



Facilitator Notes

Sexuality, Politics and Policy

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This module was created by Marina Carman and adapted by the Advancing Sexuality Studies short course team at the Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia.

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Background

This module looks at how the politics of sexuality is reflected in policy and its application, at both a national and international level. It outlines a conceptual framework for understanding policy that is related to sexuality, and draws on a number of examples of how policy is formed, enforced, debated, influenced and changed. It also looks at how sexuality is used as an issue for other political reasons.

The module is grounded with a set of readings that explore the different ways and levels at which policy functions in relation to sexuality. It includes some lecture time, but is predominantly based on group work—where students will be invited to reflect on a range of topical issues and engage in debates around these. The purpose of this is to increase understanding of the different views and ‘sides’ of debates around sexuality and policy, but also to allow you to develop your own ideas about these issues.

The aims of this module are:

- To encourage participants to reflect on what policy is and how it works, in both national and international arena
- To critically examine examples of existing policy and politics related to sexuality
- To enhance participants’ knowledge of common issues and themes which emerge in debates around the policy, and politics, of sexuality.

Participants will:

- Develop an understanding of how policies related to sexuality are formed, enforced and implemented at a national and international level
- Increase their ability to recognise and engage in political debates around policies related to sexuality.

Module approach

While the module does contain some lecture material, the overall aim is that participants should be involved in active learning. Group work will be undertaken,

and time is given for review and discussion of issues raised after each of the lecture segments. The short course team advises that any review or amendment of the module maintains a focus on active learning wherever possible.

Overview

Introduction

The module aims, intended outcomes for participants and module schedule will be covered.

Session 1. Sexuality, politics and policy

The session will begin by examining ‘what *is* policy?’ through use of a group brainstorm and lecture. The session will draw on the Yeatman pre-reading, and examine the ways in which policy reflects the values of those involved in the policy process. Session 1 ends with an examination of examples of local policies related to sexuality, to be provided by participants (see Materials).

Session 2. Sexuality, policy and politics at an international level

The session will begin with a lecture that examines the role of the United Nations in international policy-making, before moving on to examine the intersections between national and international policy. The way in which the policy of one country can be imposed on another, by means of restrictions on aid funding, will also be considered through use of a case study and hypothetical UN debate.

Session 3. Policy and politics

Participants will begin this session by reviewing the two pre-readings, specifically in relation to the complex relationships between policy process and political process. A case study from South Africa will be used to look at ways in which policy may be created, but not effectively enacted due to political considerations. Finally, the session will look at the case of Anwar Ibrahim from Malaysia as an example of the way in which sexuality—and policy on sexuality—can be used as a political weapon.

Conclusion

Module aims will be reviewed against outputs from session activities.

Pre-reading

Waites, M. (2001) Regulation of sexuality: age of consent, Section 28 and sex education, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 54(3), 495-508.

Yeatman, A. (1998) Activism and the Policy Process. In Yeatman, A. (Ed.) *Activism and the Policy Process*. St Leonards, Allen & Unwin. Chapter one, 16-35.

Materials required

Flipchart paper or whiteboard; marker pens.

For Session 1:

The Module Outline for Participants asks that everyone attending the module brings notes on *one* example from their own country of government policy documents related to sexuality. Examples might include a policy on legal age of consent for sexual activity or one stating a legal definition of marriage. Participants have been told that these notes do not need to be exhaustive but, at the minimum, the scope and aim of the policy should be noted as well as the year the policy was introduced. Participants are also told that if they have time, they might choose to make notes describing the social and political context in which that policy was introduced.

The facilitator should also have additional examples of policy related to sexuality, in case participants do not complete the required preparation work.

For Session 2:

Hypothetical UN debate handout (in Resources folder).

For Session 3:

Han, J. & Bennish, M. L. (2009) Condom Access in South African Schools: Law, Policy, and Practice. *PLoS Medicine*, 6, 0025-0029. (In Resources folder; Open Access.)

