The Role of Empowerment Ideology in the Mobilisation of a Marginalised Group:

A Case Study of a Sex Workers' Collective

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The context: HIV prevention

The Indian context

- HIV concentrated in 'marginalised groups' (SWs, MSM, IDUs)
- Major response to HIV/AIDS is 'targeted interventions' (NACO & Gates Foundation)
- New policies prioritise a 'community-led' or 'community-owned' approach
- Few successful examples of community mobilisation to inform scaling up

Community mobilisation: our approach

- What is the difference between 'targeted interventions' and 'community mobilisation'?
- Traditional health promotion
 - 1. Education by professionals
 - 2. Peer education community *involvement* but not *mobilisation*
- Community mobilisation approach:
 - Empowerment for collective action
 - Community ownership and leadership of intervention
 - Social transformation rather than individual behaviour change
- Key ingredient: the organisation's ideology or philosophy

The Case Study: VAMP/SANGRAM

- Working with sex workers in 7 districts around Maharashtra / N. Karnataka border
- SANGRAM (NGO) established in 1992 & VAMP (sex workers' collective / CBO) established in 1995
- Aims of VAMP / SANGRAM
 - Championing the rights of 'people in prostitution'
 - Collective decision-making by VAMP members
 - Crisis resolution offered to the community by VAMP
 - Advocacy & protest against discrimination HIV/AIDS prevention, care & support
 - Peer education
 - District campaign
 - Outreach

Research methods

Ethnography

- Observation:
 - □ 6 months ethnographic fieldwork
 - Core data comes from attendance at VAMP's meetings and observation of their problemsolving

Interviews:

- 21 sex worker employees of VAMP/SANGRAM
- □ 5 non-sex worker employees of SANGRAM
- 7 sex workers not active in VAMP
- 5 group discussions with sex workers and madams not active in VAMP

The content of VAMP's ideology

- Empowerment of the women is the top priority (above HIV/AIDS issues)
- Decision-making authority rests with the women (not with Directors / NGO staff)
- Decisions are taken collectively
- Non-hierarchical structure

Impact 1: Staff's attitudes and behaviour

- Non sex worker staff do not overshadow sex workers with their technical skills. Rather, sex workers are considered the decision-makers.
- Staff say: "that most of the trainings are need-based and the community decides them. When an ORW [outreach worker] says in a meeting that she felt a particular peer was lacking on certain issue, training is conducted."
- "The on-paper strategies don't work always and we have to go by these local (and practical) strategies."
- Staff maintain a stance that the sex workers are experts and changes have to be approved by the collective.

Impact 2: Members' confidence and critical thinking

- Strong ideology provides lots of arguments and stories to give women new-found confidence individually and collectively.
- E.g. Regarding previous oppression by police & goons the response was keep quiet. After collectivisation, they realised the power of their unity.
- E.g. A leader when upset with a non-responsive municipal councillor at a time of crisis : "it's high time we need to make him realize our power. This time during the elections, one of the sex workers from [red light area] will buy a ticket for the elections (register for election) but withdraw after some time."

Impact 3: Guidance for decisions and actions

- Referring back to their ideology helps to make sure that their processes and decisions are empowering.
 - For decision-making, they ask "does this empower the women?"
- E.g. VAMP returned funding that came with too many conditions (the anti-prostitution pledge)
 - negotiates over the demands being set by funders (e.g. peer educator report cards)
 - resists being positioned as needing 'capacity-building' from funders
 - "it is not that we need to learn from you, you need to learn from us"
- Strict adherence to ideology resists engagement with alternative points of view

Conclusions

- □ Context of extreme historical marginalization → need a strong and adamant empowerment ideology
- Empowerment ideology has many positive impacts for mobilization and de-marginalization
- Empowerment ideology also leads to resistance to input from outsiders
- Is it possible for a CBO to have a more confident ideology that can absorb critique?