MALE SEXUALITY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF MALE IDENTITY

Report of a Workshop (11)

convened by Tathapi and hosted by Abhivyakti

Friday to Sunday 27-29 April 2001

at the Leslie Sawhney Centre, Deolali, Nashik

Reporter: Mangesh Kulkarni

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Glossary (Inside back Cover)

The need to work with men and boys around concerns linked with 'sexuality and male identity' and towards healthy and equal gender relations in society is the main concern behind a series of meetings and workshops initiated by Tathapi of Pune. Through this effort, numerous related issues and needs are arising.

This workshop was a sequel to the first meeting held at Pune in March 2000 in which about 27 persons had participated. Convened by Tathapi again, the gathering was hosted by Abhivyakti Media for Development at the Leslie Sawhny Centre in Deolali near Nashik. It extended from Friday evening to Sunday afternoon, 27th to 29th April 2001. Participants had been sent the Report of the Pune meeting in English. Its translation in Marathi by Abhivyakti was distributed at the venue.

The workshop objectives were spelt out as follows:

- to strengthen representation 'male-wise' and experience-wise,
- to continue exchange of experiences, resources and insights, and
- to focus on 'curricula', especially for boys and young men.

Expected outcomes included...

- ✓ a minimum common perspective,
- ✓ an assessment of current work status, and
- ✓ a strategy of where we are going and how.

The 30 participants in the Deolali workshop represented a mix of field level animators, educators, academics and researchers. Of these, 21 were from Maharashtra, while the rest had come from Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu.

Participants' Concerns and Perspectives

While sharing their experiences and concerns, the participants articulated various perspectives and perceptions related to the theme of 'male sexuality and identity'.

Harish Sadani (MAVA, Mumbai) lamented the systematic reinforcement of traditional male attitudes in our society, as also the dearth of educators in the area of sexuality, which results in the spread of wrong information and half-baked ideas about the subject, for example, blaming homosexuals and Commercial Sex Workers for the spread of HIV. He emphasised the need to avoid viewing male identity in a unitary fashion, for it has multiple definitions. Thus, violence is not a male monopoly; women too are prone to violence, which is not just physical, but takes many forms. It is often wrongly assumed that men are by nature violent. Men, especially boys and adolescents, do not have good role models. They also lack opportunities and spaces/forums to express their concerns. The journal Purush Spandan (brought out annually by MAVA, Mumbai and Purush Uvach, Pune) seeks to create such a space with the intention of fostering harmonious relations between men and women.

Anuj Kapilashrami (SAMA, New Delhi) felt that sexuality should be seen in the context of gender, livelihood and other relevant social factors so that it can be located within a larger network of power relations. Open forums are needed to demystify patriarchal constructs and allied superstitious notions, such as the belief that sleeping with a virgin can cure Sexually Transmitted Diseases. Trainers must be thoughtful and knowledgeable about their own sexuality.

Srilakshmi (RUWSEC, Tamilnadu) works among dalits. She emphasised the imperative of involving men in reproductive health programmes. Men and women should be addressed together. To initiate and sustain such a dialogue, formidable cultural and psychosocial barriers will have to be overcome. Sexuality/gender education of adolescents is particularly important. Trainers and educators would need to surmount resistance from various quarters including school and government authorities. They should be open and interact freely. A. Kumar (Srilakshmi's colleague) pointed out difficulties faced by field workers. The segregation of the sexes makes it difficult for men to speak freely in the presence of their spouses. The prevalence of inhibitions meant that the initial response was poor. But gradually, they opened up, especially in the context of problems pertaining to sexual health. They are more comfortable with

doctors than with field workers, especially if the latter happen to be young; but this attitude is also changing.

Prasad Toraskar (MPW in the BMC, Mumbai) said that his experience of sexuality training programmes brought out certain important differences between the responses of girls and boys. Girls felt that they could not share many of their relevant problems, e.g. those pertaining to eveteasing or body literacy, with parents or teachers. They also strongly suggested that similar information be given to boys. But boys did not open up easily, and seemed not to care much. Lala Jadhav (Mahatma Phule Sanstha, Beed, Maharashtra), who works with sugarcane workers, said that these workers responded passively to sexuality education. This was because of the tremendous pressure of work.

Sampat Kale (RSCD, Pune) talked about college youth camps as forums for imparting sexuality education. In such a setting, generally both boys and girls feel ashamed. Questions typically raised at such sessions include those pertaining to violence and the bad influence of the media, especially in the rural areas. Unfortunately, there is social censorship of information concerning sexuality, and discouragement of open dialogue and women. Relevant men voung information/resources are not easily available. Constructive peer group interaction can help a great deal. Boys are curious, but do not have information; they are under pressure of various inhibitions/restrictions. In the rural areas, there is also a suspicion of urban activists.

Harish Patel (SARTHI, Panchmahal District, Gujarat) narrated his experience of working with boys in the age group of 14-21 years; some of them went to school/college, while others did not. More than a thousand adolescents have been covered under this educational programme pertaining to body literacy, reproductive health and gender sensitisation. The emphasis was on facilitating learning through the creation of a bond among the participants. Some of the specific issue included: awareness of male identity, bodily pleasures, contraception and Sexually Transmitted Diseases.

Harish's colleague Chinmoy Debrath pointed out the obstacles they faced: initial resistance shown by teachers, negative response to young trainers, greater problems involved in getting non-school-going boys to open up, widespread misconceptions (prevalent among both school-going and non-school-going groups) about/ignorance regarding many vital issues such as sex determination, menstruation, and contraception (e.g. condom and

vasectomy). Talking of the problems of the tribal people of the region, he said there was little dialogue between husband and wife due to constraints of time and space. Problems of poverty, migration and ill health impinge on them to a great extent. Sexual exploitation at the workplace is a major issue for the women.

Vithal Prabhu (Mumbai-based sexologist) highlighted the growing problems he sees in the area of sexuality, ranging from the indiscriminate use of Viagra to the lack of premarital counselling, which has led to a growing rate of divorce. Based on his recent experience of counselling via Internet, he said that college-going girls participated more in this exercise. and that their questions pointed to the prevalence of rampant premarital sex in this group: a lot of college students seemed to be in the habit of visiting commercial sex workers, in the process incurring the hazard of HIV infection. He also discussed the sexual problems faced by married couples with particular reference to those arising out of the complementary, yet different sexual requirements of men and women. Thus, vaginal intercourse is of far less importance to women than to men. These differences go unrecognised for want of communication between the spouses. In the sexual sphere, man-woman equality cannot be taken to mean similarity; and this should be instilled in the minds of the youth through sexuality education. He also emphasised the importance of assigning same-sex counsellors/facilitators for boys and girls.

Rahul Roy (Delhi-based filmmaker) said heterosexual interaction in schools was virtually nil in the older days. Now the situation has improved. He then went on to pose larger questions against the background of changing gender relations: How can men benefit from these changes? They seem to lack a language to express and communicate their experience of several life situations. How can such a language be fashioned? Men also need to develop the capacity to listen. Can we create a hospitable space for dialogue among men? Should men's relationship with the women's movement be adjunctive or complementary? Talking about counsellors, he suggested that they should practise reflexivity.