Module structure, materials and timing

Session & approach		PowerPoint	Other materials (provided or required)	Est. timing
Introduction, objectives, schedule				
		Slide 1-4		10 mins
Session 1. Sexuality, politics and policy at national level				
		5		75 mins
What <i>is</i> policy?	Brainstorm	5	Flipchart paper or whiteboard; marker pens	20 mins
Lecture	Facilitator delivery	6-10	Lecture included in Facilitator Notes	5 mins
Examining examples	Policy group work	11	Notes on policies from local contexts (to be provided by participants)	45 mins
Policy enforcement	Facilitator delivery	12		5 mins
Session 2. Sexuality, policy and politics at an international level				
		13		110 mins
Lecture	Facilitator delivery	14-17		20 mins
Intersections between national and international policy	Brainstorm	17	Flipchart paper or whiteboard; marker pens	5 mins
	Case study discussion	18	Flipchart paper or whiteboard; marker pens	20 mins
	Hypothetical UN debate	19-20	Hypothetical UN debate handout (in Resources	65 mins

			folder)	
Session 3. Policy and politics		21		105 mins
Pre-reading review	Group work	22	Flipchart paper or whiteboard; marker pens	40 mins
Policy implementation case study	Group work	23	Han, J and Bennish, M. 2009. 'Condom access in South African schools: Law, policy, and practice'. <i>PLoS Medicine</i> , 6, 1, 25-29. (In Resources folder.)	50 mins
Sexuality as political weapon	Case study discussion	24	Flipchart paper or whiteboard; marker pens	15 mins
Conclusion		25		10 mins
Total				310 mins (5 hours approx)

Key to symbols and formatting

Throughout these notes, the following symbols and formatting ‘clues’ have been used:

⇒ This symbol marks an instruction to the facilitator.

- Use of a bullet point indicates steps to be followed in completing an instruction.

|| This symbol, plus a different font which is larger and more widely spaced, indicates text to be read aloud. The end of the text to be read aloud will be indicated with the following symbol. ||

We have also indicated the points where a slide transition occurs on the PowerPoint presentation by inserting:

SLIDE

Module instructions

SLIDE 1

Introduction

(10 mins)

⇒ Read (or amend /rewrite as required):

|| This module looks at how the politics of sexuality are reflected in policy and its application, at both a national and international level. It outlines a conceptual framework for understanding policy that is related to sexuality, and draws on a number of examples of how policy is formed, enforced, debated, influenced and changed. It also looks at how sexuality is used as an issue for other political reasons.

The module is grounded with a set of readings that explore the different ways and levels at which policy functions in relation to sexuality. It includes some lecture time, but is predominantly based on group work—where students will be invited to reflect on a range of topical issues and engage in debates around these. The purpose of this is to increase understanding of the different views and ‘sides’ of debates around sexuality and policy, but also to allow participants to develop their own ideas about these issues. ||

SLIDE 2

Schedule

NB: The current schedule does not include lunch, tea or coffee breaks.

SLIDE 3

Module aims

⇒ Read (on slide):

|| This module aims to:

- Encourage participants to reflect on what policy is and how it works, in both national and international arena
- Critically examine examples of existing policy and politics related to sexuality
- Enhance participants' knowledge of common issues and themes which emerge in debates around the policy, and politics, of sexuality.

SLIDE 4

Participants will:

- An understanding of how policies related to sexuality are formed, enforced and implemented at a national and international level
- An increased ability to recognise and engage in political debates around policies related to sexuality. ||

SLIDE 5

Session 1. Sexuality, politics and policy at national level (60 mins)

- ⇒ Tell participants that this session will involve a short lecture, introducing some key issues and themes that will be returned to throughout the course.
- ⇒ Before the lecture, ask participants to brainstorm the following focus question (on slide), drawing on their pre-reading:
 - What *is* policy? **(10 mins)**

SLIDE 6

- ⇒ Read (or amend/rewrite as appropriate):

|| Policy can be broadly defined as a set of principles, plans and regulations, agreed by a collective. All those who are governed within or subject to the rules of this collective are then subject to these principles, plans and regulations. Further, policy is a way in which the values of a collective are codified and enforced; often through the granting or restriction of rights. This can include legal and social rights such as the right to marry, the right to access particular government payments, and so on.

