SEXUALITY, SOCIETY & PEDAGOGY

DENNIS A. FRANCIS

EDITOR

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Table of Contents

Editorial

Sexuality, Society and Pedagogy

Dennis A. Francis

Concerns about high HIV prevalence and other sexually transmitted diseases amongst 15-24 year olds (Khoza, 2004; Shisana et al., 2009; UNAIDS, 2012), the dropping age of sexual debut (Bhana, 2009; Hartnell, 2005; Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga, & Bradshaw, 2002; Manzini, 2001; Richter, 1996; Shisana et al., 2009), increase and highest incidence of sexual violence in the world (Abrahams et al., 2009) and the persistent high rates of teenage pregnancies (Department of Health, 2004; Jewkes, Morrell, & Christofides, 2009; Panday, Makiwane, Ranchod, & Letsoalo, 2009; Shisana et al., 2009) is an indication of the high incidence of youth involvement in sex. By the age of 17, half of all teenagers are sexually active (Jewkes et al., 2009; Khoza, 2004). Earlier sexual debut and such high pregnancy and infection rates show that many teenagers are not only having sex, but that they are not adequately protecting themselves against undesired pregnancies and disease. The high HIV prevalence rate, dropping age of sexual debut, high rates of teenage pregnancies and increase in sexual violence are all linked to structural factors such as poverty (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Leclerc-Madlala, 2002), migration (Fleisch, 2008) and gender inequalities (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Moletsane, Morrell, Unterhalter, & Epstein, 2002; Morrell, 2003).

Many people view sexuality and HIV education programmes as a partial solution to these problems (Kirby, Laris, & Rorelli, 2007). Virtually all young people attend school before engaging in sexual intercourse and this makes schools well placed intervention sites in the context of HIV and AIDS (Badcock, 2002; Kirby, 2008). In South Africa, schools have become important intervention sites in response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In 1997, the Department of Education introduced Life Orientation as part of curriculum 2005 and is compulsory for all learners (Department of Basic Education, 2011:8). HIV and sexuality education are integrated into the Life Orientation (LO) curriculum mainly under the heading of Personal Well-being which is designed to account for 17% or eleven out of the sixty-six LO contact hours that the Grade 10's and 11's have prescribed for the academic year (Department of Education, 2011:9). However, based on research with LO teachers the time allocated to sexuality education vary and individual schools have their own

curricula and timetabling priorities (Francis & DePalma, 2013). Teachers are given a considerable amount of responsibility and autonomy in respect of implementation of the LO sex education programme, which means that in practice approach and pedagogy vary considerably.

The Department of Education clearly has a central role to play in responding to the social crisis I have outlined at the beginning of this editorial. Despite the good intentions of the Ministry of Education in integrating sexuality and HIV/AIDS education in the school curriculum, questions have been raised about the preparation of teachers to deliver sexuality education. Many writers (Baxen, 2008; Francis, 2011; Helleve et al., 2011; Rooth, 2005) have pointed out that LO teachers in most South African schools lack uniformity of training and come from a diverse range of fields which do not always adequately equip them to deliver sexuality education confidently and effectively. Life Orientation teachers have diverse professional preparation backgrounds including guidance, religious education, physical education, home economics, languages and the social sciences (Baxen, 2008; Rooth, 2005). Rooth (2005), in her study on LO teachers, points out that, "on further questioning, being a qualified or a specialist Life Orientation educator had varied meanings, ranging from attending a three-day HIV and AIDS course or a two-hour Life Orientation workshop, to being an ex-guidance, ex-religion or ex-physical education educator" (Rooth, 2005:235-236). Many of the teachers are assigned the responsibility to teach LO when they are short of a full teaching load, or, in some cases, they may volunteer for the job (Baxen, 2008). Teacher confidence in this area depends on their level of knowledge on the topics, attendance at workshops, personal comfort with the topic, clarity regarding the messages being communicated, a belief in what was being taught and support from colleagues (Ahmed et al., 2009:51). These are strongly related to teacher's content and pedagogical knowledge and experience, which are low due to LO being a new learning area.

Understanding the social aspects of the teaching and learning of sexuality education is one of the most rapidly expanding fields of research internationally and in South Africa. *Sexuality, Society and Pedagogy* problematises some of the prevailing assumptions that frame this area of study. In doing so, it aims to make visible the challenges of teaching sexuality education in South African schools while demonstrating its potential for reshaping our conceptions of the social and cultural representations thereof. Although the book is largely situated in experiences and perspectives within the South African context, it is hoped that the questions raised, reflections, analyses and arguments will contribute to thinking about sexuality education in diverse contexts, in particular more developing contexts.

The book is divided into four main sections, offering (1) Context of the teaching of sexuality education in South Africa; (2) Teacher identity and teaching of sexuality education; (3) Curriculum and pedagogy; and (4) Sexuality education and its implications for teacher education and research.

Context of the teaching of sexuality education

In this section, *Dennis Francis* reviews the literature on sex education and examines it in relation to South Africa and educational policies that guide sex education in schools. He organises the chapter around three questions: (a) What do youth need from sexuality education? (b) Are schools an

appropriate environment for sex education? (c) If schools are an appropriate environment, what can be said about the content of sex education as well as pedagogy surrounding it? He argues that in order to effectively meet the needs of youth, the content of sexual health programmes needs to span the whole spectrum of discourses, from disease to desire. Within this spectrum, youth should be constructed as ''knowers'' as opposed to innocent in relation to sex. He concludes with implications for practice.

Teacher identity and the teaching of sexuality education

Section Two includes chapters by *Jean Baxen* and *Lesley Wood*; *Jacqui Naidoo*; and *Renee DePalma* and *Dennis Francis*. The first chapter by *Jean Baxen* and *Lesley Wood* raise the question: What is effective HIV and AIDS education in initial teacher education programmes? The qualitative enquiry reported in their chapter attempts to answer this by drawing on data gathered over a three-year period from teachers in two provinces in South Africa about their experiences as HIV and AIDS educators. The findings indicate that teachers experience tensions between what they are supposed to be teaching and the cultural, social and personal experiences that have shaped and continue to impact their own personal and professional identities. The consequences of such tensions lead to a didactic, factual (often biological or medical) approach to HIV education that not only ignores social, cultural and personal contexts teachers could draw on to make meaning of the consequences and behaviour change implications, but also undermines what teachers are able to include in the pedagogical process. Based on these findings, they make suggestions for the development of curriculum and pedagogical engagement that might better equip teachers for teaching in this age of AIDS.

Jaqueline Naidoo, in her chapter entitled, "Subjectivities and emotionality in HIV/AIDS teaching", explores how subjectivities and emotionality of teachers are inextricably linked with their teaching of HIV and AIDS education. Despite conflicting debates around the role of teachers and schools in HIV and AIDS education, the study aimed to explore the complexities and challenges facing teachers in mitigating HIV and AIDS education. The broad question explored was: How do teachers' subjectivities and emotionality influence their teaching of HIV and AIDS education? Data were gathered from timelines, semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, and scenario analysis from five teachers in three primary schools in KwaZulu-Natal. The co-constructed narratives of the teachers were analysed using a holistic content analysis to uncover clusters of meanings: diverse lives, multiple subjectivities; subjectivities and teaching; HIV and AIDS knowledge and teaching; and emotions, feelings and cultural complexities.

In "Letting our commitments rest on the shelf: Teaching about sexual diversity in South African schools", *Renee De Palma and Dennis Francis* explore how teachers construct their responsibility for teaching about sexual diversity. In order to explain the arguments teachers construct around the address of LGBT issues in the classroom, they have chosen to focus on four key authoritative discourses that teachers draw upon as they construct their personal and professional positioning with respect to teaching about sexual diversity: scientific, religious, legislative, and policy. On the whole, teachers described very little practice involving sexual diversity. Nevertheless, based

on their moral convictions that were rooted in broader religious, scientific, and legal discourses, teachers formulated various approaches to teaching about homosexuality. Our results suggest that the South African legislative discourse is a powerful, yet underutilised tool for teaching about sexual diversity. Depalma and Francis conclude that teachers should be helped to understand the legislative framework in which they live and teach, and engage in reflection and debate about how this authority interacts with the other authoritative discourses relevant to their professional lives to guide their classroom practice.

Curriculum and pedagogy

This section begins with *Jennifer Brown* and *David Dickinson's* chapter "Sex Education in a Coloured South African Township – Social Challenges and Pedagogical Opportunities". The authors explore sex education within the context of the Life Orientation curriculum in a Coloured township school in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg, South Africa. They demonstrate how the content of the curriculum may be well structured and relevant to the students' lives but that this is not fully executed in the lessons themselves, given the rote-teaching methods observed. They also explore the relationship between the teacher and students in the classroom and argue that the interaction between Life Orientation teachers and students allows the learners, especially young women, a voice which is omitted from the lesson. The chapter concludes that Life Orientation has the potential to mitigate against the problems in the learners' lives but that this needs to be facilitated through a more open acknowledgement of actual pedagogic practices in and outside formal Life Orientation classes, as well as through comprehensive support from the state and the wider community.

Ronicka Mudaly's chapter draws on autobiographical curriculum theory and curriculum as consciousness, to explore how Life Sciences teachers periodically re-inforce and rupture disciplinary boundaries, as they utilise pedagogic strategies to deliver a new curriculum to innovate. Mudaly engages with the question how do teachers teach sexuality education and HIV & AIDS in the Life Sciences classroom? Three themes are discussed, namely, knowledge where, knowledge how, and knowledge why, as they relate to teachers' decisions which inform their pedagogic choices to incorporate sexuality education and HIV & AIDS into their lessons. Teachers trouble the notion of valuable teaching and meaningful learning by working as intentionally conscious practitioners, as they champion change using the school as the terrain in the struggle against HIV & AIDS. The chapter ends by reflecting on how teachers, who work from a plane of consciousness, are enabled to be fully awakened to learners' lives and requirements, in the context of HIV & AIDS and young peoples' sexuality.

Cheryl Potgieter and Finn Reygan in their chapter "Representations of LGBTI identities in textbooks and the development of anti-homophobia materials and a training module" attempt to bridge the knowledge-practice gap in terms of teaching about LGBTI identities. Potgieter and Reygan show that, despite the focus of the Department of Education on social justice and LGBTI identities, there is a paucity of LGBTI-affirming teaching materials as well as a lack of training for educators in the area. They found that, while there were some meaningful representations of LGBTI identities in

Life Orientation textbooks, constructions and representations of these identities were more often problematic. Given the lack of training in the area for educators, Potgieter and Reygan also outline the consultative process with stakeholders through which they developed an anti-homophobia and LGBTI-affirming training module for educators. The authors conclude that much has yet to be done to challenge the exclusion of LGBTI learners in South African schools and to fully include LGBTI learners' particular "ways of knowing".

Paul Chappell in his chapter, "Troubling the socialisation of the sexual identities of youth with disabilities: Lessons for sexuality and HIV pedagogy", shows that the discourse of disabled sexuality has also been subject to the same ahistorical and apolitical disregard. He argues that popular notions of disabled sexuality have usually focused around a medical paradigm that privileges ablebodiness and situate people with disabilities as asexual and sexually innocent. As a result of these negative truisms, it therefore comes as no surprise that youth with disabilities are generally invisible in relation to sexual pedagogy and research. This not only draws attention away from the sexual agency of people with disabilities, but also from the socio-cultural meanings of disability, sexual identity and desirability. In this chapter, Chappell explores how societal stereotypes of disabled sexuality impact on the socialisation of the sexual identities of youth with disabilities. It also contends that the invisibility of disabled "voice" in sexuality pedagogy places disabled youth at greater risk of sexual exploitation and HIV infection. By troubling the discourse of sexual innocence, this chapter calls for a recognition of disabled youth as sexual beings and makes key recommendations for a comprehensive sexuality curriculum that responds to learners with diverse identities.

Implications for teacher education and research

In this final section, *Rob Pattman* explores how qualitative research with young women and men in South Africa can contribute to good pedagogic practices in sexuality education. The idea that young people are sexual beings provides a point of connection with educational initiatives which advocate "participatory" pedagogies such as Life Orientation which was introduced into South Africa (and other sub-Saharan African countries) in response to the perceived failure of didactic teaching approaches (whether these focused on giving information or moralised about young people having sex) to stem the tide of infection. Pattman argues for forms of qualitative research, which take the research encounter or event as an important social context, which affects and influences how research participants present themselves and what they say. He discusses the implications of doing critically reflexive qualitative research, which pays close attention to the relational dynamics of the research encounters, for doing analysis and also for working with young people in sexuality education.

Gabriel Hoosein Kahn concludes this section and edition by drawing on his work as an activist and facilitator working for Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (GALA). He explores the use of interactive drama (the *Queer Jozi Tour*), in engaging young people to reflect on queer sexuality. The *Queer Jozi Tour* is an interactive drama workshop, which works with young people to dramatise historical narratives of queer experience in Johannesburg. His analysis focuses on one of the

workshops and is based upon his own written reflections, workshop plans, workshop feedback forms and debriefing sessions with co-facilitators. He unpacks two critical questions: (1) What possibilities does this technique offer to young people in reflecting about queer sexuality? and (2) How useful is Boal's pedagogies in engaging students to talk about queer sexuality? In answering these questions, Kahn explores the ways in which interactive drama can dislocate heterosexist assemblages and through dislocating these assemblages, offer opportunities for critical reflection on sexuality and society.

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1.   Sexuality education in South Africa

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S ex education is the cornerstone on which most HIV and AIDS prevention programmes rest and thus the high HIV and AIDS prevalence rates amongst 14 – 24-year-olds has added urgency to the issue of sex education in South Africa (Pettifor et al., 2004). This urgency is reflected in South African education policies such as the Department of Education (2000) document, ''The HIV and AIDS Emergency: Guidelines for Educators'', which impresses on educators their role in informing youth about HIV and AIDS and sexuality. However, much focus has been on what youth know rather than on developing an understanding of the deeply discursive situated contexts where they come to know. Baxen and Breidlid (2004) remind us,

> *In asking different sets of questions, researchers might come to develop deeper understandings of why, in the midst of readily available information about HIV and AIDS, youth still find themselves unable to negotiate safe-sex practices and why teachers are still challenged in teaching about HIV and AIDS.*

In this chapter, I review the literature on sex education and examine it in relation to South Africa and educational policies that guide sex education in schools. I have organised the chapter around three questions: (a) What do youth need from sexuality education? (b) Is school an appropriate environment for sex education? (c) If schools are an appropriate environment, what can be said about the content of sex education as well as pedagogy surrounding it? Using the existing body of evidence, I argue that in order to effectively meet the needs of youth, the content of sexual health programmes needs to span the whole spectrum of discourses, from disease to desire. Within this spectrum, youth should be constructed as ''knowers'' as opposed to innocent in relation to sex. In addition, any discussion of content needs to reflect on how content is delivered in order to provide an overview of how sex education exists in practice. In the final section, the focus is on implications for practice.

In terms of policy, HIV and AIDS and sexuality are a key content area in Life Orientation (LO), a programme that was introduced as a learning area in South African schools in the late 1990s

(Department of Education, 2002; Rooth, 2005). This change came about with the post-1994 shift in education policy to Outcomes-Based Education. Life Orientation comprises a diverse number of components: guidance, life skills education, health promotion, physical development and movement, environmental education, citizenship and human rights education and religion education. Bringing these diverse fields under the umbrella of LO has meant that in many South African schools a whole range of skills and qualifications are attached to teaching this learning area, ranging from three-day HIV and AIDS courses, two hour Departmental workshops and being an ex-guidance, -religious or -physical education teacher (Rooth, 2005). Sexuality education, therefore, does not exist as a separate subject.

Schools and teachers are given a considerable amount of responsibility and autonomy in respect of implementation of the LO sex education programme, which means that understanding of youth's needs and the approach to teaching it vary considerably. While the scope of my chapter does not allow a more detailed investigation of sexuality education practice in classrooms through the LO curriculum, it uses the policy ideals to frame the findings from the desktop review.

Articles included in the desktop review, represents the published research and writings on sexuality education known by the author. The articles meet the following criteria: (1) they focus on school-based sexuality education programmes; and (2) they have been published in peer reviewed journals or edited books. By limiting my review to peer reviewed publications worked with the assumption that the publications included in the review comprise a minimum level of research quality. Once the articles were read, a coding scheme was used to sort into categories that responded directly to the three questions posed by this chapter.

What do youth need from sexuality education?

Giami et al. (2006) question whether sex education sufficiently supports youth in today's rapidly changing context and attitudes towards sex where more sex, earlier sex, peer pressure and a continuous storm of distorted media images influence and shape their emerging sexuality. Within this changing context, there are changes to how youth are viewed by adults as well as changes to the needs of youth for information and skills to negotiate their sexuality.

Positive sex education that avoids blaming and shaming youth about their sexual feelings and presents a more balanced view of sex as both enjoyable and risky is more likely to meet the needs of youth. In the United Kingdom (UK) Aggleton et al. (2000) explore the conflicting images of youth – on the one hand, youth are seen as experimental, on the other, as innocent. This dichotomy stands in the way of a fuller understanding of youth and their needs. Placing all youth into one or other of these two camps also runs the risk of oversimplifying an age group that is intersected by a number of other social markers. As Aggleton et al. (2000:214) state, ''Risks and opportunities facing individuals vary in relation to social background, gender, sexuality, culture and ethnicity, among other factors''.

Similarly, Mitchell et al. (2004) examine the (adult) constructions of youth, childhood and innocence in South Africa which of course influence the kind of information that is seen as appropriate for

youth. They argue that youth are, ''often publicly referred to and visually constructed as children in need of protection, rather than as youth who have the right to relevant information about their own bodies and their sexuality'' (Mitchell et al., 2004:36). This leads to more appropriately seeing youth as ''knowers'' who bring with them knowledge about sexuality and their own experiences. This approach also challenges the idea that sexuality is something that can be handed to youth in appropriate doses.

Allen's (2005) study on school sexual health programmes in New Zealand also argues that youth need to be positioned positively and legitimately as sexual subjects within sexuality education programmes. Allen states, ''If we are to empower young people to act in ways that support their sexual health and well-being, then measures of programmes' success must be designed to acknowledge young people's sexual agency'' (2005:390). Youth cannot act in empowered ways without being treated as agents. Mitchell et al. (2004) remind us that youth do not necessarily not know about sex, but they may lack practical and social knowledge, which makes them more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS.

Within the British literature, Aggleton and Campbell (2000) outline a human rights-based framework for sex education that takes account of youth's needs and interests. Central to this is an affirming and positive definition of sexual health that takes account of sexual pleasure. While there has been an increase in open discussions around sex, sexuality and sexual health within health promotion programmes, these discourses have been linked to the negatives of sex, such as disease, abuse and violence. Aggleton et al. (1998) argue that a narrow focus on specific issues such as drugs, sexual health, etc. in a life skills programme does not meet the needs of youth. Their findings reveal a need for a more inclusive approach, which takes into account the mental, emotional and social dimensions of health experiences. They support the view that for youth, relationships with friends, families, and boyfriends/girlfriends are very important and they note that youth feel these relationships are marginalised in health promotion programmes even though they play a key role in their lives (Aggleton et al., 1998:219).

Research also indicates that the needs of boys and girls in sex education classes can differ and are influenced by cultural and social norms. Pattman and Chege's (2003:106) research in sub-Saharan Africa show that girls tend to be very quiet during sexuality education classes and teachers usually do not attempt to engage them in discussions. This silence around gender should not be ignored in the classroom, but rather picked up and investigated (Morrell, 2003; Morrell et al., 2001; Reddy, 2004; 2005). Teachers need to be sensitised to gender identities and roles so that these are not unintentionally reinforced in the classroom (Epstein et al., 2004; Pattman & Chege, 2003).

In South Africa, the need for sexuality education has in many cases been largely reduced to mean the need for appropriate information about HIV and AIDS. Thus, sexuality education has become the educational response to the HIV pandemic. These needs are reflected in policies such as National Policy on HIV and AIDS for Learners and Educators in Public Schools and Students and Educators in Further Education and Training Institutions (Department of Education, 1999) and The HIV and AIDS Emergency: Guidelines for Educators (Department of Education, 2000), although they are situated within a public health framework and focus on discourses of disease. Broader

needs for education around issues of sexuality and relationships are allowed for by the flexibility of the LO curriculum statements (see for example, Department of Education, 2006). These policies will be discussed further in the final section.

The judgement is thus that what young people need from sexuality education is a sympathetic recognition of themselves as sexual beings. Such recognition would not subject them to assumptions as to their experience or lack of it. It would not focus only on their concerns in relation to issues of disease and danger.

Is school an appropriate environment for sex education?

The next question posed by this chapter is whether schools are an appropriate environment for sex education and whether there are possible alternatives as sites of sex education.

Badcock-Walters (2002:95) and Kirby and di Clemente (1994:118) assert that virtually all young people attend school before engaging in sexual intercourse and that this makes schools well placed intervention sites in the context of HIV and AIDS. Giami et al. (2006:486) view schools as a site for sex education as a pragmatic response to a social need and argue that while the context may be less than ideal, it is the best available option. Kelly (2002) also argues for schools to be health-affirming and safe environments conducive to teaching and learning, which would lend themselves to the rollout of sexual health programmes. However, as pointed out by Kelly, this is often not the case in disadvantaged schools in South Africa. HIV programmes would therefore have to be adapted to take account of this context.

The most obvious alternative is the home environment. However, problems arise in that many parents do not feel comfortable teaching their children openly about sex (Africa Strategic Research Corporation/The Kaiser Family Foundation, 2002; Goldman, 2008). This is particularly so in the South African context (Francis & Zisser, 2006). Posel (2004) has noted that the greater visibility of sex in society through media and public health discourse has also been met with resistance. She states, ''The new visibility of sexuality coexists with a combination of angry outbursts and stern objections on the one hand, and resistant silences, denials and refusals, on the other'' (2004:60). Resistance often takes the form of parents who are being urged by HIV and AIDS prevention campaigns ''to love [their children] enough to talk about sex'', but who are unaccustomed to having such conversations with their children. Furthermore, ensuring that youth receive accurate and unbiased information in this context is also harder to monitor.

Kirby et al. (2007) argue for sex and HIV/STD education programmes that are based on a written curriculum, which can be implemented in school, clinic or community setting. While clinic and community settings are very effective sites particularly where they can reach other youth who have dropped out of school, potentially those at higher risk, programmes implemented in schools potentially reach larger numbers of youths (Kirby et al., 2007:206).

One of the main concerns regarding the teaching of sexual health programmes in a school context is the lack of training for teachers, who often do not have the skills and knowledge to tackle this task (Helleve et al., 2009; Mukoma et al., 2009; Rooth, 2005). Talking about sex and sexuality with

learners often generates a great deal of anxiety as some teachers are frightened of encouraging sexual activity, or of parents accusing them of this, or they feel it is inappropriate for them to talk about these things to learners who are so young (Jewkes, 2009).Many teachers feel embarrassed and wish to keep a professional distance between themselves and the learners (Mukoma et al., 2009). This results in little open and frank discussion forthcoming from learners (Aggleton & Campbell, 2000). This was similarly found by Helleve et al. (2009) who examined the perceptions of sex education held by Life Orientation teachers in South Africa in relation to their teaching of the topic. Inadequately trained teachers often add to the silence surrounding topics of sex, compounding gender issues as well (Morrell, 2003). As Pattman and Chege (2003:111) point out,

> Not only do teachers have an obligation to encourage the participation of all learners, but by focusing on boys rather than girls, they are contributing to a culture where boys are expected to take the initiative and to subordinate girls (sexually as well as in otherways). This enhances the possibility of boys and girls engaging in relations with little communication and negotiation and perhaps little respect and empathy for the other.

However, lack of training is something that can be addressed and does not necessarily reflect on the inadequacy of schools as sites of sexuality education. Schools are thus not unproblematic sites for sexuality education, but they may well be the best available, and it is argued here that their limitations can be addressed.

If schools are the best available option, the next question to consider is the content and kinds of pedagogy of sex education in the curriculum

While it can be concluded that the school environment may be less than ideal, in practice it offers the best available option. Therefore, the next question to consider is what content is covered in the curriculum? Giami et al. (2006) review some of the main issues, which hold relevance in South Africa. Traditionally the focus of sexual health programmes has been on biological aspects and negative issues such as teen pregnancies, STDs and sexual violence (Giami et al., 2006). However, simply increasing youth's knowledge does not necessarily lead to the prevention of these negative health outcomes (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2006; Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Khoza, 2004; Ngwena, 2003; Pettifor et al., 2004). There is a complex link between formal sexuality education and the adoption of its messages. This points to the need to develop a richer conceptualisation and methodology to understand and evaluate how messages are received, resisted and reworked in youth experience (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2006:107).

We know that ... changing what we teach, means changing how we teach (Culley & Portuges, 1985). The discussion in this section will therefore examine the interaction of content and pedagogy. Allen (2005) argues for a reconceptualisation of youth by sexual health programmes as positive, active sexual subjects, which in turn will require a shift in classroom practice. Her research examines the responses from 16 – 19 year olds at a New Zealand high school regarding their recommendations for improving the sexual education programme.

These suggestions were grouped into three elements of pedagogy. The first dealt with the structure of classroom activity and showed that youth wanted to be active participants allowing

them a say in what was discussed. The second involved the curriculum content where youth wanted more detailed information regarding the logistics of sexual activity, desire and pleasure. The third area dealt with the teacher's comfort and competency in dealing with the subject and in handling disruptive learners (Allen, 2005:390). Allen argues that content cannot be discussed without considering input from youth about their sexuality. She states, ''To be effective, sexuality education must meet the needs and interests of young people as conceptualised by them … Participants in this study conceptualised effective sexuality education as involving a shift away from overly clinical, impersonal and narrowly defined content about the prevention of negative sexual consequences'' (Allen, 2005:402).

The context of the situation and the relationship play a role in determining whether these health outcomes are negative or positive and are thus an aspect that needs more attention in sexual health programmes. As Abel and Fitzgerald argue, ''The unexpected or opportunistic nature of youth sexual intercourse is an aspect of their relationships that requires special attention'' (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2006:106). Further studies have also pointed to the need for emotional teaching and support on relationships as well as practical and social information in order to translate knowledge into sustained behaviour (Kelly, 2002; Khoza, 2004).

