

Lund University, Sweden
Master of International Development and Management
May 2009

IN SEARCH OF SEXUAL REVOLUTIONS IN NEW DELHI

Gendering Sex Education: Approaches for Sexual Empowerment



Source: CREA, New Delhi. Photographer: Penny Bauer

Author: Mette Gabler
Supervisor: Peter Gregersen

Abstract

At the foundation of most inequalities in expression of sexuality lie the social constructions of gender. For this reason I consider sex and sexuality education as a possibility to challenge institutionalised sexism and enhance sexual well-being. As sex education has become a battle of morality, non-governmental organisations and others can be seen as alternatives to the national curriculum plan encouraged by the government. This thesis therefore discusses the potential of NGOs in terms of sexual empowerment by examining beliefs and understanding, choices of information, strategies and methods, and approaches apparent in sex education programs and projects.

Through qualitative data collection, semi-structured interviews (14) with NGO staff and facilitators, two focus group discussions (FGD), five expert interviews supported by visits to event and workshops the findings were analysed by constructing a sexual empowerment model which divides components of sex education into four parts and utilises theories of empowerment (Freire and Sadan).

Main findings include that all four components of sex education; foundation, content, strategies and approaches show great potential to challenge gender typing. Sexual health programs and projects (SHPP) are seen to be highly participatory, deliberative and a way to encourage critical thinking. Some of the concerns that are highlighted are the strong focus on girls as the main actors of change and the external limitations e.g. parents, institutions and morality. I therefore, recommend gender sensitivity as an entry point for less threatening approaches and greater impact, and strengthening and reorganising collaboration.

Key words: Sex education, sexuality, gender, femininity, cultural revolution, New Delhi, India

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all staff, facilitators, participants and others that were connected to the organisations I visited for their time, hospitality, insights and expertise (Breakthrough, CREA, Faith, Jagori, MAMTA, Naz Foundation (India) Trust, Nirantar, Saheli, Sakshi, Tarshi and YP foundation). Also, thanks to others that during my stay in New Delhi were willing to discuss with me (Prof. Kailash Tuli, Prof. Tulsi Patel, Dr. Basu and Jaya from the UNFPA.)

Great thanks to all the members of our thesis group including supervisor Peter Gregersen for insightful comments and support. I would like to thank Lund University, the staff of LUMID and Sida for making the travel and stay in New Delhi possible through financial, academic and other support.

Lastly, I would like to thank all my friends in and outside Sweden for taking time to give useful feedback on style and content of the thesis or distracting me from the same.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abbreviations	3
1. Introduction	4
1.1 Attention Girls: no Sex, no Drugs, no Rock n' Roll!	4
1.2 Sex Education; Disease, Death & Doom.....	5
1.3 Scope & Point of Departure	7
1.4 Purpose & Research Question.....	9
2. Analytical Framework & Conceptualisation.....	10
2.1 Theoretical Models	10
2.1.1 Development as Empowerment.....	10
2.1.2 Pedagogy of the Oppressed.....	12
2.2 Visualisation of the Sexual Empowerment Model	13
3. Research Frontier & Contextualisation.....	15
3.1 Global Relevance: Sex, Sexuality & Development.....	15
3.2 Indian Relevance: Existing Literature.....	16
3.3 Influences and Important Cultural Traits	18
3.4 Patriarchy, Hierarchy & Femininity	19
4. Methodology	21
4.1 Target-group, Sampling and Saturation.....	21
4.2 Methods.....	22
4.2.1 Literature Review	22
4.2.2 Semi-structured Interviews	23
4.2.3 Participatory Observation & Focus Group Discussions.....	24
4.3 Shortcomings & Ethical Considerations	24
5. Data Presentation & Analysis	25
5.1 Foundation for Action.....	26
5.1.1 Sex education - now with Sexuality.....	26
5.1.2 Introducing Sexual Empowerment	28
5.2 Choices of Content.....	31
5.2.1 Validity of Information	32

5.2.2 Entry Points	35
5.3 Strategies for Sexual Empowerment.....	36
5.3.1 Creating Spaces.....	36
5.3.2 Strategies.....	39
5.4 Approaches.....	42
5.4.1 Rights.....	42
5.4.2 Awareness, Advocacy & Collaboration	43
5.4.3 Focus.....	44
5.5 Challenges for the Sexual Revolution	46
6. Main Findings & Concluding remarks	48
7. Recommendations & Points for the Future	49
8. Literature List.....	50
Appendix 1: History of sex education in India.....	59
Appendix 2: List of organisations.....	60
Appendix 3: Ideas of Sex and Sexuality in India	69
Appendix 4: Good girl – bad woman; femininity in India.....	71
Appendix 5: Sexuality within marriage.....	72
Appendix 6: Research details; interviews, FGD and observation.....	73
Appendix 7: NGO workers and participants experience of femininity.....	75
Appendix 8: Strategies and Methods.....	77
10. Enclosures	79
Enclosure 1: Declaration of Sexual Rights	79
Enclosure 2: Radio show discussing sex and sexuality	80
Enclosure 3: Sex questions in Indian Cosmopolitan (October 2008)	81
Enclosure 4: Scene from the movie `Omkara´ (July 2006).....	82
Enclosure 5: Newspaper article on young women's sexcapades in Times Life! (August 2008)	83
Enclosure 6: Condom adds in The Times of India (August 2008) and Outlook (January 2009)	84

Abbreviations

AEP	Adolescent Education Programme
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
GBV	Gender Based Violence
NACO	National Aids Control Organisation
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
RSHR	Reproductive and Sexual Health and Rights
SE-Model	Sexual Empowerment Model
STI	Sexual Transmitted Infections
SHPP	Sexual Health Programs and Projects
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WAS	World Association for Sexology
WHO	World Health Organisation

1. Introduction

There is a saying that anything said about the Indian subcontinent can be true and false at the same time. This is reflected in the impressive economic growth and technological development present alongside extreme poverty. Similarly, women's status appears equal to men's as they are often found in leadership positions¹. At the same time atrocities towards women continue in the form of dowry deaths², sexual assaults and various forms of discrimination. Despite women's achievements, an attitude continues to flourish that treats them as a mere commodity. Gender disparities continue to exist in this highly hierarchical and patriarchal society (Bhaskaran 2004:119; Banerji 2008:298-303; Uberoi 1996: xi; Beteille 1999).

1.1 Attention Girls: no Sex, no Drugs, no Rock n' Roll!

As seen in numerous rape cases, woman's character is questioned and their *sexuality*³ condemned (Kapur 2001).⁴ This illustrates the normative bias through which the legal system is gendered and can be termed as *institutionalised sexism*. The underlying cultural assumptions, social patterns and norms reinforce existing stereotypes. Consequently, control that women exercise over their body and their sexuality is restricted by conforming to a *social construction of femininity* (learned behavioural patterns of what it means to be a woman (Caplan 1993:1-3)) of the chaste woman. Particular segments of society or ideologies (men or religion) might demand stronger compliance than others (Srivastava 2007:7; Menon 2007:34; Jolly 2002:16; Maitra & Schensul 2002:134).

Double standards of morality exist widely. In January 2009 a group of young women were attacked in a bar in Mangalore, South India, by representatives of a right wing group claiming to act in the interest of Indian culture. The immorality that was connected to socialising in bars excluded particularly women

¹ E.g. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India 1966-1977. Shobhana Bhartiya, Chief editor of Hindustan Times since 1986. Shabana Azmi, actor and activist, parliamentary member since 1997.

² Dowry refers to the practice of wedding gifts (money and others) from bride's to groom's family and the couple. (Hylland-Eriksen 2001:109) Examples exist that the groom's family continuously ask for more dowry. Should the brides family refuse the new wife might be burned and die so that the groom can remarry and claim more dowry from another family.

³ According to the WHO sexuality includes "sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction" (2006). More detailed explanation on the concept of sexuality will be given in section 3.1. One should actually only speak of sexualities as both women and men are not homogeneous groups wishing to express their sexuality in the same way. However, this could be confused with sexual identities e.g. homosexuality.

⁴ The court would refer to the women as "bold" and thus as "unchaste", "of loose character" and "prone to lying" and conclude that she must have acted in ways that brought her into the given situation that led to her rape. Consequently, the sentence of the perpetrator is often reduced (Kapur 2001).

from this public space reflecting the burden put on women to be upholders of traditions and culture (Srivastava 2007:46-47).⁵

The strong hetero-normative patriarchal presence in India accepts women's sexuality only when it is male-dominated and within marital institutions. The symbolic nature of a woman's body is an intrinsic part of a family's honour (George 2002:209). In compliance with the law book of Manu, a source of ancient Indian religion, a women's role is to be a daughter, a sister, a wife, a mother or a widow; never just a woman. Her status and role is thus only understood in relation to a male counterpart. In the public space she acquires the role of a potential victim of sexual crimes. Consequently, her movement is restricted in fear of endangering the family honour. (Khan 1995b:4; Phadke 2005:68-71)

Even though the urban mega-cities are rapidly changing, the expectations and pressure to conform to a certain way of expressing sexuality according to existing norms are still strong (Jolly 2002:15): "The institutional importance of heterosexuality and marriage in India cannot be overestimated" (George 2002:208). The regulating powers of women by themselves, family member and neighbourhood creates a victimisation and hence dependency on family and male superiority. Many are still not actively in charge of their life and hence restricted in their mobility and opportunities (Jolly 2006b).

The examples of no sex (rape cases judgement), no drugs (pub attack) and no rock 'n roll (restricted mobilisation) demonstrate the gender disparities and existing attitudes towards women and girls. The extent of socially institutionalised sexism is not restricted to any specific socio-economic strata making the issue cross-cuttingly relevant yet spatially distinct.

Within each situation, there are opposing opinions. The protection of traditions and morality in Indian culture contradicts convictions of women's rights and the rights to sexuality. This is exemplified in the ongoing discourse about sex education.

1.2 Sex Education; Disease, Death & Doom

First attempts of sex education were in reaction to Neo-Malthusian notions of necessary population control as early as 1952 through an official Family Planning Programme, and resulted in much

⁵ By their presence, the girls in the bar were supposedly violating traditional Indian values and the activists saw it their duty to uphold these by setting an example. (NDTVa 2009) The founder of the self-proclaimed upholders of Indian traditions (Sri Ram Sena), Pramod Muthalik said: "Whoever has done this has done a good job. Girls going to pubs - is not acceptable." (NDTVb 2009).

discussion on reproductive health and hazardous contraceptive measures (Khanna 2008:4; Srivastava 2007:43; Saheli 2006). Since, HIV/AIDS has taken its place as the centre of concern in both India and general international development. In acknowledgment of uninformed youth having devastating effects on the spread of HIV/AIDS and other sexual transmitted infections (STI) Indian Governmental bodies recognised the importance of sex education to be incorporated in the national school curriculum as a mandatory component (renamed Adolescent Education Program (AEP)).

Based on studies conducted in India during the last two decades, one can conclude that the Indian population still has limited information on basic bodily functions.⁶ Girls are especially mentioned as being uninformed about their bodies, as their access to both informal (internet, peer-conversations) and formal (schools) information is limited as a consequence of the gender imbalance (Mane & McCauley 2003; Bott & Jejeebhoy 2003).

Possibilities of gaining knowledge include consulting peers and the media, which are not reliable sources of information. Education sessions in schools - if existing at all - are often inadequate and HIV/AIDS central. Conversation on the actual sex act is often omitted which results in ambivalent and partial information (Bott & Jejeebhoy 2003:20-21). (For an historical overview of sex education see appx. 1).

Interventions addressing reproductive and sexual health and rights (RSHR)⁷ currently circle three topics: 1) combating HIV/AIDS or other sexually transmitted infections (STI) through safe-sex initiatives 2) women's choices of pregnancy and spacing of children in regards to reducing maternal mortality (Santhya & Jejeebhoy 2007:3-5) and 3) in relation to gender based violence (GBV). Sexuality is thus mainly linked to risks of diseases, death and violence (Jolly 2002:32; Cornwall 2006).

For the majority of girls who enter puberty, experiences of first menstruation are frightening due to discomfort of parent and teachers to address this issue.⁸ It would mean female sexual organs needed to be discussed. Basic education could enable girls to avoid these worries and anxieties (Bott & Jejeebhoy 2003:22; Runeborg 2004:9).

⁶ Mostly Indian authors (Khan 1995; Tikoo 1997; Abraham & Kumar 1999; Pauchauri & Santhya 2002; Bott & Jejeebhoy 2003; Otor & Pandey 2006; Selvan et al. 2001; Maitra & Schensul 2002; Moursund & Kravdal; 2003 George, A. 2002).

⁷ RSHR is the most used term reflecting interventions possibly including sex education.

⁸ Girls often believe that they are sick or dying (Bott & Jejeebhoy 2003:22). One informant shared a girl's fear of being a boy when she did not get her period at the same time as other girls. Some talk to sisters, peers or elders (aunt or servant).

Additionally, gender disparities have been an intrinsic problem in much of the State-sponsored material. Patriarchal social patterns are reproduced and normalized by distinguishing between girls' and boys' sexuality as naturally different (Puri 1999:31; Devika 2005; Patel 1998:161).

While stakeholders involved in the AEP presently are preoccupied with making the manual as agreeable as possible to all, a wide range of organisations⁹ offer sexual health programs and projects (SHPP)¹⁰ with differing approaches and techniques and stand as an alternative to the governmental efforts. These local initiatives represent beliefs of oppression of women's sexual rights by existing norms and practises within Indian society. This fastens the idea of *sexual rights* and *sexual health*¹¹ not merely as an idea of "Western" influence.

To sum up; the restricted expression of women's sexuality in combination with limited knowledge result in uncertainties around sexual self-determination (exercising control over ones own body) and increases the vulnerability of women (Bhaskaran 2004:38). Therefore, this paper will be concerned with information as means for *empowerment*¹² and the possibilities of educational settings to challenge the gender inequalities existing in regards to sexual expression.

1.3 Scope & Point of Departure

NGO designed SHPP are widely seen as a way of clarifying partial knowledge on sex and "expand the fabric of natural and healthy conversation as well as sharing around sexuality, doing away with taboos, myths, shame and silence" (Sakshi 2007). Building a strong platform of information and encourage self-esteem is said to be an effective tool to protect oneself (Runeborg 2004:17-25). However, as inequalities are embedded in the patriarchal patterns and thus create social institutions that direct and control women's expression and behaviour, one need to expand interventions to address core problems (Hill 2003:118-123). Therefore, "instead of addressing the question of women's sexual autonomy under social relations /.../ feminist must couch their argument in terms of rhetoric of equality rights" (Fudge in Menon 2007:57).

⁹ Mostly local NGOs founded and run by urban upper middle class women and men. I use the term organisation interchangeably to NGO as some emphasis that they do not consider themselves as an NGO. However, this does not make them political in the sense that they represent governmental consensus.

¹⁰ As sex education often goes beyond educational session I have chosen to use the term sexual health programs and project when referring to events and other happenings that still function as educational sessions and is used interchangeably.

¹¹ Sexual rights include the right to sexual autonomy and self-determination whereas sexual health (also sexual well-being) refers to the ability to have an informed, pleasurable and safe sex life (Ford Foundation 2006).

¹² Sadan defines empowerment as "a process of transition from a state of powerlessness to a state of relative control over one's life, destiny, and environment" (1997:144).

Based on the hypothesis that sexuality is a vital part of well-being and personal development I assume that basics on physical functions combined with discussion on sexuality would have greater effect and impact than focussing on the dangers of sex (Runeborg 2004:14). "There are increasing indicators /.../ that public health outcomes may benefit from greater acceptance of positive sexual experiences" (Ingham 2005:375) and by addressing gender inequalities GBV, risky sexual behaviour and discrimination could be minimised. Moreover, introducing topics concerned with expression of sexuality eventually sees women as actors instead of individuals incapable of action.

My background in Indian and South Asian studies and an ongoing interest in sexuality in the Indian context give me the advantage of being familiar with the subject but possibly also predetermined in my opinions. NGO workers usually shared my conviction of importance of an alternative approach to problems related to sex and sexuality. Still, understanding perceptions of the informants in the most unbiased manner possible is central in order to eliminate conclusions based on my own opinions and thus increase the credibility of the paper.

The change sought is based in the notion of gender and femininity as a social constructs. It is essential to consider perspectives according to the contextual setting of cultural, historical and demographic influence (Burr 2003; Creswell 1998:74-84).¹³ Similarly, education is never considered to be neutral¹⁴ and can be used to address deeply rooted cultural and social convictions about girls' and women's expression of sexuality.

Even though most interventions of RSHR are founded in the topics of disease, death and doom the organisations interviewed show promising changes in addressing sex through a positive approach. Using education as a tool for women's empowerment could enable sex education to be a player in eliminating discrimination according to sex and gender. Therefore, this study sets out to examine in which ways gender inequalities are addressed and to what extent constructions of femininity are challenged.

¹³ "Social constructionism insists that we take a critical stance towards our taken for granted ways of understanding the world including ourselves." (Burr 2003:2-4)

¹⁴ "Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of generations into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes the 'practice of freedom', the means by which men and women deal critically with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world." (Freire 1996:16).

1.4 Purpose & Research Question

This thesis is concerned with the strategies of local Delhi-based organisations; mostly NGOs. The SHPP in form of publications, workshops and events are wrapped around each organisations founding objective, which range from RSHR, women's rights and empowerment, same-sex rights, HIV/AIDS and human rights. (For more detailed information on each organisation see appx. 2).

As a practical use, sharing the findings will hopefully inspire debates on gender discrimination as a main factor to all other inequalities within and amongst NGOs alike as well as other actors engaged in development work. As attitudes influenced by cultural norms and society's patterns of belief are most often noted to be a strong factor in complicating change it is this area that needs thorough reflection.

The theoretical purpose of this action oriented study¹⁵ is to investigate the way that organisations that conduct SHPP think about sex education. What they include and how they perceive change gives an insight into what are the basic values and notions represented among staff, facilitators and other activists and thus shed light on the possibilities of challenging the notions of gender inequalities in regards to expression of sexuality.

I chose to present the issue of gender inequality through the concept of *sexual empowerment* which symbolises an increased sexual self-determination and sexual well-being. In this sense, I seek to investigate to what extent NGOs create *enabling environments*¹⁶ for sexual empowerment and in what ways they show potential to challenge institutionalised sexism and enhance sexual well-being. The following research questions will be sought answered:

Do features of sex education conducted by NGOs in New Delhi display potential for challenging gender stereotypes in India? If so, in what way?

¹⁵ Action oriented approaches seek to solve problems in a programme, organisation or community (Mikkelsen 200:133).

¹⁶ Enabling environment refers to the components of the NGOs that catalyse the empowerment process. These include the techniques, methods and approaches used in different educational modules e.g. knowledge transfer, skills building and participatory discussions.

A number of sub-questions have guided the research conducted:

- What types of teaching strategies and contents are used in sex education?
- How do these reflect sexual empowerment?
- How do NGOs conceive their impacts and influence on changing behaviour?

This paper will contain the following sections: 1) An exposé of the theories used as foundation and grid of the analysis and discussion, 2) a conceptualisation and contextualisation including linkage of sex, sexuality and development. 3) This is followed by a methodology section, 4) data-presentation and analysis which leads to 5) the conclusion of the thesis and recommendations.