Madhavika Nayak (ICRW, New Delhi) explained the nature of her institution's research project on violence in the family. To resolve this problem, it is necessary to initiate a community dialogue with men's participation, especially as issues related to such violence are often hidden or opaque. It is also crucial to examine non-violent forms of masculinity. In this context she stressed the importance of deciphering various layers and manifestations of masculinity: the individual and collective understandings, beliefs, attitudes, norms/ideals, varieties of

practice and performance that shape it. While there is a degree of commonality – for example, the importance of the body and sexuality as sites of masculine identity – there are also significant differences, such as those stemming from the influence of caste and politics. The interconnections between the public and private spheres, and the developmental dialectics of individual experience and societal milieu should be grasped for a fuller understanding of masculinity. This necessitates the deployment of a wider framework of analysis and greater attentiveness to the researcher's bias.

Mangesh Kulkarni (Lecturer, SNDT Women's University, Mumbai) stated that he was basically a Political Scientist interested in examining Men's Studies as an aspect of Gender Studies. He has been trying to create a space for a serious debate on issues of masculinity through fora such as New Quest (an interdisciplinary journal of society and culture), which he edited during 1998-2000, and The Forum for the Study of Indian Masculinities - an electronic discussion group that he launched in 1999. His major concerns include a deeper understanding of the construction of masculinity, its articulation with larger political structures/processes, and conceptualising appropriate strategies of intervention to bring about desirable changes in men's lives.

Ganesh Mandekar (Abhivyakti, Nashik) stressed the importance of imparting correct knowledge while keeping up with changing perspectives in the field of sexuality/gender education. Sensitive issues must be handled in a cool, straightforward manner. Above all, men must be convinced that gender issues also concern them. His colleague Priti Neokar said that her own experience of sexuality education derived from involvement in training for adolescents. She found that in this respect, women's experiences got articulated and shared much more than those of men. Trainers should use various media/techniques (such as puppets) to effectively involve young trainees. She pointed out that there were more female than male trainers, and wondered whether the former could effectively educate boys.

Arun Dolke (Open Secret, Nagpur) said he had been working on questions of sexuality education in schools. He raised a question as to whether sexuality education could be woven into value education.

Shanta Sathe (Pune-based Political Scientist) has a long track record of participation in sexuality education programmes. She pointed out that curricula for such programmes had to be conceptualised at three levels, keeping in mind the organisers, educators and the participant group of

youngsters. Sensitisation and involvement of parents and teachers is also necessary. While male and female facilitators could be assigned to groups comprising boys and girls respectively, mixed group discussions can also be quite productive. She emphasised the exigency of pursuing 'men's liberation'. In this context, the following problems/issues related to male sexuality have to be borne in mind:

1. misconceptions and lack of information,

2. performance anxiety,

- the need to impart a relational understanding of sexuality with particular reference to the importance of intimacy, and
- a critical examination of men's socialisation to identify and tackle problem areas.

Examples of the latter are excessive achievement orientation, binary stereotypes (aggressive man vs. submissive woman) etc. The subtleties and beauty of the man-woman relationship must be appreciated. We need to move on to an inclusive, emancipatory notion of *human* sexuality.

Tulsi Parab (Aurangabad-based poet and writer) pointed out that while the first Tathapi conference had focussed on questions of power and violence, the present conference appeared to be more open-ended and wide ranging. He said that greater dialogue was a way of dealing with violence in the family, and underscored the importance of bearing in mind the larger social context, e.g. the emergence of feminism and a significant increase in the number of working women with a concomitant rise in women's assertiveness.

Swati Pogurlekar (WCHP of BMC, Mumbai) talked about a case study of husbands whose wives had gynaecological problems, and mentioned the screening of the film *Hari-bhari* to elicit relevant responses from the couples. She said that male health workers in Mumbai Municipal Corporation programmes were being sensitised to gender issues, and wondered why they often tended to resist such efforts. She felt that the religion-sexuality-masculinity nexus threw up thorny issues, and that it was difficult to organise working class men in slums; casework might be a much easier option. Other issues raised by her included women's perception of the need for male involvement in contraception with particular reference to vasectomy, and the question of appropriate (acceptable and comprehensible) terminology in discussions of sexuality involving common people.

Nitin Paranjpe (Abhivyakti, Nashik) said that mutuality between the sexes could help to reduce performance anxiety. He also felt that the prevailing

language of sexuality itself embodied/expressed male dominance.

Mira Sadgopal (Tathapi, Pune) said that education pertaining to reproductive health had been mostly focused on women, who in turn had demanded men's involvement. How does one get men to shoulder their responsibility in this area, especially with regard to contraception? This is particularly important as nature has conferred on them nearly life-long fertility. Rahul pointed out that in the Northeast, men routinely assist in childbirth; it is only in case of complications that midwives are called in. In parts of Gujarat, men practise midwifery.

Renu Khanna (SAHAJ, Baroda) talked about the long-term implications of work in women's health. Training of ANMs was fairly successful. Experience with MPWs was not so positive. The situation is now changing and there is need for reflexive sensitisation of the latter. What methodologies are needed to work with older men? How best to train facilitators? The Women's Studies Centre at Baroda's M. S. University has a programme on women and health advocacy, which includes a campaign for involving men. Its outcome must be evaluated. A code of ethics for health researchers/workers has been formulated. A similar code must be developed for work on male sexuality to allay fears arising out of the perception that such work is donor-driven and mechanical.

Audrey Fernandes (Tathapi, Pune) quoted statistics showing that 45% of deaths among women in the reproductive age group in Maharashtra can be linked with domestic violence. A large number of deaths in men also involve violence, but from outside reasons including road accidents and mutual conflicts. It is necessary to deal with the serious problem of unemployment among young males, especially as the work environment created by economic liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation has aggravated the problem.

Dinesh Sharma (Eklavya Field Centre, Dewas, M.P.) narrated his experiences of conducting a health education programme in government schools. While the initial participant group comprised sixth standard girls, eventually boys also asked for such education. It is more difficult to work with boys. The larger problem is that of creating forums for men, building on existing networks and trust. Hence the Kabir groups have been involved in the programme. They rely on the oral tradition and project Kabir as an ideal man. It is also necessary to scrutinise traditional healers and sellers of sex remedies, bazaar books on sex, as also biology textbooks.

Prasanna Invally (Susamvad, Pune) summed up the foregoing discussion by highlighting the following themes. Rapport building is needed to deal with questions of male sexuality. This calls for more male workers, as also forums where masculine stereotypes can be broken and men's vulnerabilities can be effectively addressed. It is also important to encourage relevant research by and for men, which can lead to effective strategies of intervention. It is necessary to clarify how men would benefit from such theoretical and practical exercises. After all, gender issues are not just feminist or women's issues. Masculinity is equally important. This understanding should be reflected in curricula and lead to greater involvement of men in the process of moving towards a healthy, inclusive praxis of sexuality. Bridging the divide between colloquial and scientific languages of sexuality is required for effective communication. The development of a code of ethics for work related to male sexuality is another emerging concern.

Anuj remarked that rural women have little experience of sex other than penetration. They are powerless to articulate their desires. Vithal Prabhu said that men mostly failed to understand women's need for love or emotional intimacy and for foreplay. Renu expressed the need to explore bodily and other modes used by men and women for communicating pleasure, pain and desire.