Abel and Fitzgerald (2006) conducted a study on youths' views and reflections on a sexual health programme at a New Zealand school. Studies in African contexts (Chege, 2004; Kelly, 2002; MacPhail and Campbell, 2001; Pattman and Chege, 2003) reveal similar needs and Abel and Fitzgerald's recommendations therefore provide a good starting point for our own reflection. Participants identified three main points which the programme lacked, that are briefly discussed below.

Firstly, the programme lacked improvement of negotiation skills. Youths indicated a need to talk to the sexual partner prior to sex, yet no techniques or role-plays about how to do this were part of the programme, again pointing to the need for re-examining of not only content, but also how it is delivered. For young women, their first sexual experience ''showed the socially induced tensions between having knowledge of safer sex practices and establishing a heterosexual female subjectivity that was not promiscuous'' (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2006:112). This dilemma was also not part of the syllabus. In a South African context, Kelly (2002:6) similarly recognises the need to embed factual knowledge about sex ''in a more holistic approach that takes account of the roots of human behaviour''.

Secondly, alcohol consumption and sex were also not addressed. This was a reality for most youths and part of their social life. This was often described as a ''choice'', ''the choice to be a drunk and carefree young person overrode the 'choice' to negotiate safer sex'' (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2006:113). HIV risk has been strongly associated with both the use of illicit drugs and alcohol use (Bertoni et al., 2009; Piot et al., 2008). Apart from research conducted by Flisher et al. (2000), the role that drug and alcohol use plays in youth's sexual behaviour in South Africa has not been expansively explored.

Thirdly, as has been found by other studies (Allen, 2005; Kelly, 2002), practical applications were not adequately covered, for example how to use condoms or how to say no when being

pressured to have sex. Further practical knowledge about contraception, where to buy condoms and how to introduce condoms into sexual activity were also not dealt with (Abel and Fitzgerald, 2006, p. 113). In South Africa, MacPhail and Campbell (2001) and Abdool Karim et al. (1992) report on condom availability and the barriers to condom use. They argue that despite the high level of knowledge young people have about condoms, misperceptions persisted, e.g. some youth believed that the condom may fall off in the vagina and make the girl ill. In Abdool Karim et al. study many respondents stated that they did not know where to obtain condoms. Almost all the respondents reported that condoms limit sexual pleasure and concern that partners would interpret suggesting condom use as insufficient trust in their loyalty and love (Abdool Karim et al., 1992:108). In contrast, Macphaill and Campbell (2001:1621) report that participants in their study made use of sources of condom supply ranging through friends, their schools, and large retail stores.

Despite the relatively good availability of condoms, young women reported receiving negative responses from nursing staff when they tried to access condoms and were reluctant to carry them as they risked being labelled 'bitch' or 'promiscuous'. Even though, young people have access to condoms there remains social barriers.

Conventional sex education does not include a discourse of desire or discussions on feelings and emotions and tends to be presented as separate from relationships and a broader social context (Coetzee & Kok, 2001; Masinga, 2009; Rugalema & Khanye, 2002). However, prevention and safe sex cannot be taught without an understanding of relationships and these broader contexts. Kelly argues for an approach that enables learners to appreciate sexuality as ''a wonderful, extremely powerful energy, experienced in every cell of one's being as a mighty urge to overcome incompleteness and to find fulfilment in a strong and abiding relationship with another''(Kelly, 2002:5-6). The content of sexual health programmes therefore needs to span the whole spectrum from desire to disease (Aggleton & Campbell, 2000; Aggleton et al., 1998; Masinga, 2009). Research has shown that the most successful programmes ensure that knowledge cuts across learning areas and includes ''care and loving, responsibility, gender equality, communication, faithfulness and the importance of family life, the positive aspects of sexual relations such as love, self-esteem, friendship and pleasure, and the negative outcomes such as STIs, rape and unwanted pregnancy'' (Goldman, 2008:424; Jewkes, 2009; Masinga, 2009; Mitchell & Pithouse, 2009).

When engaging with the issue of content, a further consideration is how sexual health programmes prioritise an official adult construction of knowledge, rather than reflecting youth's own sexual experiences (Allen, 2001). This impacts on how content is received and acted upon. Allen (2001) found that knowledge was grouped within a hierarchy where knowledge gained from personal experience ranked higher than knowledge gained from secondary sources. Within knowledge from secondary sources, two types of knowledge were constructed. Firstly, knowledge that informed about the dangers such as unplanned pregnancy, AIDS, STDs and sexual violence and that was generally viewed as clinical and scientific information. Secondly, more personal knowledge that focused on emotions and bodily feelings of desire and attraction. This second type of secondary knowledge about sex Allen (2001:114) refers to as a discourse of erotics. Allen

(2001) found that young people's talk was not dominated by ''official'' discourses about sexual activity, which indicates a missing discourse of erotics within sexuality education programmes.

However, there are many stumbling blocks to adopting such an approach, for example parental objections to content which could be seen to encourage sexual activity in youth, and lack of adequate teacher training to effectively and openly deliver such a broad programme. As has been discussed above, there are few objections to sex education itself, but rifts emerge when it comes to content and approach. For example, many parents and teachers are more comfortable teaching abstinence in such a programme (Goldman, 2008). This was similarly found by Pattman and Chege (2003) who argue that that HIV and AIDS education, as it is commonly taught, as a series of moral injunctions against premarital sex, silences youth on deeper discussions of these topics. They propose HIV and AIDS pedagogies which emulate the open, non-judgemental practices their researchers used to talk to youth. Pattman and Chege (2003:110) suggest that, ''as a result of being addressed by our researchers as experts about themselves and in a holistic and non-judgemental way, our interviewees were able to speak about anxieties and pleasures [openly]''.

Ryan (2001) argues for abstinence to be presented as an ideal and be actively promoted so that sex education is taught within a moral context, a view held by many LO teachers in South Africa (Helleve et al., 2009; Rooth, 2005). Ryan argues that teachers should not be moralistic, but should attempt to join moral perspectives with biological information. He also proposes that teachers or schools not decide what is taught in isolation of the community. Sex education, should therefore reinforce what the community believe to be correct and in this way youth would not be separated from their family's values (2001:219).

However, this approach is problematic when set in a South African context, where sex is still considered very much taboo and communities are often in denial about youth sexual activity. This was highlighted in a study by Helleve et al. (2009) where teachers' cultural perceptions were explored in relation to teaching practice. While teachers recognised the importance of teaching youth about HIV and AIDS, concern about learner behaviour centred more on the fact that they were sexually active at all than that they were practicing unsafe sex. They saw their role as one of restoring lost moral values, which were under pressure from media, peers and other influences (Helleve et al., 2009). Teachers also felt that teaching sexuality in general was culturally more challenging than teaching about HIV and AIDS (Helleve et al., 2009:200) which clearly widens the gap between youths' needs and sex education in practice.

In line with Ryan's suggestions about adapting content to community context, the LO curriculum allows teachers to adjust sexual health programmes to local culture and religion. However, Helleve et al. (2009:202) found that teachers tried not to challenge existing norms and values and tended to either adapt their syllabus or claim that there were no conflicts in order to avoid difficult sections such as sex education. A similar avoidance of conflicts with accepted values is reported by Rooth (2005) and Mukoma et al. (2009).

Ryan (2001) further posits that if teachers feel unduly constrained by the community's values and ideas regarding sex education, they should educate the parents about their views and intentions. This may be beyond the capacity and resources of most teachers considering the complex web

of taboos still surrounding sex and HIV and AIDS in South African society. This tension is not resolved by South African education policy, which offers teachers few practical guidelines about how to tackle these issues and is discussed in the following section.

This chapter thus argues against a sexuality education that pursues a strongly technical approach on the one hand or a moralistic approach on the other. Instead, it envisages an education that acknowledges that fulfilling sexuality requires learning across the continuum of experience. Such a continuum includes physical issues, understanding the impact of substances such as alcohol, a broad focus on sexual health, communication skills, and issues of emotions and morality. It argues not for a strongly defined curriculum but for an approach that recognises both context and student perceptions of need.

Conclusion and implications for practice

HIV and AIDS and sex education are integrated into the LO curriculum mainly under the heading of Personal Well-being. Outcomes are open-ended, but generally, sexuality education is embedded in learning about relationships, gender and power (Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9, 10-12, Life Orientation). The document ''HIV/AIDS Emergency: Guidelines for Educators'' (Department of Education, 2000) attempts to address teacher reluctance to talk about safe sex, urging teachers to be realistic about youth's sexuality and offers, ''A good starting point is to recognise that sexuality enhances life if it is properly directed. Good sexual relationships are not about power. They are not about demanding rights. They are about mutual enjoyment and respect'' (Department of Education, 2000:7).

This approach indicates that policy is generally consistent with what is deemed as good practice. However curriculum documents do not set out details for practice and lack of uniformity of approach through other policy documents such as the ''National Policy on HIV/AIDS for Learners and Educators in Public Schools and Students and Educators in Further Education and Training Institutions'' (1999) has added to the confusion of untrained teachers. In Section 2 (Premises) of this document, it is stated that, ''Learners and students must receive education about HIV/AIDS and abstinence in the context of life skills education on an on-going basis ... It should be presented in a scientific but understandable way'' (Department of Education, 1999:9-10). In this way, little guidance is offered to teachers regarding what to teach and on issues of pedagogy. As Rooth (2005) has pointed out, LO teachers in most South African schools lack uniformity of training and come from a diverse range of fields, which do not always adequately equip them to deliver sexuality education confidently and effectively.

From the literature survey presented in this chapter, the aims of the curriculum policy are often smudged by a lack of training of LO educators. The lack of training relates to failure to engage with the position of youth as ''knowers'' as opposed to innocent and seeing them as legitimate sexual subjects who can give input into what is taught. It also relates to the failure to address issues of gender, of desire and of the practical knowledge regarding relationships in the classroom. Investigating this policy gap is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it does point to the need for further research.

The stakes for sexuality education in South Africa are high. It has to address very real threats – HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancies, sexual exploitation – without becoming doom-laden or overly technical. It has to recognise young people as sexual subjects while acknowledging the diversity of sexual experience, from abstinence to opportunistic encounter. It has to challenge the patterns of imbalanced power relations between genders. It has to build a sense of agency and responsibility without alienating young people through moralism.

I would argue for a Freirean approach that takes as its starting point the questions that young people raise. In such an approach, the teacher is open to the differing experiences and perspectives that students bring, and can use these as resources for learning. This approach is weakly framed in disciplinary terms (Bernstein, 2000) and requires teacher confidence as well as a strong knowledge base that can be deployed as needed. The challenge is whether we are able to develop teachers with these capabilities, and to sustain them in social contexts that may be hostile to any discussion about sex, or see this purely in terms of imposing the prevailing norms, whether compatible with the values of the constitutional order or not. What we have is a crucial tension that is very hard to work around. We need to accept the very real constraints within South Africa and try to work realistically within these. A pedagogy that is probably more explicit, clearly structured both in terms of negative behaviour, and in terms of positive desire is what is needed.

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2. Mediating sexuality and HIV and AIDS in schools: lessons for teacher education

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South African youth still demonstrate high rates of HIV infection despite sound levels of knowledge about the pandemic and safe sex practices (MacPhail, Pettifor & Coates, 2008). Formal schooling, and particularly guidance and life skills programmes, are usually proposed as the most likely and indeed the most accessible environments where messages of safe and safer sex may be conveyed (Department of Basic Education, 2010). The expectation is that such information might encourage learners to make informed sexual choices that would lead to lessening HIV infection (Badcock-Walters, Kelly & Görgens, 2004). Schools are positioned as natural sites for mediating safe sex messages, primarily because they are a space where there is a captive audience of youth. A particularly important target audience for HIV prevention are primary school youth, who, it is assumed, are less likely to have made their sexual debut. Statistics indicate a growth in primary education enrolment for children in South Africa, which suggests universal primary education in South Africa is on track and achievable (UNDP, 2010). Such statistical descriptions that demonstrate large populations of children still at school support the idea that indeed, schools are obvious sites to mediate messages that might reduce risks toward HIV infection.

HIV and AIDS policies reflect a commitment by government to ensure that HIV and AIDS education is implemented in schools, through both curricular and co-curricular activities (Department of Basic Education, 2010). The Life Orientation programme, a compulsory learning programme in schools, further reinforces this commitment by guaranteeing that children are taught life skills that, it is assumed, offer them tools to make informed life choices, including choices about safe sex.

Content and learning outcomes are clearly specified for each grade of the Life Orientation subject, as contained in the Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statements (CAPS) document (Department of Basic Education, 2011). The Department of Education has also trained life skills teachers in the proposed content at provincial and local level, although the effectiveness of such training is often called into question (Nazeema, Ahmed, Flisher, Wanjiru & Jansen, 2009; Wood & Goba, 2011). Another problematic issue is the fact that the safe sex messages proffered to learners centre around contraction of the virus and attendant protection against the pandemic (Wood & Goba, 2011). These messages, at primary school level in particular, foreground abstinence as the primary protection against HIV infection. Such a stance presupposes that youth are not yet sexually active; assumptions known to be inaccurate (Francis, 2010; MacPhail, Pettifor & Coates, 2008).

In spite of the policy initiatives, statistics released by StatsSA (2011) indicate that there were still at least 316 900 new HIV infections amongst those 15 years and older in the last year. Such statistics suggest that knowledge *about* HIV and AIDS prevention has not to date translated into a reduction in infection, and by implication, into behaviour change.

Behaviour change is embedded in social and cultural contexts that are complex (Baxen & Breidlid, 2004; Katz, Ybarra, Wyatt, Kiwanuka, Bangsberg & Ware, 2012). Understanding behaviour, and accordingly, behaviour change, requires an understanding of (a) where it is expressed, and (b) the mediatory factors shaping social action and peoples' lived experience (Campbell, Foulis, Maimane & Sibiya, 2005). In the context of schools, two other dimensions also become important. These include understanding the complex interplay between the pedagogical process and the mediator on the one hand, and the nature of the content on the other hand (Baxen, Wood & Austin, 2011). The complexity of how these dimensions play out in education leads us to query the assumption that prevention education is best situated in schools. Specifically, we ask: Can schools be assumed to be neutral and natural spaces for mediating safe sex messages? Are teachers comfortable and skilled enough to mediate messages about deeply private aspects of our lives? Are classrooms the best spaces to discuss sexuality and HIV and AIDS, aspects of our social and individual identities often reserved for "the private"?

This paper thus attempts to open debate on such questions by considering some of the issues and challenges of privileging and positioning schools as primary sites for the mediation of safe sex messages and HIV and AIDS prevention. Drawing on qualitative data collected during a series of workshops held with life skills teachers in the Western Cape and Mpumalanga over a period of three years, we argue that the complex interplay between teachers' social, individual and professional identities and the content taught in sexuality and HIV and AIDS lessons does not always promote learning outcomes that are likely to lead to behavioural change. This, we argue, is partly due to teacher preparation and/or in-service HIV and AIDS programmes not paying sufficient attention to and accounting for this complexity. Our conclusions seek to advance work by teacher educators at pre- and in-service level to consider how their programmes could be adapted to address this lack.

Highlighted in this paper, therefore, is a critical engagement with two intertwined issues: first, aspects that shape teachers personal and professional lives in relation to sexuality and HIV and

AIDS and second, the content and approach to mediating safe sex messages and how this might be addressed in teacher preparation. To sustain the argument for schools to continue to play an important role in mitigating the pandemic, we maintain that there is need to (a) refocus HIV education to take cognisance of the social and cultural practices and belief systems that shape people's lives; to take account of the complex interplay between beliefs, practices and social action; to start where people are at in their own lived contexts; and (b) move from a pathogenic, compartmentalised, behaviouristic notion of HIV education towards a pedagogy informed by a salutogenic, holistic and critical framework.

Research design and methods

We adopted a critical enquiry methodology (Lather, 2006) as we aimed to encourage life skills teachers to critically reflect on their social, individual and professional identities in relation to the content they teach in HIV and sexuality lessons. By conducting a series of bi-annual workshops with purposefully recruited (Creswell, 2005) teachers in two provinces (Mpumalanga – 38 females and 6 males – and the Western Cape – 32 females and 4 males), we hoped to help participants change how they addressed HIV education to make it more socially embedded and relevant. This enquiry formed part of a larger project that investigated the policy and practice effects of HIV and AIDS on female teachers.

Workshop topics included, *inter alia,* community, school and family responses and experiences of HIV and AIDS; gender and sexuality; gender and HIV and AIDS; and sexual violence. Video clips (e.g. Steps for the future: available from http://www.stepsforthefuture.co.za) and carefully selected reading material were used. We recognised that any discussion on HIV and AIDS needed to include aspects on sexuality and that video clips and reading material would afford us an appropriate way to introduce difficult issues, since teachers could identify with the material and at the same time maintain some distance from it (Mitchell, De Lange, Moletsane, Stuart & Buthelezi, 2008).

Working in groups, teachers were asked to reflect on their own experiences, using either the video or the reading material as a vantage point. Plenary sessions were an integral component of the pedagogical process, where teachers were able to report back, critique and together reflect on critical issues. We videotaped these sessions and applied conventional content analysis to determine pertinent themes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Trustworthiness was enhanced by re-coding of data by an independent coder; a literature control; and preservation of raw data as an audit trail (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

The ethical measures of informed consent, confidentiality, and voluntary participation were adhered to (Mouton, 2009). All teachers gave written permission for the workshops to be videotaped and for any visual or textual data to be used for research purposes.

Discussion of themes

Analysis of the videotaped discussions revealed three main themes that reveal the tensions and challenges that negatively influence participants' ability to mediate HIV/AIDS education. These themes are discussed below, supported by *verbatim* quotations, and controlled by relevant literature.

Theme 1: Tension between personal and professional teacher identities

The participant teachers acknowledged that the task of teaching is made even more difficult by the fact that they bring their own personal values and experiences into their classrooms, yet must attempt to teach without passing judgement. A case in point was that teachers admitted having to grapple with factors such as abuse in their personal life contexts, yet having to teach objectively about such issues in their professional contexts. An example of this was cited by a female teacher in the Cape Town workshop who acknowledged that she teaches one thing in the classroom (e.g. no violence, be assertive) and yet her personal life can reveal the exact opposite. She said, "[M]y boyfriend used to beat me. I enjoyed it because he was showing love to me. Even up to now, I didn't think it was wrong that he hit me."

Teachers in the Mpumalanga workshop echoed the dissonance felt by having to teach around issues that they had experienced in their own lives and had not yet resolved. For example, a teacher related the guilt she carried about her illegitimate child, yet she needed to teach about preventing early pregnancy to her learners. Such cases confirm just how difficult it is for teachers to deal with and manage the reality of their personal lives versus the reality of their professional lives.

Teachers own cultural practices and religious beliefs also often precluded them from discussing issues such as HIV and AIDS, condom use, sex before marriage, and sexuality issues. This resulted in them taking a "technical" approach to HIV education (definitions and facts about the virus), as opposed to discussing it in relation to the life and behaviour of the learners.

Female teachers indicated that even although they also had sexual desires and feelings, cultural and social norms in the community did not allow them to admit this or act on them. The dominant discourse shaping behaviour was coyness and disinterest in sex by women. Women recognised that it was better to suppress desires, needs, and feelings, since those who went against this norm, especially the younger ones, were marginalised and labelled by both women and men. Such normalised expectations led to compliance and silence, thus perpetuating male dominance; issues female teachers found difficult to challenge and reconcile in their private lives even though they were expected to confront these with learners in class.

In terms of the private (personal) contexts many female teachers experience, it was acknowledged that although they are well-educated women, their social position outside of the classroom was one of subordination. As many agreed, "you are a teacher at work, not at home". Several teachers also pointed out how their professional life can intersect to threaten their personal life. Participants, especially those from the more rural and traditional province of Mpumalanga, told of instances where they had been threatened for attempting to help learners who had confided in them. One

female teacher, for example, was physically threatened by a male teacher whom she reported for trying to abuse a schoolgirl.

Male teachers were also adversely affected in that they found it difficult to assist learners without their actions being misconstrued. At one workshop in Mpumalanga, a male teacher related how, in trying to help a young girl, the girl was accused of being in love with him. The group consensus was that teachers choose not to interfere, as they were often afraid of the repercussions in terms of not only their private lives, but also their professional lives.

Teachers' work brings together aspects of their social and individual identities into the public space of the classroom, thus animating the distinction between their public/private, professional/personal and social/individual lives (Baxen & Breidlid, 2009). They are faced with having to reconcile their views and beliefs about aspects of daily life with what they teach and practise in schools, which usually results in avoidance of an in-depth, critical, and socially-embedded treatment of HIV and AIDS education (Theron, 2007).

Theme 2: Tension between community norms and curriculum requirements

The participants complained about community perceptions that sexuality education encouraged learners to experiment sexually. Teachers attributed this to the community, including their own families, being unable to distinguish or differentiate between sex and sexuality education. As one teacher said, "I told my son – be prepared... my husband got so angry with me – says I'm condoning it". This experience reinforced the tendency to stick to the basic facts of HIV education.

This silence still prevails in the wider community, where discussion around HIV and AIDS is often hampered for religious and cultural reasons (Visser, 2007). While they acknowledged slight shifts in the discourse, participants experienced resistance in their attempts to engage community members in conversations around HIV and AIDS, sexuality and gender violence. The HIV and AIDS discourse in communities was largely euphemistic and derogatory. Some of the names for HIV and AIDS that participants had heard included "it", "the beast", "3-ways", "the sickness" "the lotto" – all of which tend to emphasise a pathogenic and stigmatising view of the virus.

Silence is reinforced by tension between being expected to talk openly about aspects of sex and sexuality in their native language and cultural, religious, and personal taboos against this. The "silences" of teachers, were encapsulated in the Mpumalanga workshop, where the group found it difficult, as adults, to open up about matters of a sexual nature (e.g. masturbation). The names of genital organs are used as expletives in communities and children who use them are punished, therefore they learn not to use them. This upbringing results in many teachers choosing to substitute the official English words for the vernacular. This also results in the use of euphemistic language which creates complications as children may not fully understand the meaning. For example, the phrases "fall/be in love with you" or "sleeping with" may signify different meanings to different children in different contexts.

Related to the theme of community norms versus curriculum requirements, the participants perceived a general apathy amongst parents around sexuality education as well as a lack of

understanding, co-operation and participation; leading to little connection between home and school. Research confirms that lack of parental involvement is common in South Africa and hampers and negates the efforts of education programmes (Minke & Anderson, 2009; Mncube, 2009; Pengpid, Peltzer & Igumbor, 2008).

Often parents behaved in ways that were surprising to teachers and detrimental to learner's well-being. For example, in once case when a teacher impregnated a young girl, the parents, rather than expressing dismay, were pleased that their child was having an affair with a professional person such as a teacher. The female teacher who questioned this practice was accused by the parents of being jealous. This story highlights the fact that learners often receive conflicting messages in the two contexts (home and school), a factor that seriously hampers the effectiveness of the educational process, which is enhanced by parent-teacher cooperation (Crozier & Davies, 2007). According to the participants, home environments were promoting values and modelling the very types of behaviours schools were trying to counteract. They also believed that what is taught at home sometimes has more currency and thus is more dominant in shaping children's responses than what is taught at school.

Theme 3: Power relations, gender and dominant heterosexual discourses

Power relations, gender, and heterosexuality are key themes interwoven in the contexts in which teachers make meaning of their lives and, therefore, have consequences for the way they made meaning of their professional duties as life skills teachers (Baxen, 2006). This not only manifested in how they discussed their experiences outside the school, but also within the confines of the school.

Constructions of gender that assign certain characteristics, domains and activities to men and the opposite to women were prevalent in the way female teachers in particular described themselves and their positions and roles. The female participants perceived men to be assertive, with the power to exercise their dominance and sense of entitlement in relation to women, while women were socialised into accepting the consequences (violent or other) of this unequal relationship. It was acknowledged, by men in the Mpumalanga group in particular, that respect for a woman is not something that is taught to them while women, on the other hand, acknowledged that they are taught to respect men.

A male teacher in Mpumalanga confirmed that a commonly held view by boys is that beating a girl signifies his love for her. Boys who do not subscribe to these normalised forms of behaviour tend to be labelled and berated as "moffies" (weak and effeminate boys). Women, unfortunately, also tend to collude in this perception (Wood, 2009a).

Women seemed to bear the double-bind of subordination and compliance, making them more vulnerable not only to HIV infection but also to marginalisation and stigmatisation. Women living with the HI-Virus were labelled in a negative light, and consequently only a small number had disclosed their status. Male teachers on the other hand, had very different experiences when they revealed their HIV status. A male teacher disclosed his status at the workshop in Cape Town and

described the positive experiences and support he received from the community. He was painted in a heroic light, whereas for women living with HI-Virus, the antithesis is often true. They were referred to as "prostitutes" or "having too many boyfriends". The following excerpt related by a female participant living with the HI-Virus illustrates the point:

> In our culture or where we grew up, old people used to say to us – if you sleep with many boys – it's a disgrace. People will say she is HIV-positive; she was sleeping with many boys. People won't agree with me when I say why I am HIV-positive; people will say 'prostitutes' – people are now afraid to disclose.

Participants confirmed that poverty serves to contribute to the susceptibility of women to exploitation (sexual and otherwise), since they are not empowered to break free from their dependence on income generated through abusive relationships (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, Grey, McIntyre & Harlow, 2004). Participants in both provinces related stories of young girls being forced by their mothers to sleep with men as a source of income for the family. Male teachers at the workshops agreed that the vulnerability of women is a real issue in communities, and that little has been done to empower girls, beyond looking to men as financial strongholds.

Participants concurred that cultural practices such as *lobola* (a dowry paid by the man's family to the woman's family) perpetuates the notion of women as sexual objects for sale. While this practice was openly discussed in workshops in both provinces, teachers intimated the difficulty they experience in talking about it critically in other settings, especially if their communities are conservative and traditional.

