exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens.

This exercise is best done with small groups. Give each group flipchart paper and markers and using the matrix below as a guide, ask them to respond to the following questions:

- What are some examples of visible, hidden and invisible power that you have seen in your work? You may have examples of power that has worked against your efforts, as well as examples of positive power that has strengthened your work.

- What are some potential responses or strategies to either counter the negative impact of these uses of power, or to build on and catalyze the positive power?

|  | Examples | Responses / Strategies |
|---|---|---|
| **Visible** |  |  |
| **Hidden** |  |  |
| **Invisible** |  |  |

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[7] Adapted from VeneKlasen with Miller (2002). *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics.* Oklahoma: World Neighbors.

*For example:*

| | Examples | Responses / Strategies |
|---|---|---|
| **Visible: Making & Enforcing the Rules**<br><br>Formal institutions & officials: President, Prime Minister, legislature, courts, ministries, police, military, etc. United Nations, IMF, World Bank; Private sector: industry, multinational corporations, chamber of commerce, businesses, etc.<br><br>Instruments: Policies, laws, constitutions, budgets, regulations, conventions, implementing mechanisms, etc. | Biased laws/policies (e.g. health care policies that do not address women's reproductive needs);<br><br>Decisionmaking structures (parliaments, courts, etc.) are closed to people's voices and unrepresentative<br><br>The principle of 'equality' may exist in law, but parliaments and courts are not fairly representative of women and minorities. | - Lobbying & monitoring<br><br>- Negotiation & litigation<br><br>- Public education & media<br><br>- Policy research, proposals<br><br>- Shadow reports<br><br>- Marches & demonstrations<br><br>- Voting & running for office<br><br>- Modeling innovations<br><br>- Collaboration<br><br>- Etc. |
| **Hidden: Setting the Agenda**<br><br>*Exclusion & delegitimization:* Certain groups (and their issues) excluded from decisionmaking by society's and politics' unwritten rules, practices, and institution.<br><br>They and their grievances are made invisible by intimidation, misinformation and co-optation.<br><br>Often, formal institutions with visible power, also exercise hidden power. | Leaders are labeled trouble-makers or unrepresentative.<br><br>Issues such as domestic violence, childcare, and others are relegated to the private realm of the family and therefore not considered worthy of public action.<br><br>The media does not consider these groups' issues to be mainstream or newsworthy. | - Building active constituencies around common concerns<br><br>- Strengthening organizations, coalitions, movements, and accountable leaders<br><br>- Mobilizing around shared agendas; demonstrating clout through direct action<br><br>- Participatory research and dissemination of information that legitimizes the issues of excluded groups<br><br>- Etc. |
| **Invisible: Shaping Meaning, Values & What's 'Normal'**<br><br>*Socialization & control of information:* Processes, practices, cultural norms and customs shape people's understanding of their needs, roles, possibilities and actions in ways that deter effective action for change. | Among marginal groups, socialization internalizes feelings of subordination, apathy, self-blame, powerlessness, unworthiness, hostility, anger, etc.<br><br>Crucial information is concealed or inaccessible.<br><br>Poor farmers blame themselves for poverty, despite unequal access to global markets for fairly priced goods. | - Education for confidence, citizenship, collaboration, political awareness & analysis, using alternative media<br><br>- Sharing stories, speaking out and connecting with others, affirming resistance, linking concrete problems to rights<br><br>- Investigation, action research and dissemination of concealed information<br><br>- Etc. |

## Factors of Exclusion, Subordination & Privilege[8]

1. Discuss the following excerpt on **factors of exclusion** with participants. Break into small groups and ask each group to select four 'factors of exclusion.' For each one, they should discuss examples from their work where they have seen that type of discrimination and how it is perpetuated.