Anil Arora (Pune-based journalist) said that the government, the law and specifically the police were all inimical to an untrammelled expression of intimacy. He illustrated the point by citing the recent clampdown on couples at Bandstand - a favourite seashore haunt of lovers in Mumbai. He also contended that the Women's Cells in police stations typically tend to be anti-men.

Prasad responded to the charge that men health-workers were shirkers by arguing that they were overburdened as compared to the Auxiliary Nurse Midwives.

Representations of Masculinity: Films

The representation of masculinity emerged as an important thematic axis of the workshop through the video screening of Rahul Roy's documentary films Majma (Performance) and When Four Friends Meet. Rahul has been making films since 1988. Up to 1994 he made films about women along with his wife, but began to feel uneasy due to the neglect of the issue of masculinity. Over the last few years he has been exploring the latter. Rahul attaches particular importance to the 'story' while making a film. He has been working with organizations like UNICEF and Vanangana (a U.P. based NGO concerned with violence against women) that are involved in problems of masculinity.

Majma focuses on Barkat (an old wrestler, who had served as a security guard in a government establishment) and Aslam (a middle-aged peddler of sex remedies). Rahul explained that the film had taken about one and a half months to shoot. He had known the people he portrayed over the previous 4 to 5 years. Some of the important issues handled in the film include men's fear of rejection by women and concerns regarding satisfying women sexually, as also the exploitation of men's anxieties about sexual performance. These issues are seen in relation to the instability of working class existence.

Responding to a question regarding the depiction of minorities, Rahul said that he had played down the religious milieu – though the locale was in the neighbourhood of the Jama Masjid, he had not foregrounded it. Muslim identity was not a direct concern of the film. Tulsi Parab commented that the film nevertheless conveyed the Muslim subculture effectively in a visual sense. Anil Arora said that the Muslim locality had retained a distinct subculture which overwhelms the visitor/spectator, while its Hindu counterpart had vanished due to a demographic shift.

Sampat Kale asked whether masculinity had to do only with husband-wife relations or with the larger political search for power. In response, Rahul pointed out that masculinity is learnt basically from other men, not from women. Relations among men are therefore important. It is possible to identify concerns that Indian men share across religious boundaries, like retention of semen. There might be regional peculiarities. Class also shapes masculinity. Up to the early teens, many relevant experiences cut across class background; then there is divergence. A basic anxiety, however, remains a shared experience.

Nitin Paranjpe commented that Barkat had been more vividly presented than Aslam. Rahul explained that he had known Barkat for over five years, and that they were friends. Aslam was more reserved, so Rahul did not want to push him too hard. Barkat thought in more general/ideological terms, Aslam was reticent. Renu Khanna commented that Aslam's reticence had also been visually conveyed.

Anil Arora referred to an episode in the film about Barkat's involvement in the notorious bulldozing operations ordered by Jagmohan during the Emergency, which adversely affected a large number of poor Muslims. He wanted to know how Barkat came to terms with this. Rahul said that Barkat had simply reiterated the norm of following the superior's orders. This goes to show that power operates at multiple levels, not just between the State and the working class. Barkat seems to have de-historicised the memory of the Emergency episode and reinscribed it in the authoritarian culture of wrestling. Rahul said he did not know how other members of Barkat's community responded to his involvement in the demolition.

Swati Pogurlekar asked if the patriotic themes of the songs featured in the film were meant to establish a link between masculinity and patriotism. Rahul said the link had been just suggested, not explored. Madhavika Nayak emphasised the complexities involved in the relationship between masculinity and violence. Different Indian language equivalents of 'man' have different connotations, suggesting a layered normative understanding of masculinity. The term 'purush' is associated with humane values like fairness, while 'mard' has sexual overtones. She underscored the need to inquire as to which norms/ideals/understandings are at the root of men's anxiety.

Prasad Toraskar asked if Rahul had tried to contact Muslim priests as they were influential members of the community and could effectively disseminate desirable messages. Rahul replied in the negative, adding that they had influence only in limited matters.

When Four Friends Meet – Rahul's first film on the theme of masculinity – is about four lower class adolescent boys who frankly discuss among themselves and with the filmmaker, various aspects of their bumpy transition to adulthood. Participants complimented Rahul for making an excellent documentary with its effective interweaving of humour, tenderness and popular culture. They asked him how he had succeeded in getting the boys to open up. Rahul explained that focussed preliminary meetings spread over a few months had preceded the actual shooting; thus a rapport had already been established. Asked about the script,

Rahul said he worked with a certain sense of sequence and played by ear, creating a situation and then leaving it to the characters to interpret/develop it, rather than using a watertight script. Responding to another query, he said that his wife had earlier made a similar film about the concerns of adolescent girls, featuring the boys' sisters.

Rahul explained that the film had been effectively used to generate discussion in several awareness programmes. He made particular mention of the first screening when the four boys were present along with their families. On that occasion they participated in a question-answer session, and were congratulated by the well-known feminist Kamala Bhasin, who witnessed it. He also said that the boys were likely to form a men's group in their locality. As for the director's 'authorial' presence in the documentary, he pointed out that it was difficult to decide when and how to make an intervention that would not cut into the space available to the characters. He expressed preference for a cinematic/visual rather than moralising/verbal intervention.

Responding to a question as to whether such documentaries reach out to the masses, Rahul said that a lot of them tended to get bogged down in the 'message' rather than being able to sustain a meaningful story. This pitfall should be avoided and a documentary should not be projected merely as an educational device. He advocated an 'open-ended' rather than 'closed' format. Those making a documentary with a socio-political intent must also remember that it is only a part of a larger struggle. Such films are best used to stimulate discussion in small, interactive groups. But one should not expect them to bring about spectacular changes in people's perceptions. Thus, it is unlikely that a film like 'When Four Friends Meet' would unfailingly alter popular notions regarding the evil effects of masturbation.

Questions were raised as to the politics of the equation between the filmmaker and the boys featured in the documentary. A participant commented that the latter were often asked 'leading' questions. That these boys were of lower class origin was also pointed out. Rahul confessed that ultimately it was a question of control over the 'means of representation'. As of now, it is the upper and middle classes who control these means and represent the 'other', viz. the lower classes.

Mangesh Kulkarni sought Rahul's views on the portrayal of the theme by Anand Patwardhan, widely acclaimed for his political documentaries including Father, Son and Holy War, which explores the relationship between masculinity and communal violence. While acknowledging the importance of the revelations in the film, Rahul said he felt Patwardhan falls short in showing sufficient respect for the people he portrays. Fitting them into his own preconceived political understanding, his portrayal is black and white, e.g. the working class cannot be communal. Without being open enough to the people, their points of view do not come out; his sense of commitment does.