2. Analytical Framework & Conceptualisation

The following section lays out the grid used for data presentation and analysis. This includes descriptions of the theories utilised and a visualisation of the two combined with the outline of the paper.

2.1 Theoretical Models

This paper organises the material gathered around the combination of two theoretical frames with each their focal strength. The theory of *development as empowerment* formulated by Elisheva Sadan (1997) is chosen due to its extensive description of empowerment as a concept and process, and thus encapsulates the issues of women's empowerment. Additionally, I will include *the pedagogy of the oppressed* by Paulo Freire (1996) due to its inclusion of current development concepts. The theory is relevant in regards to analysing the possibility of challenging the status quo through education.

2.1.1 Development as Empowerment

This theory was chosen prior to the research and directed what would be important to include as part of the investigation. It is used deductively as well as part of the analysis and discussion. One definition of empowerment is found in Elisheva Sadan's book (1997) on Empowerment and Community Planning. She defines empowerment as follows:

“Empowerment is a process of transition from a state of powerlessness to a state of relative control over one's life, destiny, and environment. This transition can manifest itself in an

improvement in the perceived ability to control, as well as in an improvement in the actual ability to control” (144).

Empowerment contains the point of origin as a state of passiveness, disempowerment or powerlessness. In this state the resulting negative attributes to one's person feeling disempowered are according to Sadan lack of self-worth, self-blame and indifference towards or in the worst case alienation from the environment. Subsequently, a person, community or institution is not able to act for oneself but accepts a given situation that undermines control and thus choices.

Elisheva Sadan conceptualises empowerment as three distinct processes that are interlinked:

- 1) *Individual empowerment*; refers to the single person's ability to influence one's environment, including people and social systems. The existing norms and values determine in what way each individual negotiates the control that is given or restricted. Sadan stresses that not every case of inactivity constitutes as disempowerment (Sadan 1997:145-146).
- 2) *Community empowerment*; is connected to the change of social structures through the combination of several individuals. In order to achieve a change of social structures the community would join forces with existing professional activists. One has to remember that a person is never completely without recourse or lack of ability (Sadan 1997:146-148).
- 3) *The empowerment of professional practises*; links individuals to organisations. By encouraging and facilitating the processes that are needed to challenge the structures that restrict every person's choices they function as a catalysing factor of social change (Sadan 1997:148).

Through community empowerment access to *allocative* and *authoritative resources* become possible. They represent tangible goods and possibilities of reorganising time and space respectively. Individual empowerment exists in a *communications* and *normative* domain, which reflects systems of how people learn to understand their situation differently, and appreciation of new norms and values (Sadan 1997:150).

Empowerment is seen as an instrument that challenges existing structures and strives for “change in human behaviour”. In order to make use of this tool, individuals, communities or professional practises engage in an *empowerment process* which again is divided into two levels: *the action level* and *the structure level*. The action level reflects the practitioner's collection of experience, professional confidence and new

knowledge whereas the structure level is the basis for changing social systems and based in adopting communication, norms and forms that encourage empowerment (Sadan 1997:148-151).

Sadan points out that the more the empowerment process progresses the weaker becomes the dependence on professionals. She further stresses that neither social knowledge nor any empowerment practise is neutral as differing and possibly conflicting forms of knowledge exist. When a change of knowledge is desirable in the spirit of empowerment this consequently leads to new understandings, meanings and interpretations of realities (Sadan 1997:149-166).

By including other empowerment-theory authors' discussions a more diverse picture of the empowerment process is sought. Power relations are mentioned as the main restraint on change (Hill 2003; Batliwala 2007).

2.1.2 Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Paolo Freire's theory of pedagogy of the oppressed from 1970 is despite formulated 40 years back still relevant. The main aspects of his theory such as ownership, participation, dialog and contextualisation are now considered key components in development interventions. Freire bases his theory of educational practises on the creation of a pedagogy that emancipates and empowers the part of the population who are generally seen as the ones with limited resources and capabilities. He characterises the oppressed as people expecting authorities to know better, why the existence of supportive organisations or institution is highlighted (Freire 1996).

The pedagogy of the oppressed is divided into two distinct parts:

- 1) A realisation process causes people to challenge the world of oppression.
- 2) The initial realisation spreads to society in general and pedagogy is utilised for permanent liberation.

The desired change should through a set of strategies of methods create *cultural revolutions*¹⁷. As oppression is part of the socialisation process, Freire highlights the awakening of a critical consciousness by reflection upon situational condition as a main catalyst. Accordingly, active steps must be taken by the individuals in question (1996:33-53).

¹⁷ Freire refers to a cultural revolution as action that confronts the existing culture and the preservers of the structure that provides justification for discrimination and oppression thus a "reconstruction of the total society" (1996 [1970]:139-161).

Freire emphasises the need for eliminating what is called the *banking method* of teaching which constitutes the teacher as the authority conveying the knowledge and information and the student as a receptor, memorising the given information. Dialog and participation should ideally remove the traditional teacher-student dichotomy. Common methods seen as useful are role play, street play and use of media. This bottom up approach increases ownership and is expected to influence behaviour (Freire 1996:75, 96-109).

Adopting the view that culture is not sacred as it can create oppression Freire calls for a cultural revolution and a reconstruction of society as a whole. *Liberation* (emancipation and empowerment) is seen as a result of combined efforts and constant deliberation among all individuals and communities of society including the ones in power. This is mentioned as a dilemma as the elite is characterised as the possible oppressors and their desire to change might be limited. Education is then in danger of becoming a fight between right and left forgetting the goal of change (Freire 1996: 30, 76, 130-135). As revolutions do not have a starting point neither an end, but evolve continuously in time and space, the changes are considered as stages of general development (Freire 1996:110-161).

Even though gender is never mentioned as an oppressive factor I still argue that the pedagogy of the oppressed is useful in that oppression can include gender inequalities. Other criticism of Freire's theory identifies power relations between the activist and the people in question. Participation can be seen as a way to legitimise interventions based on NGO workers conceptions. As no people and thus no interventions are without objectives, ideas and values can be imbibed and as such complicate sources of motivation (Sachs 2000:167-169). This is an important aspect to keep in mind when discussing the organisations' SHPP.

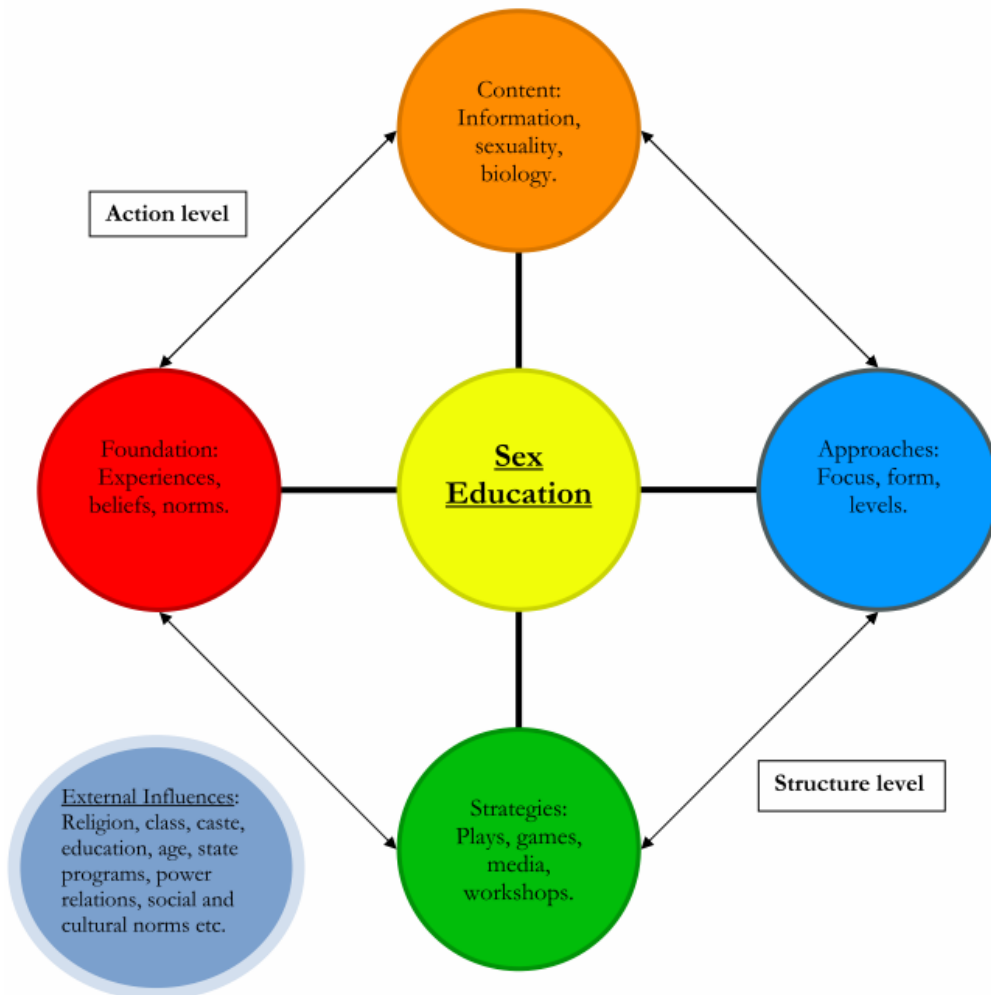
2.2 Visualisation of the Sexual Empowerment Model

Through reorganising data I constructed the following figure which illustrates the connections between theories and four main sections of sex education identified.

Sex education consists of a web of diverse levels and subjects: 1) Choices of content, 2) NGO workers beliefs and understanding. These two sections represent the action level (red and orange) of Sadan's approach to the empowerment process. Second, the structure level (green and blue) includes 3)

methods/strategies and 4) approaches. Additionally, the external influences that can have an effect on all parts are illustrated with the light blue bubble.

Figure 1: Sexual Empowerment Model (SE-Model).



When utilizing Sadan’s understanding of the empowerment process the tool formulated in the pedagogy of the oppressed have the potential to empower each individual to a state of increased self esteem, redirecting blame, voicing likes and dislikes and acquiring negotiation skills. Components of sex education must accordingly display participation, deliberation, dialog, ownership, realisation and elimination of the student-teacher dichotomy. All parts of sex education are interlinked and can thus influence each other. Ultimately, the accumulation of all factors entails the possibility of changing attitudes and behaviour and conclusively initiates or catalyses a social and cultural revolution needed in order to promote sexual empowerment.

3. Research Frontier & Contextualisation

This section will firstly stress the importance of sexuality in general development by clarifying the concept of sexuality. Then, an outline of the existing debate of sex and sexuality in India will lay out prevalent perceptions and influencing factors that are necessary to understand in order to challenge the status quo.

3.1 Global Relevance: Sex, Sexuality & Development

Already in Cairo 1994, the conference on population and development emphasised the inclusion of sexuality as part of women's rights (Bhaiya & Wieringa 2006:i; Runeborg 2004:11). Since then the development field has become increasingly aware of this link, and sexuality is by now highlighted as an intrinsic part of not only human existence in general (no sex = no reproduction) but a person's well-being that must be attended to on the same ground as health and education (Runeborg 2004:11-12). Sexuality is highlighted as "a crosscutting issue that lies at the heart of disempowerment of women" (Jolly 2006b:78). Ignoring the importance can be a severe restraint on human capabilities. In consequence of the still existing doctrinaire views of the roles and responsibilities of men and women, being an active member of society and an actor of social change is restricted.¹⁸

The World Association for Sexology (WAS), since 1978 actively promoting the inclusion of sexuality as part of the human rights declaration, formulated the declaration of sexual rights (see enclosure 1). Since then, collaboration with international agencies such as the WHO and UNESCO has increased and sexuality has become part of their agenda (WAS 2007). The WHO now defines sexuality as:

"A central aspect of being human throughout life and encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. Sexuality is experiences and expression in thought, fantasies, desire, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviour, practices, roles and relationships." (2006)

This statement reflects the diverse attributes that are associated with a person's sexuality. The definition continues to discuss the expression and influences as follows:

¹⁸ In light of social constructionism the most basic constructed categories are those of the two sexes of man and woman. People do however exist that do not fit in either category. Biological traits are supposedly significant for the sex, but other sexes and in that case genders exist. Up to one out of 500 babies are born with indistinct features i.e. "chromosomes at odds with their anatomy" (Jolly 2002:10). These groups are today referred to as intersexed. Even though this shows that the opposing dichotomy of man and women are limiting categories they are still at the foundation of most languages, social realities and the development field. Therefore, it will at this point not be possible to investigate the inequalities of the two without acknowledging them as more or less fixed groupings.

“While sexuality can include all of these dimensions, not all of them are always experienced or expressed. Sexuality is influenced by the interaction of biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, legal, historical, religious and spiritual factors” (2006).

Accordingly, sexuality is not only concerned with the sexual act but moreover related to choices of expression and behaviour i.e. clothing, social networks, mobility, future plans and interpersonal relationships as part of one's sexual expression (Banerji 2008:12-13).¹⁹

The definition by the WHO is useful as it is highly inclusive and incorporates a multi-faceted range of topics. At the same time there is emphasis on that every individual expression is dependant on time and space. It thus leaves room for various dimensions of sexualities in accordance with every person and environment.

Sexuality is linked to a range of Millennium Development Goals (MDG) making clear that development is a question of well-being and not only understood as material deprivation (Jolly 2006b). MDG 3(gender equality), 5(maternal health) and 6(combating HIV/AIDS) are directly connected to sexuality but an increased focus on sexual empowerment as part of general empowerment is mentioned to be related to overall poverty reduction (MDG 1) (Jolly 2006a; Armas 2007).

I will now continue to fasten the relevance of sex education in India through a discussion of existing literature on sex and sexuality.

3.2 Indian Relevance: Existing Literature

The multitude of literature on sex and sexuality de-proofs the idea of sex as a taboo, at least in terms of academic, educational, fictional and non-fictional reading as well as ethnographic studies.²⁰ To what extent this extensive literature has been available to all sections of the population is debatable.

In addition, activists have for some time been very engaged in publication endeavours and the vast reports, discussions and educational material available is signified by highly educated women's

¹⁹ Examples include when and in which environment do you for example choose to wear sari, salwar kameeze (traditional Indian women's clothing) or jeans and a t-shirt. Do you stay at home after dark or go out drinking with friends, are your friends mainly girls? Do you commute by metro, bus or car? Do you finish your education even though you get married?

²⁰ Indian sexology was initiated as early as 1920s with the family unit and reproduction as the main arena of sexual activity (Srivastava 2007:40) other Indian publications include (Kakar [1989]1999; Puri 1999; Bose 2002; Vanita 2002; Bhaskaran 2004; Mishra & Chandiramani 2005; Srivastava 2007; Banerji 2008)

involvement.²¹ Many initiatives have grown from a reaction to the inequalities existing and are thus often discussing women's sexuality in connection with physical and mental violence (rape, harassment/eve-teasing²², reproductive expectations). Especially minority groupings have gained focus since increased liberalisation in the 1990s e.g. lesbians, sex workers and widows.

Three main issues are identified as both developmental struggles in India and motivations for sex education: 1) population control, 2) HIV/AIDS and 3) sex selection²³ (Banerji 2008:285-287). Through a feminist lens these issues all become related to gender disparities. The masses of people that seem to have no end could be related to the belief of women's subjugation to roles as breeding machines (Banerji 2008:286). A woman is expected to bear children and is in danger of possible punishment, in form of physical or mental violence, social ostracism or exile from the home, if this obligation is not fulfilled (Bhaskaran 2004:120).

In the case of battling a pandemic HIV/AIDS disaster the double standards of morality according to sex is of uttermost importance. In recent years a *feminisation* of HIV/AIDS has grown. This refers to situations in which men engage in extramarital affairs with prostitutes and/or others (men, women or others e.g. Hijras²⁴) where the virus is passed on ultimately infecting the wife. This has shown to be a major cause of spread and the existing gender inequalities compromise women's safety (Banerji 2008:301).

Lastly, sex selection due to boy-child preference is not surprisingly a clear indicator for the gender discrepancies in Indian society. Despite the fact that sex determination by technology has been outlawed female infanticide is a reoccurring issue.²⁵

²¹ NGO publications and manuals: Badshah, B. (ed.) (2006) *Senses and Soul. A Workshop on Sexuality*. New Delhi, India, Sakshi (for other examples see references).

²² This term is used in India to express unwanted attention of sexual nature usually by boys towards girls e.g. whistling, shouting and subtle touching.

²³ Sex selection refers to the practice of boy-child preference resulting in infanticide and illegal abortions of girl fetuses.

²⁴ The third gender, a category of sex - mostly phenotypic men dressing in female clothing – though to have great power on fertility, newlyweds and newborns. Based in religious (both Hindu and Muslim) traditions they enjoy great respect and fear as well as marginalisation in Indian society (Reddy 2006).

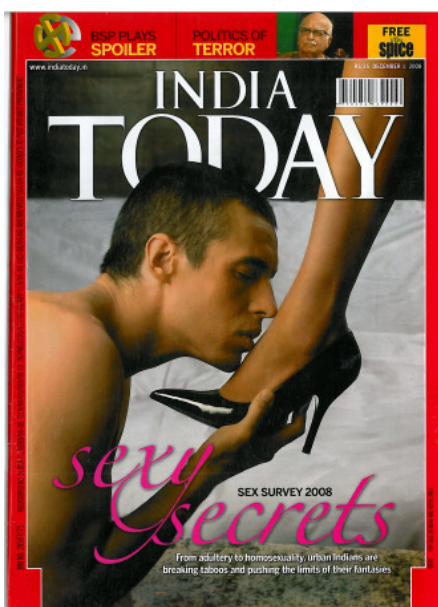
²⁵ Some argue that this is a phenomenon of the poorest of the society, having to worry about dowry and related costs because of a girl child. However, statistics show that families from higher socio-economic strata and some of the wealthiest states have the most unbalanced sex ratios, thus showing an unclear picture of who is more discriminative about their girl children. In Punjab, the sex ratio has fallen from 976 girls per 1000 boys in 2001 to below 900 (Jindal, Gupta & Aggarwal 2005).

3.3 Influences and Important Cultural Traits

Attitudes and behaviour regarding sex and sexuality has evolved through time. Influence of religion, history and ancient India as well as colonial times, globalisation and increased spread of mass-communication are continuously influencing today's situation.

Religion is considered a very authoritative belief system and thus highly influential (Varma 1999:123, Jejeebhoy & Sathar 2001). Ancient India is often depicted as a time of sexual freedoms (Banerji 2008).²⁶ However, images of the ideal woman in philosophical texts and epics are still used for diminishing the status of women as independent actors of life.²⁷ Mahatma Gandhi's experimenting with celibacy as a male ideal (Srivastava 2007:6-9; John & Nair 2006:211) was a phenomenon reflecting the attitudes of sex being damaging of human spirituality, in accordance with the Victorian morality imposed by the colonial powers (Varma 1999:160).

The impact of media and growing global availability has widely been considered both a source of information and a danger to young minds and Indian culture (Varma 1999:161-162,158). In combination with governmental liberalisation strategies of the economy and the press the urban setting displays an increasing visibility of sex in mass media (see picture below. For further examples see enclosure 2-6) which illustrates the existing social reform for urban women (Bhaskaran 2004:39).