Schools mirrored the gendered and unequal nature of the contexts in which teachers make meaning of their lives outside of school. Jewkes and Morrell (2010) make the point that the themes of power, gender and heterosexuality are complexly entwined in the school context. Participants narrated scenarios in schools where teachers are approaching for sex. This practice created a tension for learners in that, on the one hand they felt "proud" to be singled out as special and "worthy" of having a sexual relationships with persons in authority, yet on the other hand, they were fearful of the punitive consequences if they did not succumb to this authority. A female teacher gave the example of a young girl who, in not obliging to a male teacher's sexual requests, was continually punished.

Students were not the only "victims" of male dominance in schools. A teacher at the second workshop in Cape Town related her personal experience, whereby a senior male teacher approached her in a sexual manner. She later found out he was a "sugar daddy" to a number of learners in the school. Female teachers seemed reluctant to discuss such issues with young girls, since in some cases, they were perceived to be "jealous" of the girls' relationships with older men.

Women, married and single alike, recounted that they felt pressurised to engage in sexual intercourse in order to prove their fertility and/or their love or faithfulness to a specific man. The social status of women also precludes them from negotiating condom use, since such a request is often construed as a sign of infidelity on their part. Additionally, female participants conceded that the short-term risks of refusing sex or requesting safe sex are more off-putting than the long-

term risks of being infected with HIV. All these experiences made it more difficult for female participants to openly discuss such issues in class. They recognised how they themselves continue to perpetuate this cycle of submissiveness of women and dominance of men in society through reinforcing gendered practices at the school level. For example, one teacher highlighted that she unthinkingly always makes girls clean the classroom, while the boys go out and play.

Alternative sexual orientations are also not tolerated in communities that are premised on men exerting their masculinity, according to the participants. This made it difficult for them to deal with alternative sexual orientations in class. A teacher in one of the workshops in the Western Cape said, "… two boys are struggling with their sexual orientation in the school setting. They have been raped by older men. Teachers are struggling in the school themselves to help guide and support these learners", while another said. "I have a little 'soft' boy in class and other children tease him and don't understand why, for example, he cooks, cleans, and is worried about his hair". Stigmatisation, therefore, was not only in relation to HIV status but also the result of prevailing heterosexual discourses that circulate and reinforce particular forms of dominance and subordination (Cloete, Simbayi, Kalichman, Strebel & Henda, 2008).

Teaching sexuality and HIV/AIDS content

Given the experiences and tensions described above, it is not surprising that the teaching of sexuality and HIV and AIDS content tends to be avoided by teachers, or at best, implemented in a factual, teacher-centred manner. The findings of this study are supported by other research that shows that teachers tend to be knowledgeable about HIV and AIDS (Theron, 2005) and are fairly comfortable conveying information (Visser, 2005), but are not so adept at managing their own feelings and biases, or exploring and challenging social and cultural norms that influence their personal identities, behaviour and decision-making (Baxen, Wood & Austin, 2011).

We propose that education in the time of AIDS must raise awareness of and challenge the complex socio-cultural, historical, political, spiritual, and socio-economic conditions that contribute to the transmission of the virus. Failure to highlight and challenge the structural factors that fuel the pandemic, will mean that we will continue to label people living with HIV as promiscuous, deviant and creators of their own misery, a perspective which in turn prevents educators from engaging in critiques of the social (dis)order and acknowledging their roles as gatekeepers who reproduce the dominant social values (Macedo, 2006). If teachers do not engage in such critique, they could be seen to contribute to the maintenance of the problem. Real understanding of how best to approach HIV and AIDS education can only be attained through deep, critical analysis of personal constructs of HIV and AIDS, of epistemologies, pedagogical approaches and, perhaps most important, the personal responsibility to integrate HIV-related aspects into teaching. The development of epistemological and ontological values and personal and professional identities takes time and cannot be dealt with as a once-off experience, as is the case with most HIV training at the present (Wood & Goba, 2011).

In our work to date with teachers, at both pre- and in-service level, we have come to realise that if teachers can develop the competencies of self-reflection, critical thinking, and the responsible use of knowledge and skills, then they will be better able to respond to the challenges of teaching

within any context. Teaching around HIV has implications for the teacher that other topics/subject areas do not, since it entails exploration of own sexual, gender, and cultural identities, critically analysing how they manifest in behaviour, discourses and attitudes.

We are not advocating one universal approach as THE approach, but we offer here some suggestions for curriculum transformation for teacher education which adhere to the principles of health promoting, holistic and critical paradigms. We believe this may be a more effective approach to HIV education than a pathological, compartmentalised and behaviourist one. To frame our discussion, we adopt the curriculum-in-use model developed by Hollins (1996) that relates to the everyday practice and interaction of teacher and learner in the classroom within their specific environmental context. This approach allows exploration of what the teacher is doing that may be making a difference to how the learner engages with and interprets the content and material. HIV and AIDS education cannot be simply "dropped into" the curriculum – it has to be framed to complement the fundamental paradigms on which the curriculum is based, so that it can be infused in a relevant way.

The *content and outcomes* of a transformed curriculum should be related to helping teachers develop critical thinking skills, to become truly reflective practitioners who first explore their own constructs, identities and values and how they influence practice, discourse and attitudes. Outcomes must also necessarily equip teachers will the skills and knowledge needed to fulfil their roles as caregivers, advocates, brokers and prevention agents (HEAIDS, 2010). Similarly, the notion of inclusive education has to permeate the curriculum, so that all teachers learn how to design learning and assessment to include every learner in the class, and not just those with obvious barriers to learning. Knowledge about the bio-medical facts and educational impact of HIV must be supported by a full understanding of how learning can be enhanced for those affected/infected by HIV, and more importantly, this knowledge must be able to be transformed into action. The discussion of the data gathered in this study makes it clear that the starting point for any programme to help teachers to become HIV and AIDS educators has to be exploration and discussion around the contradictions they experience between what they are supposed to be teaching and what they are actually practising in their own professional and personal contexts.

Assessment is a crucial aspect of curriculum design since it is the tool by which we gauge our success in attaining outcomes. In terms of HIV education, assessment has tended to remain at the knowledge level. In a transformed curriculum, the HIV and AIDS outcomes should be infused throughout the programme and not just relegated to one learning area. Assessment should provide evidence of teachers' ability to: think critically and to be aware of the historical and social contexts of their learners and how these impact their education; be compassionate and caring; design and assess learning that is inclusive, create environments conducive to learner participation and engagement; and manage their own stress and cognitive dissonance resulting from the contradictions described above. Knowledge of their subject areas and of HIV is of course essential, but not sufficient to equip them to be effective teachers in today's context.

The *programme structure* should allow students to develop their understanding and competence over a period of time. If we expect teachers to present HIV and AIDS education in a way that reflects multiple ways of knowing and being and that takes into account the different ways in which people make meaning of their lives, then we have to make space for them to explore and come

to terms with their own sexual, social and cultural identities and to investigate how they make meaning of the contexts in which they live and work, before we can expect them to replicate such an approach in their classrooms. At present, most HIV and AIDS education tends to be limited to one compartmentalised module (HEAIDS, 2010). We argue that within a transformed curriculum, the causes and consequences/implications of the pandemic for teaching and learning have to be infused where appropriate along with the development of teacher knowledge, skills and values.

The *pedagogy* adopted should be participative, rather than the didactical approach which the participants in this study tended to use. Teachers have to learn how to create trusting relationships with learners, and a climate of confidentiality, openness, sharing and respect. The data indicates that for this to happen, teachers need to learn how to critically reflect on their own ability to create such an empowering environment.

An example of this type of approach is values-based practitioner self-enquiry, which offers a vehicle through which teachers can learn to critically question what they are doing and how they can improve on it. This is valid for all areas of professional practice, and not just HIV education, and results in practical improvements being made that can then be disseminated to others to influence their learning. This approach, advocated and popularised through the work of McNiff and Whitehead (2006), allows teachers to transform their personal and professional practices through exploring and questioning all they do, using their ontological and epistemological values as "standards of judgement" (Whitehead, 1989).

Effective teacher education programmes should be engaging teachers in exploring questions such as: what am I doing that will help to make learners aware of the danger of contracting the virus, what am I doing that will help them to have hope and belief in their ability and right to set and attain life-enhancing goals, what am I doing that will help them to view their fellow human beings in a compassionate light, regardless of their diversity, what am I doing to help learners develop and embody values that will contribute to them becoming productive, responsible and caring citizens, what am I doing that will help learners to embrace life and encourage their own children to do the same? The questions are endless, but, in seeking the answers, teachers will be able to create their own "living theories" (Whitehead, 1989) around how they can best educate learners to reach their potential, in spite of the challenges put in their way by the pandemic. This form of self-enquiry recognises that before teachers can influence learners, they have to have a high degree of self-awareness about how they have been influenced and how their ideas have been shaped by historical and social forces and how this impacts on what they teach and how they teach it – something that appears to be lacking in current teacher education programmes, according to the data presented here.

Through a systematic process of self-reflection, planning, action and evaluation, they learn to take responsibility for continual improvement of their teaching, striving to ensure that they embody values such as compassion, acceptance, respect, recognition of the value of the other, recognition of the interdependence of humans, belief in the ability of all to learn and achieve – values that, if lived out in practice will help them to fulfil the roles that are expected of them as teachers in the Age of AIDS and that promote health, inclusion and social justice. Such critical self-reflection on the part of teachers would enable them to engage learners to do the same, with the ultimate aim of moving them to take personal responsibility for changing their own behaviour and thus

contributing to a change in social norms. We thus agree with James-Traore and his colleagues (2004:12) who argue,

> *... effective training first has to have an impact on the teachers themselves, helping them examine their own attitudes towards sexuality and behaviours regarding HIV prevention, understand the content that they are teaching, learn participatory teaching skills, and gain confidence to discuss sensitive and controversial topics.*

Concluding comments

In this paper, we have argued that AIDS education should be about educating teachers to challenge their own thinking and that of others, to dispel myths and misconceptions and to help create critical thinkers who are compassionate and take their citizenship responsibilities seriously. As teacher educators, we have to examine how we can best help our students to not only do the above, but also to know how to engage their learners in a similar way.

Based on the insights gained from the research reported in this paper and other work we have done (Baxen, 2006, 2009; Wood, 2009a, 2009b, 2012), we suggest that this may be better achieved if the practice of sanitising the content of HIV and AIDS education is challenged and discouraged. We propose replacing HIV and AIDS education approached from a positivist paradigm, assuming that knowledge equals behaviour change, with a curriculum that takes into account the contradictions and "messiness" of human decision-making. The way that people make meaning of their lives is fraught with contradictions, incorporating multiple layers of knowing and being and this is the kind of knowledge that should be brought into the classroom for deep discussion and exploration. Sexual experiences, including the pleasure aspect, influence identity and behaviour and cannot be eliminated from or ignored in educational endeavours around HIV. Adopting a clinical, factual, one-size-fits-all approach to HIV education avoids the real issues that need to be resolved, leaving them undiscovered and unaddressed. The classroom then remains a space where children learn facts and prescribed behaviours, which practice we know does not lead easily to the lasting behavioural change that is necessary to reach the ultimate goal of reducing transmission and lowering HIV prevalence.

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3.   HIV/AIDS pedagogy and teacher emotions: the heart of the matter

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Introduction

"Societies entrust schools with the enormous responsibility for preparing children for their journey through the world. Today that means preparing them to navigate their way in a world with HIV" (Boler & Archer, 2008:31). This comment draws attention to the crucial role of schools in general and teachers in particular, in stemming the tide of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

This chapter focuses on teachers' emotions within the context of HIV/AIDS pedagogy and cultural complexities. To begin with, I briefly sketch the landscape of HIV/AIDS and sexuality discourses. This sets the stage for the discussion on the significance of teachers' emotions in HIV/AIDS teaching, drawing attention to Zembylas's conceptual framework on emotions. This chapter describes the findings from a study of teachers' narratives to highlight the importance of teachers' emotions in HIV/AIDS pedagogy. Finally, I discuss the implications of the shift from a purely cognitive notion of HIV/AIDS pedagogy to create space for an affective or emotional dimension to sexuality and HIV/AIDS education.

HIV/AIDS and sexuality discourses

The severity and extent of the HIV/AIDS pandemic is well-documented: 33,4 million people are living with AIDS globally, of which 22,4 million live in sub-Saharan Africa. More significantly, 5,7 million people – the highest in the world – live in South Africa (UNAIDS, 2009). Of consequence, however, is that the HIV/AIDS pandemic not only harshly impacts on social and economic development, but also negatively affects the health, education, agricultural, mining and transport sectors (Gibbs, 2009; World Bank, 2002; Coombe & Kelly, 2001). It is widely acknowledged that in order to reduce the lethal grasp of HIV and AIDS, this calls for not only a multi-sectoral response (Campbell, Foulis, Maimane, & Sibiya, 2004; Kelly, 2000; Piot, Bartos,

Ghys, Walker & Schwartländer, 2001; Visser, 2004; World Bank, 2002) but also one that targets the general population and, most importantly, young children (Coombe & Kelly, 2001; Kelly, 2000; World Bank, 2002). Thus, it is argued that the education sector in general and teachers in particular should play a key role in teaching young children about HIV-related information as well as developing suitable skills, attitudes and values to assist them in preventing, and coping with, HIV and AIDS (Baxen, 2010; Breidlid, 2009; Visser, 2004; Wood & Hillman, 2008). This discourse of teachers' responsibility to respond to HIV and AIDS is captured succinctly by Wood and Hillman (2008:37), "every teacher can and must respond to the challenges posed by HIV and AIDS and its related issues, in order to uphold the quality of teaching and learning".

The success of HIV-intervention or -prevention programmes is restricted due to contradictory socio-cultural attitudes related to age and gender; stigma, discrimination and shame (Otaala, 2003) and reductionist notions that HIV/AIDS knowledge lead to behaviour change (Baxen & Breidlid, 2009; Campbell & Foulis, 2002; Campbell et al., 2004). For Baxen and Breidlid (2009), such programmes neglect the diverse social and cultural contexts of schools and communities which convey HIV/AIDS information, as well as overlooking issues of power, gender and sexual identities. In other words, these programmes underestimate the lives and contexts of teachers, fail to acknowledge them as active agents who interpret, produce and mediate HIV/AIDS knowledge and make choices about "what knowledge to teach, when and how" (Baxen & Breidlid, 2009:13). This highlights the imperative, Baxen and Breidlid, (2009) contend, to foreground the link between sexuality and socioeconomic contexts, as well as the settings in which youth and teachers' sexual identities are constituted.

Unless the cultural complexities or barriers associated with stigma, discrimination and shame are confronted and addressed, the effectiveness of HIV prevention programmes will continue to be put under scrutiny (Campbell & Foulis, 2002; Otaala, 2003). Creating supportive, social contexts which address social issues such as poverty and gender inequity, stigma, and discrimination, promote participatory strategies and encourage critical thinking are therefore crucial issues which teachers need to consider in their HIV/AIDS pedagogy.

In addition to this, education systems play a key role in assisting societies mitigate the impact of HIV and AIDS, which impacts on health, education and social welfare systems, as well as societies and social development issues (Kelly, 2002a; Shaeffer, 1994; Visser, 2004; World Bank, 2002). Kelly (2002b) argues that social dilemmas such as HIV infection and death of teachers, nonflexible content and methods of teaching, vulnerability of orphans, children, girls and women, gender inequalities and violence demand drastic reform in education. Against this realisation, Kelly (2000:4) asserts, "school in an AIDS-infected world cannot be the same as school in an AIDS-free world". Indeed, schools "as society's most formal teaching-learning institution" have a responsibility to respond to the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Kelly, 2002b:28).

Within classrooms, teachers are solely responsible for conveying HIV-relevant knowledge, attitudes, skills and values. As such, Mitchell and Pithouse (2009) contend that teachers are critically placed to make a difference in addressing the HIV/AIDS epidemic, given their knowledge about teaching, the disease, policy, learning, human rights and counselling; and

their understanding of issues related to culture, gender and sexuality. Indeed, this reveals that teachers' roles incorporate not only pedagogical aspects of teaching and learning about HIV and AIDS, but also the bio-medical, psychological, and social aspects of the disease. This means that, within the HIV/AIDS context, teachers take on roles that are much more critical, caring and supportive (Mitchell & Pithouse, 2009). Wood and Hillman (2008:37) concur that teachers have a responsibility to protect and socialise children; to "take action to protect youth, to educate them about preventing infection, and teach them how to care – psychologically, physically and emotionally – for themselves and for others who have contracted the virus".

Social and cultural constraints perpetuate the silence, stigma and discrimination, associated with HIV and AIDS, and present significant challenges for teachers (Boler, Adoss, Ibrahim, & Shaw, 2003; Breidlid, 2009; Kelly, 2002a; Visser, 2004; Wood, 2008). As such, topics related to sexuality, sexual intercourse and condom use are considered taboo. Teachers, thus, experience great difficulty addressing cultural sexual practices, such as multiple sexual partners, power and gender inequalities and relationships with older men for financial gain, (Boler et al., 2003; Breidlid, 2009). In the same vein, Wood (2008) contends that social and cultural norms govern social labels or stigmas, which reduce teachers' self-esteem and self-value or how they are perceived or valued by others.

School cultures are diverse and fluid, comprising many facets such as cultural symbols and practices, values and beliefs which are significantly influenced by the community. Teachers, for Shaeffer (1994), are either formally or informally managed or influenced by such school cultures and surrounding communities. Consequently, they are obliged to be more culturally sensitive to their surrounding communities, and are, therefore, hesitant to teach about sex and sexuality as this contradicts community norms and values. School cultures, thus, regulate the HIV/AIDS terminology and knowledge that teachers utilise, resulting in them overlooking or excluding sexual information since they are "silenced due to fear" to challenge the dominant school and community cultures (Adonis, 2009:44). Poor psychological and emotional skills exacerbate the challenges teachers face with regard to HIV and AIDS (Wood & Hillman, 2008; Kelly, 2002a).

The corollary of such social and cultural constraints and discourses of silence and discrimination is that teachers practice "selective teaching": entire lessons on HIV and AIDS are omitted; HIV and AIDS are taught without any direct reference to sex or human relations; or selective messages are given on suitable sexual behaviour (Boler et al., 2003:45; Kelly, 2002a). In other words, teachers refrain from discussing sensitive, sexually explicit material and discuss HIV-transmission without directly talking about sexual intercourse, safe sex or abstinence due to societal, cultural and religious pressures. Social contexts and settings of gender inequalities and poverty add to the challenging role of teaching about HIV and AIDS effectively (Campbell & Foulis, 2002; Campbell et al., 2005). Therefore, teachers do not work in a vacuum since their personal and professional identities and pedagogy are influenced by the communities and social contexts in which they teach. While teachers have to deal with obstacles of stigma and poor stakeholder partnerships, these are exacerbated by social contexts of unemployment, crime and poverty. A huge challenge for teachers, therefore, is to create supportive and safe contexts to address HIV/AIDS, and overcome such challenges.

Teachers' emotions and HIV/AIDS teaching

Up until the last two decades, research on the importance of teachers' emotions and how these influence pedagogy has indeed been scarce (Boler, 1997; Hargreaves, 1994; Nias, 1996; Sutton & Wheatley, 2003; Zembylas, 2003a). For Zembylas (2003a), this is largely due to the traditional dichotomy of reason/emotion, rationality/irrationality and the conceptualisation of teaching practice as a cognitive activity. Teacher emotions, he argues, were believed to be the domain of cognitive psychology, originating in the individual and associated with women and feminist studies. Subsequently, there has been a proliferation of studies examining teachers' emotions and teaching and a shift in the notion of teacher emotions as social and cultural (Hargreaves, 2005; Kelchtermans, 2005; Zembylas, 2003b; 2005a). I concur with Zembylas (2005b:466) that in order to "aspire to a rich understanding of teaching, (we) can ill afford to leave out the emotional aspects" and only focus on cognitive systems and teachers' beliefs. Similarly, O'Connor (2008) contends that teachers' practices and choices are guided by their emotions. Therefore, this chapter attempts to show the significance of examining teachers' emotions to understand HIV/AIDS teaching.

There is growing recognition; however, that teaching is an emotional practice (Denzin, 1984; Hargreaves, 2003; Nias, 1996; Zembylas, 2002). Research on teacher emotion increasingly emphasises the inextricable link between teachers' emotions, teachers' lives and their teaching. Denzin (1984) contends that emotional understanding highlights the cultural dimension of emotions which manifests when we spread our moods to others, empathise with others, share the joys and sorrows of our families and develop close relationships with others.

Similarly, Nias (1996) contends that teachers invest or engage emotionally in their teaching, and like Boler (1997) draws attention to the political aspect of emotions and teaching. For Hargreaves (2001a), emotional geographies are linked to the culture and context of individuals and could be subjective or objective and represent:

> The spatial and experiential patterns of closeness and/or distance in human interactions and relationships that help create, configure and colour the feelings and emotions we experience about ourselves, our world and each other (Hargreaves, 2001a:1061).

Hargreaves identifies five key emotional geographies of teaching, namely: socio-cultural, moral, professional, political and physical (2000:816) which he contends illuminate patterns of closeness and distance between teachers, learners and parents, and either support or threaten emotional understanding in the classroom. Moreover, Zembylas (2002) claims that emotions are social, collaborative constructions which vary for different cultures and are inextricably linked with teaching. In this chapter, I argue that it is crucial to examine how teachers' emotions are related to their HIV/AIDS teaching.

Zembylas (2002) draws on Foucault's (1984) genealogical method to construct "genealogies of emotions" which shed light on how teachers' emotions are located and epitomised in their teaching as well as their personal and professional development. According to Zembylas (2002:83):

Genealogies of teachers' emotions describe events, objects, and persons and the relationships among them ... and the ways in which these emotions are experienced in relation to the teacher-self (individual reality), the others (social interactions) and the school culture in general (socio-political context).

Zembylas (2005a) asserts that genealogies of emotions denote accounts of approaches and strategies that have occurred in different emotional practices at different times in relation to teaching. Adopting Foucauldian notions of discourse, subjectivity and power, Zembylas (2005a) conceptualises teacher emotions as discursive practices and emphasises the role of language, culture and power in constituting teachers' emotions. As discursive practices, he argues that teachers' expressions of emotions are productive: "it makes individuals into socially and culturally specific persons engaged in complex webs of power relations" (Zembylas, 2005a:937). Thus, Zembylas draws attention to dominant and/or resistant discourses of teacher emotions within classrooms and schools and their influence on teaching. Of significance, are his notions of emotions as "sites of resistance and self-transformation" to understand how teachers' emotions influence their teaching (Zembylas, 2003b:213).

For Zembylas, emotional rules describe "how power relations and ideology shape the expression of emotions by permitting teachers to feel some emotions and by prohibiting them to feel others" (2003a:105). Emotional rules, Zembylas contends, therefore serve to control and regulate the emotional expressions of teachers. Zembylas builds a convincing argument to adopt poststructuralist, feminist notions to challenge traditional emotional/reason, private/public dichotomies and subvert traditional emotional rules. He contends that power and political dimensions are paramount for teachers to create spaces for emotions "as sites of social and political resistance and transformation of oppressions", to promote teacher emotional self-development and to construct new emotional rules (2003a:120).

Zembylas (2002) develops a conceptual framework to explore how teachers' emotions are located in their teaching. His framework highlights teachers' emotional lives and their teaching as closely related to individual, social, and socio-political components (Zembylas, 2002). According to Zembylas, the individual or intrapersonal level describes how "teachers experience and express emotions", the social or interpersonal level refers to how teachers engage with their emotions in their social interaction with others, while the socio-political or intergroup level sheds light on the relation between teachers' emotions and social and cultural dynamics within the "classroom or school setting" (2002:84). Given that this chapter focuses on the role of teachers' emotions and HIV/AIDS teaching, I argue that Zembylas's conceptual framework can be adapted to address the following issues regarding HIV/AIDS teaching at the different levels:

Individual/intrapersonal level: How teachers construct their emotions in their teaching about HIV/AIDS education.

Social/interpersonal level: How teachers engage their emotions in their teaching about HIV/AIDS education.

Socio-political/intergroup level: How teachers' emotions are related to their social and cultural contexts.

Rethinking notions of pedagogy

Notions of teaching or pedagogy have shifted from views of teaching as a science to notions of teaching as an art (Day, 2002; Adey, 2004; Baxen, 2010). Teaching as a science is "technical-rational" and "skills-based" underpinned by positivist epistemologies and quantitative methods (Adey, 2004:144); while for Baxen (2010:99), it is "an objective, rational act, often quantifiable and driven by objectives, outcomes, systematic plans of action". In other words, teaching as a science focuses on teachers' transmission of discipline-based knowledge and skills and learners' scientific understanding and routine application of these. In contrast, teaching as an art, Adey (2004:144) contends, conceptualises teaching as a "subtle and complex" process "dependent on deep-rooted talent and personality". This view, Baxen (2010) agrees, emphasises teaching as a creative, complex and socially constructed process. Emotions, context, multiple interpretations, and uncertainty are recognised as key components within such notions of teaching. In other words, teachers as resourceful subjects who create and regulate classroom environments and engage emotionally in their teaching are pivotal within discourses of teaching as an art.

Zembylas (2005b:466) makes the case for shifting from a scientific, "purely cognitive" notion of teaching to a one that "incorporates affective concerns". Pedagogy, for Zembylas (2007:xiii) denotes a "site of intersubjective encounters that entail transformative possibilities", and refers to the interactions between individuals which create and offer possibilities to communicate and act. This wide-ranging notion of pedagogy, Zembylas claims, extends beyond classroom practices. Furthermore, Zembylas (2007) points to the dearth of research about affect and passion in education and argues that Foucault's politics of passion can be extended to examine affect and emotional control in education. Thus, Zembylas proposes that teaching should acknowledge educational discourses of emotion, and how these relate to teachers' professional and personal lives in order to overcome despair. This orientation, I argue, is significant to not only address the politics of emotions in HIV/AIDS teaching, but also to overcome the despair associated with ineffective HIV/AIDS education programmes in curbing the pandemic. For Zembylas (2007), five pedagogies of unknowing, silence, passion, desire, and forgiveness and reconciliation offer great opportunities for hope, possibility and transformation. I believe that Zembylas's view of teaching as a political, emotional praxis offers a lens to interpret and analyse how power relations, teachers' emotions, and their teaching are intricately linked.