What determines who has more power and who has less power in society and in development processes? Physical traits and social circumstances that are inherited at birth often determine an individual's opportunities, choices and even sense of self. This happens not because these characteristics are inborn, but rather because of negative value judgments attributed to them. People then often justify prejudice as "natural", when it's really the *social meaning* we give to biological facts — like being a man or woman, or having a particular skin color – that defines inequality. Although a few people overcome the social barriers of their disadvantage, most do not unless there is a dramatic change in society.

Over the last twenty years, a number of social movements have focused on fighting prejudice and barriers derived from people's identity based on gender, race, age, ethnicity, religion among others. These factors combine in different ways in different contexts to determine who makes decisions and who has access to resources.

Nature (biology) vs. nurture (socialization) is the subject of much research and debate. But regardless of whether someone's behavior has genetic roots or is primarily a function of socialization, social justice advocates are concerned about inequality. Promoting acceptance of diversity is a fundamental principle of this kind of advocacy. Finding common ground while recognizing difference is critical to healthy, stable societies.

**What Is Discrimination?**
Differentiation between people on the grounds of gender, age, race, class or other factors. Discrimination can operate institutionally in the public sphere (e.g. racial discrimination in apartheid South Africa; gender discrimination in the Middle East). It can also operate at a less visible level through culture, social beliefs and ideology, which can be measured by relative levels of education, political representation, percentages living in poverty, etc.

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[8] From VeneKlasen with Miller (2002). *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics.* Oklahoma: World Neighbors.

### Gender

Social descriptions, roles and responsibilities attached to women and men. Whereas sex is a biological fact and unchanging, gender is a culturally derived, learned behavior that varies over time and is influenced by other socio-economic factors. Common gender stereotypes include: men are strong and rational/women are weak and emotional; men are breadwinners/ women are nurturers.

### Race

Strictly speaking, race refers to people of common origin. But in politics, race usually refers to skin color and facial features. People of color have been discriminated against for hundreds of years. The legacy of this discrimination can be seen in current economic, political and legal systems, as well as in strong stereotypes.

### Ethnicity

Refers to a common consciousness about shared origins, traditions, social beliefs and practices. Ethnicity is a more precise term than
race. For example, not all black people share the same ethnicity.

### Religion

Religion refers to beliefs and worship of a transcendent or supernatural being(s). Religions usually embody a vision of right and wrong bestowed by the highest moral authority.

### Socio-economic status/class

This term has multiple meanings. It generally refers to a person's position in society as determined by a combination of factors such as education, and economic means. Socio-economic status is one of the most important sources of disadvantage or privilege.

### Age

The number of chronological years one has lived. Age is a common source of discrimination that affects men and women differently, and is weighted differently in different contexts. For example, in Africa and South Asia, age affords a woman more status, while in parts of the West, older women have less or no status.

### Sexual orientation

The term refers to a person's preference for a sexual partner. Whether an individual is heterosexual, homosexual or bisexual is usually highly politicized. There are, for example, different views as to whether sexual orientation is a matter of socialization or innate behavior, and whether homosexuality is immoral. Many societies are extremely oppressive toward people who do not follow these social norms.

### Geographic location (place)

The location where one lives can often determine choices, opportunities and resources. For example, rural residents are usually discriminated against in comparison to urban residents because they have less access to resources, services and decisionmakers. Another important geographic cleavage exists between the global north, which controls most of the world's resources, and the global south.

### *Disability*
Refers to a physical or mental condition that makes a person different than what is considered normal. Disabilities often make a person operate at a different pace and require some assistance to attain "normal" activity. Societies are often abusive to people with disabilities.

**2. Looking at Dominance and Subordination.** Invisible mechanisms of *power over* can socialize people into accepting an inferior role in society, as is the case with women in many societies. Simultaneously, socialization affirms feelings of entitlement among dominant groups. Socialization thus helps to maintain the unequal relationships that determine whose voices are heard in decisionmaking.

The chart on the next page, developed by PLAN International, examines behaviors associated with *power over* by looking at domination and subordination. The chart focuses principally on behaviors shaped by gender. However, it can also be applied to behaviors shaped by class, race and other factors of exclusion.