Picture: Sex Survey 2008 in India Today (December 1st)

²⁶ A well know example of ancient India's inclusion of sex as an intrinsic part of life is the Kama Sutra written sometime between the first and the fifth century AD, a handbook of sexual intercourse (Varma1998; Grant 2005), and Tantric philosophies which include sex as a mean to achieve a higher spiritual level, practiced around 1000 AD (Banerji 2008).

²⁷ The Ramayana tells the story of the king Rama whose wife Sita is said to still be a trademark for femininity as she was extremely devote to her husband and thus considered the ideal wife (Kakar 1990:67).

The diversity and complexity of people's perceptions of women's sexuality has thus been formed through time and space, and is illustrated by multidimensional attitudes, views and beliefs about sex, gender and sexuality (for more description see appx. 3). Factors that influence the perception of sexuality and sexual behaviour include age, caste, class, ethnicity, levels of so-called traditionalism or conservative views opposed to modernity or liberal convictions, experience, upbringing, exposure to differing ideas and thoughts etc. which makes it highly important to remember that Indian women are not a homogeneous group (Jolly 2002).

However, societal pressure towards women and their sexual behaviour in the existing gender roles - regardless of being challenged - are still prominent.²⁸ Both conservative and liberal views on women's sexuality exist across educational, socio-economic class or caste distinctions and cannot be restricted to a certain grouping of the population meaning that for example education does not automatically make a person more knowledgeable on sex or increasingly liberal to the thought of sex education (Kakar 1990:66; George 2002:208).

3.4 Patriarchy, Hierarchy & Femininity

In the light of these cross-cutting views it seems that categorising sex as a taboo (Padhke 2005:74; Sharma & Nath 2005:83) does not give attention to the multifaceted characteristics of sex. A closer look reveals that restrictions are closer linked to the complex cultural constructions of femininity and masculinity and thus the expectations that are connected to these categories. I here give a brief overview of characteristics, reasons and focal points as base for the social institutions and thus the arena of change.

The characteristics of what constitutes a woman reflect the norms and values of Indian society. A woman is labelled a good woman or a bad woman accordingly and is often expected to live by these certain markers by incorporating them into her daily life and behaviour. A central factor is marriage that divides women's sexuality in the virgin daughter or the chaste wife. As an effect of the expectations put forth by family, institutions and societal norms, girls experience their sexuality as a shameful part of

²⁸ This is not restricted to the *moral policing* (Term used to define actions of groups that protect the "culture's sanctity" (Banerji 2008:295).) conducted by groups of the conservative right but also finds voices among the general population as well as the young²⁸. In reflection of a conference concerning sexual and reproductive health of adolescents in South Asia held in Mumbai in 2000, studies had shown that "most South Asian adolescents have conservative attitudes towards marriage and sex" and consequently comply with the double standard of restricting girls' expression of sexuality whereas boys are more prone to be pressured into sexual activity (Bott & Jejeebhoy 2003:13).

their existence and hence undermine thoughts developing during puberty that generate and thus limit their self-esteem and self-determination. The insecurities regarding sexuality reconstructs an inferior role and do not teach women to be assertive or independent in relationships (Mital 2005). Moreover, the possibility of irresponsible choices and risky sexual behaviour is increased due to the limited guidance and availability of accurate and non-judgmental information. The possibility of damaging relationships can in this light be speculated to be very high and examples of such are numerous (Santhya & Jejeebhoy 2007:1; Nagi 2001:1; Runeborg 2004:15).

Being sexually active or just expressing oneself in manners that some might perceive as sexual (dressing “western”, drinking and smoking, moving outside the house) is thus crossing the boundaries of morality. This regulates what one should and should not do and constitutes the institutionalised sexism (Menon 2007:46, Bose 2002:XXIII). Notions of femininity thus expect ignorance towards matters of sex and can be seen as expressed in shyness (for more description of the good and bad woman see appx. 4).

As a changing point, marriage catapults girls into a new understanding of their body (for more detailed description sexuality within marriage see appx. 5) (George 2002:207). Despite the fact that it is often not discussed, the expectations change from protecting virginity as the highest goal to new obligations of catering to the sexual needs of her husband and producing children, common traits of the chaste wife (Menon 2007:58; John & Nair 2006:211; Bhaskaran 2004:119).

The intertwining of a woman’s sexuality with morality and family honour as part of patriarchal patterns results in her body becoming an instrument for others. A girl or woman is ultimately portrayed as victim without control over her own body and in need of protection (George 2002:208-209, Kakar 1990:17-18).

Talking about sex and being open towards expressions of sexuality alternate to the mainstream attitude does not necessarily mean that gender specific constructed categories of femininity and masculinity are eliminated. This kind of discrimination and the succeeding sexual violations transcends the taboo and is deeply rooted in the societal patterns of patriarchy (Bhaskaran 2004:1; Runeborg 2004:10). The perceived taboo - real or not - increases the vulnerability of women and is a factor of concern when discussing SHPP.

To sum up, the rigid categories of gender roles limit especially girls' and women's self-determination of expressing their sexuality. In order to address all topics that link gender to sex education, sexual empowerment will need to include basic physiological information, development of self-esteem about their sexuality and training life-skills in regard to sexual needs, wishes and behaviour. It is important to keep in mind that discriminative patterns do not exist in vacuum and are shared by all, in all spaces, environments or tempus.

4. Methodology

This chapter will give an overview of the target group, sampling and methods utilised in the research. Possible ethical considerations and shortcomings are also presented. The focus on NGO strategies is an approachable and accessible way of addressing sexual empowerment. Insights to NGO workers' understanding of empowerment and experiences behavioural change, interpretations can shed light on the effects and potential of sex education.

4.1 Target-group, Sampling and Saturation

The people of this paper - my main informants - are ultimately staff, facilitators and others connected to organisations in New Delhi that engage in SHPP. These are the people who are in charge of designing and creating the material, and facilitating workshops and educational sessions. A majority of the informants were women of all ages with few exceptions (4 male) and belonging to upper middle class strata and mostly graduates of higher education.

Initially, a simple internet search identified organisations relevant. A snow-balling method using contacts in New Delhi including some from the previously contacted organisations broadened the sample. One risk is limitations to one particular social network (Mack et. al. 2005:5+33, Creswell 1998:119). My independent search and using contacts that were not affiliated with any organisations minimised this concern. I searched for NGOs who included sex and/or sexuality components as a main theme or supplementary issue to their ongoing mission and established contact to 11 NGOs, which represented most organisations relevant. As my search and suggestions seemed to bring up organisations I already had contacted I considered my sample to be sufficient. My intention was to interview 2-3 people from each organisation. Busy schedules complicated this target. Moreover, I realised that further interviews did not bring new information why I considered data to be saturated.

The organisations represented a broad range of approaches and objectives e.g. women's empowerment, HIV/AIDS and reproductive health. The diverseness should further be a way to approach the issues from different perspectives and thus give representative and credible conclusions. Finding that many NGOs were situated in New Delhi made my research practical and easy to limit it to a certain area.

Due to informants busy time schedules and full agendas it seemed appropriate to follow an opportunistic technique despite the danger of being put on hold for longer time periods. I was ready at any time to go meet potential informants on their grounds and thus only interrupting their daily routine moderately.

As sex and sexuality is relevant for all members of the population I have not limited my sample to organisations that address a certain target group. New Delhi as an urban epicentre of all castes, classes, ethnicities, religions, educational diversities etc. counts a vast diversity of population. The city displays a wide range of gender separation in people's attitudes, behaviour and functioning of daily life; designated seats for women in metro, women's queues at train station ticket counter and separation in schools and colleges. The participants of workshops and other educational sessions are often college student mostly selected randomly and by chance.

4.2 Methods

This research uses a combination of several methods during my stay in New Delhi November 2008-January 2009. Qualitative methods were identified to be the most useful in order to understand the perceptions and rational of individuals due to their flexibility (Mack et. al. 2005:3). Moreover, they are considered valuable as they allow the data gathered to be choices of the informants to a higher degree. Qualitative methods' ability to generalisation is limited. Despite the inclusion of a broad selection of organisations I do not propose that I can present any definite conclusions outside New Delhi borders. I will here briefly go through each of the used methods; literature review, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions (FGD), participatory and non-participatory observation (for detailed overview of research plan see appx. 6).

4.2.1 Literature Review

Issues of sexuality can be sensitive and require an extensive period of gaining trust. Due to time constraints, background information on attitudes towards sex and sexuality, sexual behaviour and differing understandings on what it constitutes have been collected through existing sociological and empirical studies, reports and surveys.

4.2.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Knowledge on strategies, methods and rationale of staff members and facilitators were acquired through in-depth semi-structured interviews (15); some one-on-one, some with multiple informants (two or three). This gave a deeper understanding of NGO workers' perception of impact, the gap between knowledge transfer and behavioural change and the meaning of the empowerment process. In order to create a triangulation of information and increased credibility, semi-structured interviews were also conducted with individuals with expertise on the topic but not affiliates with any certain NGO (2 women, 2 men).

The structure of the interviews were based on the topics pushed by the theory and reflected the necessary areas that needed investigation. Despite the chosen topics and pre-phrased questions the interviews were kept informal and flexible in order to accommodate any topics that might be important for the informant to mention and thus leave it to the interviewee to highlight issues that are premium in their work (Mack et. al. 2005:34, Creswell 1998:78). By encouraging elaborations and drawing upon examples from experiences it was possible to gain a deeper understanding of each interviewee's understanding of concepts important for the research.

All interviews were conducted in English, commonly used as a main language among NGO workers and often an additional first language among middle class in India, avoiding the possible limitations of translation. Each interview would range from 40 minutes to an hour, thus giving enough time to go through all topics but not interfering with the daily work of the NGOs. Usually, I would visit the NGO offices for the conversations, giving the informants a safe and known environment and possibility to return to work shortly after. Only few talks were set in public spaces where surrounding noise and people could restrain the conversation. I did however not experience any hesitation from the informants.

In my exploration of the programs and projects in New Delhi I found that NGO staff and facilitator often appreciated the conversations and questions posed to them. Some experienced the interviews as beneficial by reflecting on the questions, while others enjoyed my genuine interest and found it encouraging discussing their work, experience and conceptualisation.

4.2.3 Participatory Observation & Focus Group Discussions

Reactions, interaction and participants' views on workshops were collected by both FGD and participatory observation. For gaining an insight in the nature of programs, i.e. techniques used, language, communication etc. I attended SHPP conducted by NGOs. Participatory or non-participatory observation (depending on the nature of the program) served as tool for data gathering here (8 sites) (May 2002:199, Mack et. al. 2005:13). The opportunistic approach proved to be useful as workshops are inconsistent in frequency. Some sessions are held eight in a row over the course of a couple of months while others did only educational sessions sporadically when schools contacted them; none in the time of my stay in Delhi. Again others have projects where they visit three different sites weekly. Educational sessions on sex and sexuality become part of these visits but are not consistent to plans.

The ways that sessions are conducted vary widely. Some NGOs create workshop events on the premises of their own offices whereas others have the opportunity to use bigger venues hosted by cultural centres. Some visit colleges at the universities and again some use the facilities of primary schools or community owned fields.

Two FGD were conducted, both with mostly college students. One included only girls (the boys had not shown up on the given day) participating in weekly sessions at an NGO office. One was held after a meeting in a private home with facilitators and potential volunteers with both girls and boys present. The FGD enabled me to collect many opinions and a large amount of data in a short time (Mack et. al. 2005:51-52, Kvale 1996:101).

4.3 Shortcomings & Ethical Considerations

Availability of actual participants of workshops, programs and projects were low due to different reasons of confidentiality, time restraints and the fact that many NGO focus their activism on other areas e.g. publications, advocacy and educational training of other NGO workers. Therefore, workshops and educational sessions with participants are limited.

However, perceptions and experiences of a small sample of girls participating in workshops and programs were obtained as seen above. This included communications through FGD (5 female) and informal conversation within participatory observation practises (more than 10). They represented a wide range of socio-economic groupings, including college and undergraduate students and out of

school youth of lower and lower middle class families (daughters of vegetable sellers, factory workers etc.) which is an advantage of the sample however small.

An interesting perspective for this research could have been the opinions from opposing groups, which was however omitted as identification proved to be difficult. Only one organisation that directly was working against sex education was found. Time constraints did not allow me to follow the lead.

By clearly explaining the research purpose, the themes explored and the use of the information, as well as the confidentiality norms and voluntary nature of the conversation, informed consent was obtained (Mack et al. 2005:7, 31). Anonymity was not required in case of the representatives of the organisations. Each direct quote in this paper states name and organisation of informant and is thus a way to introduce the organisation to the reader. Other informants' identities (those of FGD and observation) are kept anonymous in line with protection of their identity especially when discussing topics often not shared outside the group or setting (Mack et. al. 2005:9-11; Creswell 1998:115-119).

Interviews were mostly recorded and transcribed in full, giving me the possibility of not missing any details and having an extensive amount of information. Other interviews and observation were captured by note-taking and usually written out after the session. The text produced was read through and conceptualised, reorganised and generalised into headings and subheadings illustrating different parts of sex education and main themes highlighted by the informants. This procedure is more of an art than an exact science and thus very dependant on the collected data.

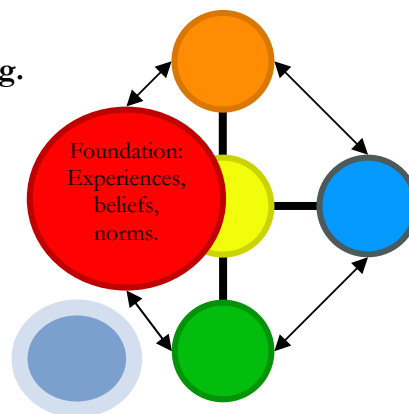
5. Data Presentation & Analysis

The SE-Model presented on page 14 illustrates the four main sections of SHPP and contains the overlapping issues that were discussed in the conversations with NGO workers. The following chapter will present the findings by utilising this division in connection with the theories. Each section represents a bubble and thus theme. The subheadings in every section represent the main topics that were highlighted by the organisations and identified when reorganising and categorising the data. When possible, comments and reactions of workshop participants will demonstrate how sex education is responded to. This section includes data presentation, analysis and discussion.

5.1 Foundation for Action

On the action level one finds the beliefs, foundation, experiences and understanding of NGO workers which determine the choices for the content included in sex education. Prominent in this picture is the inclusion of sexuality, understanding of gender and femininity as social constructions and the introduction of sexual empowerment.

Figure 2: Foundational beliefs and understanding.



5.1.1 Sex education - now with Sexuality.

Sex education has come to include sexuality in nearly all SHPP which reflects the inclusion of this topic in general development. Sex education is now therefore mostly referred to as sexuality education. Sexuality is regarded as including more than just the physical act although there are different possibilities of what part of sexuality that is emphasised.

Some highlight the introduction of alternate sexual identities e.g. homosexuality. Some worry this might give a limited picture of what sexuality includes. Still, even though this discussion is not contributing to the confrontation of institutionalised sexism directly, one can imagine that non-judgmental attitudes towards people fitting these categories can push further tolerance in regards to other expressions of sexuality (Baber & Murray 2001).

Most of the organisations highlight the conviction of realities as social constructions as a fundamental concept. The oppressive patterns of these constructions, based in patriarchy, hierarchy and heteronormativity are emphasised. Experiences by NGO workers confirm the notions of feminine traits as passive, asexual, pure, chaste, and shy girls with virginity to protect before marriage and the obligation to service her husband after marriage (Bhaskaran 2004:39, 199-120; Bhattacharya 2006:270-272). This illustrates the strong patriarchal society that India is where “man has total right over women’s body”

(Abha, Jagori).²⁹ (For examples of expressed femininity see appx. 7). One can argue that girls already visiting SHPP have taken the first step towards change and thus already begun a realisation process prior to the educational sessions. Therefore, many participants are challenging the notions of femininity simply by attending.

The possibility of addressing sexuality as a construct illustrates the potential for challenging the notion of women's sexuality or the constructions of femininity. "Sexuality sessions we do subsequent to the gender sessions - not before that - because that is the base" (Abha, Jagori). It would be impossible to strive for change if sexual traits were considered naturally present and only differing in regards to women and men. "If we don't do this we generally don't go forward. This is the basic that one has to do in all the sessions as it forms the basis of our work also." (Urvashi, Breakthrough) In this light, creating a common understanding for what is possible to change generates a basic ground through which all understandings of gender-stereotyping can be addressed and then challenged. It is on these grounds that a realisation process can be introduced by encouraging critical thinking to realities.

The realisation process as part of sexual empowerment is exemplified by comments of workshop participants. Firstly, understanding of sexuality is changed reflecting the domain of communications. Participants of one of the workshops conducted reflect on sex and sexuality as following:

"We didn't know the actual meaning of sexuality earlier. We thought both are the same thing. But they are much different only, the sex and sexuality/.../ Sexuality is a broader term which also includes intimacy in a relationship, caring, loving, abuse, everything." (FGD Breakthrough)

This is followed by an appreciation of the new knowledge and the normative domain termed by Sadan.

"Knowing something is not bad. Knowing about sex is not bad at least. I mean, forget about having sex. People say knowing about sex is bad? I mean please! Give me break. At least let's start with that." (FGD, Breakthrough)

²⁹ "A woman is not supposed to have sexual desire. If she has it she is not supposed to say it. She should be a virgin and very chaste before marriage. So it is the entire gamut of male rights over women's bodies and on their bodies and on their sexual expression vis-à-vis what women are allowed and not allowed" (Abha, Jagori).

"Everything under sexuality is affected by a norm that we need to challenge. If we are talking about choice and consent and all of it, we will not be able to do so if we do not challenge how patriarchy affects sexuality" (Vinita, Crea).

Using Freire's concepts this realisation is the first step towards social change and is part of an individual empowerment. Moreover, the debate on constructionist belief of gender disparities in society has the potential to generate deeper community empowerment.³⁰

An example of how the tradition and cultural expectation towards girls is maintained is the institute of marriage. During a participatory observation session my marital status was of great interest to the girls and discussed as part of growing up. The project mainly concerned with girls from lower socio-economic strata experience drop out due to marriages. This illustrates how strong community norms are ingrained and how difficult they are to change. The expectations and supremacy of marriage are entangled with power relations in the households and pose a severe constraint on transforming gender stereotypes. Power relations will be discussed more deeply in section 5.1.2.

By combining forces of professional activists and individuals of the community social change is sought. In order to achieve sexual empowerment one needs to shake the roots of society and thus patterns of control, oppression and gender inequality. Therefore, inclusion of sexuality, gender and ideas of femininity in sex education can be viewed as bedrock of the realisation process highlighted by Freire and considered necessary for any social change.

5.1.2 Introducing Sexual Empowerment

The understanding of empowerment and the ways it comes into action in the minds of NGO workers is crucial for challenging gender stereotypes. Empowerment theory gives the outline of what is necessary for a sexual empowerment process which is perceived control over one's own body as well as acquired skills of being able to enforce control. I termed this *inner empowerment* and *outer empowerment*.

Only one organisation used the term *sexual empowerment* in their material even though many define empowerment in relation to sex (knowledge, consent, pleasure, choice). Therefore, it is interesting to see what facilitators and employees of other organisations would define as sexual empowerment. The understanding of this concept indicates the ways organisations think about change in regards to expression of sexuality.