Exercise: Symbolising 'Male Sexuality'

In the latter part of the workshop, Ganesh of Abhivyakti facilitated a collective exercise to evoke how the group members perceived aspects of 'male sexuality'. The symbol of a 'tree' was used, and the participants drew the tree, each filling in details standing for various aspects, as follows. Vithal Prabhu: flowers, which attract insects: a penchant for multiple partners. Madhavika: roots: nourishment. Sampat: trunk: strength and support. Rahul: bark: responsibility. Anui/Harish/Kumar: roots: sexuality as foundational. Mira: branch: multiple directions. Renu: neem tree: combination of toughness and tenderness. Mangesh: aerial roots: cyclicity. Swati: yellow leaf: emphemerality. Anil: neem fruit: bitter and uneatable. Prasad: aerial roots: free at first, then rooted, responsible. Audrey: leaf: one part of a healthy tree. Lala Jadhav: seed: source of reproduction. Chinmay: roots: strength. Nandita: tree with butterflies and birds: fullness. Arun: sun: source of energy. Srilakshmi: soil: essential nutrient. Preeti: shoot: budding interest in male sexuality. Vrunda: roots: early stirring. Ganesh: leaf: liveliness. Prasanna: branches: holding everything (women as leaves and flowers) together: attendant performance anxiety. Nitin: trunk: stability. Shanta Sathe: whole tree: multidimensionality. Tulsi: tree laden with fruits and flowers: dream of wholeness and love.

Commenting on the exercise, Madhavika said that it projected a non-instrumental understanding of male sexuality. But Nitin felt that these perceptions of masculinity highlighted its supportive (hence the frequent references to roots/trunk) rather than generative (few references to fruits/flowers) nature.

Sexuality Education: Retrospect & Prospect

Sharing and discussion around the theme of sexuality education took up considerable space in the workshop. A concerted attempt was made to examine the curricula/modules of such education through an exchange of viewpoints, themes and methodologies. For this purpose the participants were divided into three groups, deliberating in English, Hindi and Marathi respectively. The following template was used to guide the exercise and to collate the results of the discussion:

- A. Identification of the programme: name, place, year and duration.
- B. Participant group details/profile: sex, age, social background.
- C. Perspective, objectives and reasons.
- D. Topics and issues covered.
- E. Whether gender issues are addressed, and if yes, how.
- F. Approach to sexuality, with particular reference to masculinity.
- G. Methodologies and processes.
- H. Materials and aids developed.
- Evaluation procedure.

The charts prepared and presented group-wise are summarised below.

→ The English language group comprised participants associated with Susamvad, SAMA, RUWSEC, MAVA, and Open Secret.

Susamvad has been active in Pune in the area of pre-marital education since 1998. It has worked with groups consisting of 20-80 participants, including youth in the 16-28 year age set, as also their parents. The objective is to prevent domestic violence, while promoting gender sensitisation and understanding in relationships and in marriage, which is projected as a way of life. Topics covered include discovery of the self, concept and history of marriage, choice of marriage partner, relationships, sexuality, aggression and violence. Gender issues are addressed through

breaking of stereotypes by questioning traditional culture and hierarchies that determine the roles and responsibilities of the sexes, such as women's participation in the making of financial decisions. A humanistic acceptance of individuality and individual differences, and the promotion of communication are other concerns. Male sexuality (sexuality per se is viewed as encompassing sex and gender) is addressed as part of the larger gender framework. The emphasis is on responsible sexual behaviour, especially for the purpose of preventing AIDS. The notion of 'purushartha' is also of interest.

Sama (New Delhi) has been working on health and gender issues in Delhi, U.P., M.P., A.P. and the Northeast. It has worked with rural and urban groups (some of mixed sexes) of generally around 25 participants. It seeks to promote a holistic understanding of health including food security, Public Distribution System policies and contraception. It is also involved in the training of trainers. It covers the following topics: gender and social structure, existing and alternative health systems/services, primary health, adolescent health, sexuality and reproductive health, body literacy, and relevant economic issues. It seeks to challenge the unjust gender-based division of labour and stereotypes, as also the processes through which patriarchal constructs are formed in conjunction with the forces of caste, class, religion and the media. It views male sexuality through the lens of gender. The socially defined roles and attendant 'risk behaviour' of males (especially adolescents), their desires, fantasies and problems such as infertility and violence are of particular concern.

Rural Women's Social Education Centre (Chengalpattu, T.N.) has been active over the last 20 years. It covers 100 villages with dalits as the participant group. The programme for youth was launched in 1994. It caters to schoolchildren, dropouts and young factory workers through health camps and workshops, a clinic, a youth centre and a library. It imparting of appropriate life-skills, gender sensitisation, reproductive health, premarital/marital counselling and legal aid. Its objectives include promotion of health awareness and well-being, as also prevention of violence. The following topics are covered: menstruation and reproduction, hygiene, environment, confidence building, good social habits, romance, relations between the sexes, knowledge of the body and of the self, marriage and expectations regarding one's life-partner. Gender issues are raised in the context of relationships in the family, with friends (coping with friendship demands and being able to say 'no'), and at the workplace (with particular reference to sexual harassment). Male sexuality is addressed through health education, discussion of gender roles and dispelling of sexual misconceptions.

Men Against Violence and Abuse (Mumbai) has been active since 1993. It has been working with high school and college students of both the sexes, as also with older men. Its programmes typically involve 30-70 participants and are of ½ to 2 days duration. Its objectives include gender sensitisation and prevention of domestic violence. Premarital and marital counselling, as also sexual harassment at the workplace are among the topics covered. Gender issues are raised through discussions on beauty, success, power and dominance. An important concern is saying 'no' to unwanted advances, and coping with such a negative response. Male sexuality is addressed in the context of attempts to understand masculinity, healthy man-woman relationships, sharing of experiences, questioning stereotypes, conflict management and AIDS.

Open Secret (Nagpur) has been active since 2000. It mainly works with 8th and 9th standard students. It seeks to create awareness of the physical and psychological changes induced by puberty so as to develop the capacity to adequately cope with these changes. Topics covered include anatomy/physiology, family, life-cycle, relationships, social behaviour and emotional changes. Gender issues are raised through discussion of 'maleness' and 'femaleness' as social constructs, and of new family roles. Male sexuality is addressed in the context of homosexuality.

→ The Hindi language group comprised participants associated with Eklavya, Sarthi, Mahatma Phule Sanstha, Aakar, and Saangaati.

Eklavya (Dewas, M.P.) has been working in the area of 'adolescence education' since 1996. It works with the 7th standard students of two government schools. The programme was initially confined to girls, but was extended to boys as they asked for it. Topics covered include sexual development, responsible sexual behaviour, reproduction, gender, relationships and dialogue, substance abuse, as also understanding one's body, personality, family, and prospects. Gender issues are addressed through discussion of division of labour between the sexes, respective reasons why brother and sister feel happy/sad, and relevant social constructs/stereotypes. Sexuality is seen as part of the art of living. Masculinity is placed in the context of promoting harmonious gender relations so that men and women progress hand in hand. Pedagogical devices consist of lessons, group discussion, exposure visits, experience sharing, reading, story telling, and peer group interaction. Materiais developed comprise books, posters, puzzles and slides. Curriculum evaluation is conducted.

SARTHI (Panchmahals, Gujarat) has been working with both school going

and non-school going tribal youth in the 14-21 year age group. As men are more active in decision-making processes, involving boys and making them more gender-sensitive can have a benign long-term influence on family life. Topics covered include post-pubertal changes in the body and in social expectations, sex education, sexually transmitted diseases, contraception, relationships and violence. Gender issues are addressed through discussion of division of labour between the sexes and patriarchy. Pedagogical devices consist of body mapping, questionnaires, games and group discussion. Posters, charts and slides have been developed as educational materials. Evaluation is conducted by means of feedback and curriculum appraisal.