A qualitative, narrative approach to teachers' emotions

This chapter highlights the findings of a qualitative, narrative study that explored how teachers' emotions are inextricably linked with their HIV/AIDS teaching. The study focused on the following research questions: (i) What emotions do teachers experience or express when teaching about HIV/AIDS education? (ii) How do teachers' emotions influence their teaching about HIV/AIDS education?

I chose a narrative approach to explore these questions which enabled me to generate rich, detailed accounts of teachers' lives and their personal and teaching experiences (Chase, 2005; Creswell, 2012; Elliott, 2005; Polkinghorne, 1995). This study was conducted in South Africa,

one of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa experiencing the devastating effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and, more specifically, in KwaZulu-Natal, the province most severely affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The Provincial Department of Education granted permission for this study to be undertaken in a Midlands town situated approximately 40 km south-west of Pietermaritzburg. Five primary school teachers who expressed willingness to participate voluntarily in this study and were engaged in teaching HIV/AIDS education were recruited as the purposive sample of teacher participants. The data consisted of timelines, semi-structured interviews, lesson observations and scenario analysis. Lesson observations were videotaped and interviews were tape-recorded. I co-constructed narratives with teacher participants drawing on these data sources.

Teacher participants chose their pseudonyms to be used in their narratives: Mary-Ann, Andrew and Zibuyile currently teach Natural Sciences, Nombu teaches Mathematics and Sandile teaches Human and Social Sciences. Mary-Ann and Sandile were Heads of Department. Mary-Ann, Andrew and Sandile had more than 20 years teaching experience while Nombu and Zibuyile had approximately 10 years teaching experience. All teacher participants maintained that they attended departmental HIV/AIDS workshops.

Analysis of narratives on teachers' emotion

Narratives were analysed adopting Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber's (1998) holistic-content approach and Ochberg's (2003) four phases to interpret texts. A holistic approach focuses on "the narrative as a whole" and interprets how fragments of the narrative resonate with the entire narrative, while a focus on implicit content considers the meanings of the entire narrative or fragments of it, as well as the traits, images and intentions of individuals (Lieblich et al., 1998:12). I began by identifying phrases portraying emotion, action/teaching or relationships in teachers' narratives. I then moved beyond individual phrases and grouped them into clusters. Next, I identified how different clusters related to each other, and the research questions of the study. Following this, I draw on Hargreaves theory of emotional geographies and Zembylas's conceptual framework of teacher emotions to identify conflicts and critically reflect in terms of discourses and social critique. During the analysis procedure, I also identified clusters of meaning related to teachers' experiences and subjectivities; however, only data related to teachers' emotions are presented in this chapter.

The theoretical framework served as a lens or filter to make sense of teachers' narratives and uncover meaning. I looked for expressions of positive and/or negative emotions and feelings experienced by teachers in their personal and professional lives and the extent to which these influenced their decisions about the curriculum (what they taught), their teaching praxis (how they taught) and how they responded to learners. I illustrate with few examples from the study, which I describe under two themes: (i) teachers emotional expressions; and (ii) technologies of emotions. The first theme highlights the positive and negative emotions teachers express about their personal lives and teaching HIV/AIDS education; while the second theme illustrates how teachers' emotions are inextricably linked with their professional decisions, curriculum choices and responses to learners in their teaching about HIV/AIDS education. Issues related to cultural

complexities including myths, stigma, and discrimination associated with HIV and AIDS are integrated into the discussion of the two themes which follows.

Teachers' emotional expressions

As an emotional practice, teaching arouses certain emotions in teachers and those with whom they interact. Hargreaves (2001) contends that appropriate expressions of emotional experiences vary among different cultures and professions and distinctively influence identities and relationships. Teachers' working conditions and relationships entrench their emotional experiences, resulting in significant positive and negative emotional episodes which they have to manage in their classrooms. An examination of teachers' narratives highlighted both positive and negative emotional expressions and feelings related to their childhood, schooling and HIV/AIDS teaching.

Among teacher participants, the positive and negative – pleasant and unpleasant – emotions called to mind varied. While Mary-Ann, Zibuyile, Nombu and Sandile recalled both positive and negative emotions of their childhood and schooling; Andrew, however, remembered mostly negative, unpleasant memories, as the following discussion illustrates.

Mary-Ann, Zibuyile, Sandile and Nombu recalled "happy, loving, playful, fond and pleasant" memories of their childhood and schooling. In contrast, Andrew's childhood memories were "sad and frustrating", and he experienced "feelings of misplacement" since he was adopted. Teacher participants recalled critical incidents which triggered significant emotional expressions. Zibuyile expressed "sadness" about both her parents being retrenched, the deaths of her sister and brother and her "traumatic and painful" divorce. Mary-Ann also shared the "sad, unpleasant" memory of her parents' divorce and added "I hated the concept of divorce, I hated the negativity". For Nombu, the death of her mother, whom she was very close to, was "the most traumatic experience" of her life.

Andrew disclosed that he is homosexual and this could explain why he felt strange and different and experienced feelings of rejection and isolation. He elucidates that his father and sister found it difficult to accept his homosexuality, while his mother experienced feelings of "hopelessness", adding that "my mum just cries because she doesn't know how to deal or cope with it". Andrew has a passion for writing poems and states that writing poetry allows him to express feelings and emotions that he could not discuss with anyone else. In other words, poetry offered Andrew an outlet to express his feelings and come to terms with being homosexual, as the following poem highlights:

> *Some people and me*
>
> *Some people and me*
> *enjoy each other's company for a while,*
> *and go on in a normal way*
> *joking, teasing and spurring,*
> *fulfilling passionate needs each day.*

Some people recognise in me
a love that can be shared
if the tap is only turned.
These people befriend me and show me
that you cannot really determine
which way friendships will go.

Some people are drawn in close
and then they have to leave
according to the pattern of everyday existence.
Time is a thief and moments stolen are precious,
few, and too short to lead to
lasting unfolding's.

Some people and me
realise that this is so-
it's one of nature's laws.
So for a while we are like brothers
living close, giving what we can
to enjoy each other to the full.

Andrew's poem is fully laden with explicit feelings and emotions about his sexual relationships, and tells his emotional story about his feelings experienced in his transient relationships. Writing poems, therefore, allows Andrew to express his thoughts and feelings in an emotional way.

Emotional understanding entails drawing on past emotional experiences to understand and analyse the emotional experiences of others. I argue that an analysis of past positive and negative emotions of teacher participants is significant since it contributes to their emotional understanding. It is this emotional understanding which allows them to draw on such emotional experiences to understand the emotional experiences of learners in their classrooms in their HIV/AIDS teaching. This means that teachers need to construct emotional understanding which enables them to communicate with learners when teaching about HIV and AIDS. Positive emotions such as love, caring and happiness are important for teacher participants to develop personal caring relationships. These personal caring relationships, Ritchie and Wilson (2000) assert, develop into professional caring relationships, as teacher's personal and professional lives coalesce. Andrew's emotional understanding of his experiences of his sexuality and his feelings of sadness, rejection and isolation, would indeed help him to understand and make sense of the emotional experiences of learners when teaching about sexuality issues related to HIV and AIDS.

With regard to their feelings and emotions in connection with teaching sensitive topics about HIV and AIDS, all teacher participants concurred that it was very emotional. As Nias (1996) contends, teachers bring their feelings into the classroom adding an emotional dimension to their teaching. Thus, I wanted to explore not only what emotions teachers experienced when teaching about HIV and AIDS, but also why they invest these emotions in their teaching. Zibuyile shared that she "feels the pain that some infected and affected learners are going through, she feels like crying".

Both Nombu and Sandile maintained that they "feel sympathy and sorry" for HIV-infected and HIV-affected learners in their classes, while Andrew claims that "because of my personal situation, it was more emotional for me". Andrew asserts that teachers need to be careful about how they present sensitive information about HIV and AIDS, and that contextual issues are important, since learners come from different socio-cultural backgrounds. In addition to this, Andrew believes that teachers "should be aiming towards talking about feelings ... the human aspect of it" when teaching about HIV and AIDS. He shares this important insight:

> You can try to be objective but your emotions will come through. Learners can see whether you are genuine or not. You don't have to highlight your emotions, they'll come through.

Andrew draws attention to the crucial role of teachers' emotions in teaching sensitive issues about HIV and AIDS and highlights the performative nature of teachers' emotions when he says, "your emotions will come through". This resonates with Zembylas's (2005a) assertion that teachers perform their emotions, they enact their emotions in their teaching, and also confirms Nias's (1996) contention that teachers bring their emotions into their classrooms and invest emotionally in their teaching.

Nombu, Sandile, Zibuyile and Andrew concurred that teaching about HIV and AIDS is an emotional process. On the contrary, Mary-Ann strongly disagrees and believes that teachers should keep their emotions and their teaching about HIV and AIDS separate. The excerpt below exemplifies this point:

> No, teaching about HIV and AIDS is not an emotional issue. It is possible to be clinical and give learners a more scientific, clear picture of HIV and AIDS. Teachers need clarity to make clear choices and need to take the subjectivity out of teaching about HIV and AIDS. This will make it more effective. I make a point of keeping my emotions out of my teaching about it; I was trained as a psychologist.

I was struck by how deeply embedded Mary-Ann's psychological training and experience was in such a clinical, cognitive view that emotions should be completely detached from teaching about HIV and AIDS. In other words, her belief that "teaching about HIV and AIDS is not an emotional issue" is strongly shaped by her psychological background. Surprisingly, she was the only teacher who expressed this view so strongly. Her psychological training possibly served as a 'rational' filter through which she viewed her role in teaching about HIV and AIDS.

Responses of teachers illustrated their "emotional knowing about teaching" (Zembylas, 2005a:945). Teachers taught in dynamic emotional contexts which resulted in them experiencing diverse positive and negative emotions when teaching about HIV and AIDS. The excerpts below highlight teachers' feelings and the positive and negative emotions that they expressed when teaching about sensitive issues related to HIV and AIDS:

> Zibuyile: "Sad ... knowing that people are sick...even learners become sad and feel hopeless since there is no cure. Angry and frustrated...feel sorry for them because it's hard to get ARVs. Hope that maybe someday there will be a cure. I feel happy when learners and parents are willing to be tested and take medication but angry when people don't take medication, play around and don't care."

Mary-Ann: "Very positive experience of teaching about HIV and AIDS ... happy ... like I've done my job ... pleasure ... power is in my hands to empower learners, sad about learners experiences at home ... relinquish guilt ... daunting."

Andrew: "Positive emotions ... awareness, love for children in class, care, motivation, self-esteem. Negative emotions ... sadness, loss, feelings of fear, no hope, scared about parents' response."

Sandile: "You just feel sorry for learners and there is that feeling of regret ... comforting learners ... giving them hope."

Nombu: "I feel sorry ... sympathy for infected learners ... am I embarrassing learners? ... how can we care for learners? ... don't have to get frustrated about it ... facial expressions of affected learners are sad ... sorrow, loss."

Mary-Ann's emotional expressions about her positive ("happy, pleasure, power") and negative ("sad, guilt, daunting") emotions and feelings when teaching about HIV/AIDS conflict with her belief that her emotions should be kept out of teaching about HIV and AIDS. Indeed, this conflict makes a case not only for teaching as an emotional practice but also signals the shift in the notion of teaching from a purely cognitive stance to one that acknowledges emotions and affect.

An analysis of teachers' positive and negative emotions revealed that sadness was the prominent negative emotion expressed by all teacher participants, with loss and hopelessness expressed by Andrew, Nombu and Sandile. Positive emotional expressions included hope, happiness, love and care. Such positive and negative emotional expressions of teachers when teaching about HIV and AIDS supports Hargreaves (2001a) notion of teaching as an emotional practice and being "inextricably emotional". Teachers' positive and negative emotional expressions also play a significant role in how they construct their HIV/AIDS pedagogy, plan and select the curriculum they teach and establish relationships with learners. Thus, emotional expressions emphasise that teachers' emotions are socially constructed in their social relationships with learners in their classrooms and reinforce the three aspects or levels of teachers' emotions identified by Zembylas (2002), namely, intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup.

From an intrapersonal level, teachers' positive emotional expressions of hope, happiness, love and care and negative emotional expressions of sadness, hopelessness and loss influence their attitudes about HIV and AIDS and informs their HIV/AIDS pedagogy. Through these emotional expressions, teachers reflect on their feelings about HIV/AIDS teaching and respond to, negotiate and construct their pedagogical approaches. This is captured in the excerpt below which Zibuyile shared:

At the beginning, I felt frustrated, nervous and also anxious about the attitude I would get from learners and parents. I was not sure whether they were going to co-operate. For parents, I knew there were myths about the issue of HIV and AIDS. I was nervous about how they would handle the whole topic because I would give learners homework which maybe could provoke their thinking. What made me so anxious was feeling that no matter how difficult teaching and bringing awareness to the community, I will do it because knowledge is power.

This excerpt exemplifies Zibuyile's willingness to reflect on her feelings, her beliefs, and values about HIV and AIDS and how these influenced her teaching practice or pedagogy. In addition to this, it highlights how her emotional expressions at the intrapersonal level are integrated with the social and cultural contexts in which she teaches, or the interpersonal and intergroup levels. Next, I discuss the theme "technologies of emotion" which examines how teachers' positive and negative emotional expressions are "culturally and socially situated" (Meyer, 2009:75) and the extent to which these emotional expressions influence teachers' curriculum decisions, teaching praxis, and pedagogical approaches.

Technologies of emotion

While it is important to consider teachers' emotional expressions, it is equally significant to examine teachers' emotional experiences and teaching praxis in diverse cultural and social contexts of the classrooms within which they teach. This section considers teachers' emotional expressions as productive, in other words, how it makes them into "socially and culturally specific persons engaged in complex webs of power relations" (Zembylas, 2005a:937). An examination of "technologies of emotion" of teachers entails an analysis of the different means with which teachers operate on their emotions and feelings, develop relationships with learners, engage in self-reflection and negotiate emotional rules to transform their ethical practice and pedagogy. Teachers' emotional expressions, Zembylas (2003a) contends, are controlled and regulated by emotional rules, which include language, ethical and emotional boundaries, significant attributes, shortcomings to be avoided and goals to pursue. Power relations manifest in such emotional rules which prescribe appropriate and inappropriate emotions and discipline and classify teachers' emotional expressions.

Teachers shared how their emotions and feelings affected their pedagogical decisions and manifested their attitudes and values. The following excerpt exemplifies this:

> Mary-Ann: "I constantly ask myself: What can I do better? It is important to keep the topic alive, so I update my knowledge to give learners the correct information. I definitely believe that I can make a difference, and that the more information learners have the better. I try hard as a teacher to find out as much as I can to answer learners questions directly. If learners have intellectual satisfaction, they are more likely to act on it. Besides giving learners the correct information about HIV and AIDS, I tell learners about sugar daddies, money and free sex. I want to change their attitudes so they can make the right choices. I encourage learners to talk out, be more open, and question every aspect about sexuality. I tell learners that HIV and AIDS affect everyone, they make individual choices, and the power is in their hands."

Mary-Ann's dialogue highlights how her emotions and feelings are closely related to her attitudes and values about the social issues ("sugar daddies, money and free sex") that need to be dealt with in her HIV/AIDS teaching. Her engagement in self-reflection allows her to select information or content that she believes would develop correct attitudes, so that learners can make correct choices. Her positive emotion of hope and caring has made her more dedicated and committed to transform her ethical practice and HIV/AIDS pedagogy. She believes that she can "make a difference in learners' lives" by talking openly about HIV and AIDS. Mary-Ann's emotional expressions thus reveal the power dynamics in her classroom as well as the close relationships

she has developed with learners. Of interest is how this conversation conflicts with her views mentioned earlier about keeping her emotions and teaching of HIV and AIDS completely detached. Her emotions therefore serve as "discursive practices" or "sites of resistance and self-transformation", as Zembylas (2003b) contends.

Similarly, Andrew asserts that his "personal experiences of HIV and AIDS makes me want to know more and do more in teaching about HIV and AIDS". He adds that after the "painful process" of the death of his friend, his teaching about HIV and AIDS is now "more purposeful and I want to prevent learners from the dangers of HIV and AIDS and death". Such technologies of emotion have helped him to select content that is accurate and "focus on the human and personal side of HIV and AIDS". He believes that it is important to allow learners to "tell stories about their experiences of HIV and AIDS and that he cannot only present the facts". Teaching, he suggests, must make learners more aware about HIV and AIDS and empower them to bring about changes in their attitudes and beliefs about HIV and AIDS.

In the same vein, Zibuyile shares that she wants to "make learners more aware and change their behaviour", by selecting interesting topics that encourage learners to co-operate, and reiterates that "learners wanted me to continue talking about HIV and AIDS; they were eager". For Nombu, her emotions had "positively influenced her teaching" about HIV and AIDS since the graphs and statistics about HIV/AIDS rates and percentages that she presented in her Mathematics lessons were *interesting* and enabled learners to see the effects of the pandemic. This "helped learners to think about themselves and what they had to do to prevent HIV infection".

The preceding discussion illustrates the relationship between teachers' emotions and their knowledge and beliefs about HIV and AIDS which represents epistemological factors and social interactions at an interpersonal level in Zembylas's conceptual framework. Such emotional expressions reveal their pedagogical decision-making about what content to teach based on their epistemological views, their interpersonal relationships, as well as how their pedagogical approaches and goals are socially and culturally situated. This, I argue demonstrates their "technologies of emotion" to transform their HIV and AIDS pedagogy as an ethical practice in their classrooms spaces.

Thus far, the discussion highlighted the intrapersonal and interpersonal dynamics of teachers' emotional expressions. Next, I broaden the discussion to contextualise interpersonal perspectives, emotional expressions and experiences within wider political, social, cultural, and institutional (school) settings at the intergroup level. The following two excerpts illustrate the emotional rules and cultural constraints that teachers had to negotiate in their HIV/AIDS teaching:

> Sandile: "Parents are not well informed about HIV and AIDS, and therefore cannot pass on important information about the disease to their children. Learners are first exposed to HIV/AIDS education by teachers at school, and initially found it difficult to talk about sensitive issues. The silence and denial by parents is also a challenge, as well as the myths. Like if you have HIV and AIDS you are in the process of becoming a sangoma, or you get the disease because someone has used witchcraft on you."

> Andrew: "There are so many young girls who are pregnant and have HIV. Zulu children are not told about sex and they don't talk about it, because their parents don't like to talk about it. The attitudes towards HIV and AIDS and what children have to deal with vary in the different communities. Teachers, in addition to teaching about HIV and AIDS, have to try and ascertain the background and socio-cultural conditions of different learners and must be very observant of learners' behaviour in and out of the classroom."

Teachers identified the main challenges of teaching about HIV and AIDS as addressing cultural and religious conflicts as well as the attitudes and beliefs instilled by parents. In addition, parents in the community did not talk openly about HIV and AIDS, which perpetuated the myths about HIV and AIDS. Learners therefore found it difficult to engage with and discuss sensitive issues during classroom discussions about HIV and AIDS. Additionally, some parents in the community were not in favour of teachers discussing sensitive issues, such as sex, using condoms, and HIV/AIDS with young learners. Such socio-cultural challenges or boundaries served as emotional rules which prescribed appropriate and inappropriate emotions, thus controlling and regulating the emotional expressions of teachers. Therefore, power relations and belief systems within schools and communities influenced emotional expressions and emotional rules. These emotional rules prohibited teachers from teaching HIV and AIDS in ways they wanted to. In other words, it influenced their emotional expressions and what they could and could not teach about HIV and AIDS. The lack of social and emotional support from parents and religious leaders resulted in feelings of powerlessness and anxiety in teachers, which revealed the power dynamics in HIV/AIDS pedagogy. Poor communication among parents and children also created feelings of frustration in teachers and influenced the effectiveness of their HIV/AIDS pedagogy. By engaging in constant self-reflection, teachers were able to understand and manage their negative emotions and transform their knowledge, attitudes and HIV/AIDS pedagogy. Narrative excerpts highlight that teachers' emotions are at the heart of teaching and that HIV/AIDS teaching is an emotional practice (Hargreaves, 2003; Zembylas, 2002).

Implications for HIV/AIDS pedagogy and future research

This chapter provides insights into teachers' emotional experiences and emotional expressions and the extent to which these influence their HIV/AIDS pedagogical decisions about what content to teach, their attitude and values, social relationships and power dynamics of HIV/AIDS teaching. An argument is presented to adopt Zembylas's (2002) integrated approach which considers the individual (intrapersonal), social (interpersonal) and socio-political (intergroup) dimensions of teachers' emotions. However, a more comprehensive theoretical and conceptual framework for teachers' emotions and teaching is urgently needed. Most importantly, the study unveils the crucial need to foreground the emotional dimension of teachers' lives over and above the cognitive dimension, particularly in relation to HIV/AIDS pedagogy. This study, therefore, builds an argument for shifting from a purely cognitive notion of HIV/AIDS pedagogy to one that acknowledges the affective, emotional dimension and foregrounds the political and ethical implications of teachers' emotions as well. Such a notion of pedagogy offers directions for future research and as Zembylas (2007) argues, also offers critical hope to transform current HIV/AIDS pedagogy. While a number of researchers have examined teaching as an emotional practice (Boler, 1997; Hargreaves, 2003); emotional geographies of teachers (Hargreaves,

2001a); genealogies of teachers' emotions (Zembylas, 2002); teachers' emotions and educational reforms (Ketchtermans, 2005); to date, there is little research that critically analyses exactly how teachers' emotions influence their teaching and their lives. Zembylas contends that power and political dimensions are paramount for teachers to create spaces for emotions "as sites of social and political resistance and transformation of oppressions", to promote teacher emotional self-development and to construct new emotional rules (2003a:120). However, research is needed to deepen understanding about emotional politics and how teachers negotiate or transform emotional rules. The implications of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on teacher attrition, curriculum reform and teachers' emotions and lives are also avenues for future research.

This chapter contributes to on-going research to analyse the implications of teachers' emotions for their pedagogical decisions and teaching praxis. We need to take cognisance, as teacher educators, of the emotional dimensions and emotional politics of teaching and incorporate this into higher education curricula, practice and policy. With regard to HIV/AIDS pedagogy, this chapter concludes: teachers' emotions matter!

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4. Letting our commitments rest on the shelf: Teaching about sexual diversity in South African schools

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Introduction

From a legislative perspective, the Republic of South Africa is a world leader in support for LGBT rights. According to the data from the most recent report of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (Itaborahy, 2012), South Africa prohibited employment discrimination based on sexual orientation in 1996, prohibited incitement to hatred based on sexual orientation in 2000, permitted joint-adoption by same sex couples in 2002, passed gender recognition legislation in 2004, recognised marriage for same-sex couples in 2006, implemented legislation equalising the age of consent for homosexual and heterosexual acts in 2007, and was the first of only six countries in the world that currently include sexual orientation as a category protected by its constitution: "No person shall be unfairly discriminated against on the grounds of race, gender, sex, ethnic or social origin, color, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language, birth, or marital status" (Government Gazette of South Africa, 1996).

The social realities are not so encouraging (Amnesty International, 2012). A report by the Human Rights Watch, while acknowledging the legislative accomplishments of the South African post-apartheid government and their impact on other nations struggling with LGBT rights, noted that "South Africa still confronts unfulfilled responsibilities in implementing its constitutional protections ... too often, South Africa has let its commitments rest on the shelf or remain idle in constitutional clauses, unsupported by action" (2003:55). Socio-cultural traditions rooted in

bigoted forms of Calvinism and patriarchal structures for Blacks Africans have contributed to violence that includes "corrective" rape of non-gender-conforming women (Phamodi, 2011)[1] and the beating of younger men by their elders in order to rid them of homosexual tendencies (Astbury & Butler, 2005; Gevisser & Cameron, 1995; Isaack & Judge, 2006; Louw, 2005). During this same period, a school in Bloemfontein, the Creare Training Centre, indicated in its prospectus that it assists homosexual with changing their sexual orientation and that homosexuals will not be allowed to enrol in the centre unless they are willing to embrace heterosexuality (Francis, 2013; Khalene, 2013).

In 2006, at Heritage Day celebrations in Kwadukuza, the president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, stated, "When I was growing up, an *ungqingili* (homosexual person) would not have stood in front of me. I would knock him out" – a statement he later apologised for (Ismail, 2006). In his apology statement, Zuma states "our lesbian and gay compatriots are protected by the constitution and I respect their rights in my capacity as an individual citizen and as a member and one of the leaders of the ANC." Despite the apology, many gay and lesbian civic leaders believe his "false apology" suggests "homosexuals should be treated as lesser than heterosexuals" (Ismail, 2006). Similar attitudes are pervasive in South African despite a constitution that makes provision for the protection of the rights of LGBT people. Indeed, during the summer of 2012, while data was collected for this study, a gay man was beheaded (Gerber, 2012); and a lesbian was beaten by a security guard (Van Schie, 2012), both because of their sexual orientation.

South Africa's recent history with respect to LGBT equality is complex, and intimately entwined with seismic shifts with regard to racial (in)equality. It was only in 1985 that interracial sex was decriminalised, while legislation proposed under the apartheid government would have further strengthened so-called immorality legislation that criminalised gay and lesbian people. The new South African constitution and the country's recent powerful steps towards racial and sexual equalities have been superimposed upon a society that still struggles with a legacy of hatred and discrimination (Hoad, Martin, & Reid, 2005).