³⁰ "In such societies, such male chauvinistic societies, such as ours... women are always curbed and dominated." (FGD Breakthrough)

All NGO workers realise and acknowledge the complex nature of the term empowerment and each have different issues to highlight.³¹ Key concepts that are voiced are realising rights and options³², making informed choices³³, having respect for other and oneself and realising wants and needs beyond the stereotypes created by constructs of femininity. Common for all is that knowledge is considered key to empowerment and a way to fill in gaps. Information is considered a way to decrease worries and uncertainties. This focus much aligns with the way of achieving a perceived control. Inner empowerment can thus be seen as a way to enhance sexual well-being. Negative feelings (e.g. guilt, shame, self-blame referring to characteristics of powerlessness according to Sadan) about one's body and sexual needs are eliminated which ultimately increases self-esteem and hence confidence. Ideally, this would be followed by an outer empowerment by creating "a sexual ability in people, to live with dignity and respect for each other and for yourself. Not be abused and not abuse the other. I think that would be my bottom line" (Abha, Jagori).

The bottom line of this study found a greater emphasis on the inner empowerment. In this light one can conclude that sexual empowerment on the individual level happens in regards to creating confidence to control one's own body. As an extension, a circle of change is created. The increased knowledge about bodily functions diminishes worries and enhances the possibility of gaining confidence. This strengthens the willingness to learn and defy notion about femininity that dictate a passive and withdrawing nature of girls and women towards learning about sex and sexuality.

Outer empowerment and enforcing control is related to the environment and is not easily come about. Self determination is related to the power-relation that exists around, not only in regards to gender but also age, caste, class, ethnicity, education, kinship etc., the way that organisations address possible difficulties in including skills. To have the freedom to exercise choices, individual empowerment requires skills in communication and negotiation (Baber & Murray 2001).³⁴ Outer empowerment is however only possible when you are comfortable speaking up, meaning that no outer empowerment

³¹ The relative notions can be expressed as for example "for a woman from an interior village just stepping out of her home would be empowerment, for me it would be something else. So it depends on which stage of your life you are, and where you are and what your circumstances are." (Sunita, Breakthrough)

³² "Understanding and options and choices, the freedom of choice basically, making your own decisions and having the power to exercise and implement them." (FGD YP foundation)

³³ "Choices... they are about body, but they're also about head, they're also about heart, they're also about a certain judgement that you make. About what is the safe option, and that's not only to do with contraception or aids. In terms of what is a safe option for you, for your life, for your choices etc." (Vani, Saheli)

³⁴ "And once they have the knowledge around sexuality then we build a lot of skills around talking about sexuality in a sensitive manner. How to take it up in a public sphere, especially in a community which is not comfortable talking about these issues" (Sunita, Breakthrough).

can occur without an inner empowerment preceding it. The realisation caused by the inner empowerment might kick-start a necessity to act upon wants, likes and dislikes. Knowing the language and your rights can be a way of changing behaviour. This theoretical understanding of sexual empowerment is adopted by most organisations in my study and especially the YP foundation voiced the process clearly. Unequal relationships could be amended in understanding that “you do not have to stand for it”; a form of empowerment (Ishita, YP foundation). Additionally, forming a community that allows people to choose connects empowerment to a group concept and eventually generates community empowerment and consequently a cultural revolution. In Sadan’s words, new knowledge seen as an allocative resource can lead to authoritative resources and increase possibilities of reorganising love, life and future.

The most innovative part of today’s sexual education in New Delhi is the inclusion of pleasure and the focus of positive approaches: “it is not just no, but also yes. They should be able to enjoy the right to pleasure” (Sunita, Breakthrough). As mentioned in section 1.3 a strong platform built around strengthening instead of frightening can be argued to have a great effect on other public health outcomes (Baber & Murray 2001).

Acknowledging women as sexual beings with sexual needs defies the social constructions of femininity. Sexual empowerment according to Abha is then “if women can go over this entire denial and look at it as to how it actually dis-empowers them and does not allow for full expression of their creativity” (Abha, Jagori). Therefore, the understanding of what is incorporated in sexual empowerment displays great potential in order to challenge the deeply rooted ideas on femininity and gender discrepancies.

In this light the influence of power relations again becomes an important factor to actual control. It is important to consider the gendered nature of power no matter if it exists in households (generations), family relations (wife – mother-in-law) or among men and other young as well as in the neighbourhood or local authorities objections might stem from parents, religious leaders, politicians and other adults alike (Ingham 2005:385). The question of how something can be truly empowering when the outer space is not acknowledging the acquired power is thus even more complex and strengthens the cry for a cultural transformation. However, one also needs illuminate the complex nature of power. Power does not exist in absolute terms but is relative in space, time and environment. The dichotomy of oppressed and oppressor are not totalistic binaries. Roles can change in accordance with the situation and environment and cause the otherwise oppressed to be the oppressor. Sensitivity to wide aspects of

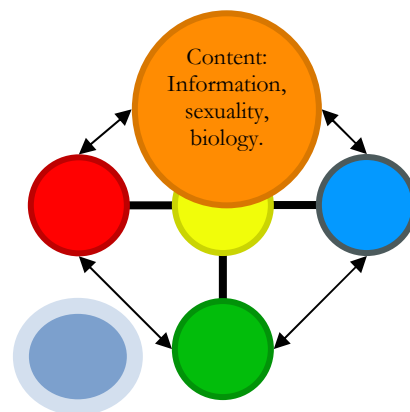
power relations and dynamics should increase the possibility of challenging gender stereotypes and catalysing a cultural revolution to greater extent (Jolly 2002:23). It is intrinsic to look at specific cases individually and the “specific arenas” as well as the multidimensional nature of power as results of social institutions (Malhotra & Mather 1997:625-626). This sets forth the necessity to address sexual empowerment as part of individual empowerment as well as advocacy and awareness towards community empowerment and in the end overall transformation of oppressive social institutions.

The possibility of expressing your sexuality is eventually resetting ways of understanding sex in that “you can avoid violence, you can avoid coercion, you can be having happy and pleasurable sex, you can negotiate sex, you can decide on the outcomes of sex” (Dr. Mehra, MAMTA). Starting with realisation in congruency with the pedagogy of oppression, women are encouraged to understand themselves as sexual beings, and entitled to self-determination which includes avoiding coercion and finding pleasure. Conclusively, organisations’ convictions and understanding of realities show a strong possible base of challenging institutionalised sexism and increased sexual well-being. By both providing knowledge and developing skills the ideal foundation is set for challenging constricting social constructions (Zimmerman 1995:570). The belief systems then affects the choices made on what to include in sexual education.

5.2 Choices of Content

This chapter will contain discussions on the choices of the information which gives an insight into how these affect the overall goal of challenging inequalities. Important to include are considerations to what extent participants are included in this choice and participation encouraged.

Figure 3: Choices of Information



5.2.1 Validity of Information

The right to correct information is emphasised by several organisations. Without information and knowledge one's possibility to make informed choices and decisions is restricted (Pauline & Arpita, TARSHI). The question that arises is what correct and appropriate information is and who decides.

Information can be divided into *factual knowledge* which refers to physical processes, fertility, contraception and protection³⁵, and *interactive knowledge* including respectful communication and empathy (Holzner & Oetomo 2004:46). First, one needs to “build basic understanding of knowledge” (Vinita, CREA) which is seen as the base for possibility of continuing the voyage of entering issues on sexuality. Broadening the knowledge on basic bodily functions is the core of most sex education: “small little information /.../ saves a lot of anxiety” (Abha, Jagori).

As mentioned in section 3.4 the understanding of femininity states that girls are not supposed to know about sex. As a result, the uncertainties of knowledge and curiosity and desire for knowledge are conflicting. The possibility of providing basic information might be restricted if not accompanied by establishing a comfort level on the topic to enable negotiating skills as discussed in the previous section. Information should therefore create a platform for further personal development by combining factual knowledge not only with interactive knowledge but also creating the base for challenging social constructions of femininity as seen in section 5.1.1 ensuring both individual and community empowerment.

Anatomy and bodily functions can not be theoretically discussed to the same extent as concepts of femininity, masculinity and social constructions can. Still, issues on contraceptives and fertility are closely linked to traditional convictions and culture and can thus be part of the debate of what information is more correct making even factual knowledge a dilemma of when educational settings are corrective instead of emancipative.

³⁵ As seen in the report of the TARSHI helpline and the booked based on the calls, questions are often related to fear of harmful practises (e.g. masturbation or anal sex). Issues on sexuality are both the foundation and the supplementary topics complementing the basic information. Issues that are included and common for most NGOs are body image, sexual behaviour (e.g. choices, anal, oral, intimacy, like and dislikes, safe sex and contraceptive choices) identities (e.g. transgender, gays, lesbians, other cultural terms as hijra, kothi, kanthi), peer pressure and other relationship dilemmas (e.g. attraction, communication, marriage expectations and dilemmas with parents) and the option of not having sex. (Chandiramani:good time fore everyone)

This dilemma must be discussed within organisations. However, in line with both empowerment theory and the pedagogy of the oppressed a neutral standpoint is limited. For the purpose of change, NGOs as collaborators in these transition phases (Zimmerman 1995:570) might even have the responsibility and duty to undermine existing knowledge and thus the institutions and social patterns that oppress certain groups of the population. Remembering that not all parts of culture are sacred, development interventions will always influence, form and change societies (Jolly 2002). At the same time, culture is not an entity. Overlapping levels, sub-cultures and smaller society units subsist within cultures why opposing opinions will continue to exist in parallel. Therefore, organisations are entitled to make choices keeping in mind the dilemmas mentioned.

When “consent [is seen] as a standard of legitimacy in sexuality /.../ you are basically saying morality is not a standard of legitimacy. Socialisation and social norms are not a standard of legitimacy” (Vinita, CREA). This illustrates the conviction and willingness to condemn certain parts of culture. Again, if only parts of society are being empowered this new found power and control can be easily undermined by opposing groups. As mentioned in section 5.1.2 levels of interventions must be addressed. Many NGOs are conducting workshops with community level organisations. As “most organisations have a morality standpoint” (Vinita, CREA) it can be fruitful to include them as part of SHPP to reach outwards and finding a link to out of school youth, teachers, adults and others.³⁶

In my exploration of activists’ daily struggle for sex education parents and institutions serve as barriers to include topics that are concerned with sexual intercourse directly. Beliefs exist that exposure to sex education increases curiosity and sexual activity. In some cases parents’ aggressive resistance to sex education can cause mental stress and even mental illness (Runeborg 2004:22) why the inclusion of parents is of great importance.

Restrictions on workshop content were also seen in the case of school authorities. One facilitator mentions a school’s limitation on specific topic e.g. condoms, anal or oral sex. Facilitators were not allowed to mention condoms as a way of protection against pregnancy and STIs and only allowed to mention penetrative “peno-vaginal so-called normal sex” (Urvashi, Breakthrough)³⁷ illustrating the

³⁶ Experts often highlight NGOs potential in reaching out of school youth. (Jaya, UNFPA)

³⁷ “If the student asks us then we can explain but otherwise we cannot show a picture of a condom, we cannot show a real condom, we cannot say the word condom /... / it's okay to talk about HIV and en route that medium we talk about sexual relations. But then directly approaching on the subject is a big no.” (Urvashi. Breakthrough)

promotion of hetero-normative sex for the purpose of reproduction. The potential of challenging institutionalised sexism can thus be restricted.

According to Freire the best ways to address the conflicting beliefs is through participation and deliberation. By adopting a participatory approach (including the interests and questions put forth by participants) one reacts to the information asked for instead of imposing a preset curriculum remembering the critique and discussion above. As NGO sessions are voluntary in nature, workshops and event offered free and open for all one can assume the interest in learning and gaining information. Participants of workshops often show curiosity and seek the information.

To keep in mind is the authoritative position of NGO workers as gate keepers of knowledge (Freire 1996).³⁸ To avoid strong inducement a non-judgmental and non-partial base is an important foundational component in choice and discussion. Facilitators must be diverse in their responses in order to not impose certain beliefs.

“You’re not reflecting /.../ an opinion which you want people to take. You will not tell them that “having sex before marriage, premarital sex, is alright”. You will put across something like: “it is your opinion as to whether you want to make that choice” and “respect someone else’s choice”. In a sense, that may not necessarily be say my personal opinion it’s non-partial /.../ Because unless you respect what the other person is doing, that’s where conflict will rise.³⁹” (FGD, YP foundation)

By not expecting one truth or reality but leaving the possibility for differing opinions grounded in that all are allowed to make their own choices one is capable to make decisions and voicing likes and dislikes to a greater extent, consequently reaching a state of relative control and feeling empowered. The balance can be extremely difficult as no action or organisation is without mission and objective. As mentioned above in some cases it is necessary to encourage action in order to move and catalyse change before emphasising relativism.⁴⁰ Change of the original state in which unjust conditions have been identified is still the objective.

³⁸ After the play on sexual harassment by Saheli girls staying after the session felt rather disempowered on what to do when in the situation of being eve-teased or otherwise feeling harassed and expected the members of Saheli to give answers to their dilemma.

³⁹ The possibility of this catching on is reflected in the opinions of college girls on premarital sex, none of them being sexually active. When asking about what they think about it one speaks for most in saying: “Its ok. As long as there is a trust between the partners [and] if both the partners are ok with it.” (FGD Breakthrough)

⁴⁰ What was highlighted as main points for action was that you need to make some noise (Vani, Saheli) but also choosing your battles. They were very much reacting to a specific problem that many girls faced in comuniting outside the college maybe just for buying a piece of soap. Saheli’s representatives conveyed the importance to take action and not accept the

The notion of working against any *victimising* (adopting strategies that see women as objects of power incapable of action and not in possession of any knowledge) of participants is a necessary discussion. Despite the fact that some NGOs in their presentation of women often experience and depict women's knowledge to be limited, non-existing or partial some also display views about rural or low socio-economic classes as being in possession of knowledge and being more open or progressive in their knowledge than urban, educated middle and upper class women.

Especially, Nirantar had a strong base in the belief of women's ability to find strategies in their daily life that could otherwise be seen as oppressive. Ritu says: "Norms are there, norms will always be there, but women have their strategies of avoiding norms, they sometimes follow norms, they sometimes challenge norms" (Ritu, Nirantar). This shows a more diverse understanding of women and their capabilities, acknowledging their power and ways to choose conformity and non-conformity in accordance to expectation and social rules depending on situation, circumstances and environment.

Generally, it can be said that content of organisations has the best foundation for change. The ways that NGO workers consider choices are based in participatory approaches and identification of information sought. The validity of information is contested and to accommodate the dilemma based in non-partial deliberation.

5.2.2 Entry Points

Contextualisation i.e. making information relevant according to caste, origin of region, educational background is generally regarded as important and highlighted by Freire as an initial step to successful empowerment. The individual development and reflection of one's situation - may it be oppressed in some areas or not - is an intrinsic part of personal and subsequently community empowerment.⁴¹

A way to make sex and sexuality relevant is by choosing an entry point that can be understood as non-threatening and thus approachable. One obvious entry point that has functioned as a cross-cutting issue is HIV/AIDS. Only one of the organisations visited had HIV/AIDS awareness as a main component in

situation and restrict themselves counter to what parent might say or advise them to do (stay away, stay inside, don't go out alone etc.) and thus encouraging challenging notions on femininity on being silent and passive.

⁴¹ "I don't think we can have conversations which are devoid of our castes and devoid of our regions in this country. Like anyone has to talk about cultural living, like I am from Bengal and this is my Bengali culture and so on and so forth. And someone will say but it doesn't happen in Punjab." (Vinita, CREA)

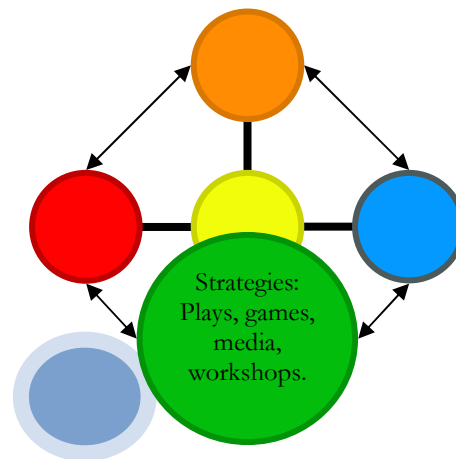
their mission.⁴² However, “HIV/AIDS has really opened up the Pandora’s box. They really had to take the lid off all that morality issues because they had to do it due to the pressure from the west” (Abha, Jagori; Runeborg 2004:15). The couching of workshops can provide a non-threatening approach to sex and sexuality e.g. reproductive health, child marriages, early pregnancy, GBV or sex-selection can be used even though sexuality and especially gender might precede these issues.⁴³

In the light of the complex debate of the inclusion of sex education it seems plausible to use entry-points keeping in mind the objective. Therefore, I here emphasis the possibility of using gender as a stepping stone, as discussions on gender can incorporate most issues that are discriminative in regards to sexual empowerment.

5.3 Strategies for Sexual Empowerment

On the structural level in Sadan’s empowerment process we find in particular the adoption of language and forms i.e. strategies and methods in which the education sessions are conducted. I will here discuss the concept of space and give examples of the ways in which information is given.

Figure 4: Strategies and Methods



5.3.1 Creating Spaces.

One feature that most NGO workers emphasise as a main function of sex education programs and projects is the need and creation of *spaces*⁴⁴, e.g. safe space or free space; a “space where you could talk

⁴² The Naz foundation has since the beginning broadened their scope and found a way to included discussion of sex education besides the HIV/AIDS awareness and education in most creative ways (photo exception with positive images of HIV-positive, magician Mohammad Iqbal, comical play), as seen at the event at Delhi University.

⁴³ “We strongly believe that sexuality precedes reproductive health. So when you are comfortable with your sexuality you have better reproductive health outcomes. Since policy makers at that time where understanding the language of reproductive health better so we kept reproductive health as a face, but the process was all sexuality driven, was sexuality centric.” (Dr. Mehra, MAMTA).

⁴⁴ “The first step really is to create an environment for children to break their silence and feel like they can speak openly, and ask questions”(Abha, Jagori).

freely about issues related to sex and sexuality”(Ishita, YP foundation). This necessity is also highlighted by actors in the development field (Runeborg2004:8). This space is in the majority of cases thought of as a physical environment; e.g. NGO offices or cultural venues. Here the participants are protected from outsiders that might not appreciate the discussions. College halls or lawns can function as free spaces and provide a safe feeling when deliberating in a familiar environment. Common for these are the approachable and neutral setting in that participants have similar objectives to attend.⁴⁵

Self-created spaces exist when educational material function as initiators. Information functions as a common interest and thus creates an imaginative and non-physical space. Similarly, help lines - protecting anonymity 100% - can also be considered a free and safe space. The different possibilities of space are thus creating a place where participants can discuss and talk about topics that would not be possible in other places.

As one informant states: “You have to start somewhere! But it’s really hard, there is no one you can talk to without everyone’s judgment or you’re talking with people as ignorant as you, or as inexperienced as you” (Vani, Saheli). Realising that sex is something natural, a biological feature of human nature and thus nothing to be ashamed of (Dr. Basu, Faith), the safe spaces gives way to further eliminate shame and expectations of femininity. The workshops and discussions facilitated by NGOs and other organisations provide opportunities to discuss worries, expectations and share thoughts by creating scenes for communication, learning and support.⁴⁶ This is the mandate of sex and sexuality education.