Many strategies aimed at social and political change fail to take into account these variations in experiences of subordination and exclusion. These factors combine in different ways in different contexts in determining who is dominant and who subordinate.

i.   Divide participants into two small groups: dominant and subordinate.

ii.   Ask each group to discuss the following questions and write their answers on newsprint:

- How do people usually behave when their status is dominant or subordinate?

- What are some of the stereotypes people hold about poor people, old people, women and men, people of different races, etc.?

- What are the social justifications for different groups being dominant or subordinate?

- What are the mechanisms that keep this status from changing?

After groups have discussed these questions for 20-30 minutes, open the discussion up to plenary. If there is time, ask the groups to present their analysis in the form of a skit. As a summary, hand out copies of the chart on the next page and ask for further comments.

| Dominant and Subordinate Behavior | |
|---|---|
| **DOMINANT BEHAVIOR** | **SUBORDINATE BEHAVIOR** |
| **Dominant behavior is accepted:**<br><br>- Is given at birth by cultural standards<br><br>- Defines who subordinates are<br><br>- Is hierarchical<br><br>- Is patriarchal<br><br>**Negative labels are used about subordinates:**<br><br>- See subordinates as substandard<br><br>- See subordinates in server roles<br><br>- See subordinates as incapable of "higher" labor, thinking or positions due to immutable factors (i.e., mind, body, race, sex)<br><br>**Dominant actions and culture encourage subordinates to develop traits of:**<br><br>- Submissiveness; dependency; passivity; lack of initiative; inability to act, think, do or decide for themselves<br><br>**Dominants build these concepts into society through philosophy, religion, science, morality, media, education, legal systems, cultural laws, rituals, traditions:**<br><br>- Acceptance of position: happy with role, supposed to be this way, it is cultural, it is normal, women are naturally this way<br><br>- Language is used to control behavior of subordinates: negative labels are given to subordinates who stray from the prescribed behaviors | **Subordinates do not address domination directly:**<br><br>- Self-iniated action on one's own behalf is avoided<br><br>- Resort to indirect ways of acting and reacting<br><br>- Hidden defiance by subordinates of dominants<br><br>**Characteristics of subordinate interactions with dominants:**<br><br>- Know more about dominants than about themselves<br><br>- Interest is focused on what the dominant wants or will do<br><br>- Do not give dominants feedback about how the dominant is perceived<br><br>**Self-defeating behavior is often present in subordinates:**<br><br>- Self-put-downs, inability to see choices, withdrawal, aggression, high control needs of others<br><br>- Subordinates have difficulty working with other members of the subordinate group<br><br>- Subordinates often feel more responsible for helping others than helping themselves. This self-denial is used by dominants to keep subordinates in place.<br><br>- Feel unconscious need to protect the dominant behavior<br><br>**Subordinates internalize untruths about themselves:**<br><br>- Ambivalence regarding dominant myths vs. internally felt truths<br><br>**Despite these traits, subordinates can and do move toward greater freedom of expression and action.** |

From VeneKlasen with Miller (2002). *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics.* Oklahoma: World Neighbors.

**Gender Analysis:  Division of Labor**

**Using this tool:**  This tool helps to deepen the analysis of how women and men may be impacted differently both by a problem and a proposed solution or program.  These are important considerations for project design, and for assessing impact.

Time estimated:  1 ½  hours

Discuss with participants some of the key gender concepts in the box on the next page and how they are relevant for the organization's planning and programs.  This tool is intended to specifically analyze the gender division of labor.  Both men and women work, but they tend to do different work and men's work is usually valued more than women's.