Mahatma Phule Sanstha (Beed, Maharashtra) has been active since 1994. It is involved in mobilising sugarcane workers, who are generally illiterate and in the 18-45 year age group. Its main focus is on the struggle for economic rights/entitlements. Other concerns include generation of health awareness and gaining access to health facilities. It seeks to bring about gender justice through the empowerment of women by securing their participation in the decision-making process and giving them control over resources. In addition to lectures and deliberations at public meetings, it also makes use of other modes of communication such as songs and street plays.

Aakar is a Delhi-based media collective that works in collaboration with NGOs like Vanangana (U.P.) and Action India. Its concerns include exploitation of and violence against women by men, as also larger questions of masculinity and male sexuality. It defines gender in terms of self-experience, while trying to understand it as a concept. It explores masculinity by focusing on the contradiction between men's putative entitlement to power and the powerlessness they often experience. Its communication philosophy emphasises the importance of listening to others and the creation of a non-judgemental space for dialogue. In addition to discussions and workshops, it uses media such as the theatre and film. Video films feature prominently in the learning material developed by the organisation.

Saangaati (Nashik) works with 240 middle-class students in the 13-16 year age group. Its concerns include physical changes during puberty and related issues of sexual behaviour/abuse, self-image and relationships. It sees sex as a natural category while gender is seen as a construct. It uses pedagogical techniques like participatory sessions and group discussions, as also devices like flashcards, posters, role-play, puppets and booklets. It conducts evaluation through questionnaires.

→ The Marathi language group comprised participants associated with the WCHP of the BMC, FPAI's Pune Branch, CSEPI, and Tathapi.

The Bombay Municipal Corporation's Women Centred Health Project launched it's programme for non-school going adolescent girls in 1998. It typically organises two-day training programmes for groups of about 20 girls. It works with a scientific and gynocentric perspective, seeking to empower adolescent girls, specifically by addressing their health problems. Topics covered include body literacy with particular reference to the reproductive system, menstruation and sex determination, as also broader issues pertaining to gender and the family. It examines the dynamics of gender in domestic and societal contexts. It promotes an open and positive understanding of sexuality that is anchored in relevant social and physiological knowledge. It uses pedagogical techniques like participatory learning, body mapping, question-answer sessions, exchange of experiences, and devices such as flip charts, posters, and educational games. It conducts evaluation through questionnaires.

Anant Sathe and Shanta Sathe of the Family Planning Association of India (Pune Branch) have been active in the area of sexuality education since 1978. They have worked with diverse groups comprising school, college and university students, parents, teachers and trainers. Their educational programmes aim at identification of problems faced by adolescents and imparting to the latter relevant information/knowledge including an understanding of the normative dimensions of sexuality with particular reference to gender equality. The following topics are covered: structure and functions of the reproductive system; physical and psychological changes involved in sexual development; differences in the sex lives of animals and human beings; the beauty, responsibility and risk present in man-woman relations, as also the various nuances of the latter. The gender dimension is explored by clarifying different notions of masculinity and femininity, patterns of socialisation, and attributes of me17-18n and women. An attempt is made to dispel misconceptions arising out of social stereotypes of masculinity by explaining their harmfulness to both men and women, and to a healthy development of one's personality. Sexuality is defined broadly as comprising sex and gender. The emphasis is on the envisioning of a truly human (embracing masculine and feminine) sexuality. The teaching methods are geared to participation and include group discussions, question-answer sessions, as also debates on relevant local situations/concerns. In addition to the use of chalk and blackboard. the following pedagogical devices are used: questionnaires, slides, transparencies and posters. Evaluation is conducted through feedback from participants and observers.

Vithal Prabhu has been involved in sexuality education since 1982 through organisations like the Family Planning Association of India and Council for Sex Education & Parenting International. He has worked mainly with college students in groups varying in size from 40 to 150. He has also participated in Radio and T.V. programmes on the subject. His interest in this area was triggered when he came to know of an incident involving suicide by a young woman on the night after her wedding. His approach is biomedical and preventive. Topics covered include general health, sexuality and gender, physical and psychological aspects of sexual development, sexual problems, misdemeanours and risks including sexually transmitted diseases, commonalities and differences between men and women, love and attraction, relations between young men and women, choice of spouse, pregnancy, and responsible parenting. Gender issues are addressed specifically in the context of sexual atrocities. Sexuality is viewed from a biomedical perspective with an emphasis on the differences between masculine and feminine sexualities. Pedagogical techniques include lectures and question-answer sessions. The following pedagogical devices are used: slides, charts, posters and models. Evaluation is conducted through feedback.

Tathapi (Pune) has been active since 2000. It works with 11th standard girls in groups comprising 15-45 participants. The programme is spread over four sessions and focuses on body literacy from a gynocentric perspective. The following topics are covered: male and female bodies, menstruation, pregnancy, sex-determination, relationships, rights, concepts of beauty, and body images. Gender relations are addressed in the context of relationships; the concept of masculinity is of particular concern. An open and positive notion of sexuality is espoused. A participatory pedagogy is employed through question-answer sessions, collages, games and exercises. Learning materials used/generated include puzzles, charts and various models of the body/body-parts. Evaluation is conducted through tests and questionnaires.

Parents of Adolescents: 'Saangaati'

Anita Borkar of Abhivyakti gave a presentation on the work of Saangaati. This group of parents mostly teenagers has grown out of Sujaan Paalak, a middle class parents' forum launched in Nashik in the early nineties. Early childhood development was the initial focus of the forum. It has also functioned as a pressure group taking up related issues like school admission. As an offshoot, Saangaati is dealing with the concerns of adolescents, girls in particular. Parents in the forum have shown high

motivation and initiative by forming a group of 20 volunteers (all women) who have received training from experts over a period of one year and prepared a module to be used for educating the participant group.

The programme has a feminist perspective and seeks to enable adolescents to explore and reflect on life experiences. It covers topics such as reproductive health, sexual abuse, and psychological/emotional development. Parents are to serve as animators/facilitators vis-à-vis their children in the 13 to 16 year age group. Currently, the workshop module for children is being pre-tested; a booklet for girls has also been published.

The components of Saangaati's programme are as follows:

- Hum Saath, Saath Hai involves introduction of participants and programme, building confidence and trust, promoting openness to various viewpoints, and sharing of and reflection on experiences. Games are used to facilitate interaction.
 - Dil Hai Ke Maanataa Nahi is geared to assertion of one's identity/self-image, and dispelling of misconceptions about one's looks, e.g. seeing dark complexion as a mark of ugliness.
 - Andar Baahar focuses on the reproductive system, pubertal changes, and contraception by using imaginative visual aids.
 - 4. Ye Bhi Jaan Lo Yaron emphasises responsible sexual behaviour and child abuse. It is observed that while upper-caste, middleclass girls are loath to acknowledge sexual abuse within the family, lower-class girls readily admit to it.
 - 5. Saare gama, Saare sama broaches the notion of gender through children's songs (popular songs are counterposed to new, gender-just songs) and various exercises enabling a critical consideration of the gender-based division of labour within the household and role segregation in society at large.
 - Hum Hai Raahi Pyaar Ke explores different kinds and textures of relationships such as attraction, friendship and love.