Through the presence of an authoritative figure, coordinator or facilitator who manages the situation a safe space beyond the physical is created. Ground rules are set to ensure non-judgemental sessions. Organisations describe this situation as a “comfort zone” and its advantages lie in the possibility of realisation highlighted by Freire as a key element in the empowerment process: “Just by having an open space for people to say whatever they want to say. That in itself is very empowering.” (Vinita, CREA).

The safe space stands in opposition to an unsafe or endangering space, which denominates places in which society norms and expectations regulate behaviour and thus restrict girls in their quest for

⁴⁵ Timing is important in order to accommodate differing personal schedules. Sessions can be held in mornings if potential participants have curfews, evenings for those who only can join after classes or work or as in the case of Tarshi’s helpline (Mon. – Wed. 10am – 4pm).

⁴⁶ “Once the space is created to talk about it /.../ then slowly people start opening up and then the real personal things start coming up” (Sunita, Breakthrough).

information (Bose 2002). Fear of being labelled a bad girl and thus jeopardise their reputation functions as a self-regulating inhibitor.⁴⁷

One informant mentioned the inhibitions and judgements one can meet outside the space where fellow students would comment on discussion on sex with “have you gone mad?” A participant in a workshop exclaimed “if my mother knew I was talking about vaginas she would freak”. Spaces are defined by the people attending and the outside environment. However, participants display pride in having knowledge others do not and even feel the need to share their knowledge with others as a sort of peer-education, which is said to be a useful way of reaching people beyond the educational settings. The new knowledge was seen as an asset to their studies (students of social work) and personal development.⁴⁸

“Everything is now so clear, A to Z of HIV we know everything now /.../ So that feels good.” (FGD, Breakthrough)

“Now we are very good with all the information and all, so when we are in a group, like outside, friends or anything so we know better than them, right? We know more. So we can share with them.” (FGD, Breakthrough)

“We can go out and tell people, and make them aware, like this, this will spread - Inshallah - in the whole country.” (FGD, Breakthrough)

It here becomes visible that safe spaces are not only considered an environment where one hides from society’s norms but is also used in order to confront the outer world with information and alternate possibilities of being feminine. Girls “express their views and take action” (Jolly 2002:17) and start claiming public spaces where they earlier might not have entered. It is however important to convey a non-judgemental principal in sharing their own knowledge similar to the ways that facilitators discuss, even when it comes to biological facts.

Existing physical institutions e.g. schools seem to have an advantage in implementing educational sessions in neighbourhood areas. Especially in the case of out of school youth and girls from low socio-economic strata, as their mobility was restricted to greater extent (travel expenses and household

⁴⁷ E.g. in a body-mapping exercise girls would draw hands and hair, but exclude anatomical features connected to sex (breast and vagina.)

⁴⁸ Students not actually participating in the workshops at the Uttam School for girls, a public school for girls in Ghaziabad near New Delhi were noted to approach the girls included about their gained knowledge and self-understanding. Now being gatekeepers to new information were looked up to and were able to share this knowledge and experience among all students. (Naina and Smita, Sakshi)

duties), implementation of SHPP is difficult when not set in existing frames. Problems also arise when organisations are restricted in their work as seen in section 5.2.1. At the same time, especially schools and colleges have authority to limit the information given as seen above and pose a threat to extensive deliberation needed. This emphasises the need for sex education on various levels including parents, teachers, schools and other authorities.

The battles for self-determination in sexual relationships of lower classes are in many cases happening in the enclosure of household. These efforts of self-expression are according to George however limited in their impact on significant transformation of the social code (2002:210-217). One reason could be the limited support that leaves women in charge of their battle. The support of professionals in the development process is thus a strengthening feature (Zimmerman 1995:570).

Conclusively, spaces are steps towards individual empowerment and can lead to community empowerment, remembering that private and public are not two distinct spheres but are interlinked and evolve by continuous communication (Menon 2007:11). Resources are being redistributed on many levels. Information seen as an allocative resource, and time and space being authoritative resources ultimately can influence local community and hopefully catalyse a cultural revolution.

5.3.2 Strategies

Educational sessions deploy a multitude of tools for catalysing a learning process for encouraging attitudinal and behavioural change. Some of the most common activities include brainstorming and discussions, theatre and role play, and various games and will be discussed in the following.

Brainstorming and discussion is generally a big part of all sessions.⁴⁹ Participation is an important part of learning, as without this a realisation process is not possible to the same degree.⁵⁰ It is important to call to mind the discussion in section 5.2.1. One organisation employs participation by creating anonymous questioning (pieces of paper and a hat). The questions are then sorted according to categories and the structure of the educational sessions designed accordingly. It is however also

⁴⁹ As an initiator to deliberation the words sex or human rights is written down in order to brainstorm. Followed by extensive deliberation the purpose is to create a forum where all have the possibility to listen and talk and thus “Let them share this with each other, and then kind of move on together further.” (Abha, Jagori)

⁵⁰ According to Vinita it is necessary “to break it down to the least common denominator of saying that morality has impacted your life as well. Maybe you've not fulfilled all your aspirations because of morality.” In an example where she experienced “teachers saying that what you're telling me is immoral” and condemning pornography Vinita, as a facilitator, would encourage reflection by questioning the condemnation through questions.

necessary to “especially listen to the one who is mostly silent” (Abha, Jagori) and pay attention to the dynamics of power within these workshops and educational sessions.

Organisations display a multitude of ways of how to challenge the existing norms of femininity. These include theatres and plays, which range from stories about the transmission of HIV/AIDS or sexual harassment, role-playing, well-known games (e.g. snakes and ladders) and conversations that substitute sex with food (discussing hunger, likes and dislikes, pleasure), sports and media. (For more details on games see appx. 8). As many activities are framed more like games without goals fun, laughs and admitting knowing and not-knowing come easy. Talks on sex, pleasure and fears thus become acceptable and comforting. One experience shared described:” it’s a fun exercise /.../ the women are dying and rolling in laughter” (Vinita, CREA).

When challenging attitudes and behaviour it is intrinsic to understand, discuss and reflect on the origin of ideas before attempting to correct existing knowledge (Ingham 2005:386). “Being preachy is not going to help”, Ishita says “Don’t act without understanding where these actions come from” (Ishita, YP foundation). In line with Freire’s theory of important traits of education, workshop settings gives a solid foundation of highlighting dialog as the main feature of educational sessions. The realisation that then can follow is voiced by the YP foundation:

“What we are trying to do is just question it, not say that it’s wrong, but question it – think for yourself “where is that coming from?” Don’t take something as an imposition and as a blank statement to be correct. Try and question yourself as an individual, try and question how you develop, where you’re coming from” (FGD, YP foundation).

This illustrates the strong base in discussion and reflection required for critical thinking (Holzner & Oetomo 2004:46). In addition, by placing responsibilities on the participant there is a greater chance of a feeling of ownership and thus a possibility for change to a higher degree (Freire 1996).

“We take you to challenge your own biases, or common conventions, or social norms. But we are not going to tell you how you can convert it to actionable steps. That is something you'll have to figure out yourself” (Vinita, CREA).

Small groupings make it less threatening to speak up than a larger class and thus allows “more focus and deeper discussions” (Ingham 2005:386). This co-aligns with Freire’s point of using alternatives to the banking method which then has the possibility of letting participants learn by themselves.

Workshops are further useful in eliminating the student-teacher dichotomy and creating a mutual learning experience. This is the case not only in regards to understanding the participants' realities, and recognising that differing knowledge is relevant but also when it comes to encouraging a comfort level about the subject. Especially Nirantar illustrates the strong base in education as being a beneficial venture for both parties. As Ritu puts it:

“Slowly we felt comfortable about talking about our own personal lives /.../ I couldn't come out as a queer person in the first workshop. I was quite hesitant about speaking about my personal life. But now it is so comfortable in my own personal life. So, it's not basically information that we are giving them, we are also getting, it's a one-to-one process” (Ritu, Nirantar).

Important here is a critical view inwards and reflecting on both motivation and use of activities.⁵¹

Ultimately, what is sought is challenging the ideas of what women should or should not do. For “women basically recognising that sexuality is not something that they should feel ashamed of. Their sexuality is their own” (Ritu, Nirantar). The dialog and deliberative nature of educational sessions thus catalyse changes in attitudes. However, most organisations acknowledge that this process is long “because its been ingrained in our tradition, our culture, our family values so breaking those is quite difficult ” (Sunita, Breakthrough).

Conclusively, the high degree of creativity and social responsibility show great potential of challenging existing notions of femininity by engaging the workshop participants in fun games (Kippax & Stephenson 2005:370). Nearly all organisations avoid the banking method deemed as less useful by Freire by highlighting participation, deliberation and dialog and breaking down the rigid categories of teacher and student.

A concern is often the external restrictions of institutional settings, however useful. Even though the single organisation's number of workshops is limited (some organisations only do sessions once a year

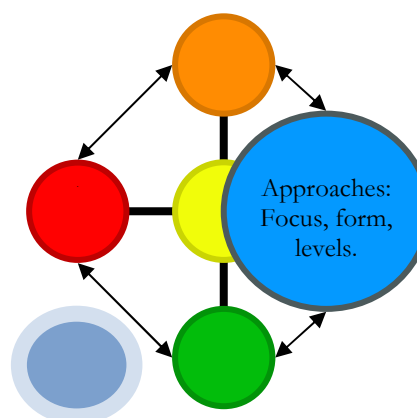
⁵¹ “A lot of times we don't challenge ourselves. I mean our own notions of sexuality are completely morphed into socialisation.” (Vinita, CREA) Therefore, NGO workers must consider their own perception and views to be challenged. Ideally, all games should be employed and tested within the organisation as the YP foundation often does: “Before we take it to the workshop we did it among ourselves. [It] helps you to put away your personal preferences when you're talking to others... Let's say there's awareness about something and because you would want to, at the end of the day, make people respect to each other's choices, if you in yourself cannot respect what the next person chooses, you cannot ask somebody else to.” (FGD, YP foundation)

and continuous projects running only house a small number of participants as low as 10) the combined efforts of all can not only reach many but also be very diverse in their approach and hence the levels they reach.

5.4 Approaches

As part of the structural level the form of education is explored. This chapter will discuss important approaches of sex education combined with what is seen as necessary additional efforts beyond educational settings in order to challenge the existing gender stereotypes and constructions of femininity.

Figure 5: Approaches and Scope



5.4.1 Rights

Human Rights were by most organisations mentioned at one point or the other. Some have it as a main component in their mission statement, other see it as an approach on how to promote sexual health. In this sense, NGO workers think about sex and sexuality as a human right. For some it was useful to sell workshops to colleges by using especially this framework and promoting the right to information in order to eliminate reluctance of college authorities. Different from this is the use of rights in regards to what to promote in workshops. The rights based approach is here emphasised by the right to respect, dignity, choice and diversity. In this way for example right to homosexuality or homosexual behaviour as a choice or right to pleasure becomes part of the agenda (Ishita, YP foundation). One needs to acknowledge the possibility of “accessing and protecting your own rights but also respecting other peoples’ rights” (Urvashi, Breakthrough).

In accordance with women’s empowerment rights are thought of as women’s rights. Therefore, NGO workers “almost always talk about sexuality in conjunction with women’s rights” (Vinita, CREA). What is emphasised is not only the right to say no, but also the right to say yes; the possibility of including

topics on pleasure and an affirmative sexuality before a focus on the dangers of sex.⁵² This approach is increasingly gaining grounds in addressing matters related to sex as it is seen as an alternate introduction to sexual attitudes and behaviour. It is seen as a way to address the issue and make it more approachable and hence be effective to a greater extent. As mentioned by one workshop facilitator:

“Sex is a beautiful feeling and sexuality is a beautiful feeling and you have to see the positive aspects of it. And unless and until you see the positive aspects of it you cannot negate the negative aspect of it... If you don't talk about pleasure and if you only say don't do this don't do that don't do this /.../ how do you make it more interesting, more happening, more acceptable to people.” (Sunita, Breakthrough)

By focussing on sex through the rights based approach including the rights to pleasure, the constructions of femininity is challenged. In tact with encouraging sexual self-determination sexual health beyond fear-based messages is increasingly a subject included in a majority of the SHPP.

5.4.2 Awareness, Advocacy & Collaboration

In order to challenge gender inequalities sex education must approach several levels, in order to be as far-reaching as possible. SHPP then include awareness and advocacy which is most often strengthened by extensive collaboration. The difficulties that facilitators and staff experience with external forces are strong barriers for successful implementation.

Common for them is however the strong belief in the importance of the subject why some say: “I feel even if they don't want it we need to actually continue to create spaces within school, within educational system, with teachers, with children to keep talking, and to keep addressing it.” (Abha, Jagori). “We will continue to do public events on sexuality issues” (Vinita, CREA). “We just have to push in push in push in push in, that’s the only thing we can do” (Urvashi, Breakthrough). This illustrates the willingness to advocate for the inclusion of sex education and influence the direction that sex education can take.

In some cases organisations feel the need to condemn decisions based on morality e.g. a raped girl was forcibly married to her perpetrator. Through the creation of visibility against cases that display elimination of choice and imposition of morality codes it should be possible to create a debate between differing views. However, rallying and demonstrating can force opposing sides into corners of beliefs

⁵² “It’s about sex and pleasure in and off itself, and a certain kind of pleasure which you do not get from any other things. So it’s about pleasure, it’s about pain, it’s about intimacy, it’s about having a sense of yourself” (Vani, Saheli).

eliminating the will of meeting and deliberating. One runs the risk of losing track of the mission and redirects energy towards a fight instead (Freire 1996:75-76).

In order to be as effective and efficient as possible, joining forces might be a useful approach.⁵³ In this way many of the NGOs and organisations are connected. Other collaborations include international alliances (e.g. RFSU-MAMTA supported by Sida) or partnerships with private companies (e.g. distributing material at coffee shops or book stores). Additionally, colleges, private schools and other institutions (e.g. ministry of education) invite the NGOs to hold educational sessions. Collaborations can however prove to be difficult, in that agendas differ and for example schools look for ways to promote abstinence or ask facilitators to focus on HIV/AIDS leaving out discussion of the actual sex act and thus compromising the NGOs mission and shifting focus from the women (Batliwala 2007).

None of the organisations shared experiences with talking to right-wing organisations i.e. people and organisations against sex and sexuality education. Vinita hereto says. “You can't engage with everyone and want to change everyone, and some people who are on a very principle level not in agreement with you /.../ It's a waste of our energies.” (Vinita, CREA). For the purpose of a deeper cultural and social revolution it would however be necessary to interact with organisations which have fundamental different beliefs in order to make the change as deep as possible.

5.4.3 Focus

In most of the organisations SHPP lays a heavy focus on girls' and women's empowerment.⁵⁴ They are the ones seen as the actors of change and creating empowerment. “Collective women are the strongest way of challenging a social norm around sexuality.” (Vinita, CREA) Participants of a sex and sexuality workshop reflected this opinion:

“She has to take the initiative. There is no other alternative to women herself taking an initiative /.../ That's what empowerment means. Feels empowered to take an initiative” (FGD, Breakthrough).

This does however not exclude men totally. Many of the organisations have acknowledged that the inclusion of men is important and examples of positive reactions and effects have been witnessed by

⁵³ Sharing materials and idea, facilitating workshops and training, and organising events.

⁵⁴ “If you're talking about the women's movement then the core mass of those in the movement has to be women... Then you really have a population that is most affected by the change that the movement seeks to happen, they have to be a critical mass and they have to be ready to shift.” (Vinita, Breakthrough)

facilitators. A group of boys were in a session confronted with the devastating effects of eve-teasing on girls' well-being (see box 1). This example illustrates a realisation process which is essential according to Freire and at the same time displays the importance of *gender sensitivity training*⁵⁵, which includes realising “that there is big distance between the woman and the man. That there is very little communication, real communication, real kind of listening” (Abha, Jagori).

One of the participants of a workshop that usually engaged both girls and boys (none of the boys had shown up for that particular session) voiced her opinion of boys as following which illustrates the disparities that exist even within educational settings:

Box 1:

“A lot of women were saying how violated they felt and how because they were eve teased they had to stop studying because their parents wouldn't let them out /.../. They were so fearful and afraid that they felt that it was very difficult to step out of the house /.../. And the boys were completely aghast that what was simple time-pass for them was actually having these kinds of repercussions for the women of their own community /.../. And very interestingly when they had follow up sessions a lot of boys came back and said they've stopped eve teasing /.../ and ‘if ever we find anybody doing it we go and catch them, and give a sound drumming’.” (Sunita, Breakthrough).

“Males need to change their thinking /.../. Nothing can be done without education /.../. Still boys are saying ‘that no women are not equal to men’. Still such they hold such thinking, that feels bad, like what is the difference? Women obviously, definitely are equal to men /.../. I wish they grow up fast.” (FGD, Breakthrough)

Focus on women's sexuality but not including men to understand women's sexuality complicates true sexual empowerment and hence ability to challenge the constructions of femininity. Enablement of women's self-control and determination might be undermined by men, if not recognising the new found control and power. Similarly, it is important to acknowledge constructions of masculinity; boys might not necessarily be violent but are conforming to a norm of the stereotype. Power relations can thus also exist among men and while in some cases a sexually empowered woman is safe with some male company other men might endanger both men and women's safety.

Consequently, even though women are seen as the critical mass necessary for sexual empowerment the focus here is on individual and inner empowerment. In order to exercise power and strive for outer and community empowerment the involvement of men at all stages is essential (Jolly 2002:20). By giving them the opportunity to learn from each other and understand the impact and consequence of their

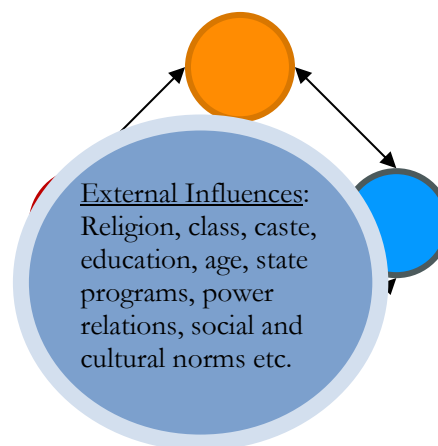
⁵⁵ “Since ours is a patriarchal society role of women is surely there, there is no doubt about it. But men play equally or maybe a little more important role. Because men are the driving force of our patriarchal system. So empowerment would mean empowering both, but also creating a sensitivity in men that this empowerment is important for women, and it is not without their support that this empowerment will be complete.” (Urvashi, Breakthrough)

actions the impact of sex education could be amplified. All in all, organisations are on the right track for promoting sexual empowerment, even though particular features and parts could be strengthened for greater impact.

5.5 Challenges for the Sexual Revolution

The sum of components of sex education is the accumulated base for potential to challenge gender inequalities. As mentioned, the revolution cannot be catalysed without realisation which is driven by participation, dialog and critical thinking. Issues that can hamper development towards a cultural transformation are issues within organisation but more prominently external influences. This section will focus on the behavioural change as experienced by NGO workers in order to discuss the greater impact.

Figure 6: External influences and barriers.



A dilemma highlighted by the empowerment theory and confirmed by studies on interventions is that knowledge transfer does not automatically bring behavioural change and can even display strong resistance (Hill 2003:126-130; Nanda 2003:45).