Research suggests that education may be one of those areas where South African commitment to LGBT equality has remained on the shelf. South African gay and lesbian youth interviewed by Butler and Astbury (2008) unanimously implicated schools as one of several social contexts that provided openly homophobic role models. In a survey of 498 gay and lesbian people in Gauteng province, respondents reported verbal, physical, and sexual abuse perpetrated largely but not exclusively by fellow pupils; researchers recommended that the Departments of Education and the South African Police Services collaborate with gay and lesbian organisations to minimise LGBT hate crimes (Polders & Wells, 2004). Richardson (2006) points out that large-scale research into LGBT youth experience is hampered by lack of access to township schools, but that several smaller scale studies have indicated that the impressive legal protections they should enjoy have done little to ameliorate experiences of victimisation and bullying in schools, even by teachers. Msibi's (2012) research with queer township youth explores how derogatory language, fears of contagion, and perceptions about religion and culture serve to marginalise these young people, while teachers may explicitly or implicitly support these discourses, or at best feel unprepared to challenge them. Research with 18 self-identified gay and lesbian youth between 16 and 21 years

of age revealed harassment both by peers and teachers, as well as a silence in the curriculum around LGBT issues (Butler, Alpaslan, Strümpher, & Astbury, 2003). Francis' (2012) research shows that issues related to sexual diversity were in most cases ignored or avoided by teachers and when teachers did include aspects of homosexuality, they took up positions that endorsed the idea of compulsory heterosexuality. In an exploration of the ways in which sexual and gender minorities are engaged with in Life Orientation learners' textbooks (Grades 7 to 12), Potgieter and Regan (2012) found that while there were some meaningful representations of LGBTI identities and some affirming pedagogical practices these were neither consistent nor widespread. There was also little or no critique of the discrimination faced by LGBTI populations and two of the four texts were almost entirely silent on LGBTI identities. Where representations were inclusive they ran the risk of being tokenistic and isolated (Potgieter & Reygan, 2012).

There seems to be a strong disconnect between the progressive legislation detailed above and education policy, from which sexual diversity is strikingly absent. While there is a specific reference to the South African Constitution in the General Aims section, the constitutional protection of sexual orientation as a protected category is eliminated:

> Human rights, inclusivity, environmental and social justice; infusing the principles and practices of social and environmental justice and human rights as defined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The National Curriculum Statement Grades 10 – 12 (General) is sensitive to issues of diversity such as poverty, inequality, race, gender, language, age, disability and other factors. (Basic Education, 2011:3)

Given this inconsistency between available legislative and policy discourses, we wondered how teachers would draw upon these. While the South African Constitution and other aspects of the national legal framework are quite clear in their support of LGBT rights, educational policy is sufficiently vague to support potential curricular silences as well as inclusion. Teachers may choose to use the strong legislative framework to interpret the policy framework, or not, and in their arguments they may strategically draw upon these discourses in a variety of ways to justify their practice, or lack thereof, with respect to sexual diversity.

Our research set out to explore how teachers construct themselves as professionals, with a specific focus on how they construct their responsibility for teaching about sexual diversity. Our aims can best be described in terms of two overarching research questions:

- How do South African Life Orientation teachers understand the legal, constitutional, and policy frameworks in relation to the teaching of sexuality?

- What are the implications for pedagogy?

Research context

The study consisted of in-depth interviews with 25 South African Life Orientation teachers. Life Orientation is a relatively new subject area in the South African curriculum, part of the Outcome Based Education (OBE) introduced in 1997. It replaced earlier, non-examinable subjects that included Guidance, Religious and Bible Studies, and Civic, Health, and Physical Education,

and is designed to take a holistic approach to the learners' personal, social, emotional, and physical growth:

> *Life Orientation is the study of the self in relation to others and to society. It addresses skills, knowledge, and values about the self, the environment, responsible citizenship, a healthy and productive life, social engagement, recreation and physical activity, careers and career choices. These include opportunities to engage in the development and practice of a variety of life skills to solve problems, to make informed decisions and choices and to take appropriate actions to live meaningfully and successfully in a rapidly changing society. It therefore not only focuses on knowledge but also emphasises the importance of the application of skills and values in real-life situations, participation in physical activity, community organisations and initiatives. (Basic Education, 2011:6)*

The subject area is divided into five main topics in the curricular guidelines for grades 10-12 (Basic Education, 2011). These are (1) Development of the self in society, (2) Social and environmental responsibility, (3) Democracy and human rights, (4) Careers and career choices, and (5) Study skills. HIV/AIDS and sex education are integrated into the LO curriculum mainly under the heading of Personal Well-being. Outcomes are open-ended, but generally sexuality education is embedded in learning about relationships, gender and power (Department of Education, 2002). The curriculum documents do not set out details for practice, leaving much room for flexibility. In fact, teachers are given a considerable amount of responsibility and autonomy in respect of implementation of the LO sexuality education programme, which means that understanding of youth's needs and the approach to teaching it vary considerably (Francis, 2011).

Our teachers were selected from the South African province of the Free State, the country's third-largest province. The 25 teachers who participated in this study were teaching Sexuality Education, within LO, to Grades 10 and 11, for at least a year. The schools where the teachers taught represented different contexts in terms of poverty quintiles, urban and rural, state and private schools. Only one of the 25 teachers had any formal preparation for teaching LO, an Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) in Life Orientation. The one teacher who did have a formal qualification, an *Advanced Certificate in Education (Life Orientation)*, a two-year part-time certificate course, aimed at improving the "theoretical understanding and professional practice of educators in Life Orientation", mentioned that the certificate course included credits in "personal well-being, responsible citizenship, recreation and physical well-being and career choices", but did not include a "module on sexuality and HIV/AIDS education". Unlike the other 24 teachers in our sample, this teacher was the only one who had been assigned directly to teach LO. The other 24 teachers in our study had taught diverse subject areas such as Maths, English, Geography, Consumer Science or Biblical Studies before being assigned to teach LO. Study participation was voluntary.

While our study was not broad enough to provide a representative sample, our sampling technique was purposeful rather than random. We tried to balance representation as best we could, although participation was voluntary. To this end, we interviewed nine men and 16 women; 11 African, 11 white, and three coloured; and selected teachers from both rural and urban schools throughout the Free State. We asked our participants how they identified themselves and they named themselves by drawing on the nomenclature of the apartheid system, which classified South Africans as white, coloured, African and Indian. These categories continues to

shape post-apartheid understandings as Jewkes, Morrel and Christofides (2009:685) write that whilst apartheid no longer exists, these categories so completely defined the population's social environment that they have remained meaningful social categories and are useful indicators of differential access to wealth and education and, to some extent, are indicators of cultural difference. In line with this, Baxen (2008) has pointed out, for the most part schools in South Africa continue to cater for the designated racial groups they had served in the apartheid period. Despite the desegregation of South African schools, our teacher participants taught in African schools where the learner demographic remain unchanged, coloured schools which consisted of largely Coloured and some African learners, and white schools which were racially representative. The desegregation of South African schools produced a knock on effect. The entry of African learners into Indian and coloured schools precipitated a flight of the middle class into white Model C schools. This in turn stimulated the departure of the middle-class whites to the more expensive, and therefore more exclusive public and private schools (Carrim & Soudien, 1999:163-164)

The schools were also stratified in terms of rich and poor schools. Schools ranged in size from 450 to 1 431 learners. Schools for African learners in rural and township schools charged the lowest fees, were larger in size and had a significantly higher teacher to learner ratio in comparison to schools in affluent white suburbs.

Like Reddy (2005:12), we worked within the dominant culture of heterosexuality and did not ask teachers about their sexual identity although we did provide opportunities for them to talk about their sexual identity.

Interviews averaged just over an hour in duration, and included questions about teachers' practice, understandings, values, professional training, and personal experiences related to the teaching of sexuality in general, and sexual diversity in particular. The interviews were transcribed and thematically analysed using NVivo 9 software. We will focus here exclusively on the themes related to sexual diversity. The LO Curriculum guidelines were also analysed for Grades 7-12, the year groups covered by the teachers in our sample.

Interviews were conducted in English. Neither researcher was proficient in any of the other languages claimed by teachers as their home language, and teacher proficiencies in English varied widely. Out of respect for teachers and to facilitate comprehension, some of the hesitations and grammatical and stylistic errors have been cleaned up in the data extracts used in this article. The Ethics Committee at the Faculty of Education, University of the Free State, approved the study. Informed consent was obtained from each of the participants prior to the interview. Also, to protect anonymity for participants in a small sample, we have eliminated references to teachers' race, school location, and demographic composition of students, except where these were important to understand the context of the statement.

Findings

Our teachers' responses suggested that the South African educational policy discourse left quite a lot of room for interpretation. Only three teachers believed that sexual orientation (or homosexuality, to use their terminology) formed part of the LO curriculum guidelines or the

school's official LO syllabus. In these cases, teachers were rather vague about policy and its impact on their teaching. One teacher described her implementation of the LO curriculum in rather general terms, "I try to teach my learners to get along with one another irrespective of your sexuality or of your race, or whatever". Another described sexual orientation as forming part of the curricula for some year groups, but not for the 12th year students he taught. Other teachers either ignored the possibility of official policy impacting their teaching about sexual orientation, or interpreted the curriculum to exclude the topic. This (interpreted) absence from policy was generally not felt to be a problem; as one teacher put it, "There hasn't been a need to and I think that there is so much to cover in the syllabus and those things that you mentioned are not in the syllabus."

One of the teachers who insisted that sexual orientation was included in the LO curriculum provided some insight as to why this might fail to affect local practice:

> Why do you have to have Life Orientation in the syllabus if you're not going to follow what the syllabus says – sexuality, sex, homosexuality, careers – and you're not going to do any of the above?... [If] I'm busy doing sexuality in my class, sex and sexuality, and I'm busy discussing topics about gays, lesbians, whatever, and then the principal comes in. What's next? I need to keep quiet now, until he gets out. You understand?

Another teacher, convinced that there was no policy or guidelines for teaching about sexuality in general, found this to seriously impede her ability to address these issues,

There are no guidelines. There's no specific ... I might have stepped over the boundaries a couple of times, which I won't even know, because there probably aren't any. So no, there are not a lot of guidelines or strict instructions or fixed lesson plans.

Our teachers' comments suggest that the lack of specific mention in the South African official curriculum, along with teachers' own prejudices, fears, and lack of training and understanding, largely serve to filter this content out of their actual classroom practice. In the following section, we will focus on teachers' own understandings of sexual diversity that may help shape their practice.

One teacher who drew upon constitutional rights was quick to add that this element of lack of control to her justification:

> They will tell you that this thing of homosexuality is wrong, but my duty is to show them we must follow our constitution that we are equal. Everybody is equal in South Africa, because you ... There is something that you don't like. That person he is the way, she is the way they are. We mustn't judge. We do have them, the homosexual ... students. We don't have a problem, because they did not choose to be like that.

Such arguments that deploy a human rights/constitutional discourse tempered with a tolerance discourse that casts sexual diversity as an unavoidable misfortune fail to comprehend the constitutional rendering of sexual diversity as an aspect of social diversity meant to be embraced, along with racial, religious, and other aspects of South Africa's multicultural heritage. Indeed, at least one teacher expressed her concern that these rights might be counter-productive, as they give children the idea that they can do "whatever they want." This concern resonates with a

comment made by one gay youth about his teacher's belief that "It's these rights that are making us like we are" (Msibi, 2012:525). Nevertheless, given the power of South Africa's constitution to recast homosexuality from disorder or misfortune into a diversity to be protected and perhaps even celebrated, we found any teacher's reference to the constitution to be encouraging.

Of the 25 teachers interviewed, six referred directly to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, or to the legal protection of human rights when they discussed their role in teaching about homosexuality. Two more made more oblique references to freedoms and protections, "We all have the right to life, to freedom, and to movement"; "Freedom of religion, culture, you name it." Of the teachers who specifically alluded to the South African Constitution, at least one teacher detached his understanding from that of tolerance for the afflicted, "I can't tell [gay and lesbian people] that they are wrong, because what does our Constitution say? I have the right to choose." One teacher contrasted her earlier, negative beliefs about homosexuality with her current pedagogical understanding, and largely credited the socio-political changes in South Africa for her shift in philosophy:

Teacher: We thought homosexuality is a disgrace, it's a sin, it is something that you will degrade and you will tease everybody about it, and it's a big negative thing. That was when I was at school.

Researcher: And it sounds like between then and now something happened.

Teacher: Yes, an eye opener. Thank you Lord for that.

Researcher: What was it?

Teacher: It's really because I'm teaching black kids. And it's the new South Africa. I know now what it means to be having a democratic idea in society. And we have workshops about human rights. And I never want to go back to that old way of thinking. It was narrow-minded.

Implications

The South African Constitution clearly extends legal recognition and protection against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The LO curriculum encourages the study of these constitutional rights as an official part of the LO curriculum, particularly in topic 3, Democracy and Human Rights, and in fact this intent is listed as one of the seven specific aims of the LO subject area, "expose learners to their constitutional rights and responsibilities, to the rights of others and to issues of diversity" (Basic Education, 2011a:7). While any explicit reference to sexual diversity has been filtered out in the actual wording of the curriculum materials, the strong emphasis on the constitution does suggest that teachers should interpret human rights as defined by the constitution itself. Six teachers in our sample did make explicit reference to the constitution or to human rights (which we interpreted to imply their guarantee by the South African Constitution).

They drew upon the highest legislative authority of the nation to frame the teaching of sexual diversity within a human rights discourse.

Some of our teachers, speaking more broadly about their teaching needs in general, suggested that they be provided with on-going training, and workshops, materials, and specific lesson plans as a way to facilitate the teaching of a subject area for which very few teachers have been specifically trained. Following the recommendation that educators collaborate with LGBT organisations (Polders & Wells, 2004). It might also be useful to think of a mixed approach, with a blend of in-house teaching on lesbian, gay and bisexual issues (provided the teachers are willing, well trained and supported) and external teaching, bringing in service providers who do this kind of work very well (Francis, 2012).

We recommend similar processes in other national contexts. In general, this process might involve:

- A review of national and local legislative framework regarding LGBT rights;

- An analysis of curriculum guidelines to find out where teaching about sexual diversity might be addressed; and

- The design of lesson planning guides and materials, as well as pre- and in-service training for teachers.

As a final note, we find the South African legislative discourse to be a powerful, yet underutilised tool for teaching about sexual diversity. Our teachers who spoke most clearly and passionately about their responsibility for incorporating sexual diversity into the LO curriculum were those who considered the South African Constitution to be their highest authority. Teachers should be helped to understand the legislative framework in which they live and teach, and engage in reflection and debate about how this authority interacts with the values and experiences relevant to their professional lives to guide their classroom practice.

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Endnotes

1   The author criticises essentialised media discourses around the phenomenon for reinforcing racist and heterosexist simplifications, "'Corrective rape' should be situated within an understanding of homophobia, sexism and racism as interlocking systems of oppression which operate together to control, through violence and terror, women who happen to be black, happen to be lesbian and happen to be from townships."

5. Sex education in a coloured South African township: Social challenges and pedagogical opportunities

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Introduction

The issues faced by today's young South Africans are varied and extensive. However, many are based around their sexual activities and their sexual health. A nationally representative survey showed that 48% of 15 – 19 year olds reported ever having sex and among the sexually experienced youth, the majority of both men and women reported that they did not always use a condom with their most recent sexual partner. This early sexual activity and lack of condom use has been widely cited to contribute to the spread of STIs and HIV/AIDS in the country. Furthermore, the study showed that HIV prevalence among 15- and 16-year-old females is just 4%, but that this rose to 31% among women aged 21. If young women were targeted with comprehensive sexual education at Grade 10 and 11, this marked rise in HIV prevalence may decrease. The study also showed that there is a need to address gender inequalities related to sexual activity, as close to 10% of the young women interviewed reported that they had been physically forced to have sex (Pettifor et al., 2005:1527-1528). The Life Orientation subject aims, in part, to tackle these issues and can play a key role in educating young people about sexual health and sexual relationships.

Life Orientation was introduced into the South African curriculum in 1997, as an attempt to meet some of the challenges inherited from the apartheid education system. Its introduction was informed by principals derived from the "White Paper on Education and Training" 1995, which aimed to provide more equity in educational provision within South Africa (Botha, 2002). The

Department of Education (2002:5) espoused great things of the new curriculum, stating that it would promote "a prosperous, truly united, democratic and internationally competitive country with literate, creative and critical citizens leading productive, self-fulfilled lives in a country free of violence, discrimination and prejudice". Life Orientation, as part of this new curriculum, was designed to replace the 'guidance' subjects of religious and physical education and is concerned with the personal, intellectual and emotional growth and development of learners (RSA DoE, 2003:9). Its aim is to educate a new generation and provide them with the skills and knowledge to contribute to an improved quality of life for all in the New South Africa (RSA DoE, 2003:20).

Life Orientation is compulsory for all school grades, from ages six to eighteen and is one of the four fundamental subjects required for the awarding of the South African National Senior Certificate (RSA DoE, 2011:8)[1]. The curriculum is spilt into six areas: development of the self in society; social and environmental responsibility; democracy and human rights; careers and career choices; study skills and physical education (RSA DoBE, 2011:8). The curriculum changes according to the school year that the learners are in and aims to build upon their level of understanding in each of the six curriculum areas. The learners that were observed and interviewed for this research were in Grade 11, the penultimate year before their high school education finishes. The Grade 11 Life Orientation curriculum recognises that the learners may be engaging in sexual relationships and part of "Area One – Development of the Self in Society" is focussed on "gender roles and their effects on health and well-being" suggesting that the learners are influenced by the gendered expectations placed on them by society.

Life Orientation classes are not only aimed at giving age-relevant but also context specific content. The 2011 curriculum statement outlines how Life Orientation "aims to ensure that children acquire and apply knowledge and skills in ways that are meaningful to their own lives. In this regard, the curriculum promotes knowledge in local contexts while being sensitive to global imperatives" (RSA DoBE, 2011:4).

This chapter is based on research undertaken in Valley Springs Secondary School, a state-funded school in Eldorado Park which is a coloured[2] township south-west of Johannesburg. A case study approach was used in the study, focussing on several Grade 11 classes. The study involved undertaking observations within the classroom setting over a period of two weeks and semi-structured interviews with the Life Orientation teachers and students. In total, twenty-one students across seven tutor groups in Grade 11 were interviewed as well as their Life Orientation teacher, another Life Orientation teacher who taught Grades 8 and 10, and the Life Orientation Head of Department. All of the interviews were open-ended and used a semi-structure interview schedule. The interviews were analysed using a Thematic Content Analysis approach.

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1   The other compulsory subjects are two official South African languages and Mathematical Literacy or Mathematics. Learners must also take a minimum of three additional subjects, as approved by the Department of Education (RSA DoE, 2005:7).

2   Racial categories in South Africa have not changed a great deal since the apartheid era and most citizens still fall into four broad categories: African, coloured, Indian and white. Although a derogatory term in other countries, the word "coloured" refers to a distinct group of people in South Africa. It was originally used by the government during the apartheid era but has now been adopted as a self-defining and widely accepted term.

The effectiveness of the Life Orientation lessons at Valley Springs were influenced by several factors, namely the socio-economic context of Eldorado Park and the surrounding areas, which influenced the behaviour and attitudes of the learners in the classroom. The setting of the classroom itself also affected the quality of teaching and the approach taken by the Life Orientation teacher. Furthermore, the gender relations present in the local community were reflected in the classroom and affected how the topics of sex and sexual desire could be approached and discussed by the learners. Lastly, the individual persona of the Life Orientation teacher had an impact on the effectiveness of teaching in Life Orientation and the potential for it to have a positive influence on the future life opportunities of the learners. Here, Goffman's concept of a "backstage" becomes important in mitigating the impact of gender relations and other social problems present in both the classroom and the wider community.

The Socio-Economic Context of Eldorado Park

Eldorado Park or "Eldos" was established as a coloured area in the south-west of Johannesburg, near to the much larger African township of Soweto. Although Eldorado Park is still dominated by a coloured population, Valley Springs Secondary School has a student body that consists of a large proportion of Africans. This is due to the informal settlements that have been established on the land next to Eldorado Park. According to the 2011 South African Census,[3] 84% of Eldorado Park residents residing in informal dwellings are African and 12% are coloured. By contrast, 85% of people in formal residential dwellings class themselves as coloured and 13% class themselves as African.

The presence of informal settlements around Eldorado Park is important when assessing the socio-economic context of the area as typically informal settlements suffer from a unique set of social issues, such as a high rate of HIV/AIDS, unemployment and poor education levels (Van de Merwe & Davids, 2006:28).

The high unemployment rates, however, can be seen around the whole of Eldorado Park as Census data (2011a) indicates that in Eldorado Park 72% of people in informal residential dwellings and 73% of people in formal residential dwellings are either unemployed, seeking work or not economically active. Income levels[4] are also low in the area, as 49% of people in formal residential dwellings and 56% in informal residential dwellings earn no income.

Previous studies in South African townships such as Boonzaier and De la Rey's (2003:1019-1020) study in Mitchell's Plain, a large and predominantly coloured township near Cape Town, have suggested that unemployment levels similar to those seen in Eldorado Park can threaten the typical notions of "masculinity", which include a man's role as the breadwinner in a family. It is suggested that their "masculinity" is instead expressed through other forms, which can include violence

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3   Eldorado Park consists of Wards: 79800017 and 79800018, City of Johannesburg, Gauteng. Full statistical data for SA Census 2011 can be accessed at interactive.stassa.gov.za.

4   Income levels are defined by Statistics South Africa (2001a:6) as "all sources of income, e.g. social grants, UIF, remittances, rentals, investments, sales or products, services, etc."

towards women. The potential link between the thwarting of typical expressions of masculinity and violence against women becomes important when one turns to the gender relations played out in the Life Orientation classroom.

The students that were interviewed were all in Grade 11 and this already represents an achievement in their community, as, in Eldorado Park, 43% of people aged over 19 in formal residential dwellings and 64.5% of people aged over 19 in the informal dwellings did not reach Grade 11 standard of education (Statistics South Africa, 2011a). This also indicates that the majority of the residents in the area have not matriculated from high school. Furthermore, the Life Orientation teachers identified drug use and a high rate of teenage pregnancy as specific problems that the area faced. Recent press coverage has emphasised this problem in the area and local residents approached Jacob Zuma, the South African president to help them tackle the high level of drug use in the area. Schoolchildren are one of the groups which are most affected by drug use and several "lolli lounges", buildings where young girls are given a variety of drugs and then prostituted in order to pay for them, have recently been identified in the area and raided by the police (*Times Live*, 2013).

Many of the students at Valley Springs face this plethora of social issues before they even enter the school gates. The lack of resources available to the learners in their Life Orientation lessons and the school as a whole does little to alleviate these problems, as will now be explored.

The Classroom Setting & Pedagogy in Valley Springs' Life Orientation Classes

The students at Valley Springs Secondary School are a mix of coloured and African and speak English, Afrikaans and several African languages. The teacher for all the Grade 11 Life Orientation classes at Valley Springs is an African woman in her mid-thirties.

The Life Orientation lessons took place in a simply built classroom in the school. The chairs and desks were lined up in rough rows and the learners sat perpendicular to the blackboard, rather than facing it. There were display boards on the walls with a couple of informative posters about reporting sexual abuse and the South African Constitution, but mostly the boards were covered in graffiti. At the beginning of each Life Orientation lesson, the teacher wrote up notes on the board, which were copied directly from the textbook. The students then copied down these notes word for word. The teacher stated that she had to write the notes up, as there are only approximately 20 Life Orientation textbooks for classes that often exceeded 40 learners. Each week, the notes change as the lesson moves onto a different subject area within Life Orientation.

This classroom setting presented a situation where effective teaching was made difficult. There were few resources in the classrooms to support the teaching, apart from the blackboard and a limited amount of Life Orientation textbooks. There were no electronic resources such as projector screens or televisions to aid and enrich the learning and provide the learners with tangible examples of the curriculum content. All of the classrooms had the same lack of facilities and anecdotal stories were told about numerous break-ins and furniture from the school being

stolen. A computer lab had been fully equipped using money from a foreign NGO but this was no longer used as the computers had been vandalised and several were stolen. The computer lab was now locked up and the students could not access it. The learners had access to few resources in their school and the resources that were made available were often vandalised or stolen.

The classroom setting evoked Baxen's observation on Life Orientation teaching in her selected schools serving poor communities in the Western Cape. She stated "past histories of segregation and neglect continued to etch their mark on the physical environment, psyche, and everyday lived experiences of these communities" (Baxen in Dunne, 2008:174). This can be seen in Valley Springs Secondary School, as the school was constructed in 1983, with its doors opening to students in 1984. It was erected during the apartheid era and was the third secondary school to be built in Eldorado Park, in response to the area's growing population. The school buildings, however, have not been updated since their construction.

The start of the lesson was indicated by a bell, which prompted the learners to enter the classroom. It typically took them around five minutes before the start of each lesson to settle down and listen to the teacher. She then explained the objective of the lesson and talked through the notes that were on the board. The learners were then expected to write down the notes in their books but many, particularly the boys, did not do this and continued to chat to each other.

After the note taking, the teacher then encouraged the students to discuss the subject matter. In general, this started with a whole class discussion where the teacher addressed a topic or a question to all the learners and waited for their responses. These discussions frequently lacked direction and quickly descended into small groups talking amongst themselves or talking loudly over each other. Overall, they listened to the teacher when she began to speak, but stopped paying attention after a few minutes. The learners rarely listened to one other in a focused way. This was expected behaviour from the students and the teacher noted, to the researcher, during one particularly disruptive lesson, "I've given this class to God. There's nothing more that I can do".

Learners distracted each other particularly when the conversations turned to sex and sexual relations. Some of the learners did not seem comfortable when talking about sex and either kept quiet or made jokes about the subject. However, there were also students who enjoyed turning the conversation to this topic and during the observation period, the class was scheduled to learn about "social and environmental issues" but the students would often try to change the subject around to sex.

The learners were more engaged in the lessons when they were discussion based and focussed on something that they could relate to. For example, a learner entered one of the lessons late after coming back from the health clinic. He stated that he could not see the doctor as someone had broken into the clinic during the night. The teacher then linked this back to the lesson objectives, stating that this was an example of social injustice.

The lessons tended to finish abruptly; a second bell indicated that the lesson was over. The students then exited quickly, often when the teacher was still talking. They did not wait for her to finish or to conclude the lesson.