As for the efficacy of this kind of training, it has enabled girls to negotiate the structures of power and to perform small but significant acts of

resistance, like going to a temple during the menses, which is forbidden by tradition and custom.

Sex Education at Appropriate Stages

Vithal Prabhu spoke on the preparation of a suitable curriculum for sexuality education. He had served on a committee appointed by the Maharashtra State Women's Commission to frame such a curriculum. The Commission had taken this step in response to rising incidence of premarital pregnancy and HIV infection among girls. The committee studied similar curricula used in Sweden and the U.S., circulated and sought feedback on a draft, and submitted the final report in 1996.

Prabhu used a slide presentation to focus on the differences between male and female sexualities. Anant Sathe presented a slide show on changing family roles. The show projected the unenviable role assigned to women in the domestic division of labour. It emphasised the urgency of accepting an equitable sharing of household work by husband and wife. This will enable a truly companionate relationship between the spouses. Moreover, greater participation of the husband in parenting will also lead to a meaningful and enriched experience of fatherhood.

Government Initiatives and Progress

Anant Sathe also traced the tortuous course of government initiatives in the field of adolescence or 'puberty' education, which was first mooted by the Population Education Cell of the NCERT in 1985. A national seminar on the subject was held in 1993, resulting in the generation of instructional material. Adolescence education is treated as a co-curricular activity covering topics such as physical/psychological/social changes during puberty, man-woman equality, human reproduction, responsible parenting, avoiding risks like addiction and STDs with particular reference to AIDS. It has been incorporated and dispersed in various subjects. Supervisor training has started and modules have been prepared for teacher training. It seems likely that eventually many teachers may omit these 'sensitive' topics altogether. The government's AIDS awareness programme for schools has already suffered such a fate. Hence NGOs must play a more active role in this field.

Arun felt that NGOs by themselves could do little in the matter as the government ran most of the schools. Renu pointed out the risk involved in

relying on the government at a time when it is in the hands of the saffron brigade. Mira underscored the possibility of NGO-government cooperation by recalling that Eklavya had successfully worked with government schools. Anant Sathe stated that there were instances of girls asking the school authorities to teach boys to be 'responsible'; hence NGOs might get a good response in individual schools.

Men Against Violence...

In his presentation, Harish Sadani traced the origin of Men Against Violence and Abuse (MAVA) to 1993, when a newspaper advertisement inviting men to get involved in stopping abuse of women received a positive response from 205 male readers; the youngest of these was a 9th standard schoolboy. A core group largely comprising Mumbai-based professionals was formed out of this pool. Currently, the organisation has a nucleus comprising 15 men and women, but no full time activists or an office of its own. While the initial focus was on violence withinthe family, MAVA has taken up various programmes over the years including counselling and consciousness-raising, discussions on issues like the controversy raised by the Committee for the Protection of Men's Rights regarding the alleged misuse of Section 498 A of the Indian Penal Code, networking with women's groups, bringing out the journal *Purush Spandan* every year during Diwali since 1996 in collaboration with the like-minded group Purush Uvach (Pune).

Five annual issues of *Purush Spandan* have come out so far. Together they provide significant insights into men's changing lives and their problems. The journal has gained wide recognition and received awards. Its readership includes women. MAVA has run a wall newspaper for college students (in collaboration with the Mumbai-based women's organisation Akshara) provoking them into thinking about matters like considerations involved in the selection of one's partner, the problem of jilted lovers injuring and killing girls, and the folly of customs like *vata saavitri*. It has used other media such as audiocassettes and street plays to effectively convey its message to a larger audience. It also ran an effective fund-raising campaign to provide assistance to a young victim of an 'acid attack'.

Recasting Men: Theory and Praxis...

Commenting on the presentations summarised above, Renu said that

while participatory approaches and mutuality were evident in the work done by the various organisations, a 'rights' perspective was missing. Only one organisation has been doing male-centred work; masculinity seems to be an area of silence. More reflection is needed on notions of sexuality, gender and masculinity with particular reference to the ways in which they are interwoven with pleasure, fantasy and desire. Adolescent sexuality is seen rather negatively as 'dangerous'/ 'risky'; hence requiring regulation. Though gender roles/sexual division of labour are emphasised, the important question of access to/control over resources, as also the gender-class nexus, are not explored. Power relations are not adequately conceptualised.

Arun Dolke pointed out that generally adolescent boys do not get the attention and guidance that girls receive. This imbalance needs to be redressed. Vithal Prabhu endorsed the contention and said that boys often suffer due to the absence of such guidance; consequently, even their academic performance is adversely affected.

Nitin underscored the need for a larger perspective to guide sexuality education, which he thought was missing. A vision of a desirable social order should inform the enterprise. It might help to fashion a pedagogy of the sort advocated by Paulo Freire. Mira felt that a positive rather than merely preventive attitude to sexuality was required. Sexuality should also be seen as offering possibilities of exploration and development in safe spaces.

Rahul asked the participants to come up with words that they would immediately associate with masculinity. These included manhood, power, violence and sin. He then suggested that one of the male participants should share with the group his first significant experiences of power and powerlessness. Prasad volunteered and said that he experienced power on receiving his salary for the first time, and powerlessness when his father did not allow him to opt for the kind of education he desired. Rahul then stressed the need to pluralise masculinity as it involves various experiences. Above all, it must be recognised that men also feel powerlessness; they do feel entitled to power, but often do not get to exercise it, giving rise to contradictions. Homosexuals, lower-class, lower-caste, and physically weak boys/men suffer these contradictions intensely. A new politics of gender equity needs to be fashioned bearing this in mind.

Arun said that men's supposed entitlements (such as property) are also social burdens they have to carry. Men will have to forego some of these entitlements and transfer them to women, who in turn may have to carry

the attendant burdens. Anil added that the humiliation and powerlessness suffered by men in the public sphere (e.g. at the workplace) often remained unexpressed/unacknowledged. Swati demanded to know how entitlements could be projected as burdens. Tulsi pointed out the need to bear in mind the class dimension of the power relations being discussed. Rahul explained that his model was based on a reflexive examination of lived masculinity that is structured through the intertwining of power and powerlessness. Renu emphasised the need to define power with particular reference to its non-material bases and changing contexts.

Chinmay said that we should also look at the shaping of masculinity in a matrilineal society. Anil contended that even in purportedly patriarchal communities like the Thakurs of North India, women often have more power in the household; moreover the putatively violent behaviour of men of the region stems from the exigencies of enacting their masculine roles that entail protection of their women. These men are under tremendous stress, and in many cases the consequent suffering leads to addiction, dissipation and breakdown. Anuj retorted by pointing out that men were not just protectors but also predators and oppressors vis-à-vis their own women. She cited child abuse as the most glaring example of such oppression. Renu reiterated the importance of exploring plural masculinities. Sampat suggested that we should also try to understand the history of masculinity. Thus, it would be instructive to look at the injunctions the *Manusmriti* lays down specifically for men.