This understanding has also been recognised by several NGOs in that they distinguish between ways of thinking that you are tolerant but still displaying stereotypical thoughts: “It’s all equality [but] the context you’re in doesn’t let /.../ you know, manifest equally” (FGD YP foundation). The ways that one thinks about inequality and equality is much influenced by a specific setting, environment, group of people, time or period in our life in which we interact but what cannot be disputed is “how gendered our mindset is” (Vani, Saheli) and thus how difficult it is to change.

Box 2:

“[A] newly married woman, her husband expected her to wash his underwear. She was like- “I don't like dirty undies. Why can't he wash his own underclothes /.../ and then she tried talking to him. And said you know, I don't especially find this an enjoyable experience but why don't you wash your own? I don't really mind washing the other things but at least underclothes /.../” and he said: “no it's a wife's duty”. So she said ok. And then she stopped washing his underwear. So for a week he had enough underwear to wear and it kept piling on in the bathroom. And she just refused to touch it. And then finally when he ran out of underwear he bought some more. And then it kept piling up and it kept piling up, and finally he realised that she is not going to do it so he'd better do it himself. So she tried talking to him, and he refused so then she tried the other technique and it worked.” (Sunita, Breakthrough)

Even though there are numerous examples where change has been experienced there is generally no deeper rational or strategy for behavioural change, often just because behaviour change does not happen directly and cannot be controlled. Examples do however still exist that behavioural changes are happening. Two stories caught my attention (see boxes 2 and 3).

Even though sexual empowerment of both inner and outer character is exemplified, change of the controlling structures is limited. Patriarchal patterns continue to exist in the former example as the wife is still doing the biggest load of the households work

in the latter where one man's realisation is only a small step towards greater change in attitudes, behaviour and at some point possibly challenging social institutions of femininity. One must however acknowledge that empowerment is relative and lived differently by each individual in society and similarly sexuality expressed is dependant on each person's situation in space and time as reflected in the definition adopted by the WHO.

It is vital that the organisation realise their responsibility in the sought change. The creation of new truths might stand in conflict to existing realities (Hill 2003:127) and “efforts to exert control in some contexts may actually create rather than solve problems” (Zimmerman 1995:571). It is necessary for organisation to be prepared for these kinds of conflicts that might arise and incorporate strategies to accompany possible dilemmas.

Box 3:

“We had a student about a couple of years back /.../ who would just not agree that there was gender discrimination at his place, and he would just not agree on that. And we had a lot of debate, a lot of fighting in our class. And in our group all these are like old things, and now it doesn't happen. We are modern people and we don't discriminate between men and women, there is no gender discrimination. At least not in my family. He would just not agree. After the whole process had been done, after a period of say 8 months he went back home for a holiday. After he came back from his holiday he shared to us that this is the first time he noticed that there were so many levels of gender discrimination that were still happening. That the girls were the ones who were called to pick up the tray, the girls were the ones who ate last. Even though he had not noticed it earlier. You know, the girls are the ones who were asked to clean up the bed. Small things, yet not noticed and this time when he went home he saw it.” (Sunita, Breakthrough)

At the same time, revolutions do not spring from a distinct starting point or end at a certain time. They are under constant development in that everything comes from somewhere and everything continues to evolve. Societies consist of multiple sub-societies and thus cultures all with differing opinions, attitudes and behavioural pattern (Jolly 2002:3).

Sex, sexuality and gender can be linked to biological issues, social inclinations, insecurities and violence, emotional and spiritual features, law and activism, international agendas of aid, and insecurities and atrocities (Sriastava 2007:26). Due to the applicability to all aspects of life, planning interventions is highly complex.

6. Main Findings & Concluding remarks

In this research I explored the SHPP designed and implemented by organisation in Delhi. The above data presentation clearly shows how sex education has great potential to challenge gender inequalities. Organisations show a strong foundational base that is beneficial for catalysing change by including sexuality. Basing SHPP rational in belief paradigms of social constructions is an ideal starting point for catalysing change. The choices of content are based in participatory approaches. Through this validity of information is ensured. Non-partial dialog and extensive deliberation encourages critical thinking and realisation. Strategies are highly creative and diverse giving opportunities to choose in accordance with audience present; thus contextualising both content and method. The settings of workshops often chosen give the best prospective by eliminating student-teacher dichotomy. Using a rights-based approach has proven to be useful in regards to engage with external barriers, while collaboration and awareness creation illustrates efforts of addressing several levels of action. As many organisations see to have adopted positive approaches towards sex and sexuality the prospects of impact are increased.

Difficulties in bringing a cultural revolution are especially identified in the existing power relations. Patriarchal control transcends all social as well as formal institution (schools, ministries, courts, police) and external influence and opposition is strong. My study revealed that many of the problems lie in the limited institutional support to implement SHPP widely. The complex nature of behavioural change complicates any possible quantitative outcomes. Therefore, a cultural revolution in regards to constructions of femininity and gender inequalities will be highly difficult to catalyse. SHPP's possibilities are greatly hampered by external factors. NGOs have evidently limited possibilities and capacity to address all sections of society even though SHPP in themselves show great potential.

7. Recommendations & Points for the Future

In order to reach further I again highlight the possibility of introducing and theoretically fasten gender as a fundamental aspect of sex education. Impact and public health outcomes will thus be addressed through a more fundamental approach i.e. challenging the notions of femininity that are at the base of inequalities and thus women's health dilemmas. As an entry point for sex education, gender could prove to be useful. Sex still evokes strong opposition and fear of "western" decay of morality while gender discussions might enable inclusion into public debates in that it is less threatening.

NGO workers need to be more aware of the conflict that can arise and create strategies to address dilemmas caused by power relations and similar external opposition. It is necessary for organisations to be prepared for conflicts that might arise.

Gender must be at the base of sex education. This does however signify gender sensitivity more than women's empowerment in that the inclusion of men to a higher degree is emphasised. In addition, acknowledgement that girls and women also have sense of themselves as sexual beings despite the taboo need to be highlighted in order to eliminate victimisation that might persist.

Similarly, in order to address gender inequalities and a societal transformation to greater extent multiple levels need to be targeted. Advocacy and awareness projects that are already running need to be strengthened and directed at governmental levels, local community leaders, neighbourhoods, private schools, teachers, religious fundamentalists etc. In order to minimise the burden on each organisation I propose stronger collaboration in the form of coordinating efforts. Efforts and different aspects of work need to be divided among the organisations in order to be more effective and eventually spurn sexual revolutions in New Delhi.

Word count: 14,983

8. Literature List

Articles and books

N. A. (2006): *Sexuality and Social Change: Making the Connection. Strategies for Action and Investment*. Ford Foundation, New York.

Abraham, L. & Kumar, K.A. (1999): Sexual Experience and Their Correlates Among College Students in Mumbai City, India. In *International Family Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 139-146+152.

Agnes, F. (2003[2000]): Women, Marriage, and the Subordination of Rights. In Chatterjee, P. & Jeganathan, P. (eds.) *Subaltern Studies XI. Community, Gender and Violence*. Permanent Black, New Delhi.

Armas, H. (2007): Whose Sexuality Counts? Poverty, Participation and Sexual Rights. *Institute for Development Studies*, University of Sussex Brighton.

Baber, K. M. & Murray, C. I. (2001): A Postmodernist Feminist Approach to teaching Human Sexuality. In *Family Relations*, Vol. 50, No. 1, pp. 23-33.

Banerji, R. (2008): *Sex and Power. Defining History, Shaping Societies*. Penguin Books, New Delhi.

Beteille, A. (1999): Empowerment. In *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.34, No.10/11, pp. 589-597.

Bhaiya, A. & Wieringa, S. (eds.) (2006): *A Reader on Sexuality & Sexual Rights*. Jagori/Kartini, New Delhi.

Bhaskaran, S. (2004): *Made in India. Decolonizations, Queer sexualities, Trans/National Projects*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Bhattacharya, M. (2006): Morality through the Ages: Old Strategies, New Threats. In Bhaiya, A. & Wieringa, S. (eds.) *A Reader on Sexuality & Sexual Rights*. Jagori/Kartini, New Delhi.

Bose, Brinda (ed.) (2002): *Translating Desire. The politics of Gender and Culture in India*. Katha, New Delhi.

- Bott, S. & Jejeebhoy, S. (2003): Adolescent sexual and reproductive health in South Asia: an overview of findings from the 2000 Mumbai conference. In Bott, S., Jejeebhoy, S., Shah, I. & Puri, C. (eds.) *Towards Adulthood: Exploring the Sexual and Reproductive Health of Adolescents in South Asia*. World Health Organization, Department of Reproductive Health and Research, Geneva.
- Burr, V. (2003 [1995]): *Social Constructionism. Second edition*. Routledge, USA/Canada.
- Caplan, P. (ed.) (1993 [1987]): *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*. Routledge, London & New York.
- Chandiramani, R. (2008): *Good Times for Everyone. Sexuality Questions, Feminist Answer*. Women Unlimited, New Delhi.
- Chulani, V. (2005): *For the thinking Woman. Addressing 6 Common Feminine Concerns*. Alchemy, New Delhi.
- Cornwall, A. (2006): Development's Marginalisation of Sexuality: Report of an IDS workshop. In *Gender & Development*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 273-289.
- Cornwall, A. & Jolly, S. (2006): Introduction: Sexuality Matters. In *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 37, No. 5. Institute of Development Studies.
- Cresswell, J.W. (1998): *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Sage Publication, USA.
- Desai, N. (2008): From Accommodation to Articulation: Women's Movement in India. In John, M. E. (ed.) *Women's Studies in India. A reader*. Penguin Books, New Delhi.
- Devika, A. (2005): The Malayali Sexual Revolution: Sex, "Liberation" and Family Planning in Kerala. In *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, Vol. 39, No.3, pp. 343-373.
- Foucault, M. (2008[1976]): *The History of Sexuality. Volume I*. Penguin Books, Australia.
- Freire, P. (1996 [1970]): *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Penguin Books, London.

George, A. (2002): Embodying Identity through Heterosexual Sexualities- Newly Married Adolescent in India. In *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, Vol.4, No.2, pp. 207-222.

Government of India (2008): F. No. 4 /7/2008-Sch-6. Ministry of Human Resource Development, (Department of School Education and Literacy). Memo regarding: *Review of the Adolescence Education Programme Materials – reg.*

Grant, B. (2005): Translating/ “The” Kama Sutra. In *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No.3, pp. 509-516.

Hill, M.T. (2003): Development as Empowerment. In *Feminist Economics* 9 (2-3), pp. 117-135.

Holzner, B. M. & Oetomo, D. (2004): Youth Sexuality and Sex Education Messages in Indonesia: Issues of Desire and Control. In *Reproductive Health Matters*, Vol.12, No.23, pp. 40-49.

Hylland-Eriksen, T. (2001[1995]): *Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Pluto Press.

Ingham, R. (2005): “We didn’t cover that at School”: Education against Pleasure or Education for Pleasure. In *Sex Education*, Vol.5, No.4, pp. 375-388.

Jejeebhoy, S. J. & Sathar, Z. A. (2001): Women’s Autonomy in India and Pakistan: The Influence of Religion and Region. In *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 687-712.

Jindal, B. R., Gupta, A. K. & Aggarwal, B. K. (2005): Gender Equality – Myth and Reality. In *Women’s Empowerment*, Vol. VIII, No. 25, Special Issue. Brought out on the occasion of National Conference on Women’s Empowerment held in New Delhi. Mainstreaming Gender in Decision Making. Bhartiya Shishu Evam Mahila Vividh Vikas Samiti, New Delhi.

John, M. E. & Nair, J. (2006): Sexuality in Modern India: Critical Concerns. In Bhaiya, A. & Wieringa, S. (eds.) *A Reader on Sexuality & Sexual Rights*. Jagori/Kartini, New Delhi.

Jolly, S. (2002): *Gender and Cultural Change. Overview Report*. Institute of Development Studies.

Jolly, S. (2006a): Sexuality and Development. In *IDS Policy Briefing*, the latest development issues for policymakers from the Institute of Development Studies, issue 29. University of Sussex Brighton.

Jolly, S. (2006b): Not So Strange Bedfellows: Sexuality and international development. In *Development*, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp.77-80. Society for International Development.

Kakar, S. (1990 [1989]): *Intimate Relations. Exploring Indian Sexuality*. Penguin Book, New Delhi.

Kapur, A. (1998): I am witness to...: A profile of Sakshi Violence Intervention Centre in New Delhi, India. In *Gender and Development*, Vol.6, No.3.

Kapur, N. (2001): Equality and the Truth of Brahma. In *Violence Against Women*, Vol. 7, No. 9, pp. 1069-1096.

Khan S. (1995a): *Making Visible the Invisible. Sexuality and Sexual Health in South Asia: A focus on Male to Male Sexual Behaviours*. Naz Foundation International, Palingswick House.

Khan, S. (1995b) *Cultural constructions of male sexualities in India*. Available at: http://web.archive.org/web/19990209020930/http://illuminate.co.uk/ica/Bulletin/acting_on_aids/shivananda.html retrieved 2008.01.08.

Khanna, R. (2008): *Assessing the Conditions and Quality of Counselling Related to Sexuality and Sexual Health*. A Review of the Tarshi Helpline. TARSHI and KIT, New Delhi. Available at <http://mohfw.nic.in/dofw%20website/family%20welfare%20programme/intro.htm>, retrieved 2008.09.13.

Kippax, S. & Stephenson, N. (2005): Meaningful evaluation of sex and relationship education. In *Sex Education*, Vol.5, No.4, pp. 359-373.

Kvale, S. (1996): *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Sage Publications, USA.

Mack, N., Woodson, C., Macqueen, K.M., Guest, G. & Namey, E. (2005): *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide*. Family Health International.

Maitra, S. & Schensul, S. (2002): Reflecting diversity and complexity in marital sexual relationships in a low-income community in Mumbai. In *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, Vol. 4. No. 2, pp. 113-151.

Malhotra, A. & Mather, M. (1997): Do Schooling and Work Empower Women in Developing Countries? Gender and Domestic Decisions in Sri Lanka. In *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 12, No.4, pp. 599-630.

Mane, P. and McCauley, A. P. (2003): Impact of Sexually Transmitted Infections including AIDS on Adolescents: A Global Perspective. In Bott, S., Jejeebhoy, S. & Shah, I. (eds.) *Towards Adulthood: Exploring the Sexual and Reproductive Health of Adolescents in South Asia*. World Health Organization, Department of Reproductive Health and Research, Geneva.

May, Tim (ed.) (2002): *Qualitative Research In Action*. Sage, London.

Menon, N. (2007 [2004]): *Recovering Subversion. Feminist Politics Beyond the Law*. Permanent Black, New Delhi.

Mikkelsen, B. (2005[1995]): *Methods for Development Work and Research. A New Guide for Practitioners, second edition*. Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Misra, G. & Chandiramani, R. (eds.) (2005): *Sexuality, Gender and Rights. Exploring Theory and Practice in South and Southeast Asia*. Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Mital, M. (2005): Literacy Level of Women and Decision Making – A study in Delhi Slums. In *Women's Empowerment*, Vol. VIII, No. 25, Special Issue. Brought out on the occasion of National Conference on Women's Empowerment held in New Delhi. Mainstreaming Gender in Decision Making. Bhartiya Shishu Evam Mahila Vividh Vikas Samiti, New Delhi.

Moursund, A. & Kravdal, Ø. (2003): Individual and Community Effects of Women's Education and Autonomy on Contraceptive use in India. In *Population Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 285-302.

- Nagi, B. S. (2001): *Introduction of Adolescence Education in School Curriculum*. Kanishka Publishers, New Delhi.
- Nanda, A. R. (2003): Addressing the Reproductive Health Needs of Adolescents in India: Directions for Programmes. In Bott, S., Jejeebhoy, S. & Shah, I. (eds.) *Towards Adulthood: Exploring the Sexual and Reproductive Health of Adolescents in South Asia*. World Health Organization, Department of Reproductive Health and Research, Geneva.
- Otor, S. C. J. & Pandey, A. (2006): A Life-Length Model of Female Adolescent Sexual Behaviour: Implications for Policy Options. In *Demography India*, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 233-246.
- Pachauri, S. & Santhya, K. G. (2002): Socio-demographic and Reproductive Health Profile of Adolescents in India: A Review. In *Demography India*, Vol.31, No.2, pp. 163-178.
- Patel, I. (1998): The Contemporary Women's Movement and Women's Education in India. In *International Review of Education/Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaften/Revue Internatinal de l'Education*, Vol. 44, No. 2/3 Social Movements and Education, pp.155-175.
- Phadke, S. (2005): Some Notes towards Understanding the Construction of Middle-class Urban Woman's Sexuality in India, In Misra G & Chandiramani R (eds.) *Sexuality, Gender and Rights. Exploring Theory and Practice in South and Southeast Asia*. New Delhi/London, pp. 67-81.
- Puri, J (1999): *Woman, Body, Desire in Post-colonial India. Narratives of Gender and Sexuality*. Routledge, New York.
- Reddy, G. (2006): *With Respect to Sex. Negotiating Hijra Identity in South India*. Yoda Press, New Delhi.
- Runeborg, A. (2004): *Sexuality – a Super Force. Young People, Sexuality and Rights in the Era of HIV/AIDS*. Sida, Department for Democracy and Social Development, Stockholm.
- Sachs, W. (2003): *The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. Orient Longman Limited, New Delhi.

Sadan, E. (1997): *Empowerment and Community Planning: Theory and Practice of People-Focused Social Solutions*. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishers [in Hebrew].

Santhya, K. G. & Jejeebhoy, S. (2007): Young People's Sexual and Reproductive Health in India: Policies, Programs and Realities. *Regional working papers South & East Asia*, No.19. Population Council, New Delhi.

Selvan, M.S., Ross, M.W., Kapadia, A.S., Mathai, R. & Hira, S. (2001): Study of Perceived Norms, Beliefs and Intended Sexual Behaviour among Higher Secondary School Students in India. In *AIDS CARE*, Vol. 13, No. 6, pp. 779-788.

Sharma, J. & Nath, D. (2005): Through the Prism of Intersectionality: Same Sex Sexualities in India. In Misra G & Chandiramani R (eds), *Sexuality, Gender and Rights. Exploring Theory and Practice in South and Southeast Asia*. New Delhi/London, pp. 82-97.

Srivastava, S. (2007): *Passionate Modernity. Sexuality, Class and Consumption in India*. Routledge, New Delhi.

Tikoo, M. (1997): Sexual Attitudes and Behaviour of School Students (Grades 6-12) in India. In *the Journal of Sex Research*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 77-84.

Uberoi, P. (2004): The family in India. In Das V. (ed), *Handbook of Indian Sociology*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 275-307.

Uberoi, P. (1996): *Social Reform, Sexuality and the State*. Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, New Delhi.

Varma, P. K. (1999 [1998]): *The Great Indian Middle Class*. Penguin Books, New Delhi.

Sex education manuals and other NGO and organisation publications:

Badshah, B. (ed.) (2006): *Senses and Soul. A Workshop on Sexuality*. Sakshi, New Delhi, India.

Bhaiya, A. & Wieringa, S. (2007): *Manual on Sexual Rights & Sexual empowerment*. Jagori, Apik & Kartini, New Delhi.