The lessons followed a traditional rote method of teaching which included making notes on the board, which the students copied into their books. It has been shown, however, that rote teaching encourages learners to remember fragments of a lesson, often in isolation from any context. When the teachers focus on more "meaningful learning", the students are able to relate the lessons to a wider context and can apply them to solving new problems (Mayer, 2002:228).

The Life Orientation curriculum contains stimulating content and this has the potential to be taught in an innovative way. Although the curriculum is nationally planned and composed by the Department of Education, the teachers have some freedom over what they prioritise in the lessons and why. For example, the Grade 10, Life Orientation teacher stated, "We have certain chapters to cover within a term. You can cover it any way you want to but we choose to do it as the curriculum guides us so that ... you know, do the same work with all the Grade 10's." The Head of Department for Life Orientation confirmed this and stated that freedom within the curriculum allows for a variety of students' opinions to be taken into account. This flexibility and potential innovation within Life Orientation, however, did not emerge in the lessons observed.

The textbook used in the lessons a Valley Springs is one example of how Life Orientation has far more potential than was observed. The textbook *Focus on Life Orientation* (Rooth, Stielau, Plantagie & Maponyane, [2001] 2006) has sections that address each section of the Life Orientation curriculum. For example, the textbook approaches the "social and environmental issues" by displaying pictures of multiracial South African students defining terms such as "social justice" and "environmental sustainability". The textbook then turns to a scenario of "Dudu" who lives in a fictional informal settlement called "Freedom Village" and invites learners to 'work in a group' and answer questions about Dudu's situation. Activities such as this have been specially designed to help the Life Orientation teachers address specific issues in their area as well as in South Africa generally. They have been chosen to reflect the aims of the curriculum and approach teaching in a dynamic and relevant manner. However, the teacher only used these exercises once in seven observed lessons and she gave up quickly, as the learners seemed disinterested and did not pay attention to her.

The potential and the reality of teaching the Life Orientation lessons were two very different things as the combination of a dry and repetitive structure, a lack of discipline and easily disrupted class discussions, in a context of an under-equipped and uninspiring learning environment resulted in a challenging classroom setting in which the Life Orientation lessons were executed poorly.

"Sex Talk" and the "Missing Discourse of Desire"

The interactions within the Life Orientation lessons also presented issues as pre-existing gender relations in the community played out in the lessons.

The Life Orientation curriculum, particularly the "development of self in society" unit, is designed to include topics that relate directly to the students' personal lives. Their teacher stated that the students are supposed to keep discussions abstract and general but they often used experiences

from their own lives as examples, which resulted in their personal issues being brought into the classroom.

This can be explained further if one refers to "sex talk" in the classroom. Sex talk can be defined as any interaction between the students themselves, or between the teacher and students that referred to sexual activity. This ranged from formal questions directed at the teacher, to male learners "bragging" about their sexual exploits over the weekend, both of which were seen in the classroom observations. When the lesson turned to the issues of sex and sexual relationships, both the teachers and students related the curriculum to their personal lives.

The intimacy and frankness seen in relation to sexual conversations in Life Orientation was welcomed by most of the students but was not of equal benefit to all of them as the conversations were often dominated by the sexually active, heterosexual males in the classroom. Fine's (1988) theory of a "missing discourse of desire" can help to explain this as she suggests that in sex education, young women are discouraged from talking about their sexual experiences. Fine found in her research that conversations about sex that did occur in the classroom were dominated by boys and followed a specific discourse linked to hegemonic masculinity.

In the Life Orientation lessons observed, the sexually active males in the class dominated the conversations, and the females and non-sexually active male students were largely ignored. One sexually active boy said, "maybe when it's about time to speak about sex, some of them they never had sex you understand, so they have to back off and listen to what we say". The "sex talk" reaffirms the "hyper masculine" gender roles seen in the school and in South African society more generally. One male interviewee stated that, "as a boy, we would always love to enjoy uh, sexual topics. So we can need to know what we are, what are the effects of it, how do we get it".

The young women that were observed and interviewed for this research were used to being surrounding by a sexual discourse that they were rarely directly involved in themselves. Many stated that they would rather listen to the boys as they "knew better" when it came to sexual relations. One interviewee stated, "with boys we also learn experiences, when they talk, we listen to what they talk, because a man has more experience than a woman. So we listen to them". This presumption extended to their relationships with men outside of their school life and one girl stated, "you believe everything that your boyfriend tells you".

The "sex talk" in the Life Orientation lessons was further problematic as many of the interviewees commented that it was one of the things that distracted them the most in Life Orientation. One girl noted, "sometimes the sex thing you know. When you're a tomboy, eish, it's irritating. When they're talking about girls and then they're gonna say what I did to that girl … it's disrupting, it's really irritating".

She suggested that the boys in the class would often undermine girls that they had sex with, by talking openly about their sexual exploits in front of the whole class. Another respondent also noted that his friends would talk about their sex lives, "even mentioning ladies' names and stuff, which they have done with and slept with".

It was suggested that one of the reasons why the girls were not allowed to enter into conversations about sex in the classroom was because it was frowned upon in their community. One Life Orientation teacher said in his interview that, "African parents are not allowed to talk [about] such issues with their children". Furthermore, it was expressed that female students should not appear to be too knowledgeable when it came to sex, as this was seen as detrimental to a girl's reputation. One respondent noted in an interview,

> You kind of feel that everybody's looking at you and you feel that everybody already knows that you are sexually active ... they will give you labels, I cannot say them. Can I say them? Like you're a bitch and everything. You're a girl, you shouldn't say that.

Fine (1988:37) stated that young women are prevented from talking about sex as both sexually active girls and virgins have a fear of becoming ostracised from their peers. The opportunity for women to express their sexuality and their sexual desires in class is limited further as, according to Fine, sex education lessons present a discourse of "sexuality as victimisation" where young women are taught that sex is dangerous, undesirable, and unpleasurable and, consequently, are "left to their own (and other's) devices in a sea of pleasures and dangers" (Fine & McClelland, 2006:298). The young women are not given a space in which to express their own sexuality. Sex becomes taboo for these women and no mention is made of female sexual pleasure. This perception of sex is reaffirmed amongst other things by their peers, culture, religion, and racial relations of power (Fine, 1988:35).

Furthermore, the perception of how one should act in sexual relationships becomes even more pertinent when one considers the wider, societal implications. Eldorado Park has a high rate of teenage pregnancy and the Life Orientation teacher stated that, by Grade 11, many of the young women that she teaches drop out of school in order to have children. The lack of a discourse of desire in Life Orientation lessons could be contributing to this as

> Growing evidence suggests that women who lack a sense of social or sexual entitlement, who hold traditional notions of what it means to be female – self-sacrificing and relatively passive – and who undervalue themselves, are disproportionately likely to find themselves with an unwanted pregnancy and to maintain it through to motherhood (Fine, 1988:48).

The presentation of sex talk within Life Orientation reaffirmed the gender roles that can be seen throughout South Africa, and especially in the township areas where high unemployment in endemic and contributes to a "hyper masculinity". However, the Life Orientation teacher did attempt to open herself up to the young women in her classes and this was partly achieved by her approachability, a trait that was consistently pointed out as being very important for a Life Orientation teacher to possess.

The Unique Traits of the Life Orientation Teacher

As it has been shown, there were examples where the "sex talk" in Life Orientation reaffirmed gender roles in the classroom and beyond. Despite this, conversations and levels of openness in the Life Orientation lessons were still welcomed by most of the students and they appreciated how honest the teacher was towards them and the subject. This reveals an important dynamic

within Life Orientation as Baxen notes that "little if any research has asked questions about how teachers are positioned, or indeed position themselves, as mediators of knowledge about sexuality and HIV/AIDS" (Baxen in Dunne, 2008:171). One male student said, "our teacher is very open, so we can go to her anytime and explain what situation we're in and things". Furthermore, one female learner noted, "it's really easy for us to relate to her. She's open and just says things straightforward; she doesn't hide some of the things". The intimate relationship that the students had with their teacher reaffirmed the unique nature of the Life Orientation subject. The teacher was seen as more than just an educator and one female student said, "[the Life Orientation teacher's] more like a second mother to us as learners". This level of personal and confidential interaction was not allowed or welcomed in their other subjects and many of the students recognised this.

This degree of sincerity, in a setting which was away from their home environment, allowed the learners to open up to the Life Orientation teacher, often more than to their own family. The teachers stated that the relationship they established between themselves and their students was more complex than merely replicating the qualities of a mother or father.

The suitability of the Life Orientation teachers to fill this role in the learners' lives depended, partly, on the extent to which they were trained. An early criticism of Life Orientation was that the teachers were ill equipped to deal with the life issues presented in the lessons. One of the Life Orientation teachers interview noted this and commented,

> You know what they normally do in schools?... they just take teachers that they think are not doing their jobs, or teachers that are not coming to school regularly ... and then they are going to put you in Life Orientation. That is killing our children ... Some of the learners come to you if they've got problems, they talk to you. They want you to talk and address their problem. They want to see your empathy, they want you to empathise with them. Can you see? They want you to be there for them.

Baxen's work reinforces this points as she states, "most LO teachers had previously been Home Economics teachers, who were now expected to take on new roles as LO teachers" (Baxen in Dunne, 2008:175). This, however, was not found in the school involved in this research. The Life Orientation teacher that was central to the research stated that she chose to specialise in Life Orientation and took courses at the University of South Africa (UNISA) in order to become more knowledgeable about the subject. She also stated that she was specifically hired at the school to teach Life Orientation. Both of the male Life Orientation teachers had less freedom in choosing the subject but enjoyed it and were committed to it nonetheless. One male teacher, who had recently returned to teaching after a career break stated, "I feel like I missed a lot in the 10 years that I wasn't there. Life Orientation has allowed me to get to learn about my learners, to get to know them, how they think, how they operate, so that's the reason why I enjoy it immensely". The Head of Life Orientation Department noted that, "I like interacting with people. I enjoy teaching people the realities of life ... I also enjoy touching other people's lives, bringing change".

The teachers also recognised the importance of including the learners' parents and guardians in the issues discussed in Life Orientation. It was noted that the learners often do not talk to their parents about serious issues. Although the students compared the Life Orientation teachers to their parents, it seemed in reality that they preferred talking to the Life Orientation teachers, rather

than their parents. This was raised by the teachers in the interviews held and they all stated that their aim was to include the learners' parents and, indeed, the whole community, in the dialogue around Life Orientation. The female Life Orientation teacher recounted that some of the parents were initially shocked that their children were learning about sex in the classroom. However, she stated that they soon came around to the idea and actually thanked her for broaching the subject. A Life Orientation teacher said,

> *I always ask [the learners] after the lesson, discuss it with your friends. Discuss it with your parents, because I want to hear what they think about what we're doing ... if there's a parent that perhaps has a different view, ask them to write a note or give you the message and then you come and tell us in class. That's important for me. I can't just teach my way and not know that ... the parents must know what is happening as well.*

The Life Orientation teachers took different approaches to the subject depending on their age and gender, as this affected their relationships with the learners. However, they all seemed committed to the subject and believed that it was an integral part of the school curriculum. Rather than replacing the role of the parents, the Life Orientation teachers took on their own, unique role in the learners' lives, as mature and respected members of the community with whom they could seek honest and meaningful advice.

Mitigation of Existing Socio-Economic Problems through "Backstage Interaction"

It has been shown that the formal environment of the Life Orientation lesson was dominated by the young men in the lesson, which meant that the female students could not always take advantage of the teacher's approachability. Thus, the Life Orientation teacher had to find a different way to approach these learners and allow them to open up to her and an alternative situation was found in the backstage, the informal classroom environment that became available once the lesson had finished. The setting for this backstage was the same as the frontstage, as the interactions were still conducted in the classroom. However, they were undertaken at a time when the students would not have normally been permitted in the classroom.

The concept of a front and back stage originates from Goffman's symbolic internationalist theory of the dramaturgical metaphor, which was explored in his book, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life [1959] (1990)*. He suggested that social interactions are much like a play and used the metaphors of a "stage", "roles" and "performances" which he stated can explain all our social interactions.

Goffman's theory states that there are two different social spaces, which are emergent in all interactions. These, similar to a stage play, are the "frontstage" and the "backstage". The frontstage is where the set social interaction plays out. It is where the "player" is able to portray exactly what he wants to and play his role to the full. In the case of a teacher/student interaction, the frontstage is the setting of the classroom when it is used for a lesson. Both the teacher and the students know what social interactions are expected when they enter the classroom. This formal environment however, ends abruptly, with the ringing of a bell that signifies the end of the lesson. The rigidity

of the frontstage is broken down as the students talk amongst themselves, make phone calls, and begin to eat their lunch. The setting that was once the frontstage, is now the backstage and the "actors" can relax and be themselves once again.

In a conventional lesson scenario, the backstage of the teacher and students do not mix and they have little interaction with one another once the lesson is over. If they do interact, it is often centred on the lesson content and the tasks the learners have been given in class or for homework. In Life Orientation, however, the frontstage and back stage are less divided than normal as the teacher encouraged the learners to stay behind in the classroom. She opened up the space for them to approach her if they had a problem that they did not want to divulge during the lesson, in the frontstage setting. This confidential back stage space was appreciated by the students and one interviewee stated, "she won't go speak to … another educator … she'll keep it to yourself between you and her".

Many of the students at Valley Springs School valued the approachability of the Life Orientation teacher in the backstage, especially because it was coupled with an unspoken promise of confidentiality. The teacher took on an unofficial obligation to know about her students' private lives, which became very important to both the teacher and students and appears to be unique to Life Orientation classes.

The Life Orientation teacher was able to move beyond the rigid "teacher" role that normally occurs. She was able to take on a role of a counsellor, as well as a teacher, and the interactions between the teacher and students became more relaxed and personal. Many of the learners had troubling issues in their lives and often had no one else to rely on for support, apart from the Life Orientation teacher. For example, one of the young women that was interviewed recounted a situation where she became pregnant and didn't know who to talk to. She said that she does not have a mother so she went to her Life Orientation teacher for advice.

> She told me everything about it and I went to her, I asked questions and she was … she just helped me a lot, man … I was in a situation, I was pregnant … I didn't know where to go, where to turn to cause I don't have a mother and I went to the teacher. But that was last year. And I went to her and she gave me advice, good advice, ja.

The socio-economic context of Eldorado Park contributed to the lack of confidees present in the students' lives as there is a high proportion of single-parent families and child-headed households. One interviewee mentioned that he lived with only his brother, who was just a couple of years older than him, as both his mother and father both lived outside of Johannesburg. In this situation, where there are two young adults living in a city by themselves, having the support of a qualified Life Orientation teacher in a confidential backstage setting can be very important.

There were some learners however, both male and female, who said that they would not go to their teacher for advice and the reasons suggested for this were varied. One respondent stated that "I won't talk to the LO teacher 'cause eish, some other people skinner [will tell other teachers or their parents]". Another, male respondent suggested that the boys in the class were put off by the age and gender of their Life Orientation teacher. He suggested that, "you get a young LO

teacher and you get boys like worrying more about the teacher instead of what she's speaking about". This is a reflection of the earlier mentioned traits of hegemonic masculinity within South African society. The young men often did not have people at home that they could talk to about their problems but they were reluctant to approach their teacher, as this would have shown, even if just to themselves, that they were not able to cope with the situation.

The Life Orientation teacher tried to overcome this by using some of the techniques that Goffman describes as "unofficial communication" to access personal information within the frontstage. This "may be carried on by innuendo, mimicked accents, well-placed jokes, significant pauses, veiled hints, purposeful kidding, expressive overtones, and other sign practices" (Goffman, [1959]1999:187). This 'unofficial communication' was seen in the classroom observations. In one incident, a male student was distracting his friends in the class by showing them a drawing of a car. He was walking around the classroom and was not listening to the teacher. The teacher then said to him, "Are you using substance abuse (sic.)?" suggesting that the student was intoxicated and that is why he was distracting his friends. The student then attempted to look shocked and offended and said "No Mam! I'm not using anything!" If this fleeting observation were to be taken out of context, it may seem that the teacher was stepping over the mark in accusing the student of taking drugs as she quickly laughed it off and moved on with the lesson. However, the reality of the situation was that this was a student who she knew was a drug user and so her aspersions may well have been correct. He was not the type of student who would approach the teacher after the lesson in the back stage so the teacher had to open up this level of personal enquiry in the frontstage. In order to achieve this, she added a light-hearted laugh at the end of the interaction to cover up the true gravity of what she was saying.

In the observations and interviews, it was revealed that the Life Orientation lessons were most affective when they did not follow the expected patterns of classroom interaction. Goffman states that "at moments of great crisis, a new set of motives may suddenly become effective and the established social distance between the teams may sharply increase or decrease" (Goffman, [1959]1999:166). Life Orientation is consistently in a "moment of great crisis", as the teachers are faced with the individual and different daily issues of their learners. These range from the seemingly trivial to major life-changing situations such as teenage pregnancy, drug use, and suicide, which are a daily reality for the learners in Eldorado Park. In the front and back stages of Life Orientation, the social distance between the teacher and student had to decrease in order to begin to deal with these crises.

Conclusion

The Life Orientation curriculum taught at Valley Springs was well planned and relevant to the learners' lives. However, this was rarely effectively communicated in individual Life Orientation lessons as they were poorly structured and, at times, chaotic. The learners did not seem to respect the classroom environment or the content of the lessons.

However, when looking beyond the disorder, this chapter has outlined how 'life orientation' was indeed happening outside of the formal teaching time, as the teachers utilised backstage spaces

to talk about and work through problems in the learners' personal lives. Issues related to sex and relationships, which were hard to broach effectively in the lesson, were tackled on an individual basis, with the learners seeking counsel from their teacher.

All of the Life Orientation teachers were committed to helping the learners with their life issues, and not merely teaching them the curriculum content. The teachers' openness allowed learners to feel comfortable in approaching them outside of the formal class setting.

However, the student/teacher relationship was still affected by the socio-cultural context of South Africa, alongside further issues within the township. Life Orientation is unable to stand independently of cultural values that permeate the lives of both the students and teachers at Valley Springs. Gender relationships and the perception of what is "acceptable behaviour" for young men and women in South Africa were reflected in the interactions between the teachers and learners. For example, the female Life Orientation teacher spoke extensively about young mothers that she taught, but when questioned about how many of the young men were fathers, she had no idea and suggested that the prevalence of teenage pregnancy was a female issue. This reaffirms the "missing discourse of desire" in Life Orientation as the teacher did not acknowledge that the young women may enjoy sex, but instead reiterated society's view that they were essentially to blame for the current trend in rising teenage pregnancies across the country.

Despite the crucial opening of the backstage and the accessibility of this for the female leaners in particular; more needs to be done to make the frontstage of Life Orientation a space where both genders can express their opinions without feeling judged or stereotyped.

The execution of the Life Orientation curriculum needs to address frankly the gender and power relations that are ever-present in the lessons, not through rote learning of the school curriculum, but as a direct response to the lived experiences of the students. Furthermore, the socio-cultural problems faced by the young adults in Eldorado Park, and townships like it across South Africa, cannot be tackled through Life Orientation alone. There needs to be a multi-faceted approach in these communities, with committed involvement from organisations such as faith and youth groups, who can support and expand upon the current Life Orientation curriculum.

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6. HIV/AIDS and sexuality education in the Life Sciences classroom: Life Sciences teachers as conscious practitioners

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Introduction

Human sexuality extends beyond that which is pre-ordained, innate, instinctive, or biological. Personal and public discourses are frequently characterised by intense debates about the various meanings of human sexuality. It is generally accepted that human sexuality is rooted in social relations, which are contingent on cultural and political influences (Hawkes & Scott, 2005).

In South Africa, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has, to a large extent, shaped the discourse about sexuality. Many social scientists (Bhana, Morrell, Hearn & Moletsane, 2007; De Robillard, 2009) have argued that the pandemic has created new avenues for the social control of sexuality in general and of youthful sexuality in particular. This chapter does not seek to extend this debate. Instead, it focuses on how teachers find and use spaces in the school Life Sciences curriculum creatively, in an effort to promote healthy youthful sexuality.

The continued high rate of infection with HIV among young South Africans (UNAIDS, 2008) constitutes a social disaster. One way in which the South African government has responded to this crisis is through a process of extensive and on-going curriculum reform (Francis, 2010). Two new subjects, namely, Life Orientation[1] (which draws on core curricula of previously taught

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1   Life Orientation is a subject which is offered as part of primary and secondary school education in South Africa. It is a compulsory subject and is taken by learners from Grade R (school readiness year which is year of entry) to Grade 12, that is, from the year that learners enter school to the year they exit the schooling system.

subjects like Guidance and Health Education) and Life Sciences[2] (which replaces Biology as a school subject) are offered in the new curriculum. The teaching of social aspects of HIV/AIDS takes place mainly in Life Orientation classes. The teaching of scientific facts about HIV and AIDS (including prevalence, ways of transmission, prevention, management of disease, structure of the HI-Virus, process of infection) are perceived to be the domain of the Life Sciences curriculum. In addition to these scientific facts, social behaviour, sexuality, ethics and beliefs are expected to be incorporated into the teaching of Life Sciences (DoE, 2008), and this is what makes the Life Sciences curriculum guidelines different from the Biology curriculum guidelines. This work explores how and why practicing Life Sciences teachers teach about HIV/AIDS.

The chapter begins with a critical review of educational interventions related to HIV/AIDS, with an emphasis on teacher perspectives. Teachers' preferences for adopting methods, which are embedded in the biomedical approach, are explored. The use of curriculum theories, namely, autobiographical curriculum theory and curriculum as consciousness, are argued for. The chapter concludes with insights into teachers' perspectives about the context, process, and rationale for engaging with particular pedagogical strategies when teaching about HIV/AIDS, which are contingent on their own consciousness.

Research findings suggests that an increasing number of young people engage in sexual intercourse during their school-going years, but that few of these young people practice safe sexual behaviour (Coombe, 2000; Badcock-Walters, 2002; Reproductive Health Unit, 2004). Many of these young people attend school before their sexual debut; the school is therefore regarded as a vital site where the battle against the epidemic can be fought through educational interventions.

Baxen and Breidlid (2004) reviewed research about HIV/AIDS in educational settings. They asserted that many knowledge, attitude and practice studies assume that, first, teachers have the capacity, skill, training and personal motivation to articulate deeply private topics in a public space, and second, teachers are deliverers of an uncontested body of knowledge about HIV/AIDS in a space (for example, the school) which is unproblematic. They argued that the reason why the number of new infections among young people has not declined significantly is because "discursive social and cultural fields of practice, where knowledge is not only produced, but is also contested, negotiated, reproduced and embedded, are not explored adequately" (Baxen et al., 2004:21). A study conducted by Berger, Bernard, Khzami, Selmaoui and Carvalho (2008) revealed that teachers' conceptions about sex education, within the context of teenage pregnancy and HIV/AIDS, was influenced by their religious beliefs and the dominant culture in their countries. The perspectives of teachers, in addition to the motivation to utilise particular pedagogic strategies to intervene in the HIV/AIDS pandemic, are relevant.

Research which focuses on the north (United States of America, Australia and Europe) suggests that teachers view the teaching of HIV/AIDS as important, but that they doubt their ability to teach about AIDS and sexuality. Socio-cultural-political influences have resulted in conservative

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2   Life Sciences is a subject which is offered in the Further Education and Training band of the secondary school curriculum to learners from Grades 10 to 12.

views about sexuality education. The ABC (abstinence, be faithful and condomise) of AIDS prevention is embedded in a "biomedical discourse … which is considered to be neutral and scientific" and is the discourse which many teachers across the globe favour (Lesko, 2010:23). Central to the discourse on HIV/AIDS education is abstinence from sexual intercourse. Lesko (2010:23) sums up the flaw in educational strategies globally to combat the spread of HIV by asserting: "AIDS education tends to overestimate the inherent power of *the facts* to effect change and to underestimate the enmeshment of safe sex education in political, economic, gender and social networks."

In South Africa, the process of school curriculum review is an on-going one. This study is relevant because it can inform policies which are shaped by teachers' perspectives on the "knowledge where" (context), the "knowledge how" (process) and the "knowledge why" (rationale) issues. Proponents of "relevant science education" could consider the voices and practices of teachers in their research discourse.

Curriculum and consciousness

This work draws on constructs from autobiographical curriculum theory (Miller, 2010a) and curriculum as consciousness (Miller, 2010b; Greene, 1971). It explores how teachers, who find themselves in an audit culture, where the percentage of learners who pass their examinations takes precedence over what teachers may deem to be "valuable" teaching, stabilise and then rupture disciplinary boundaries. Teachers' "inner" experiences (Miller, 2010:62) as they choose pedagogic strategies when they teach about HIV/AIDS, are examined. This is not based on "best practices" employed by teachers who are reflexive about their teaching; this is not a positivist inquiry where teachers analyse problems of curriculum and seek pedagogical solutions. Instead, it examines "disjunctures, ruptures … in normative versions … of (teachers') own and others' educational practices" (Miller, 2010:64). It seeks to denaturalise conceptions of a fixed, single, universally acceptable view of the curriculum. Miller underscores the importance of "wide awakeness" as conceptualised by Greene (1971:256), as central to consciousness (Miller, 2010:128).

Teachers as conscious practitioners

The teachers in this study taught Life Sciences, but were trained to teach Biology, in their undergraduate degrees. These were senior teachers who had the experience of teaching both subjects. These teachers were interviewed and they completed questionnaires and maintained research diaries, to respond to the question: How do teachers teach sexuality education and HIV/AIDS in the Life Sciences classroom? They completed the questionnaires independently and returned these after two months. The participating teachers also completed diary entries, where they recorded significant events or thoughts about their teaching of Life Sciences in general and HIV/AIDS and sexuality in particular.