The brainstorming on prospective agendas yielded several suggestions. Work in the area of gender/sexuality should be informed by a larger vision of an egalitarian and humanist society. The vision of sustainable development can also provide a framework. A uniform perspective may not be possible, but certain common concerns should be articulated. A scientific attitude should be fostered and sound biomedical knowledge should be the foundation of the enterprise. A non-judgemental outlook, as also a participatory and processual approach should be adopted. Pooling of pedagogical methods and devices should be encouraged.

Human and cognitive resources should be mobilised through networking and research. It would be particularly fruitful to bring together concerned persons belonging to various professions. Education and dissemination of information should be energetically pursued through a variety of channels including street plays, advertisement campaigns, talk/chat shows, FM radio, as also other opportunities provided by the Internet and mass media more generally. It is important to ensure proper training of facilitators (especially male facilitators) that encourages them to draw on their own

relevant experiences.

Issues requiring particular attention include those related to AIDS, child sexual abuse (it must be borne in mind that boys are also vulnerable), creating safe spaces enabling adolescents to engage in self-exploration, involvement of fathers in parenting, launching and sustaining forums where men can reflect on the construction and reconstruction of masculinity, clarification of ideals and realities regarding male/female sexualities, and grappling with the genuine tensions between feminism and emerging men's issues. Each participant may choose and try to implement a programme he/she considers viable.

In the End...

During the concluding session, the participants were invited to share their views on the workshop. They were asked to write one positive and one negative aspect experienced during the workshop on a card sheet. The card sheets were collected and displayed on the board for an open discussion on each issue. Some of the observations were as follows:

Positive

- It was an opportunity to learn more about the concept of masculinity with its intertwining of power and powerlessness, other issues related to male identity, as also sexuality issues.
- Technical information about sexuality, particularly the slide presentation by Vithal Prabhu, would be useful in our field-related work.
- Learnt about others' work on this issue, their methodology and perspective.
- The space for sharing our own work, and the group discussions, were helpful. Many practical insights were gained through an exchange of ideas emanating from different kinds of fieldwork.
- Exposure to others' experience was inspiring and suggested positive directions in the future. Had an opportunity to think of one's own role in sexuality education and felt solidarity.
- This meeting was more focused than the last meeting. Got more time for interaction and therefore acquired a better understanding of the

relevant issues.

 New members joined, while most old ones continued. More male members participated (earlier ratio of 12:15 now improved to 17:13).

Negative

- Though there was space for discussion, deliberation on some crucial issues did not happen.
- Sufficient time was not available for meaningful exploration of certain emerging themes.
- Need to define key concepts left unaddressed. Debates could have had a clearer orientation.
- Not many participants joined the discussion. We need to focus on the silent listeners and motivate them to participate actively.
- Adolescent sexuality received far more attention than larger issues of male identity, values and social linkages. The latter require a more careful scrutiny in the future.
- Discussion on most of the issues seemed incomplete. The Sunday morning session (presentation of group work on curricula) was not properly integrated and took a lot of time due to which a scheduled programme had to be cancelled.
- The schedule of the programme could have evolved out of the first session on participants' concerns and insights. Many issues and themes like theoretical discourse on male sexuality, its linkages to feminism and gender could not be discussed.

Overall, the participants expressed satisfaction regarding the time spent in discussing the crucial and sensitive but often ignored issue of male sexuality and identity.

Annexure 1 List of Participants

- Mr. A. Kumar, RUWSEC (Rural Women's Social Education Centre) 191-A, Nehru Nagar, Vallam P.O. Chengalpattu 603002 TN
- Dr. Anant Sathe (FPAI)
 'Swanand', Prabhat Rd. Lane 6
 Erandwane, Pune 411004 MS
- Mr. Anil Saari Arora
 Anupam-B, 1000/1 Prashant Nagar Navi Peth, Pune 411030 MS
- Ms. Anita Borkar, Sangati/Abhivyakti 31A Anandvali Shivar, Kalyani Nagar Gangapur Road, Nashik 422005 MS
- Ms. Anuj Kapilashrami, SAMA J-59, Second Floor, Saket New Delhi 110017 DS
- Mr. Arun Dolke, Open SECRT 'Sakshi', 18/7 Ujwal Nagar Wardha Road, Nagpur 440025 MS
- Ms. Audrey Fernandes, Tathapi Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith Colony 425DP, 77 Mukund Nagar, Pune 411030 MS
- Mr. Chinmoy Debrath, SARTHI
 P.O. Godhar (West), Via Lunawada
 Tal. Santrampur, Dt. Panchmahal 389230 GU
- Mr. Dinesh Sharma EKLAVYA Field Centre
 33, Saket Nagar, Dewas 455001 MP
- Mr. Ganesh Mandekar, Abhivyakti
 31A Anandvali Shivar, Kalyani Nagar
 Gangapur Road Nasik 422005 MS
- Mr. Harish Patel, SARTHI P.O. Godhar (West), Via Lunawada Tal. Santrampur, Dt. Panchmahal 389230 GU

Telephone: 04114-30682 (off) Email: <ruwsec@vsnl.com>

Telephone: 020-5676442
Email only for short messages:
<makdhan@vsnl.com>

Telephone: 020-4324542 (res)
Email: <anilsaari@netkracker.com>

Telephone: 0253-579005 (res)
Abhivyakti: 0253-346128, -138 (off)
Email: <amdnsk@ysnl.com>

Telephone: 011-6850074 (res) SAMA 011-6968972 (off) Email: <samasaro@nda.vsnl.net.in>

Telephone: 0712-260709 (res) Email: <aaasn@nagpur.dot.net.in>

Telephone: 020-4270659 (off) 020-6879897 (res) Email: <tathapi@vsnl.com>

Telephone: 0675-39306 (off) Email: (not reachable by email)

Telephone: 07272-23496 (off) 07270-44123 (res) Email: <eklavyad@yahoo.com>

Telephone: 0253-346128 (off) 0253-346138 (") Email: <amdnsk@vsnl.com>

Telephone: 0675-39306 (off) Email: (not reachable by email)

Annexure 1. continued

- Mr. Harish Sadani, MAVA
 (Men Against Violence & Abuse)
 A, Parishram Bldg, Bhandar Lane
 J. Road, Mahim, Mumbai 400016 MS
- Mr. Lala Jadhav, Mahatma Phule Sanstha Raimoha, Dt. Beed 414205 MS
- Ms. Madhavika Nayak, ICRW (International Center for Research on Women) N-126 / 2nd FI, Greater Kailash I New Delhi 110048 DS
- Mr. Mangesh Kulkarni, FSIM (Forum for Study of Indian Masculinities)
 11-C, Saraswati Baug Jogeshwari (E), Mumbai 400060 MS
- Dr. Mira Sadgopal Renuprakash-A / 3rd Floor 817 Sadashiv Peth, Pune 411030 MS
- Ms. Nandita Ambike Yogeshwari Apts., 2nd Floor 27/1A, Erandwane, Pune 411004 MS
- Mr. Nitin Paranipe, Abhivyakti
 31A Anandvali Shivar, Kalyani Nagar,
 Gangapur Road, Nashik 422005 MS
- Mr. Prasad Toraskar, MPW
 Health Centre & Municipal Dispensary,
 Bharat Nagar, Bandra, Mumbai 400051 MS
- Ms. Prasanna Invally, Susamvad
 B-5 Saket Apts, 1st Floor (off Patwardhan Bagh)
 Karyenagar, Pune 411052 MS
- Ms. Priti Neokar, Abhivyakti
 31A Anandvali, Kalyani Nagar
 Gangapur Road, Nasik 422005 MS
- Mr. Rahul Roy, Aakar
 A-19 Gulmohar Park, New Delhi 110049 DS