Ahmed, A. & Menon, S. (2006): *Rights and Desire. A Facilitators Manual to Healthy Sexuality*. Breakthrough, New Delhi.

MAMTA (2006[2002]): *Training Manual for Facilitators on Sexuality, Gender & Young People. 2nd edition*. MAMTA, Health Institute for Mother and Child, New Delhi.

Saheli (2006): *25 Years of Saheli. Celebration and Struggle: Strengthening Autonomous Politics*. Saheli, New Delhi.

Nirantar (2008): *Sexuality Education for Young People. Nirantar Education Series 1*. Nirantar Trust, New Delhi.

News paper articles:

Bhardwaj, A. (2007): *Rediscovering The Self*. Ms. Naina Kapur, Director Sakshi as she speaks about Sakshi, her new publication Senses & Soul Workshop & her life. Interview on DevelopedNation.org, available at www.developednation.org/interviews/nainakapur.htm. printed the 2008.10.07.

Tanvi Sirari (2007): Freedom Guide Sakshi's manual educates students on sexuality. Available at <http://cities.expressindia.com/fullstory.php?newsid=241471>, retrieved 2008.10.03.

NDTVa (2009) *Mangalore pub, girls to blame: NCW*. January 30th. Available at <http://www.ndtv.com/convergence/ndtv/story.aspx?id=NEWEN20090081971&ch=1/30/2009%2010:09:00%20PM>, retrieved on 2009.02.19.

NDTVb (2009) *What is Sri Ram Sena?* January 26th. Available at <http://www.ndtv.com/convergence/ndtv/story.aspx?id=NEWEN20090081485>, retrieved on 2009.02.19.

Web pages

Sakshi (2007) Press release of Senses and Soul – A Handbook by Sakshi. Available at www.groups.yahoo.com/development-gender/message/2024, retrieved 2008.10.07.

World Association for Sexual Health (2007) *Declaration of Sexual Rights*. Available at http://www.worldsexology.org/about_sexualrights.asp, retrieved 2008.09.18.

World Health Organisation (WHO) (n.d.) *Sexual Health*. Available at <http://www.who.int/reproductive-health/gender/sexualhealth.html>, retrieved on 2009.03.10.

Photobucket (n.d.) Sexy bollywood movie scenes.
<http://media.photobucket.com/image/sexy%20scene%20bollywood/garamasalafm/poster0294.jpg>,
retrieved 2009.05.21.

Meow FM (n. d.) Meow between the sheets.
http://delhi.meowfm.com/index.php?option=com_jcalpro&Itemid=99999999&extmode=view&extid=107&recurdate=1242757800, retrieved on 2009.05.15.

9. Appendices

Appendix 1: History of sex education in India

Sex education in India has been on the agenda since the 1950s and was initially part of the family planning initiatives. The then termed population education changed to be AIDS education in the 1980s (Puri 1999:28-30) and was later termed the adolescent education programme (AEP) which was initiated in 2006. This manual for teachers was designed by the ministry of Human Resources and Development in collaboration with the National AIDS Control Organisation (NACO) to be introduced in secondary and senior secondary state schools and in private schools through the board of secondary education (CBSE) coordination of national council of educational research and training. The focuses lie on life skills more than sex education. Topics included range from alcohol and drug abuse, to peer-pressure.

The publication of this manual in 2007 spurned a great deal of controversy and catalysed resistance among right wing politicians and civil society alike. A movement known as Shiksha Bachao Abhiyan whose members believe in forbidding sexuality education within schools and started the Save Education Campaign to oppose the AEP . Other groups that represent more restrictive views (forum against obscenity) do however acknowledge the need for some sex education. Highlighted as problematic in the AEP were graphic pictures as being harmful i.e. endangering and corrupting young peoples' minds and encouraging indulgence in sexual promiscuity.

Appendix 2: List of organisations

Breakthrough

- Focus: Human rights and domestic violence.
- Relevant component: Publication of workshop facilitator's manual on sexual well-being and workshop sessions.

Breakthrough is an innovative, high impact, international human rights organisation using media (TV, radio, advertising campaigns), education and popular culture (e.g. film scenes) to promote values of dignity, equality and justice. They address issues of gender-based violence including domestic violence, women's rights, Dalit rights and sexual and reproductive rights (other issues include immigration rights in the US). Their main focus is on creating a culture that promotes human rights and thus uses the rights based approach in all campaigns, educational workshops and community mobilisation work undertaken. Founded in 1999 by Mallika Dutt, Breakthrough works through affiliated offices in tow of the largest democracies; India and the United States.

Besides media and mid media campaigns Breakthrough does intense community mobilization work with people in four states in India Breakthrough has created extensive educational and advocacy material for students, facilitators, NGOs to use. One of these publications is Rights & Desire, Facilitator's Manual to healthy sexuality. This material includes a working manual to be used for workshops and other educational setting combined with audio-visual material. The short sequences are from several sources; TV-adverts, social marketing campaigning, mainstream and documentary movies and music videos. It is divided into four categories: 1) Understanding body, 2) Pleasure and safe sex, 3) Gender, power and sexuality and 4) cultural context of sexual identity. Each of these headings incorporate relevant issues to be discussed after screening the audio-visual sequences. 1) Gives attention to basic understanding of sexual organs and the transmission of STIs and HIV/AIDS. 2) Focuses on the right to pleasure, use of condoms, HIV/AIDS in connection with rights and women's vulnerability. 3) Discusses the concept of gender and connects gender to power relations, language and violence, including the dynamics of violence. And lastly, 4) includes issues around media and its stereotypes, sexual diversity and respecting rights.

Contact:

#104, Blue Apartments,
Safdarjung Ring Road,
New Delhi 110029, India
Tel: 91-11-2617-6181
Fax: 91-11-2617-6185

USA office:
4 West 37th Street, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10018 USA
Tel: 1-212-868-6500
Fax: 1-212-868-6501

Website: <http://www.breakthrough.tv/>

CREA (Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action)

- Focus: Women's rights, concerned with sexuality, reproductive rights and violence against women.

CREA is a women's human rights organization. Active in India since the year 2000 (followed by a partner office in USA in 2001), their main objectives are to empower women to articulate, demand and access their human rights by enhancing women's leadership. The focus lies on sexuality, sexual and reproductive rights, and violence against women, human rights and social justice. CREA both does extensive work in publishing material and conducting workshops in schools and colleges. In regards to their workshops CREA seeks to direct educational sessions on teachers in order to make them able to continue the workshops. Additionally, CREA has been active in working with women's rights organisation and other women's groups for the purpose of encouraging inclusion of sexuality. At the same time, much of CREA's efforts are directed at creating awareness around issues regarding sexuality by organising events; all part of the advocacy apparent in much of the organisations work.

Contact:

7 Mathura Road, 2nd Floor
Jangpura B, New Delhi 110014, India
Tel: 91 11 2437 7707,
24378700, 24378701
Fax: 91 11 2437 7708
Email: crea@creaworld.org

New York office:
116 East 16th Street, 7th Floor,
New York NY 10003
Tel: 1 212 599 1071
Fax: 1 212 599 1075
Email: mailcrea@verizon.net

Website: <http://web.creaworld.org/>

Faith

- Focus: Women's health collaborating with a range of international organisations.

FAITH Healthcare Private Limited (FAITH) is a single-window delivery organization, which renders any and all services connected to human development, particularly in healthcare. FAITH was registered in January 2000, and is headquartered in New Delhi, India. The organisation comprises experts from various fields including anthropology, education, psychology, sociology, medicine and management along with inter-allied specialisations.

Contact:

57, Nehru Place, 5th Floor
New Delhi 110 019
Phone : (+91 11) 2629 2599,
4139 2300 ext. 2385
Fax: (+91 11) 2646 0409
Email: faith@cesinter.com

Bangalore office:
8 KSC Multi-storied Building
111, 2nd Floor, Cunningham Cross Road
Bangalore 560 052, Karnataka
Phone: (+91 80) 2228 0544, 2220 8227
Fax: (+91 80) 2220 0310

Kolkata office:
CES Centre
DM 3-4, Sector V, Salt Lake City
Kolkata 700 091, West Bengal
Phone: (+91 33) 4009 8700, 4009 8780
Fax: (+91 33) 4006 2171

Website: <http://www.faithealthcare.org/>

Jagori

- Focus: Women's empowerment through education
- Relevant component: Manual on sexual rights and sexual empowerment

JAGORI (meaning "awaken, woman") is a women's training, documentation, communication and resource centre that was established in 1984. The objectives include consciousness raising and awareness building, empowerment, women's education through production and distribution of creative material including publications and communication packages. A great effort is put into the establishment of a documentation and resource centre. Activities include training for women's empowerment (seminars, discussions, workshops), and research, advocacy and campaigning.

Contact:

B-114, Shivalik
Malviya Nagar
New Delhi 110 017-12, India

Phone: +91 11 2669 1219, +91 11 2669 1220

Fax: +91 11 2669 1221

Email: jagori@jagori.org

Website: <http://jagori.org/>

MAMTA Health Institute for Mother and Child

- Focus: Health of mother and child.
- Relevant component: YRSHR (Youth for reproductive and sexual health and rights).

MAMTA Health Institute for Mother and Child is a national level NGO committed to integrated health and development issues in the context of poverty, gender and rights with 'life cycle approach'. The organisation initiated its work in an urban slum, Tigri (Delhi) in 1990 by providing clinical services to women and children with an aim to enhance their health status and improve pregnancy outcomes. Subsequently, focus was turned to health of adolescents/ young people along with women and children. Gender mainstreaming was taken up within the organisation at the level of individuals, programmes and organizational policies with support from UNIFEM.

Since then, in a span of fourteen years, the organization has evolved to expand its operations into newer areas including adolescent health, education, entrepreneurship development and empowerment of the young people with a thrust on community participation for better health outcomes. In the process, MAMTA has not only enhanced its knowledge base in terms of working with adolescents/ young people belonging to diverse socio-cultural background but also positioned itself to undertake the multi-pronged functional strategies to address their health and development issues at different levels in the country and globally.

Contact:

B-5, Greater Kailash Enclave-II

New Delhi 110048, India

Phone: 91 11 29220210 / 29220220 / 29220230

Fax: 91 11 29220575

Email: mamta@ndf.vsnl.net.in

mamtahealth@vsnl.net

mamta@yrshr.org

Website: <http://www.mamta-himc.org/>

Naz Foundation (India) Trust

- Focus: Men having sex with men and HIV/AIDS prevention.
- Relevant components: sexual education within the Goal project and a peer education program focussing on HIV/AIDS and sex education

The Naz Foundation (India) Trust (NI) is a New Delhi based NGO working on HIV/AIDS and Sexual Health since 1994. Through the years, Naz India has evolved and implemented a holistic approach to combat HIV, focusing on prevention as well as treatment. The focus is on reaching out to marginalized populations infected and affected by HIV. The aim to sensitize the community to the prevalence of HIV, as well as highlight issues related to Sexuality and Sexual Health. Naz foundation employs its recourses through several projects and programs including HIV/AIDS awareness, peer education, advocacy against section 377 of the Indian penal code (criminalises homosexuality), the Goal project.

Goal aims to empower young women to become leaders and social activists in their communities. The programme is a private-public partnership which uses sports - in this case netball - as a vehicle for social inclusion. The programme focuses on 60 young women in 3 disadvantaged communities in Delhi: Govindpuri, Aali Gaon and Sanjay Camp in South Delhi. The programme is implemented through an 11 module training course administered by Naz. It covers topics such as communication, wellness and entrepreneurship. The course also includes action based learning through community events and promotion of health and well-being through netball training on a twice-weekly basis.

The Peer Education Program in its first year trained 20 pilot peer educators across Delhi University colleges. The currently running second year trains 40 peer educators on: Sexuality, Gender Based Violence, HIV/AIDS and Sexual Health. After training, they organize and conduct workshops on these issues with their peers. When conducting these workshops, peer educators are encouraged to be creative, many use elements of music, dance and role-playing. The overall objective of the program is to impact the knowledge, attitudes, values and skills of the students conducting the trainings and of those being trained. The first target was to reach to about 400 students. We did that successfully and hope to reach even more in this second year of the program. These 40 peer educators will in turn educate at least 800 of their fellow college students.

Contact:

A – 86 East of Kailash
New Delhi, 110 065
Phone: +91 11 2691 0499
Email: naz@airtelmail.in,
naz@nazindia.org

Website: <http://www.nazindia.org/>

Nirantar, centre for gender & education

- Focus: Youth reproductive and sexual health.
- Relevant component: Sexuality education initiative.

Nirantar works towards empowering women through education – by enabling access to information, promoting literacy and engendering education processes. Activities range from direct field interventions, creating educational resources, research and advocacy, and training. Actively involved with the women’s movement and other democratic rights movements, Nirantar brings concerns central to these movements into its educational work. Nirantar was set up in 1993, has offices in New Delhi, and in three districts of Uttar Pradesh.

Contact:

B-64 Second Floor
Sarvodya Enclave
New Delhi 110017, India
Phone: (91-11) 2-696-6334
Fax: (91-11) 2-651-7726
Email: nirantar@vsnl.com

Website: <http://www.nirantar.net/>

Saheli Women's Resource Centre

- Focus: gender and education for empowerment and women’s rights.

This non-funded women's collective has since 1981 engaged in advocacy and lobbying. Major campaigns of the autonomous women's movement included the campaign against violence; resisting coercive population control and hazardous contraceptives; combating communalism. All members are

working on voluntary basis and therefore usually meeting ones or twice a week. Engagement in widespread issues around sexual health included published a booklet in sexual health as early as 1993 and problematisation of sexual harassment

Contact:

Above Shop Nos. 105-108
Under Defence Colony Flyover Market (South Side)
New Delhi 110 024, India
Phone: +91 (011) 2461 6485
E-mail: saheliwomen@hotmail.com

Sakshi

- Focus: Violence against women.
- Relevant component: Publication of a workshop manual on women sexual well-being.

Sakshi was formed in 1993 as an NGO initially concerned with sexual violence against women. Activities ranged from creating awareness, promoting justice and advocating changes in jurisdiction. The director of Sakshi during the Senses and Soul workshop's implementation says "while working against sexual violence we felt we were only working to stop something negative but not inspiring something positive." In a time where most sexual education programs focus on HIV/AIDS and other STDs Sakshi decided to move the organization towards a new direction with a new approach. Creative education was from 2001 going to be the main method of addressing sexual health.

Contact:

34 Akashneem Marg,
DLF Phase II, First Floor,
Gurgaon, Haryana- 122002

Tarshi (Talking about reproductive and sexual health)

- Focus: Reproductive and sexual health, including sexual well-being.

Tarshi (Talking About Reproductive and Sexual Health Issues) is a Delhi based NGO concerned with mainly distribution of correct information on sex and sexuality. The issue highlighted is information as the foundation in order to be able to make informed choices about sex and reproduction. Through a helpline established in 1996 Tarshi shares knowledge and counselling to people calling about any question regarding sex, sexuality and reproductive health. All calls are treated anonymously as are the

counsellors themselves. Despite that Tarshi initially targeted women most callers turned out to be men and decided not to omit them from their programming. Besides the extensive work in this, Tarshi publishes a wide range of books, booklets, pamphlets and other information, including a journal called Plainspeak. The material covers topics of actual educational booklets to use for sex and sexuality education, a charter giving guidelines and a common ground for NGOs and other sex and sexuality education books based on their experience through the helpline and discussions on an online based forum that ran for two years. All these reflect the strength of the resource centre at Tarshi's. In addition, the organisation is occasionally called for training and education in schools and other institutions where they then can share their knowledge and expertise. TARSHI believes that all people have the right to sexual well-being and to a self-affirming and enjoyable sexuality.

Contact:

11 Mathura Road,
First Floor, Jangpura B,
New Delhi, 110014, India
Phones : 91-11-24379070, 24379071
Fax : 91-11-24374022
Email: tarshi@vsnl.com
resourcecentre@tarshi.net

Website: <http://www.tarshi.net>

YP foundation (Youth Parliament foundation)

- Focus: Interventions of any kind for young by young people
- Relevant component: Sex and sexuality workshops

The YP foundation has existed since 2002 and since the beginning grown immensely. As an initiative from a girls' college at Delhi University this organisation is an NGO run by student for students and everyone engaged was until recently working on a voluntary basis. With the amount of work they are occupied with the administrative core has now received a minor pay for their efforts. They were initially focussing on HIV/AIDS but quickly found out that students were limited in their knowledge in basic information on bodily functions. Since then their platform has grown to include issues on social, cultural, economic, legal, political and environmental concern.

The YP foundation facilitates leadership and citizenship skills, creates platforms that enables young people to be effective and expressive agents of positive change through community based projects, the performing and visual arts, literary and research work, awareness workshops, policy and government advocacy work. Intervention exist in the following fields: Education and Healthcare for Street and Slum Children, Platforms for the Performing and Visual Arts, Gender and Sexuality, HIV/AIDS and Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights, Life Skills Based Education, Substance Abuse and Rehabilitation, Understanding Governance and the Law, Human Rights and Peace Building Processes and Developing Film and Literature.

One of the greatest achievements is a sexual health festival which was organised to set place in New Delhi in mid February 2009. This festival included representatives from several int. organisation, local initiatives, sexual minority-activists. Besides talk and discussion the event showed a range of documentaries and short movies, photo exhibitions, and several contributions of music, theatre and stand up comedy.

Contact:

D 344, Defence Colony
New Delhi, 110024, India
Phone: +91 11 41551222
Email: theypfoundation@gmail.com

Website: <http://theyouthparliament.blogspot.com/>

Appendix 3: Ideas of Sex and Sexuality in India

Population of lower class and caste are often being depicted as more traditional and thus more reluctant to discuss sexual topics. As seen in Annie George's study on sexual behaviour of working class women the opposite is also the case. Their situation makes them less concerned with what is proper to talk about and tight living situations as for example slum areas confront everyone with sex thus making it natural. Additionally, indigenous people or tribal folk noted to be open about the topic, for example the existents of various folk songs talking about incest not being taboo, women having more than one husband and acceptance of premarital sex.

In connection with the family planning process these groupings, alongside with Muslims, were consequently categorised as over sexed or "prone to sexual excess" and thus in need of education and encouragement of contraception use in order to control population-growth (Srivastava 2007:17, 50).

Where the family planning efforts was mostly directed as lower classes to learn self-discipline, upper classes had the choice to opt for self-liberation (Srivastava 2007:46). Consequently, the idea of the uneducated, poor traditional people as having more restraining views on sex developed parallel to notions of upper and upper middle class population having greater privileges and freedoms when it came to discussing and having sex (Banerji 2008:289). However, post-independence also spurned the views of taboo nature of sexuality. As a tool for nationalist movements the image of the ideal woman was promoted (Srivastava 2007:14) thus conservative notions of women's sexuality was fertilised among upper and upper middle class. As an example pointed out by Kakar, women of higher castes do not have a word for vagina (1990[1989]:20). The great emphasis on Brahmanical Hindu customs¹ within nationalistic frames pushed the view of women as breeding machines increased control and de-sexualisation of women's sexuality (Srivastava 2007:13). Still women engaged in the women's movement and active in promoting sexual health are usually from upper-middle and upper class categories.

Additionally, the middle class that has been growing enormously since independence and includes a vast group of people across educational background, employment, castes, ethnicity etc.. This category reflects the extreme diversity of views and beliefs (Varma 1999).