To make this more concrete, for our purposes here we will examine how policy operates at two main levels: national and international.

At a national level, the citizens of a society elect a government through more or less democratic means. The government will then agree on

policies that are carried out by the judicial system, police and various government departments.

SLIDE 7

Yeatman (1998) identifies six types of policy 'agent' (on slide), involved in the work of turning policy into operational practice:

1. Public (or civil) servants
2. Service providers (who deliver policy on the ground)
3. Potential and actual users of policy
4. Those who give evaluative feedback (citizens, lobby groups, professional evaluators)
5. Ombudsmen, administrative lawyers, sometimes the wider judiciary
6. Agencies charged with monitoring and auditing the policy process

SLIDE 8

At a national level, there will be a number of policies related to sexuality. One example where sexuality is regulated and proscribed by government is age of consent for sex. Governments usually have a policy in place that sets a legal age for commencement of sexual activity. This is the result of the state having adopted a position, based on a particular set of values about what is an appropriate age to commence sex. The age of consent varies between countries. In many

cases there are different ages of consent for men and women. In countries where homosexual sex is recognised as a valid expression of sexuality, there is often still a higher age of consent for homosexual sex.

A second example is that of policy regarding access to information related to sex, for instance the policies in many states of the USA that promote abstinence only and do not teach young people about condoms.

An important example of policy related to sexual and reproductive health is national HIV/AIDS strategies and plans. These policies can be a vital part of maintaining the wellbeing of significant numbers of individuals in a society.

Policy is never neutral because it is formed around particular values. It is a means of enforcing values on citizens through a variety of mechanisms. This may be seen as desirable if there is widespread agreement in a society on what these values are, but this is often not the case.

SLIDE 9

Policy is particularly highly contested in relation to sexuality. Sexuality is a particularly intimate and personal aspect of people's lives. In any given society, individuals will hold a range and variety of

beliefs and practices related to sexuality. There will also be a range and variety of alliances of individuals that hold diverse beliefs about sexuality.

Groups can and have been formed specifically to advocate and lobby around issues related to sexuality. For example:

- Groups have formed around common religious beliefs about a particular aspect of sexuality (e.g. the split in the Anglican Communion over gay ministers)
- Groups can also form around common sexual preferences, or support of those who hold those preferences (e.g. a gay rights group).

Groups that might usually have a broader agenda and set of beliefs can also come together around particular issues related to sexuality. Political parties, various community, business and religious organisations and associations can form alliances around particular issues of policy related to sexuality.

In looking at ‘interest groups’, in one of your pre-readings Waites (2001) identified two main views in the debates around age of consent in the UK:

- The ‘moralists’, who put forward more traditional and conservative sexual values, believe in the state’s role in preserving these values

- The ‘progressives’, who are critical of traditional sexual values, are sceptical of the state’s role in enforcing these values.

SLIDE 10

Inherent in these opposing views are important differences over the degree to which sexuality should be the subject of policy. In some cases, the fact that a policy exists at all could be seen to be violating certain personal freedoms. In other cases, policy may be required to protect particular freedoms or to restrict acts that are widely seen as abusive and destructive. And in yet other cases, arguments about policy relate to the degree of freedom versus restriction.

From this it should be clear that policy related to sexuality is changeable. While, historically, particular values and policies may have existed, it does not mean that they will exist unchanged forever.