Work can be divided into three categories: productive, reproductive, and community work. *Productive* work is the production of goods and services for consumption and trade. It normally earns money for the person who does it. Men tend to do more productive work than women. *Reproductive* work involves the care and maintenance of the household. It includes childcare, cooking, water and fuel collection, shopping, and family health care. Although it is crucial for human survival and often involves many hours of labor, it is usually not considered "real" work. It thus is given little formal or monetary value. It is done mainly by women. *Community* work is the collective organization of social events and services, community projects, ceremonies, and similar events. It is done by both women and men, although they usually perform different tasks. Lack of recognition of certain categories of work distorts policy planning because much of women's labor is not counted.

Next, ask participants to discuss the following questions:

- What do women and girls do (paid and unpaid)?

- What do men and boys do (paid and unpaid)?

- What are the implications of this division of labor?

- How are women and men impacted differently by the problem?  How will they be impacted by the proposed solution/program?

- Will the proposed solution or program reinforce or challenge the existing division of labor?

**Other Key Gender Concepts**

**Equality vs. Equity:** Many people see social change as aiming at equality of opportunity. But systemic discrimination puts some people in a better place than others to take advantage of opportunities. So, if we want to address disadvantage effectively, it is important to address the underlying barriers and measure success by equity of impact, not just equality of opportunity.

**Gender as a social construct:** Sex is biologically determined, and is the same across cultures and across time. But the attributes and roles prescribed for men and women, boys and girls are culturally specific. Gender is learned through a process of socialization in a particular society. From birth, boys and girls are encouraged to behave a certain way and to aspire to different life goals and perform particular roles. Parents, teachers, peers, and many aspects of culture and society reinforce these patterns. There is considerable variation in gender roles from culture to culture.

**The question of power:** A gender lens provides insights into collaborative and controlling forms of power. It stresses the importance of changing patterns of *power over*. We also need to be aware when our actions may increase divisions and conflict, and be sure that those who will bear the consequences understand and accept the risks.

From VeneKlasen with Miller (2002). *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics.* Oklahoma: World Neighbors.

**Access and control profile[9]**

> **Using this tool:** One way to identify inequalities in a community or group is with the *Access and Control Profile*. This gender analysis tool shows the power differences between women and men, but can also be applied to any disadvantaged subgroup. For example, you can add economic status, race, age, or religion. The profile asks questions about who has access to and who controls resources. *Access* refers to the opportunity to make use of something. *Control* has to do with decision making about the use of resources and the benefits that accrue thanks to those resources. Because it asks these important questions, development of a participatory profile can be motivating and politicizing for those involved. Analysis of difference and power dynamics in one's own community is important for political awareness.
>
> Time estimated:  1 ½ - 2 hours

Inequality is at the heart of injustice, thus an important piece of promoting justice has to do with equitable access and control over goods and resources.  For example, past agricultural support projects targeting women found that while they increased women's ability to generate income, men (usually their husbands) controlled how the money was used.  That is why it is not enough to increase access to resources (provide equal opportunities) without also ensuring control over them (level the playing field).  This kind of analysis is essential to ensure that an intervention promotes equity rather than reinforces inequalities that enable injustice to happen.

Using the matrix on the next page, participants can analyze who has access to and control of which resources and benefits in the community or household.  The results of this analysis offer insights as to who has what kind of power, and who stands to benefit most from a particular intervention.

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[9] Adapted from: March, Smyth, and Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender-Analysis Frameworks*, Oxfam Publishing, Oxford 1999, 34.

| RESOURCES | Access | | Control | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Economic and productive* | Men | Women | Men | Women |
| -Land | | | | |
| -Equipment | | | | |
| -Education and training | | | | |
| -Labor | | | | |
| -Cash | | | | |
| -Other | | | | |
| *Political* | | | | |
| -Leadership | | | | |
| -Education and training | | | | |
| -Information | | | | |
| -Citizenship skills | | | | |
| -Legal rights | | | | |
| -Other | | | | |
| BENEFITS | | | | |
| Income | | | | |
| Property ownership | | | | |
| Basic needs (food, clothing, shelter) | | | | |
| Education | | | | |
| Political power and prestige | | | | |
| Other | | | | |

**Ensuring equal opportunity**

**Leveling the playing field**