Telephone: 022-4360631 (res) (at Glaxo) 022-4933871 x207 (off) Email: hsadani@yahoo.com

Telephone: 02442-58413 (office) Email: (not available through email)

Telephone: 011-6468495 (res) ICRW 011-6283933 (off) Email: <icrw@ndf.vsnl.net.in>

Telephone: 022-6342623 (own) 022-8368674 (parents) Email: <mangeshkul@vsnl.com>

Telephone: 020-4470314 (res)
Tathapi 020-4270659 (off)
Email: <miradakin@vsnl.net>

Tel: (res) 020-5440175, -4330747 Email: crasadmirasdar@vsnl.net> crandita_ambike@yahoo.com>

Telephone: 0253-346128, -138 (off) 0253-579005 (res) Email: <amdnsk@vsnl.com>

Telephone: 022-5906983 (res) BMC WCHP 022-6162436 (off) Email: <wchpadmn@vsnl.net>

Telephone: 020-5460658 (res) 020-5432351 (off) Email: <susamvad@rediffmail.com >

Telephone: 0253-346128 (off) 0253-346138 (**) Email: <amdnsk@vsnl.com>

Telephone: 011-6515161 Email: <aakar@del3.vsnl.net.in>

Annexure 1, continued

- Ms. Renu Khanna, SAHAJ
 Tejas Apartments, 53 Haribhakti Colony
 Old Padra Road, Baroda 390007 GU
- Mr. Sampat Kale, RSCD (Resource & Support Centre for Devipment) A-15, Deepak Park, Kalyani Nagar Corner Yerawada, Pune 411006 MS
- Dr. Shanta Sathe
 'Swanand', Prabhat Rd. Lane 6
 Erandwane, Pune 411004 MS
- Ms. Srilakshmi, RUWSEC (Rural Women's Social Education Centre) 191-A, Nehru Nagar, Vallam P.O. Chengalpattu 603002 TN
- Ms. Swati Pogurlekar, WCHP (Women Centred Health Project) BMC Building, 1st Floor, Nehru Road Vile Parle (E), Mumbai 400057 MS
- Mr. Tulsi Parab c/o Dr. Vandana Sonalkar, Reader Department of Economics Dr. B. Ambedkar Marathwada Univ. Aurangabad 431002 MS
- Dr. Vithal Prabhu, CSEPI (Council for Sex Educ'n & Parenting Internat'l)
 Shiv Sagar, P. Naik Road Shivaji Park, Mumbai 400016 MS
- Ms. Vrunda Vaze, Tathapi Trust TMV Colony, 425/77 Mukund Nagar Pune 411030 MS

Telephone: 0265-340223 (res/off) Email:<renukhanna@email.com> <chinu@wilnetonline.net>

Telephone: 020-5465639 (res) RSCD 020-6689213 (off) Email: <rscdpune@vsnl.com>

Telephone: 020-5676442 Email only for short messages: <makdhan@vsnl.com>

Telephone: 04114-30682 (off) Email: <ruwsec@vsnl.com> <sri_lucky@yahoo.com>

Telephone: 022-8090414 (res) 022-6162436 (off) 022-6186607 (*) Email: <wchpadmn@vsnl.net>

(expect new Aurangabad phone no.) Email: <tulsiparab@rediffmail.com> (used infrequently; please alert him)

Telephone: 022-4452065, 022-4221867 Email:<vithal_prabhu@hotmail.com>

Telephone: 020-4270659 (off) Email: <tathapi@vsnl.com>

Annexure 2: List of Materials Distributed

- Male Sexuality and Construction of Male Identity, (Report of the First Meeting, March 2000), by Tathapi, January 2001.
- Marathi Translation of Report of the First Meeting (above), by Abhivyakti, April 2001.
- Adolescent Education, Our Concerns, by Drs. Shanta and Anant Sathe.
- Appropriate Sex Education: Questions and Answers, by Dr. Vithal Prabhu.

Glossary of Terms and Abbreviations

Abhivyakti 'expressions'; Abhivyakti Media for Development, Nashik

ANM Auxiliary Nurse Midwife, attached to a Government health centre

Eldavya NGO for educational Innovation, several centres in Madhya Pradesh

FLE Family Life Education, a term that encompasses 'sex education'

FPAI Family Planning Association of India

HIV/AIDS Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus/Acquired Immuno-Deficiency

Syndrome

ICRW International Centre for Research on Women, New Delhi

macho = 'hero', 'rambo', etc. (originally in Mexican Spanish)

mardangi Manliness, masculinity; from mard = man (innuendo of sexuality)

MASUM Mahila Sarvangeen Utkarsha Mandal, Pune
MAVA Men Against Violence and Abuse, Mumbai

M.P./U.P./A.P. Madhya Pradesh / Uttar Pradesh / Andhra Pradesh (States in India)

MPW Multi-Purpose (Health) Worker attached to a Government health centre

purushartha Manliness, masculinity; from purush = man (innuendo of 'culture')

Purush Spandan = men's vibrations (annual magazine by MAVA/Purush Uyach)

Purush Uvach Literally, 'men speak'; Pune

RCH Reproductive & Child Health: a Govt. Policy/Programme

RSCD Resource & Support Centre for Development, Mumbai & Pune

RUWSEC Rural Women's Social Education Centre, Vallam, Tamilnadu

SAHAJ Society for Health Alternatives, Baroda, Gujarat

Saangaati = a faith-giving companion; parents' group, Nashik

SARTHI A voluntary rural/tribal develpt. Organization in Panchmahal Dt.,

Gujarat

Susamvad 'good communication', Pune, focusing on pre-marriage education.

TOT A term Training of Trainers

WCHP Women Centred Health Project, Bombay Municipal Corporation,

Mumbal

Tathapi ('and even so' or 'but still...') was established in September 1999, having served as the Documentation Unit of the Maharashta WAH! (Women and Health) Programme. The Trust is dedicated to promoting resource development in the broad area of 'women and health', including access to information and help in skill-building at grass-roots levels throughout the Maharashtra region and India.

As part of Tathapi's focal work in 'body literacy', the team initiated a wider collective process on the theme of 'male sexuality and identity' in March 2000. Through this effort, Tathapi aims towards increasing the number of men who are prepared work directly with men and boys, and to build up a training resource base. This is a report of the second gathering, a workshop in April 2001.

August 2001 Tathapi, Pune & Abhivyakti, Nashik

The workshop expenses were shared between Tathapi and Abhivyakti, and most participants covered their own travel expenses

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For copies of this report, please contact:

ry produce contact

The Tathapi Trust 425 DP, 77 Mukund Nagar Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith Colony Pune 411037 Maharashtra

Abhivyakti Media for Development 31A Anandvali Shivar, Kalyani Nagar Gangapur Road Nashik 422005 Maharashtra New Telephone 24267908

Phone: 020-4270659

Email: tathapi@vsnl.com

Phone: 0253-346128, -346138 Email: amdnsk@vsnl.com