At any point in time, policy reflects the prevailing power relations and dominant values in any given society. But it also reflects the strength of any interest groups that are challenging the dominant values. These groups may be able, for instance, to force some recognition of diversity without winning real acceptance. An example of this is the gay rights movements in many developed countries that have succeeded in

having homosexuality decriminalised, but not in obtaining equal rights in all areas. ||

SLIDE 11

Policy group work

(45 mins)

- ⇒ Check to see which participants have brought notes on an example of policy related to sexuality from their local context.
- ⇒ Break participants into groups, ensuring that each group contains someone who has brought an example of policy.
 - The facilitator should provide additional examples, if necessary.
- ⇒ Ask group members to describe examples of policy related to sexuality from their local context, then to discuss the policies drawing on the following focus questions (on slide):
 - What values are codified within these policies?
 - Do these policies grant or restrict rights? For whom?
 - Who might the key players have been in formation of these policies?
- ⇒ Each group should develop a 'case study' of one policy on a piece of flipchart paper, for feedback to the rest of the group. **(25 mins)**
- ⇒ Ask for a volunteer from each group to present their case study to the whole group.
 - As each group presents, summarise the similarities between the case studies on the whiteboard or on flipchart paper.
- ⇒ Use your summary of the case studies to wrap up the exercise. **(20 mins)**

SLIDE 12

⇒ Read (or amend/rewrite as required):

|| Enforcement of policy related to sexuality can be complicated, in that it seeks to regulate what goes on in people's private lives. However, enforcement can occur in a range of ways. Where policy has been encoded in law (often through the granting or restriction of rights), enforcement of policy can occur through the legal system. Those who do not comply with particular values in relation to sexuality can be criminally prosecuted.

As we saw earlier, one group of policy players are service providers. Enforcement of policy can also occur through channels such as withdrawal of contract from any service providers who are considered to be not abiding by certain policies, for example policies against race discrimination by employers.

For a policy to be enforced, it has to have been implemented. This usually requires allocation of sufficient funding and human resources to ensure that policy can actually make the leap from existing only on paper, to existing in practice. And the path from policy to implementation does not always run smoothly, as we will see in the final session of this module. But first we will turn to look at policy related to sexuality at an international level. ||

⇒ Check for questions or comments before moving on.

(5 mins)

SLIDE 13

Session 2. Sexuality, politics and policy at an international level

(110 minutes)

- ⇒ Tell participants that this session will begin with a short lecture, outlining how policy related to sexuality plays out at the international level.
- The session will also involve brainstorming, a group discussion and a hypothetical debate.

SLIDE 14

- ⇒ Read (or amend/rewrite as required):

|| A range of international policies and forums have addressed the issue of sexuality. Much of this has occurred through the structures of the United Nations.

Sexuality and reproductive rights have been a theme within the United Nations World Conferences on Women and the Platforms for Action arising out of these have addressed the need for 'gender-sensitive initiatives that address sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, and sexual and reproductive health issues'.

The UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), to be achieved by 2015, address reproductive health and HIV. Countries are required to report against the MDGs and there is moral and political pressure applied to achieve these goals.

However, the quality of participation and reporting in both these areas is dependent on the level of commitment at country level.

Equal rights for women (including reproductive and sexual health) as well as the right to non-discrimination on the basis of sexuality are also asserted by the UN Human Rights Committee and the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, on the basis of a range of international human rights treaties:

- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- Convention on the Rights of the Child
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

SLIDE 15

While UN-level treaties establish rights and protections as principles, there are limitations in terms of treaty processes and policy enforcement. There is no internationally binding mechanism with strong enforcement processes.

Countries must first voluntarily sign and then ratify each treaty. While most countries worldwide have now signed the treaties previously outlined, this does not automatically mean that their citizens obtain the rights outlined in the treaty. It is up to each country to pass

national laws to effectively enact the rights outlined in the treaty. And many have failed to do this, including the United States, which has claimed that treaty rights should not be enacted to ensure maintenance of legal sovereignty.