In the debates on urban middle class girls' and women's expression of sexuality by ascertain choice, girls and women of all classes and castes are speaking up for their right to live without suppression and

violence of both physical and psychological nature. Simultaneously, middle class boys are joining in against gender discrimination as for example in the incidence of the Mangalore pub attack where boys were also beaten for defending the girls of concern.

Pavan K. Varma (1999) in his study of “the great Indian middle class” emphasises the conflict between traditional conditioning of regarding women as subordinate vs. modern stance to accept that they have equal status (164). In this light sexual education is an extremely complex area as even voices that speak against so-called obscenity declare that sexual education is necessary to address in schools “in a scientific way”, even though not giving much details on what it should included and how it should be conducted (forum against obscenity).

Appendix 4: Good girl – bad woman; femininity in India

The strong link between a family's honour and a girl's virginity and chastity instates and reinstates the moral values of a girl's behaviour. As a consequence of the feminine virtues of chastity and purity (George 2002:209) women's decency is dependant on her behaviour. According to Varkha Chulani, a clinical psychologist who has worked both in India and the USA, a decent woman does not put her interests first, should not be sexually active, assertive or enjoy sex. They should not ask for what they like and never initiate sexual contact and in her experience speaking up for her personal sexual desire is related to being disgusting, bad and dirty (2005:72-75). A Punjabi proverb illustrates this: "a woman that shows more love towards you than your mother is a slut" (Kakar 1990[1989]:19). This leads to a total "de-sexualisation of women" (Kakar 1990[1989]:144) where the possibility of seeking and obtaining sexual pleasure becomes impossible (Chulani 2005:67). This is also not restricted to the sexual act but interferes with freedom in general where "a woman is allowed little or no space for an independent self-perceived articulation, definition or expression of her sexuality" (George 2002:209).

It is not necessarily a question of the family member physically restricting a girl's movement and behaviour. Norms and values function as regulating factors and consequently as self-regulating (Menon 2007[2004]:32). According to Chulani this self-limiting process causes women to believe that if they experience lust, sexual appetite and passion that they are can be regarded as the negative image of "whores", consequently inhibiting her expression of sexuality and "prevented her from being a fully functioning person" (Chulani 2005:79-80).

Sex and sexualities are often kept silent in the belief that exposing them to the topic will make them more prone to engage in sexual activity and thus damage the family honour and her own reputation. Nivedita Menon (2007[2004]) in her discussion on law and feminist politics quotes Foucault and sees this as a way to fix the unbalanced power relations in that "silence and secrecy are a shelter for power" (15). As mentioned, female sexuality are especially invisible in the minds of the broad population and thus silenced through the constructions of femininity (Khan 1995a:3). As a result the suppressing nature of norms and elimination of discussions on sexualities can spurn ignorance and unawareness which has devastating effects on girls' self image (Varma 1999:163).

Appendix 5: Sexuality within marriage

The position that married life takes in social being as sacred (Agnes 2003:107) then plays a great role in the distinction of sexual activeness as the transformation from daughter to wife changes the concept of what a woman is supposed to do in regards to sexual behaviour.

In the study of lower class married couples in Mumbai conducted by Annie George (2002) she categorises the newly wedded women in four categories according to the way they describe their first sexual experiences: the bride as reluctant, the shy bride, the fearful and the pragmatic (211-215). Common for most of the women is the non-existent knowledge on what the sex act constitutes. It is expected of them that they start being sexually active, whereas before the marriage the expectations were emphasising the protection of their virginity. When entering this new part of life the mother-in-law often function as the person who ushers the bride into sexual activity. She is expected to cater to the sexual need of her husband and get pregnant (George 2002:207). The way that this new obligation utilises a woman body does however not eliminate their possibility to enjoy or refuse. By complying to culturally expected behaviour the wife acquires a certain degree of power (George 2002:208) but only in enclosure of the social boundaries. The key words that describe these sexual encounters are connected to Chulani's experience of how women perceive sex, namely as work, chores or duty (Chulani :80; Kakar 1990[1989]:75-78). And despite the possibilities to assert power within the boundaries of expectations a woman is not considered her own person but dependant on the husband (George 2002:216).

Another way of perceiving the control over women's sexualities is through the Freudian concept of the mother-whore dichotomy. Sudhir Kakar (1990[1989]), a psychoanalyst in his investigation of sexualities in India through local literature, narratives and folktales find incidents of fear and danger connected to seeing woman more than a wife, thus acknowledging her sexual nature. As long as a woman has the role of a wife or a mother she is respected and honoured but the possibility of ascribing a sexual nature is limited. The patriarchal structures thus suppress this possibility and through religious laws set the ground for protection not only from outside intrusion but also against a woman's own sexual being. (17-18)

Appendix 6: Research details; interviews, FGD and observation

Key informants (16 female, one male):

06.10.2008 Sakshi, Naina and Smita
10.11.2008, Naz foundation, Namrata and Matushri
10.11.2008, MAMTA introductory meeting
14.11.2008 TARSHI, Arpita and Pauline
24.11.2008 Breakthrough, Sunita
25.11.2008 MAMTA, Dr. Mehra
06.12.2008 Nirantat, Ritu
06.12.2008 Jagori, Abha
08.12.2008 Crea, Vinita
12.12.2008 Breakthrough, Urvashi
13.12.2008, Saheli, Deepti
20.12.2008 Jagori, Abha
21.01.2009 YP foundation, Ishita
30.01.2009 Saheli, Vani
Email interview with facilitators of TARSHI

Focus group discussion

06.12.2008 Breakthrough workshop participants (only female)
28.01.2009 YP foundation facilitators (half male, half female)

Expert Interviews (two female, two male):

14.11.2008 FAIT organisation, Dr. Basu
01.12.2008 UNFPA, Jaya
04.12.2008 IILM, Prof. Tuli
19.01.2009 Delhi University, Prof. Patel
23.01.2009 FAIT organisation, Dr. Basu

Participatory observation

24.10.2008 YP foundation: Workshop on sex and sexuality. Both for facilitators and other visitors.

(both female and male but majority were girls)

13.11.2008 Goal project at Sanjay Camp (girls only).

2.12.2008 Goal project, Jethpur (girls only).

Non-participatory observation

17.10.2008 YP foundation event, Stand up Against Poverty. Everyone can make a Difference (street play and photo exhibition).

24.10.2008 UN cluster meeting at UNIfem, breakthrough presenting a campaign on GBV.

8.11.2008 Naz peer group education program, HIV/AIDS awareness. Music, photo-exhibition, quizzes on sexual knowledge and HIV/AIDS, magic show, play on HIV/AIDS.

30.11.2008 Naz foundation, HIV/AIDS event, music, magician, stalls and quizzes, games and sales.

06.02.2009 Street play on sexual harassment by Saheli, Delhi University north campus, I.P. College.
(only girls)

Appendix 7: NGO workers and participants experience of femininity

One girl expresses restrictions on her sexuality in connection with femininity and the fear of being characterised as having a bad character. She believes that “They [boys] can actually demand for anything, but when a girl just goes and asks her boyfriend for it /.../ it is considered that this girl has a bad character.” (FGD, Breakthrough) At the same time she faces a dilemma in regards to expressing sexual needs. She explains: “If a male partner is demanding for something and the girl doesn't /.../ or is not ready to give it to him, so she is facing the fear of... I mean he can call off the relationship. So that is basically it. There is a major gap between the two cases” (FGD, Breakthrough).

This confirms the general opinion that a woman's femininity is connected to her passive, receiving and shy role in a relationship. Vani shared her experiences when walking from college to college (only girls) at Delhi University selling a booklet on sexual health in 1993. At this time it mainly contained physical functions of the body but what was common was the concern of the girls if others - especially family - should get to know about them buying, having or reading this material. According to Vani some would state: “I have a brother and he goes through all my things, and I will be killed if he sees, or look at this” (Vani, Saheli). This demonstrates the moral policing already present at that time even though not termed like that. The unacceptability of girls reading about it is connected to an active sex-life going against the social constructions of what a girl should or should not do. And even though Vani acknowledges that both girls and boys have limited knowledge about sexual health “the premium on virginity, it's only for women” (Vani, Saheli).

Arpita and Pauline of Tarshi experience this view in the case of health services and clinics. For example at gynaecologists women are usually asked about their marital status. If you are not married you are expected to be a virgin or single in which case your character is in question. They express this as a way of society to control women's bodies (Arpita and Pauline, Tarshi), in that services are reflecting societal judgments on women's sexualities and identity. This is an example of how they see the inequalities stemming from within cultural norms of acceptability, acknowledging therefore that it is here that change needs to take place. When asked about what they would see as a sexual revolution they make it clear that negative judgement should be eliminated and it should be possible to seek counselling and treatment at health care services without being judged according to marital status (Arpita and Pauline, Tarshi).

This example confirms the notion that a woman's reproductive ability is still often the only way of talking about sexual health of women. As Dr. Mehra explains: "She is feminine only if she can reproduce. Her femininity is not the pleasure of sex that she can have with her man." (Dr. Mehra, MAMTA) similarly a man's masculinity can be linked to reproduction, but often this aspect is not considered in many interventions. But as "masculinity and femininity is both linked to reproduction, and not about satisfaction of sexual pleasure, or sexual interaction." (Dr. Mehra, MAMTA) intervention need to consider redirection of intervention to include men to a greater degree.

Appendix 8: Strategies and Methods

Another way of catalysing discussion is illustrated by the activity *Meet a reality*. In this game, different statements are read out (e.g. a woman should have the last say when it comes to abortion) and the group is asked to move around according to their state of agreement. Subsequently, the different opinions are shared and discussed. These discussions are often very heated as they touch core convictions of expectations and responsibility, but when exercised with respect and used as a tool to encourage critical thinking might also shake the grounds of opinions and thus create an opportunity to accept differing opinions.

Role-plays shed light upon gender roles by displaying a common household situation but not mentioning names or titles that could reveal the sex of the characters, followed by identification on who is the wife and who is the husband¹. In this way participants can realise that their mind are gendered even though they might consider themselves to be open towards gender-equality. Whatever would be deemed traditional characteristics for women are thus challenged in the discussion of why one has chosen to point out a specific person as male or female. “We used a game where we got two people to the side and enact rules, and they came back and they were basically playing a very traditional role of a husband and a wife, but no one said “he” or “she”. People had to guess who was who and inevitably the one sitting at home was the wife and the one who was going off working was the husband. So we did role play, we made the participants themselves do different games.” (FGD, YP foundation).

Snakes and ladders is a common and popular game and as such easy to use without much introduction. The game has however been changed as questions now discuss traits of women. Different statements (I have slept with three people at the same time. So I have loved someone in my past life, but I say no because I wanted my parents to be happy. I am in love with a girl) that are usually connected to the trait of bad women are now being used as to possibly win the game. As Ritu explains the game she highlights “the participants play and they don't know when they go up and win the game, the one who loses is the winner, because that is the bad woman. So there is no bad woman/good woman distinction actually.” (Ritu, Nirantar)

Relating sex and sexuality to other physical need as food and hunger is seen as a way to include pleasure into the sessions. Through this the topic is made accessible, as all people talk about what they like and dislike when it comes to food. By discussing that “some peoples likes are some peoples dislikes, and some peoples dislikes are some peoples like. And some people have not heard about some kind of

food. So that's very new to them... and have your foods changed over the years? They'll say yes.. some will say no... you really learn some new ways of cooking food. Yeah obviously, new food, yeah.” (Ritu, Nirantar) the issue of femininity is further included. Participants are being encouraged to think about sex and sexuality in a new way and acknowledging the differing possibilities simultaneously with learning about different sexual acts and ways of pleasure.

Body mapping is a popular way among NGOs to address the often limited knowledge about bodily function and introducing body parts. Printed cards represent the different part of the body. Smaller group are asked to place the card in a body shape according to position. Participants who might be surer about the actual positioning function as leaders and informally teach others. This activity also gives an opportunity to address topics related to sexuality and transcending the basic bodily functions. By already talking about the body the step to talking about pleasure is not far. Shame, pleasure and beauty are then words used to encourage discussion in a playful way.

Media in many different variations (movie clips or advertisements on TV or billboards) which often displays gender roles very vividly is use by many organisations. Even though it is highlighted as a strong tool for workshops (Runeborg 2004:29), Breakthrough, is the only organisation specifically using media as a main component in their work. They describe the benefits of media as being non-threatening. As images an situation are not personal the subject becomes approachable to greater extent. Visualisation of a situation might highlight gender roles or violence and can push questions and discussion.

10. Enclosures

Enclosure 1: Declaration of Sexual Rights

Sexuality is an integral part of the personality of every human being. Its full development depends upon the satisfaction of basic human needs such as the desire for contact, intimacy, emotional expression, pleasure, tenderness and love.

Sexuality is constructed through the interaction between the individual and social structures. Full development of sexuality is essential for individual, interpersonal, and societal well being.

Sexual rights are universal human rights based on the inherent freedom, dignity, and equality of all human beings. Since health is a fundamental human right, so must sexual health be a basic human right.

In order to assure that human beings and societies develop healthy sexuality, the following sexual rights must be recognized, promoted, respected, and defended by all societies through all means. Sexual health is the result of an environment that recognizes, respects and exercises these sexual rights.

- 1. The right to sexual freedom.**
- 2. The right to sexual autonomy, sexual integrity, and safety of the sexual body.**
- 3. The right to sexual privacy.**
- 4. The right to sexual equity.**
- 5. The right to sexual pleasure.**
- 6. The right to emotional sexual expression.**
- 7. The right to sexually associate freely.**
- 8. The right to make free and responsible reproductive choices.**
- 9. The right to sexual information based upon scientific inquiry.**
- 10. The right to comprehensive sexuality education.**
- 11. The right to sexual health care.**

Sexual Rights are Fundamental and Universal Human Rights

Adopted in Hong Kong at the 14th World Congress of Sexology, August 26, 1999

(http://www.worldsexology.org/about_sexualrights.asp)

Enclosure 2: Radio show discussing sex and sexuality



The banner features the Meow 104.8 FM logo on the left, which includes the text 'THODI MEETHI, THODI CHUTKI'. In the center, the phrase 'Tune in' is written in a pink, cursive font. On the right, there are silhouettes of women dancing with pink circles. Below these elements are 'Login' and 'Registration' buttons. A central black bar contains the text 'India's First Just - For - Women Radio Station'. On the left side of the banner, there are three pink buttons: 'OUR HOSTS' with a cat icon, 'Start Listening Now!' with a play button icon, and 'Chat coming soon!' with a woman's portrait icon. On the right side, a large black box contains a photo of a smiling woman and the text 'Join our Hosts for a whole new Cool Cat'. Below this, the show title 'Show: 'MEOW BETWEEN THE SHEETS'' is displayed, followed by a short description: 'Between 10pm and 1am, the only male host on Meow 104.8 FM takes on the issues a Meow woman wouldn't discuss with anyone but her best friend and Anil, of course.'

http://delhi.meowfm.com/index.php?option=com_jcalpro&Itemid=99999999&extmode=view&extid=107&recurdate=1242757800

Enclosure 3: Sex questions in Indian Cosmopolitan (October 2008)



Enclosure 4: Scene from the movie 'Omkara' (July 2006)



Kareena and Ajay's sex scene!

It's supposed to be a well-guarded secret, but we have it from a reliable source that **Kareena Kapoor** and **Ajay Devgan** have a three-minute love-making scene in Vishal Bharadwaj's 'Omkara'. Sources insist that it is one of the most erotic scenes in the history of Indian cinema and the chemistry between Ajay and Kareena is to be seen to be believed. Given the acting prowess of both actors, we sure they'll do justice!

<http://media.photobucket.com/image/sexy%20scene%20bollywood/garamasalafm/poster0294.jpg>

SUNDAY | AUGUST 31, 2008



OPINION TRENDS TAKE A YEAR SEX ENTER

NOT long back men would be quizzed on whether or not they would marry a woman who wasn't a virgin. Today that issue has completely disappeared from survey questionnaires. This is as good an indicator as any of how the premium put on virginity as a virtue has become such a non-issue today.

Sexcapades of young women, their casual attitude towards flings and open declaration that sex is just a physical need like any other, lead one to wonder how this new-found sense of freedom affects society and in particular, matrimony.

A young acquaintance filled me in on the sex lives of her colleagues — their casual flings and one-night stands from which they can walk away without looking back. As one of her friends puts it, "I get a great sense of liberation from being able to just get up in the morning, put on my clothes and walk away without any emotional baggage or need for commitment."

Sounds like a man, some would say. Yes, that's exactly what seems to have happened. Women have joined the guys in their uninhibited, no-responsibility nocturnal romps. And, much to the delight of the men, they come to them without baggage — no clinging, no tears, no emotional breakdowns and above all, no demands to declare everlasting love and attachment. In fact, the new woman seems to run away as fast as any man from the "C" word — commitment.

As one young girl puts it colourfully, "It's like a physical hunger that needs to be taken care of. Don't you walk into a restaurant, eat and walk out without any commitment to come back again? If you really liked the food, you may well revisit and it may even become an obsession for a while, but doesn't that mean you're committed?" She talks about another friend who thinks nothing of sleeping with her foreign-based boss on an international conference. And yet, next day is like any other working day.

All these years sex has spell-bondage for women. You indulged with one and were tied to him for the rest of your life, no matter whether or not you connected with him in any other way, or how many explorations he tried on the side. Today, sex seems to have become an act of liberation for a woman. Young working women educated in the age group of early 20s to late 30s, are comfortable juggling multiple relationships. They are focused on enjoying life and extracting as much fun from it as possible before settling down. In fact, women today have become far more commitment phobic than men. It's the men who keep urging them to think about settling down, but girls wanna have fun and check out all life has to offer before taking any vows.

The freedom brought about by stepping out of home (very often, small towns), financial independence and jobs that entail wide travel, is a heady one. Marriage, whatever said and done, does bring with it restrictions that girls wish to push off as far as possible. So these young girls are happy being in relationships that mean good fun and sex, but no settling down. That can come later, it seems. As a young IT professional from Mumbai confesses, "I have asked my parents to start looking for a match for me. I've had my fun, gone through lots of relationships and want to settle down now."

If you think these spunky girls feel any sense of guilt at having ploughed through so many relationships, forget it! Guilt is not even a consideration. The attitude is it's my life to do with as I please, and moral scruples be damned! And if involved with a married man, girls seem to think he should deal with the guilt, not they.

In fact, those who talk about morality, about good and bad, or loyalty and faith in the area of relationships and sex, find themselves pretty marginalised today. There is a fairly widespread tolerance for, if not acceptance of, women's need for fun. Moral strictures and codes of conduct sound not just outdated, but anachronistic. Enough that even those who mouth them question their validity!

Hearing all this talk, a colleague, well into her late

Girly sexcapades

All these years sex spell-bondage for a woman. Today, it has become an expression of her liberation as she juggles multiple relationships

O-zone
Vivek Gargwal, Bangalore

“WE ACTUALLY THOUGHT VIRGINITY WAS A GIFT WE HAD TO SAVE FOR OUR HUSBANDS! WHAT A WASTE!”

Healthitude introduces a whole

Healthitude for vibrant lives

Enclosure 6: Condom adds in The Times of India (August 2008) and Outlook (January 2009)