Infusing HIV/AIDS and sexuality education into the curriculum

Three themes are presented, namely, "knowledge where", "knowledge how" and "knowledge why", as they relate to teachers' decisions which inform their pedagogic choices to incorporate HIV/AIDS and sexuality education into their lessons. *Knowledge where* describes why Life Sciences teachers view the Life Sciences classroom as the locus or context for teaching HIV/AIDS and sexuality education. *Knowledge how* describes the pedagogic strategies employed by teachers to teach HIV/AIDS and sexuality education in the Life Sciences classroom. *Knowledge why* offers insight into Life Sciences teachers' reasons for consciously choosing to teach HIV/AIDS and sexuality education. Insight into how and why Life Sciences teachers decide to teach HIV/AIDS and sexuality education emerge through charting teachers' micro-movements as they destabilise and restabilise rules, which underpin curriculum development and implementation. The upper case letters are used to denote participants A, B, C, D, E, F and G.

Knowledge where

Each of the teachers asserted that the Life Sciences curriculum should incorporate the teaching of biological and social aspects of HIV/AIDS and sexuality education. In response to the question: *Do you think HIV/AIDS and sexuality education should be taught in the Life Sciences classroom?*, the participants made the following remarks:

> D: Definitely. I would say definitely, because we (teach) blood ... reproduction and AIDS.

> C: Most definitely, because while we are discussing methods of contraception (we) mention the risks and safety, for example, condoms being safer than the pill as far as dreaded diseases go. So definitely, it is the Life Sciences educator's responsibility.

> B: Yes, they need it. Because by the end of the lesson you have achieved all your outcomes.

Teacher D viewed the link between the social and biological aspects of HIV/AIDS as one which is unproblematic. This teacher argued that since biological concepts related to blood and human reproduction lent themselves to the teaching of social aspects of the disease, such as mixing of blood during intravenous drug use, or engaging in unprotected sexual intercourse, these social aspects of HIV/AIDS may be engaged with in the Life Sciences classroom. Teacher C envisioned the Life Sciences teacher as instrumental in teaching safe sex behaviour in the Life Sciences classroom, because both contraception and diseases were a part of the Life Sciences syllabus. Implementation of policy, which requires that the learner achieve three specific outcomes, was the reason that teacher C cited as important for the Life Sciences classroom being the space to teach sexuality and HIV/AIDS education.

Each of these teachers stabilised the rules of the curriculum by adhering to the prescribed biomedical model of public health, which is legitimately used in the Life Sciences classroom, to address HIV/AIDS and sexuality.

According to teacher E, the Life Sciences teacher was better suited to teach about HIV, because the Life Sciences teacher had a greater knowledge of anatomy and disease, as compared to the Life Orientation teacher. Teacher B made the following entry in his journal, to affirm the

Life Sciences classroom as the context for teaching about the social aspects of HIV/AIDS and sexuality education:

> *(The Life Sciences classroom) gave me the opportunity to work with learners beyond a content-based lesson. Learners used lessons to reach out for advice and help confirm or dispel doubts they had about personal issues.*

Teachers B and E chose to be conscious of what constitutes meaningful learning. They were conscious of what they deemed to be their "better preparedness" to teach HIV/AIDS and sexuality education, as compared to teachers of other disciplines, such as Life Orientation. These teachers ruptured fixed disciplinary boundaries and went "beyond content-based lessons" by adopting a humanising approach to the curriculum.

Knowledge how

The participants indicated that they used several topics as entry points for teaching HIV/AIDS education, for example, contraception, reproduction and diseases.

The teachers related contraception to family planning and sexually transmitted diseases, such as HIV/AIDS. The learners who were taught by teacher B emerged from economically and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds, from large families, most which were headed by a single (usually female) parent or grandparent. Teacher B drew on learners' experiences to emphasise how the quality of life can deteriorate if one is born into a large, poor family. Teacher B was conscious of singular, essential constructions of learners, and focused beyond these by drawing on learners' socio-economic backgrounds to construct knowledge. Teacher B encouraged learners to lend their lives to the curriculum in order to engage in constructing meaningful knowledge, and this pedagogical stance resonates with that of Greene (1971:263), who asserts that the curriculum should not be viewed as "insulated from life and human concerns". Teacher B believed that her pedagogical strategies, which involved drawing on social experiences, would result in learners being better prepared for their role in society.

Teacher A indicated that due to time constraints, he focused mainly on the biological aspects of HIV, namely, the structure of the virus and the process of its replication. He added that "In our (school) system, the learners don't see". He believed that teaching only biological information amounted to "useless book knowledge". He planned to engage learners in a project, where they could meet HIV-positive patients together with their caregivers, and complete a semi-structured assignment related to this. Teacher A was convinced that this type of interaction would allow learners to become more reflexive and will transform them.

Teacher A destabilised fixed disciplinary boundaries by privileging knowledge construction through greater social interaction with people who are infected and affected by HIV. He challenged what Miller (2010b:126) refers to as the "dominant technical rational, behaviourally oriented approaches to curriculum design and development". He troubled his own teaching experience of what Miller (2010b) conceptualises as the lived curriculum, both real and ideal, within a particular context.

Teacher B engaged learners in a project, which required each learner to conduct an interview with five HIV-positive members of the community. He believed that learners would be enabled to have "a real look" at HIV by relating symptoms, as outlined in their textbooks, to visible symptoms exhibited by participants in their projects. The following excerpt reveals how the teacher linked "book knowledge" with real-life situations:

> B: "When I tell them do you think the person (surveyed) suffers from influenza, do you think the person has TB, do you think the person has AIDS? Describe the condition of the person: is the person weak, unable to keep food down? (Link this) to all the symptoms of the HIV patient (as described in textbooks). They realise themselves that HIV/AIDS is prevalent."

Teacher F was aware that some learners had family members who suffered HIV/AIDS. He drew on their experiences of living with HIV-positive patients, and linked the physical and psychological deterioration that they witnessed through direct observation, with his lessons on HIV/AIDS

Both teachers B and F revealed a "wide awakeness" and chose to construct the curriculum as internal to learners' experiences. They refused to be preoccupied with "intended learning" and "intended manipulation" of a body of disciplinary knowledge, which is external to the learner (Greene, 1971) but looked for possibilities to enable learners to make sense of the impact of HIV on their communities, of what is real to them.

Teacher E engaged the services of other health care professionals to teach about the use of contraceptives and the consequences of not using barrier methods of contraception in the context of HIV/AIDS and other diseases. For teacher E, the Life Sciences teacher should serve as a learner's confidante. She indicated that a relationship based on trust was essential in order to teach about sexuality and HIV/AIDS. She had developed a rapport with learners, which resulted in them seeking advice from her when they were pregnant, or when they suspected they might have contracted HIV.

The role of the Life Sciences teacher as a counsellor was described by teachers E and G. According to teacher G, the Life Sciences teacher was required to "create a classroom environment where learners feel free to discuss these issues (HIV/AIDS and sexuality) and ask questions which concern them personally. The Life Sciences teacher may sometimes have to shift roles and become a counsellor in order to advise and guide learners". Teachers E and G were prepared to risk dissolving and destabilising disciplinary boundaries by exhibiting "self-transcendence" (Greene, 1971:257), as knowers of the curriculum and agents of changing the curriculum to work towards more meaningful and relevant learning.

Abstinence from sexual intercourse as a way of preventing infection with HIV was encouraged by most teachers. Teacher C asserted: "We should emphasise abstinence and the value of waiting to be in a committed relationship." Commitment to one partner, and being tested for HIV, were the cornerstones of her discussions about sexuality education and HIV/AIDS. She emphasised the value of each learner respecting his/her body, as well as the bodies of other people. Teacher C also highlighted the value of respecting one's physical space. She taught aspects of sexual assault and linked this with the value of respecting peoples' choices. Teachers in this study inscribed the rules of the curriculum by generating what the curriculum planners intended when they employed the biomedical approach for AIDS prevention, but they destabilised disciplinary boundaries when

they engaged in the discourse about values and morals, and based this on their knowledge of learners' cultural backgrounds.

Knowledge why

The rationale for teaching HIV/AIDS was to raise awareness of the continued high prevalence of the epidemic in South Africa, to enable learners to transform their behaviour and to empower learners, particularly young women. These reasons were embedded in teachers' commitment to teach consciously to enable learners to reach for possibilities beyond their everyday experiences.

Several teachers asserted that they teach HIV/AIDS to raise learners' consciousness about a lack of change in behaviour (despite increase in knowledge) which has resulted in continued escalation in the number of HIV infections.

> B: "We all know what to do (to prevent HIV infection) but nobody is doing it (taking steps to prevent infection) ... that is why we have to explain why we have to (take precautions to prevent infection)."

> E: "AIDS is still prevalent and you need them (learners) to become aware of it."

Teacher F indicated that a larger number of young people are sexually active, and need to be made aware about HIV and sexuality in the Life Sciences classroom. He recorded the following entry in his diary: "I am aware that many of our learners are sexually active. Hence, the introduction of sexuality education may be of some assistance in preventing unwanted pregnancies, STDs and HIV/AIDS."

Teacher B indicated that Life Orientation offered a superficial response to the spread of HIV among young people. He underscored approaches which encouraged a transformative agenda among learners by stating that "Your learners' mind-set has to change. Everything has to change".

Teachers also viewed the teaching of HIV/AIDS as a useful avenue to empower young women. Teacher B shared the following message from a learner, who was a victim of poverty and abuse, and who wanted to change her career path from nursing to something different. The learner sent the following message to her teacher via cell phone: "I am not giving up because you taught me how to be a fighter so I will never give up ... you showed me that the only way to get what you want is through hard work."

Teacher B indicated that young women were intrinsically motivated to try harder to achieve academic success and to change their behaviour in favour of safe sex practices. He indicated that young men's sexual behaviour was shaped by socio-cultural, patriarchal influences and that this led to performance of dangerous masculinity. Teacher B highlighted young men's role in coercive sexual encounters by asserting:

> Through unprotected sex (HIV can be transmitted) and forcing yourself on a woman ... why should you force yourself onto a woman? It is a shame. If you are as smart as you think you are, you should never have to force (a woman to engage in sexual intercourse).

Teacher B also encouraged young women to "go to the clinic and get tested (for HIV). If you suspect your partner of infidelity or risky behaviour, do not expose yourself (to him). Get him to a clinic where you can get help".

According to teacher C, some young women are afraid to reject advances of young men, due to socio-cultural influences which are governed by heteropatriarchal rules. She indicated that the Life Sciences curriculum could be used to enable girls to say: "This is my body and I will take responsibility for it." She saw the potential of using the Life Sciences curriculum to educate young women about their sexual rights, to enable them to "lead better lives", by reclaiming the right to their bodies and the right to say "no" to sex. Teacher C was cognisant of "social dimensions" (Francis, 2010:315) which influence sexual decision-making, and cautioned young women learners about negotiating coercive sexual encounters.

As fully conscious teachers of Life Sciences, the participants employed strategies, which contribute towards humanising and "transforming possibilities in education" (Miller, 2010b:128). They were prepared to look at the "disjunctures" (Miller, 2010a:64) in their normative versions of the curriculum and in their own practices, and focused on socio-cultural influences when they constructed their learners.

Some teachers believed they were ethically responsible to engage with teaching the social aspects of HIV/AIDS and sexuality education. Teacher F indicated that: "Girls are in my care ... I believe I can tell them about HIV/AIDS and contraception ...." The teacher had no hesitation about teaching sexuality education and HIV/AIDS, and asserted: "If it needs to be done it needs to be said, I say it .... If I need to say it I will say it." The following diary entry reflects this teacher's commitment to the learners: "I will withdraw (tender my resignation) as soon as I find that I cannot make a positive contribution to the learners."

When these teachers taught HIV/AIDS and sexuality education, they preferred "praxis" to reverie (Greene, 1971:8), and their attentiveness to the disorder that HIV/AIDS has created in the lives of learners, in particular, and in the South African society in general, spurred them to be involved in "recreating or generating the materials of the curriculum in terms of their own consciousness" (Greene, 1971:257).

Discussion and conclusion

The teachers, as intentionally conscious individuals, understood the difficulty in controlling the spread of HIV because the biomedical solutions to the epidemic no longer appeared to yield results. They found themselves in a social space which is characterised by transience due to the effects of the epidemic. They re-orientated their approach to the Life Sciences curriculum by affirming the Life Sciences classroom as the context for teaching the social aspects of HIV/AIDS, and in doing so, they destabilised disciplinary boundaries of the curriculum. The teachers used existing biomedical topics, as prescribed by the curriculum, as entry points for teaching HIV/AIDS, and this marked moments of re-stabilising the rules which govern the curriculum. These teachers did not use "bio-power" to control adolescent sexuality. They were attentive and "wide awake" to the experiences of the learners, as well as their own experiences in a society which is ravaged by HIV/AIDS, and this attentiveness allowed them to stimulate a deeper awareness among their

learners, by encouraging possibilities for change through their teaching approaches. Their rationale for teaching the social aspects of HIV/AIDS and sexuality education originated from a plane of consciousness, which enabled them to be fully awakened to learners' lives and requirements, in the context of HIV/AIDS.

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7. Representations of LGBTI identities in textbooks and the development of anti-homophobia materials and a training module

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Introduction

The South African education system is experiencing serious challenges that include: absentee teachers; poor or non-existent school infrastructure; overcrowding; late or non-delivery of textbooks; school- and community-based violence; undertrained teachers; low levels of literacy and numeracy among both teachers and learners; and low levels of scholastic performance as indicated by South Africa's rankings in global indices of school performance (Makinana, 2013; Nkosi, 2013). In short, individuals, families, and communities are being severely affected by poor quality education in a context of escalating, and increasingly violent, service delivery protests across the country. In response, the Department of Basic Education and Minister Motshekga recently launched the 2012 report of the National Education Evaluation and Development Unit (NEEDU) (Taylor, 2013). NEEDU is tasked with monitoring and evaluating the factors that facilitate or inhibit the improvement of schools in South Africa. While NEEDU is not without controversy and faces some resistance from the unions, the Minister has said that "The entire system has to be monitored and evaluated in terms of how it is able or unable to support schools, learners, teachers, school managers, workers and parents" (Department of Basic Education, 2013). With this background we take it as given that learners are not a homogenous group but embody

multiple identities on the basis of class, race, gender, disability, sexual orientation and gender identity, all of which impact on experiences of the school system.

In this chapter, we engage with the urgent need to develop interventions that protect the health and well-being of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) learners given the challenges they currently face. The literature indicates that there is both a paucity of LGBTI-affirming materials for use in the classroom as well as lack of training for teachers on how best to challenge homophobia and teach about LGBTI identities. Therefore, we decided to find out what materials are available in South African schools, particularly in terms of the Life Orientation (LO) subject area, as well as to develop affirming materials and a teacher-training module. We present in this chapter the two studies that emerged from our thinking in this regards: the first study explores the representation and construction of LGBTI identities in LO textbooks; the second study charts the development of an LGBTI-affirming training module for trainee teachers and anti-homophobia materials for use in the classroom. We begin by giving a brief overview of the limited but growing literature on homophobia in South African schools, before looking at the processes and results of these two studies.

Homophobia in schools

In recent years, a growing body of international literature highlights the prevalence of homophobia, homophobic bullying, and heterosexism in schools systems. The global literature indicates, as Atkinson, DePalma and Snowball (2009) point out, that schools are often hostile environments for sexual minority youth and are often characterised by heteronormativity which is perpetuated in everyday school life (Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Epstein, O'Flynn & Telford, 2003) as well as through the policing of sexuality and gender (Nayak & Kehily, 1996; Youdell, 2006). For example, studies from Europe and the United States indicate that homophobic bullying is widespread and that upwards of 90% of "out" LGB students face abuse (Mason & Palmer, 1996; Douglas, Warwick, Kemp & Whitty, 1997; Hunt & Jensen, 2007). In the UK, Rivers (2000) found that over 70% of LGB youth who had been bullied or abused at school played truant or pretended to be ill to avoid a homophobic school environment. The international literature points to gaps in support structures for LGBT youth including lack of support from family, peers and schools (see Munoz-Plaza, Quinn, & Rounds, 2000). In response to these severe challenges, three paradigms dealing with the different types of teacher-training interventions have started to emerge: safety, equity and critical theory (Szalacha, 2004; Goldstein, Russell & Daley, 2007; Frohard-Dourlent, 2012; Schmidt, Chang, Carolan-Silva, Lockhart & Anagnostopoulos, 2012).

In South Africa, while the Constitution was the first in Africa to explicitly recognise the rights of gay and lesbian individuals (Morgan, 2005), many school learners who self-identify as gay or lesbian or are assumed to be gay or lesbian continue to be denied rights and citizenship through forms of homophobia including hate speech, exclusion, marginalisation and violence (Butler, Alpaslan, Strümpher & Astbury, 2003; Richardson, 2006; Msibi 2012, Bhana 2012). These negative experiences occur despite both the protections offered by the Constitution and the South African Schools Act (Act 84 of 1996), both of which are clear in addressing all forms of

discrimination in the promotion of a democratic, equal, and fair South Africa. While schools are often seen as sites of support, care and assistance and teachers and school principals are seen as making a difference in young people's lives, the reality is often quite different when it comes to the lives of LGBTI young people and adults who continue to experience discrimination and violence (Muholi, 2004; Potgieter, 2006; Msibi, 2009; Mkhize, Bennett, Reddy & Moletsane, 2010). The South African school system is no exception in this regards because the dominant sexual culture in schools supports heterosexual learners, constructs homosexuality as something that needs to remain hidden (Francis, 2012) and provides lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) learners with little or no education about their sexual identities (Kowen & Davis, 2006).

Butler, Alpaslan, Strumpher and Astbury (2003), Nel and Judge (2011), and Msibi (2012) have investigated the experiences of gay and lesbian youth and concluded that these learners are not accorded the status of full citizens. In addition to dealing with verbal harassment from peers, students also report that teachers make derogatory and homophobic remarks in the classroom (Butler et al. 2003, Richardson, 2006; Msibi, 2012; Bhana, 2012). Overall, gay, and lesbian learners experience unsafe schools, receive little support from school management, and are misunderstood by school counsellors who have a generalist understanding that does not include direct specialist training and/or experience with gay and lesbian learners (Butler et al. 2003:16). There are also particular concerns about the curriculum and about the representation and construction of LGBTI identities in class materials. This situation is accompanied by a dearth of training for pre- and in-service teachers on sexual and gender diversity. This lack of training occurs despite a strong focus on transformation, social justice, and inclusion in the post-apartheid era. Richardson (2004), Francis and Msibi (2011), Francis (2012), and Johnson and Potgieter (2012) have found inadequate content available both for in-service teachers and pre-service teachers. This lack of knowledge availability often results in teachers not being prepared to deal with these issues when they arise in the classroom. Work by Deacon, Morrell and Prinsloo (1999), Helleve, Flisher, Onya, Mukoma and Klepp (2009), Francis and Msibi (2011) and Francis (2012) highlights the general conservatism in teaching and training on sexual diversity in South Africa. All of this points to the urgent need to develop curricula and policy that will assist teachers in dealing with these issues.

Aims

Given the apparent dearth of LGBTI-affirming pedagogical materials and the general lack of training in this area for pre- and in-service teachers in South Africa, we aimed with the two studies presented in this chapter to remedy this situation by finding out what materials are available in the LO subject area as well as well to develop appropriate materials and teacher preparedness in this area. We believed this to be particularly relevant to the ongoing development of scholarship in the area given that teachers will require LGBTI-affirming materials with which to teach after they have received training on teaching in an affirming manner about LGBTI identities and when they have become sensitised to and aware of the issues involved. We conceptualised the two studies as being interlinked and as functioning to bridge the disjuncture between theory and practice in this area. We envisaged an opportunity to 'join up the dots' when it comes to making

schools safer places for LGBTI young people by engaging with both the materials available and by developing the awareness of trainee teachers and their educators regarding sexual and gender diversity. Therefore, we present below our analysis of the representation and construction of LGBTI identities in Life Orientation textbooks and, having found problematic representations of these identities, we then present the process we engaged in to develop anti-homophobia materials for use in the classroom as well as the LGBTI teacher-training module that we developed.

Study One: Representation of LGBTI identities in LO textbooks

In our first, previously published (Potgieter & Reygan, 2012) study we explored the construction and representation of LGBTI identities in LO textbooks. In this regards, Soudien (2012:1) argues that education prepares "people for full citizenship" and facilitates people in knowing each other and becoming aware of both differences and similarities. However, given the general paucity of LGBTI-affirming pedagogical materials in South Africa, we asked if learners in South Africa were being educated to "know" LGBTI people as sexual and gender minorities with the right to full citizenship? We knew that LO was the most likely subject area to present this topic to learners as Francis (2012) indicates that the topic of homosexuality and bisexuality fit well into the wider remit of the LO curriculum and sit well with the post-1994 shift to Outcomes-Based Education (OBE). However, Francis (2012) also indicates that Departmental LO Teacher Guidelines (Department of Education, 2006) and the Revised National Curriculum Statements LO (Department of Education, 2002) are silent on the issue of "sexual diversity" and that this occurs despite the focus in LO on social justice, human rights and inclusiveness (Department of Education, 2003:5). In contrast, we argue that the schooling system, teachers and curriculum have an important role in nurturing citizens who are committed to social justice and feel that the curriculum should facilitate learners in critiquing discrimination and injustice, including in relation to LGBTI identities.

Method

We explored the ways in which sexual and gender minorities are engaged with in LO learners' textbooks from Grades 7 to 12. To do this, we established the list of textbooks used for teaching LO in state schools and those that are most popular in KwaZulu-Natal province and particularly in Grades 7 to 12. We found in discussion with individual teachers, schools and book stores that the most popular texts were: *Oxford Successful Life Orientation* (published by Oxford University Press); *Shuters Life Orientation* (Shuter and Shooter); *Spot On Life Orientation* (Heinemann); and *Life Orientation Today* (Maskew Miller Longman). We focused our analysis on these texts and in particular on Grade 7 where the topic was generally introduced, if at all, and were guided by two primary research questions: Are LGBTI identities represented in LO texts? If so, how are they represented?; and Does the LO curriculum fosters social justice for LGBTI learners?

Results

Through reading and re-reading the textbooks we found that in Grades 7 to 12 where the Bill of Rights was mentioned sexual orientation was also often listed. Nevertheless there was both

a problematic treatment and general invisibility of LGBTI identities. There was generally little or no mention of LGB(TI) identities and there was inconsistency in their representation across the 4 series. Where LGBTI identities were mentioned there was generally a reference to gay male representation and lesbian and bisexual identities were rarely mentioned. The term "lesbian" was never used and the terms "homosexuality" and "homosexual" were generally preferred to the terms "gay" and "straight". We found one use of the term "bisexual" and transgender and intersex identities were absent from the textbooks. Nevertheless we found that some texts were more affirming than others. For example in the Shutter and Shooter (Barker et al., 2008) text on pages 62-63 there is a section on LGB identities that takes an anti-oppressive and anti-homophobic stance, cites constitutional protections, has clear visual representations of LGB(TI) identities and includes bisexuality. We found this section to be LGB(TI)-friendly and it asked learners to critique heterosexist norms and to be reflexive in their attitudes towards sexual minorities.

The next most affirming text was the Oxford text (Dilley et al., 2011:16-19), which had mixed messages regarding sexual and gender minorities in that it was both LGB(TI) affirming and heteronormative. For example, sexuality was defined as: *Whether we are attracted to people of the opposite or the same sex* and there was a section entitled *Being gay*. However all of this was located in a generally heteronormative context in that, for example, the text at one point reads: *Brainstorm ideas about the things that you think: a) attract the opposite sex; b) that the opposite sex do not like about your sex*. The text also reads: *What qualities do you think girls and boys really look for in each other?* In short, we found that the Oxford textbook presented mixed message in relation to LGB(TI) identities, was inconsistent in its representation of these identities and also presented a rather isolated treatment of non-normative sexualities.

The Maskew Miller Longman (Euvrard, 2005) text had a highly problematic represenation of LGB(TI) identities. The topic of "homosexuality" was introduced in a section in Chapter 9 entitled: *Dealing with difficult situations* that dealt specifically with HIV and TB. The text in this section reads: *HIV/AIDS is a big issue in our country because it is a disease that affects millions of peoples' lives and is very frightening to most people. Many people are worried about being infected with HIV*. Non-normative sexuality was presented in a section that included the following text: *Infected: to cause illness*. Subsequently the text reads: *Homosexual: someone who is sexually attracted to a person of the same sex*. Furthermore, the text on page 99 then presents learners with a quiz question that reads: *Is it mostly homosexual people and drug users who get HIV?* Overall we found that in the Maskew Miller Longman text LGBTI identities were silenced and invisible and that the figure of the "homosexual" was introduced in a section on illness, drug use and is clinical in nature. There were also no real-life representations of LGBTI identities and culture.

Of all the series we reviewed the Heinemann (Carstens & Vercueil, 2010) text was the most problematic in its (non-) representation of LGBTI identities. For example, in Units 6 to 9 on puberty, sex and sexuality there is a general silence regarding non-normative sexualities and genders. The text on page 38 reads: *Some teenagers are not even interested in the opposite sex. They may be more interested in sport, music or achieving good marks; Have your feelings towards the opposite sex changed since Grade 1?* Also on page 42 the text reads: *In this module ... you learnt about the importance of understanding sexuality and the changes that take place during puberty ... you*

learnt how to deal with attractions ...The latter is clearly not the case for LGBTI-identified learners for whom the heterosexist treatment of sexuality in the textbook provides little recognition or personal relevance. There is also a generally non-affirming and homophobic subtext pervading this section of the Heinemann textbook that includes the following exercise for learners on page 65: "Spot the prejudice: Gay men are more likely to abuse children."