Countries can be reprimanded by the UN Human Rights Committee for non-compliance with a treaty on the basis of having signed that treaty. But this is more about moral and political pressure than legal enforcement. For instance, despite numerous reprimands, the USA continues to refuse to make national laws which enact the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

SLIDE 16

Overall in terms of an international human rights agenda, sexuality and reproductive rights are areas in which less progress has been made than in others. In many cases, significant rights (such as the right to abortion for women or the right to marry for homosexual couples) are still not explicitly stated. Instead, they must be argued for from an agenda of broader rights, such as rights of non-discrimination.

Moves to strengthen rights, and the monitoring of rights, through the UN are frequently blocked by a range of interest groups. Steans and Ahmadi (1995) cite a range of barriers to progress including:

- The social and political power of elite men who claim to represent ‘culture’
- Adherence by women and men to policies based on idealised ‘traditional’ family models
- A pragmatic alliance of Western-based religious groups and a number of Muslim states in the UN to oppose abortion and homosexual rights in particular.

Such barriers are of particular concern in relation to the effect they can have on attempts to stop the spread of HIV. Responding to this epidemic effectively requires governments to acknowledge that HIV is a problem, and to enact policies and programs for prevention, treatment and care which appropriately and effectively work with affected and commonly marginalised populations that fall outside of conservative views of ‘tradition’ and ‘culture’—for example men who have sex with men, injecting drug users and sex workers (see Caceres, et al., 2008).

In December 2008, attempts to gain international agreement on a proposed UN Declaration on Sexual Orientation met vehement opposition from such alliances. According to a Reuters news report on the attempt to win agreement for the Declaration, a document lodged in opposition to the Declaration claimed that if passed, it could ‘lead to “the social normalization, and possibly the legitimization, of many deplorable acts including paedophilia”.’

(From <http://www.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSTRE4BH7EW20081218>
web page saved in Resources folder)

However, there are alliances of non-government organisations that lobby consistently for more rights and protection around these issues. Other UN states will also express support, but this is sometimes dependent on other negotiations and the degree of domestic pressure a country delegation may be under.

A broader problem is that while international policies and forums related to sexuality have tended to focus on assuring and asserting the rights of women, it is just as important to remember that sexuality involves men. This is particularly important in terms of designing programs for sexual and reproductive health, and HIV or STI prevention, which address masculinity and involve men. The Sternberg (2000) reading in the further reading list is relevant here.

SLIDE 17

It is important to note that with international laws and policies, one problem is that they uniformly apply to countries which are very different. This includes differences in economic development, demographics, culture, religion and political views.

Commonly, in less developed countries there are lower levels of knowledge in the population about sex, reproduction and sexually

transmissible diseases. Singh, et al., (2005)—also in the further reading list—look at the fact that, in general, access to education and information, particularly about sex, is lower in these countries. People tend to start having sex earlier and to marry earlier than in developed countries. And most societies in developing countries are marked by higher levels of religious affiliation, from state to village level. This influences what values are seen as acceptable and desirable in terms of policy.

One example of this is that while a range of contraceptive technologies are fairly freely discussed and available in most developed countries, Bongaarts et al. (1995) look at common reasons for the lack of use of contraception in developing countries. They argue that this is not just about lack of availability of technology, but a range of contextual factors including lack of knowledge and fear of side effects, as well as family and social disapproval.

These differences are real, and many countries are wary of what they see as outside interference and imposition of Western values in particular. But claims of national sovereignty and cultural diversity can also be used to justify denial of fundamental rights in the area of sexuality. || **(20 mins)**

⇒ Ask participants to brainstorm (on slide):

- In relation to HIV/AIDS, what ways might the policy (and values) of one country be effectively imposed on another?

(e.g. through provision of funding, with strings attached.) **(5 mins)**

SLIDE 18

Case study discussion: influencing national policy (15 mins)

⇒ Explain that the following exercise will examine a case study of how the policy and values of one country—the United States—has been imposed on other countries, through the mechanism of development funding.

⇒ Present the case study of the US PEPFAR funding (on slide).

- US President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR)
- Launched in 2003, topped up to US\$50 billion in 2008
- Large number of programs funded
- Recipients prohibited from conducting any activities that promote condoms or abortion
- Contradicts national laws that grant the right to access condoms and abortion, e.g. South Africa (Ghanotakis, E, Mayhew, S and Watts, C. 2009).

⇒ Ask participants to share any experiences they may have had, or knowledge they have, of similarly restrictive funding arrangements.

⇒ What do participants think and feel about development funding—and in particular, funding related to sexual health—being tied to the values of the donor country policymakers? **(10 mins)**

⇒ Wrap-up the discussion by reviewing the key points. **(5 mins)**

SLIDE 19

Hypothetical debate

(65 mins)

- ⇒ Ask participants to divide into four groups.
- ⇒ Randomly assign each group to represent one of the following four countries: United States of America; South Africa; Australia; and Nigeria.
- ⇒ Ask each ‘country’ to elect a UN Ambassador, then prepare a statement on behalf of the country to be presented at a debate in a UN General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS.
 - The statement is in response to the situation described on the module handout and on the PowerPoint slide:
 - The UN is proposing a new, worldwide HIV program to support member governments to respond to HIV, including working with affected populations (inc. sex workers, MSM & IDUs)
 - It would consist of agreed targets against a range of indicators, which will be measured by the UN
 - The US has already decided that instead of supporting this, it will fund a large program of its own addressing S&RH (inc. HIV).
The program is based on a policy which precludes any funding being used to promote abortion or condoms
 - What is the best way forward?
- ⇒ Hand out the background to the debate (in Resources folder) and give everyone 15 minutes to prepare a five-minute statement. **(15 mins)**
- ⇒ Ask each country to deliver their statement, and give five minutes after each presentation for questions or comments from representatives of the other countries. **(40 mins)**
- ⇒ After each country has presented, questions have been asked and comments made, ask everyone for feedback on what they felt were the themes that emerged from the exercise.
 - The facilitator should seek to draw out:
 - Common interests and values between countries

- Conflicts between international and domestic policies
- The way in which debates often reflect underlying disagreements over ‘culture’, and national sovereignty versus international cooperation/fundamental human rights. **(10 mins)**

SLIDE 20

⇒ To conclude the previous exercise, read (or amend/rewrite as appropriate):

|| There is a key question here. If national laws in developed countries are established on the basis of particular understandings and values, then to what degree should one country seek to enforce its policy, and values, on another?

The answer is complex and contested. It will vary depending on your values, the context and the particular issue at hand. It may be possible to assert that in some cases, overarching concerns or rights (e.g. the right to health in the case of HIV) are more important than focusing on national sovereignty. However, generally the view you take will be guided by a particular stance on values or politics. For instance, many HIV experts would oppose PEPFAR’s restrictions but might support an Australian government initiative aimed at encouraging other countries to adopt a harm reduction approach to drug use. This is still an imposition of one country’s policy on another.

Having focused thus far on policy, we will now turn to the intersections between policy and politics in relation to sexuality. ||

Slide 21

Session 3. Policy and politics

(105 mins)

- ⇒ Explain that this session will draw together themes from the previous two sessions to examine the intersection between policy and politics.
- ⇒ The session will draw heavily on the module pre-readings (Yeatman, 1998 and Waites, 2001) as well as introducing a case study of how policy and politics came together to undermine HIV prevention efforts in South Africa.

Slide 22

Pre-reading review

(40 mins)

- ⇒ Check to see whether participants managed to complete both pre-readings or not.
- ⇒ Divide participants into groups, trying to ensure that each group contains at least one person who completed each pre-reading.
- ⇒ Give five minutes for participants either to reacquaint themselves with the pre-readings or to skim-read one article so they can contribute in some way to the discussion that will follow. **(5 mins)**
- ⇒ Ask group members to discuss what they thought were the key points of each reading, and to answer the following focus questions (on slide):
 - What does Yeatman define as the difference between the policy process and the political process?
 - What examples does Waites provide of the political process? What examples does Waites provide of the policy process?
 - Is it easy to separate the two? **(20 mins)**
- ⇒ Ask for volunteers from each group to respond to each focus question in turn. Summarise key points. **(15 mins)**

Slide 23

Policy implementation case study (50 mins)

- ⇒ Distribute copies of Han, J and Bennish, M. 2009. 'Condom access in South African schools: Law, policy, and practice'. *PLoS Medicine*, 6, 1, 25-29. (In Resources folder.)

- ⇒ Give everyone 10 minutes to read the article. **(10 mins)**

- ⇒ Ask participants to form small groups, clarify any questions they may have arising from the article and discuss the following focus questions (on slide):
 - What national politics were at play here?
 - Why do you think a policy was made on provision of condoms to school children, without mechanisms being put in place to ensure implementation of this policy?
 - Do you think US policy had an influence here? If so, was it a political or a policy influence? **(20 mins)**

- ⇒ Ask each group to feedback on their responses to the first question, then the second, then the third.

- ⇒ Summarise key points on flipchart paper or the whiteboard during the feedback, and recap when all groups have finished. **(20 mins)**

SLIDE 24

- ⇒ Read (or amend/rewrite as appropriate):

|| It is clear that sexuality can be used as a political weapon to help achieve certain political ends, for example to increase or decrease support for particular policies, people or political parties. Manderson

(2009) provides an example from Malaysia where a so-called 'sex scandal' was used to disrupt an opponent's campaign.

In 1998, Anwar Ibrahim, then Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister, was known to be in disagreement with the Prime Minister over economic policy. He was accused of sodomy and corruption. Anwar was convicted of corruption and sentenced to six years in prison for corruption and nine years in prison for sodomy. Anwar was jailed on the corruption charge but appealed the sodomy charge until 2004, when the federal court overturned the conviction. He was again accused of sodomy in 2008, when a key player in an opposition coalition that had won major electoral gains. The sodomy law was part of the old colonial penal code where homosexual acts, even if consensual, were illegal. This would have been an opportunity for a debate on the policy, given that Anwar and his supporters accused the government of abusing policy for political ends. But the public debate centred around the alleged sexual act, and whether Anwar had homosexual sex or not, rather than the validity of the law itself. Manderson talks about how the sexual lives of those in public office have come to be monitored and reported 'in the public interest'. ||

⇒ Ask participants to discuss together (on slide):

- What has been claimed to be 'in the public interest' in your context?

(15 mins)

SLIDE 25

Conclusion

(10 mins)

- ⇒ Remind participants that the aims of the module were (on slide):
- To encourage participants to reflect on what policy is and how it works, in both national and international arena
 - To critically examine examples of existing policy and politics related to sexuality
 - To enhance participants' knowledge of common issues and themes which emerge in debates around the policy, and politics, of sexuality

⇒ Review some module activity outputs, and link them to the aims. **(5 mins)**

⇒ Check: do participants have any further questions or comments they would like to make, in relation to the activities we have undertaken and the topics we have covered? **(5 mins)**

⇒ Read (or amend/rewrite as required):

|| Perhaps the key take-home point is that policy is political, it is value-laden, it is never neutral and it is changeable. This is as true for policies that we as individuals might hold dear, as it for policies that we believe should be discarded. Policy is always created in response to *influence*, and not just from those in government. The better that we understand the ways in which policy is made (or re-made), the better we will be able to engage in the shaping of policies that draw on a critical understanding of sexuality and of the values attached to sexuality, in all its forms. ||

Slide 26

Short course acknowledgements.

Further reading

(includes lecture bibliography)

- Altman, D. (2001) *Global Sex*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
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