In conclusion, we argue that our study has begun to address the knowledge-practice gap outlined by Francis (2012) and that it begins to address the invisibility of LGBTI identities in pedagogical materials in South Africa. The international literature shows that the positive and affirming representations help develop a safe school environment for sexual and gender minority youth (Macintosh, 2007; Russell, 2002). In South Africa Kown and Davis (2006) point out that LGB learners experience little or no education concerning their identities and life experiences. This occurs despite the research over a number of years (Sears, 1991; Telljohann, Price, Poureslami & Easton, 1995) indicating that educators' attitudes towards homosexuality are more positive and they feel more competent broaching the topic when they receive training in the area. In contrast we found that the post-apartheid goals of inclusion were not being reached in terms of the inclusion of LGBTI identities in these LO textbooks and that where representations were inclusive they ran the risk of being tokenistic and isolated. We found that while there were some meaningful representations of LGB(TI) identities and some affirming pedagogical practices these were neither consistent nor widespread. There was also little or no critique of the discrimination faced by LGBTI populations and two of the four texts were almost entirely silent on LGBTI identities. Where LGB(TI) identities were presented these were usually tokenistic representations in stand alone sections that seem to little inform the surrounding chapters or the textbook as a whole. In short, we argue that these texts negate LGBTI-identified learners' particular ways of knowing and that this in turn reduces the importance of social justice and citizenship education overall. Soudien (2012) has highlighted the importance of knowledge and action when taking a critical social justice approach to educating about difference. We argue that this is particularly pertinent when it comes to LGBTI identities in South African curricula, textbooks and the schooling system as a whole.

Study 2: Developing anti-homophobia materials and a teacher training module

Having found a general paucity of LGBTI-affirming pedagogical materisls in LO textbooks and aware of the general lack of training for pre- and in-service teachers in this area, we felt that the way forward was to begin to develop these materials as well as a training intervention for teachers. Therefore we applied for a call for LGBTI grant proposals advertised by the US Consulate in Pretoria in September 2012. We subsequently presented our study on the construction and representation of LGBTI identities in LO textbooks (Potgieter & Reygan, 2012) at the first nationwide colloquium on homophobic bullying organised by the Gay and Lesbian Archives in Memory (GALA) at the University of Johannesburg in late 2012. On the basis of our grant proposal and the presentation of our paper we were awarded the grant to develop the project entitled: "LGBTI teacher training workshops: Teaching about sexual diversity and challenging

homophobia/transphobia in the South African school system" along with our Co-Principal Investigator Dr Thabo Msibi. We began our literature review in late 2012 and early 2013, began developing our anti-homophobia materials and rolled out a pilot module in April 2013 at the School of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. A central component of this project was a series of ongoing consultative community workshops with interested stakeholders who then became our "community of practice" as we developed and rolled out the intervention.

Method

Informed by the principles of Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR: Israel, Eng, Schulz and Parker, 2005) we engaged in ongoing consultative community workshops so as to develop our anti-homophobia materials and LGBTI pilot module for Life Orientation (LO) trainee teachers. In using participatory methodologies we consulted widely with stakeholders in the spirit of Paulo Freire's (2005) "each one, teach one". We believe that the concept of "community" is often overly narrowly defined and in our study understood "community" to refer widely to a group of stakeholders who do not all necessarily have the same interests. Given the focus in the literature on the role of religion, culture and language in perpetuating homophobia, we were particularly interested in consulting with partners who had specific knowledge in these areas. We hoped that our partners would become a "community of practice" whose knowledge would lead iteratively to the development of the anti-homophobia materials and pilot module. Our initial 12 consultative partners included representatives from the religious, cultural, NGO and academic sectors including but not limited to: IsiZulu Studies, Education, Theology and Religious Studies, Psychology, and from a theatre group for young people. Ethical approval for the project was received from the Ethics Committee at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in November 2012. The initial consultative community workshop took place in February 2013, materials were developed in the period February to April 2013, and the pilot module for LO trainee teachers was delivered in April 2013.

Consultative community workshops and an LGBTI pilot module

We realised that the opinions of our consultative partners reflected pre-existing guidelines from the Department of Basic Education (2011) for school principals and governing bodies on teaching about LGBTI identities. Our partners agreed that the pilot module needed to sensitise students on the problems of using derogatory and homophobic language and to the challenges presented by context, culture, religion and the positioning of participants. They also felt that it was important that the pilot module not be experienced as an imposition and that it should not set itself the expectation of changing the attitudes of all participants. What was important was to provide teachers with the skills, tools and correct information to be able to understand the manifestations of homophobia: "one plants the seed and never knows where the garden will grow". The process created much goodwill that would later ease the roll out of the project and conscientised stakeholders to LGBTI-related issues. In the process of engagement with our partners we were informed by the work of Currie et al. (2005) on the necessity for developing "knowledge" that informs communities and leads to improved interventions and service delivery. In this case we understood "knowledge" to

refer to the most effective pedagogical tools for teaching about LGBTI identities in the classroom as well as strategies to combat homophobia. Following Dalal et al. (2002) we also encouraged our consultative partners to become co-facilitators in developing the anti-homophobia materials and in delivering the pilot module so as to maximise impact and relevance.

After incorporating feedback and suggestions emerging from the consultative community workshop we began to develop our anti-homophobia materials and pilot training module. The structure of the training module included a lecture, a workshop, a resource pack and evaluation forms. The lecture and interactive workshop covered the following areas: research and theory in the area; terminology; stereotyping; ways to challenge homophobia; international best practice in the area; and ways for educators to become LGBTI allies and change agents. With the support of our consultative partners who worked in the School of Education at UKZN we delivered the pilot module, including the lecture and workshop, to 20 LO Honours students in April 2013. We present here some observations emerging from our experience of delivering the pilot study with our co-researchers. For example, we realised the necessity of having well-trained facilitators and co-facilitators to deliver the module. Given the multiple sensitivities that emerge in the course of doing conscientising work around LGBTI identities, professional competence and adequate skills are required in containing homophobia when it emerges. It is also necessary to respond to and counteract this homophobia, facilitate the emergence of LGBTI affirming voices without closing down non-affirming voices, and negotiate gender differences in class including the dominance of male voices. In short, we argue that facilitators and co-facilitators require not just generalist facilitation skills but also specific knowledge of LGBTI-related research and issues as well as a clear awareness of the multiple ways in which homophobia manifests – including in the training session – and the ability to respond to this homophobia. In terms of CBPR principles this meant entering into relationships of power sharing, trust and co-learning with our consultative partners who also became co-facilitators. We learnt to build on the existing strengths of our consultative partners, such as interactive community-based theatre of the oppressed initiatives and previous experiences of group facilitation in other settings. The process of cyclical inquiry continued throughout the process as we debriefed with co-facilitators and returned to our consultative partners with questions about ways to continue improving the materials and training module.

Discussion

Given the disjuncture between policy and practice in South Africa when it comes to the rights of LGBTI minorities, there is an absence of LGBTI-affirming materials for use in the classroom as well as a general lack of interventions to train teachers around these issues. The problematic construction and representation of LGBTI identities that we uncovered in the LO textbooks we surveyed was perhaps not surprising given the generally heterosexist and homophobic character of the schooling system both in South Africa (Bhana, 2012; Msibi, 2012; Francis & Msibi, 2011) and globally (Atkinson, DePalma & Snowball, 2009). We were also unsurprised by the general lack of training for trainee teachers on LGBTI issues in Schools of Education across South Africa. Grounded in both the principles of anti-oppressive and social justice education as outlined by Szalacha (2004) as well as the importance of engaging community partners in terms of CBPR

(Israel, Eng, Schulz & Parker, 2005), we realised that the time was ripe for researchers, funders, teacher training colleges and interested community members to come together to begin to address the exclusion of LGBTI learners and their particular "ways of knowing". In the course of the two studies we have presented in this chapter, it became starkly evident just how much work has yet to be done in bridging the gap between policy and practice in this area. We welcome the guidelines from the Department of Basic Education, contained in the Values in Action (2011) report for school principals and governing boards, on how best to teach about LGBTI diversity in South African classrooms using a human rights approach. However we caution that much work has yet to be done in linking up the Constitution; policy; the Department of Education guidelines; LO curriculum and the content of textbooks; teacher training in this area; the work of researchers; and LGBTI community groups.

Currie et al. (2005) argue for researcher-community partnerships that produce knowledge which informs communities and which leads to improved interventions, service delivery and community development. We hope that our community of practice has begun to improve, through the roll out of the LGBTI teacher training module, the skills of South African teachers in teaching about sexual diversity and in challenging homophobia. This will help to improve education service delivery in schools by increasing educator competencies when dealing with these issues. We also hope that our training module will help change the culture of schools in South Africa both in relation to non-normative sexual and gender minorities but also in terms of the wider communities in which schools are located. Given the disturbingly high levels of violent crime against LGBTI people in South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2011), we feel the pressing need for interventions that mobilise all available expertise so as to broaden LGBTI human rights provision across the country. In partnering with Schools of Education, academics, community groups and in engaging with pre- and in-service teachers through the development of our materials we have generated and hope to widely share these anti-homophobia materials and teacher training module. The materials developed through the consultative process will be collated as a stand-alone training pack that we hope, through future consultation with the Department of Basic Education, to widely disseminate to Schools of Education. Overall both the studies outlined in this chapter aim to support the "ways of knowing" of LGBTI learners, to facilitate educators and learners in critiquing the discrimination and prejudice faced by many LGBTI people and to make South African schools safer for LGBTI young people. In this regards the studies are consistent with the Department of Education's focus on social justice, diversity and inclusion.

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8. Troubling the socialisation of the sexual identities of youth with disabilities: Lessons for sexuality and HIV pedagogy

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Given the increasing evidence of the vulnerability of young people to HIV infection, there has been a proliferation of studies that have examined the complexities of youth sexuality in Southern Africa. Despite this, very little scholarship has taken in to account the sexual identities or sexual experiences of youth with disabilities. This absence comes as no surprise given that youth with disabilities are typically constructed as de-gendered and as asexual (Shuttleworth, 2010; Wentzell, 2006). Furthermore, notions of sexuality, sexual expression and desirability in the context of disability, have often been depicted as taboo in the African context (Sait et al., 2011; Dube, 2004). Nevertheless, this absence has slowly been brought into question, especially in light of the growing amount of literature that links the vulnerability of youth with disabilities to HIV & AIDS (Hancock, 2009; Groce, 2003, 2005). These contentions surrounding disabled youth sexuality have particular bearings on sexual and HIV pedagogy, and the inclusion of the voices of youth with disabilities in a predominantly heteronormative society that privileges ablebodiness.

In this context, the aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how the continual subjugation of disabled sexuality in society has played a significant role in the socialisation of sexuality amongst youth with disabilities. It also argues that the invisibility of disabled sexuality and disabled "voice" has specific implications for sexuality pedagogy. The chapter concludes with key considerations for a comprehensive sexuality curriculum that responds to learners with diverse identities such as disability.

The subjugation of disabled sexuality

Not too dissimilar to the constructs of African sexualities, the discourse of disabled sexuality has also been subject to the same ahistorical and apolitical disregard. For instance, popular notions of disabled sexuality have usually focused around a medical paradigm that constructs people with disabilities in terms of "deviance, lack and tragedy", and as victims of impairment (Corker & Shakespeare, 2002:2). In this context, the wider non-disabled community has made assumptions that people with disabilities are typically asexual (Tepper, 2000; Tatum, 2000; Shakespeare, Gillespie-Sellis & Davies, 1996).

According to Shuttleworth (2010) and Milligan and Neufeldt (2001), the assumption of people with disabilities' asexuality is predominantly associated with their genitalia and their social capabilities of having relationships. For instance, for those with physical impairments (e.g. cerebral palsy, spinal cord injury, muscular dystrophy), it is generally presumed that they lack sexual desire and are unable to sexually perform physically. As for those with sensory (i.e. blindness, deafness), intellectual (e.g. Down syndrome, autism) or mental impairments (e.g. schizophrenia), although their sexual function is typically intact, they are thought to have "limited social judgment, and therefore, lack the capacity to engage in responsible sexual relationships" (Milligan & Neufeldt, 2001:92). In analysing these assumptions of disabled sexuality, they are largely formulated through the discourse of heteronormativity. Understood in this context, heteronormativity privileges constructs of phallocentric (mainly that of penile-vaginal) sexuality and notions of compulsory ablebodiness (McRuer, 2006). Those who are unable, or who do not follow these practices are subjugated as "other". This is particularly emphasised in a study conducted by Motalingoane-Khau (2006) amongst boys with physical impairments in Lesotho. The boys reported that their non-disabled peers would often tease them, believing they were incapable of having the same sexual fantasies or feelings. In essence, the boys were rejected as they were perceived as incapable of performing constructs of hegemonic masculinity (Cacchioni & Tiefer, 2012) due to their physical impairments.

Another source of social evidence, which subjugates disabled sexuality, can be found in the mass media. The culture of popular mass media continually exploits the notions of sexual pleasure and consumption as powerful social rewards for those that are able to buy the right products or attain the "perfect body" (McRuer & Mollow, 2012; Tepper, 2000). Sexual portrayals of those who are considered to be undesirable, such as people with disabilities, are therefore often absent. However, on the odd occasions where disabled characters do appear in television shows and movies, they are either depicted as being sexually innocent or completely dissatisfied with their sexual relationships (Gougeon, 2009; McRuer, 2006). In view of this, Norden persuasively argues that:

> The media industry has created or perpetuated stereotypes of disability that are so durable, pervasive and repetitious that they have come to represent unexamined truisms within our culture, despite their scant resemblance to people with disabilities (Norden, 1994 – cited in Milligan & Neufeldt, 2001:94).

Given the high media consumption amongst young people (loveLife, 2001), this negative portrayal of disabled sexuality in the media, not only impacts on youth with disabilities' own perceptions

of their sexual identities, but also places them at risk of abuse and sexual exploitation. This is especially prominent given the unfounded belief that having sex with a virgin will cure HIV & AIDS (Groce, 2005).

Sexuality and the disability movement

The medicalised and apolitical focus on disabled sexuality has not only drawn attention away from the sexual agency of people with disabilities, but also from the socio-cultural meanings of disability and desirability. Shuttleworth and Mona (2002) contend that this medicalised focus fails to recognise the experiences of multiple societal barriers to sexual expression and relationships. Unfortunately, this apolitical approach to sexuality has been inadvertently reinforced by the disability movement. As highlighted by Shakespeare (2000:159), the "public lives of people with disability, in relation to ending poverty and social exclusion, were up for analysis and discussion; whereas their private lives i.e. sexuality and identity were not seen as equally creditable of concern". Finger (1992), a disabled feminist activist, takes this further and poignantly suggests that:

> Sexuality is often the source of our [disability movement] deepest oppression; it is also often the source of our deepest pain. It's easier for us to talk about – and formulate strategies for changing – discrimination in employment, education, and housing than to talk about our exclusion from sexuality and reproduction (Finger, 1992:8).

The reluctance of the African disability movement to engage with sexuality as a socio-political issue, does nothing more than privilege the discourse of heteronormativity and negative societal stereotypes of the sexual agency of people with disabilities.

The invisibility of youth with disabilities

The continual subjugation or "othering" of disabled sexuality has played a significant role in the socialisation of sexuality amongst youth with disabilities. For instance, not to disparate to other African communities, youth with disabilities living in rural and peri-urban areas in South Africa, are often hidden away, either in the home or schools for the disabled, which are often far from the family home (Chappell & Johannsmeier, 2009; Philpott, 1994). Fuelled by normative cultural beliefs that disability is a curse, families would hide their disabled children in fear of community ridicule or isolation. As a consequence of this practice, it is argued that youth with disabilities may experience a different sexual identity development process than their non-disabled peers in which the knowledge that they are different is always present (Sait et al., 2011).

This is not too dissimilar to other adolescent sexual minorities such as those who identify as gay, lesbian, bi-sexual or trans-gendered (Glover, Galliher & Lamere, 2009). As homosexual and bi-sexual adolescents are often raised in communities that are either ignorant of or openly hostile to homosexuality, they often, according to Rosario, Scrimshaw, Hunter and Braun (2006), practice behaviour that does not coincide with their homosexual identity. Similarly, in the absence of positive role models and the need to "fit in" with their peers, some youth with disabilities try to

overcompensate for their differences, which in turn puts them at high risk of sexual exploitation and HIV infection (Johnstone, 2004).

Sexual pedagogy and youth with disabilities

Given the subjugation of disabled sexuality, it therefore comes as no surprise that youth with disabilities are generally invisible in relation to sexual pedagogy. This is made evident by the fact that youth with disabilities are generally discouraged from engaging in discussions of a sexual nature (Chappell & Radebe, 2009). Furthermore, combined with poor access to education due to physical and attitudinal barriers, disabled youth often receive little formal sexuality education since it is believed that they do not need such knowledge or will become promiscuous if it is provided (Aderemi, 2013; McKenzie, 2013; Rohleder & Swartz, 2009; Groce, 2005; UNICEF, 1999).

Although educators perceptions of teaching sexuality education has been widely discussed in relation to non-disabled youth, very little scholarship has taken into account the perceptions of educators of learners with disabilities, especially within the African context. Of the few studies that have been conducted, various barriers have been identified. For instance, Rohleder and Swartz (2009) found that educators reported tensions between the discourses of human rights and restriction of sexual behaviour of young people with intellectual disabilities. In a further study, Rohelder, Swartz, Schneider and Eide (2012) reported that educators frequently reported a lack of skills and resources in relation to conveying sexual pedagogy in accessible and understandable formats to learners with disabilities. This reported lack of skills is further exacerbated by the invisibility of disabled sexuality in initial teacher education (Rohelder et al., 2012; Howard-Barr et al., 2005) and the South African National Guidelines for Teaching Life Orientation (Department of Basic Education, 2003; 2011).

Notwithstanding the invisibility of disability in sexuality curriculum, De Reus (2013), found in a study amongst special school educators in KZN that although they recognised the importance of sexuality education, the way it was taught differed between schools and between educators. More specifically, De Reus (2013) found that educators of learners with intellectual disabilities were less inclined to go into detail about sexuality assuming that the learners would not understand. In the absence of disability in the national guidelines for Life Orientation, it is very difficult to effectively monitor the delivery of sexual pedagogy for learners with disabilities in schools for the disabled.

These difficulties in approaching sexual pedagogy with learners with disabilities are not too dissimilar to the teaching of other diverse identities such as homosexuality and bi-sexuality. For instance, in a study conducted amongst 11 high school educators in Durban, Francis (2012) found that the educators reported limited knowledge about homosexuality. As a result, they were less inclined to approach the topic in the classroom setting. As with disability, homosexuality and bi-sexuality also remain invisible within the South African National Curriculum Statement for Life Orientation (Department of Basic Education, 2003; 2011). In view of this, and the experiences of educators of youth with disabilities, it is clear that current sexuality curriculum and education continue to privilege heteronormativity and notions of compulsory ablebodiness. What is more,

in agreement with Francis (2012:2), "the invisibility of [disability] and homosexuality within curriculum policies contradicts the goal of inclusive and equal education" (own emphasis).

Parents and sexual pedagogy

Outside of the school environment, various scholars have indicated parents' unwillingness to discuss issues of sexuality with youth with disabilities. For instance, in a study conducted in the Northern Cape, Sait, Lorenzo, Steyn and Van Zyl (2011) found mothers of girls with intellectual disabilities ignored their daughters' attempts to talk about issues of a sexual nature. The majority of the parents also perceived sexuality education as consisting only of discussing the sex act, which they believed was inappropriate for their disabled daughters (Sait et al., 2011). Likewise, McKenzie (2013) also found in a study amongst adults with disabilities in the Eastern Cape, that as they reflected upon their childhood, none of them recalled receiving sexuality education from either their families or school educators. The reluctance to talk about these issues was enhanced by their families' doubts surrounding disabled youth's sexual and reproductive capacities.

Separate from the doubts concerning youth with disabilities' sexual capacities, Milligan and Neufeldt (2001) contend that the reluctance of both educators and parents to talk about sex may be further attributed to their efforts to protect disabled youth from future rejection and vulnerability to sexual abuse. Although the discourse of innocence is also related to non-disabled youth, it is more pronounced amongst disabled youth as it is believed that sex will never be part of their lives. This continual silence surrounding sexual pedagogy and youth with disabilities continues to demonstrate not only adultist constructs of young people, but ableist constructs of disabled sexuality. Moreover, it also demonstrates a general disregard to recognising the sexual agency of youth with disabilities. As argued by Coppock (2010:439), the discourses of silence and protectionism does nothing more than "skilfully disguise a fundamental distrust in young peoples' competence".

As a result of the silence and invisibility of youth with disabilities in sexual pedagogy, many young people with disabilities may lack the confidence to know how to discuss matters of sex, love and relationships (Shakespeare, 2000). This, for example, was identified in a qualitative study in the UK, which sought to understand disabled sexuality amongst forty-four disabled people in the UK. Shakespeare et al. (1996) found that, although respondents were able to talk in general about their lives and issues of identity and barriers, they had difficulty talking about relationships and sexuality. As a consequence of not being able to speak openly about sexuality, it could in turn increase the vulnerability of youth with disabilities to abusive relationships and continue to privilege hegemonic notions of asexuality.

Troubling the invisibility of youth with disabilities

The invisibility of youth with disabilities in sexual pedagogy, can be largely attributed to what Foucault (1978:136) describes as "regulatory control" and the discourse of power. Understood in this way, silences surrounding the sexualities' of youth with disabilities are manipulated and

contrived in social contexts by other players and stakeholders who are generally perceived as having more power. In the context of youth with disabilities, these stakeholders are the parents, educators and school governing bodies, who through their given positionality are able to enforce certain vocabularies and values and in effect control the discourse of sexuality amongst youth with disabilities. The dominant discourse of silence has a two-fold effect. First, it marginalises the voices of youth with disabilities and second, it may also impact on the individual and their perceptions of their own sexual identity, desirability and HIV risk perception. In this regard, the production of silences can be a potentially "disempowering act" (Francis, Muthukrishna & Ramsuran, 2006:141).

Notwithstanding the hegemonic discourses of sexuality and youth with disabilities, Foucault (1978), rightly suggests that power is a fluid entity and that everyone has the potential to exercise power. Therefore, just like their non-disabled peers, youth with disabilities also have the potential to exercise agency and trouble the silence surrounding the construction of their sexual identities. In taking this approach, youth with disabilities are recognised as sexual beings, who in line with Marr and Malone's (2007:3) concept of the "agentic child", are "capable and competent agent[s] who replicate and appropriate aspects of their culture through their talk and interaction with others thereby actively participating in the construction of their own social situations". Given this perspective, youth with disabilities are recognised as "knowers" (Francis, 2010:314) or experts in their own lives. The notion of youth with disabilities as "knowers" troubles constructs of innocence and raises questions surrounding their invisibility in sexual pedagogy. In this context, it is argued that there is a strong need to develop a sexuality curriculum that recognises disabled youth as sexual beings. What is more, as maintained by Francis (2010), in recognising sexual diversity, this sexuality curriculum also needs to take cognisance of the knowledge and experiences disabled youth already have of sexuality.

Conclusion and recommendations for practice

As identified throughout this chapter, the discourse of disabled sexuality is largely subjugated by heteronormative constructs of asexuality and sexual innocence. The continual subjugation of disabled sexuality has resulted in the invisibility of youth with disabilities in sexual pedagogy. This invisibility not only impacts on the development of their sexual identities, but also places disabled youth at greater risk of sexual exploitation and HIV infection. In troubling the discourse of sexual innocence, this chapter calls for a recognition of youth with disabilities as sexual beings who are capable of (re)creating the social world in which they live. In adopting this approach, and as appositely argued by Francis (2012) in relation to lesbian, gay and bi-sexual issues, current educational policies and guidelines surrounding sexuality education in schools must go beyond the singularity of heteronormativity. In doing so, policy makers need to respond to learners who have diverse identities, i.e. disability, thus developing a comprehensive sexuality curriculum in both mainstream schools and schools for the disabled.

Francis (2012) also makes a strong argument for the inclusion of lesbian, gay and bi-sexual issues in the curriculum for teacher education. Likewise, given the reported lack of skills in teaching sexuality amongst educators of learners with disabilities, it is strongly argued that there is a serious

need to review the current teacher education curriculum in South Africa. Furthermore, there is a great need for the development of training resources to assist educators in delivering sexuality education in accessible formats to learners with disabilities.

Finally, in light of the reluctance of parents of youth with disabilities to engage in sexuality education, there is a need for the development of educational programmes for parents of youth with disabilities. From the outset, the foundation of these sexuality educational programmes should recognise youth with disabilities as 'capable social agents' and not just innocent vessels in relation to sexuality and HIV & AIDS. In this regard, attention needs to be given to how parents may undermine or facilitate youth with disabilities' own agency.

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9. Learning from the learners about sexuality in a participatory interview in a South African school

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Introduction

Until the late 1990s and early 2000s, little research had been conducted on the topic of young people and sexuality either in South Africa or other African countries "because it was deemed too private to make investigation either appropriate or feasible" (HEAIDS Report, 2010). This was, and still is, reinforced by cultural taboos concerning adults and young people talking about sexuality and by adult constructions of children, in many predominantly Christian countries, as non-sexual beings, through idealisations of youthful "innocence" (and ignorance) in relation to sexuality. Indeed, one of the main contributions that research with young people on the topic of sexuality has made is that young people are themselves sexual beings, a view which informs and is reinforced by further research. Sexuality, as these studies have attested, is not something that becomes meaningful and significant only as we approach adulthood, even if it has been constructed in South Africa, as in many other societies, as a marker of adulthood by adults wishing "innocence" on children and imagining them as asexual (Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Kehily, 2002; Bhana, 2007).

Such research has been motivated mainly by the HIV/AIDS pandemic as well as other social issues and concerns, such as sexual harassment and gender based violence. A body of qualitative (interview and ethnographic) research has emerged in South Africa which has attempted to explore the meanings and significance which young people, in particular communities and social contexts, attach to gender and sexuality and how these affect and influence their lives. Such research has raised important questions about young people's knowledge or lack of knowledge about HIV/AIDS and modes of transmission, their own practices, desires or concerns relating to sex and sexuality, their views about abstinence, condom usage and more generally about their

119

experiences, identifications relationships and vulnerabilities, desires and ambitions as young men and women in particular communities, e.g. Bhana, 2003; Pattman, 2005; Pattman, 2006; Wood, Lambert & Jewkes, 2007; Pattman, & Bhana, 2009; Shefer & Foster, 2009; Bhana & Pattman, 2011; Jewkes & Morrell, 2011; Msibi, 2012). It has provided us with valuable insights and ways of understanding the power relations involved in the deployment of gender and sexuality as social categories.

Informing this kind of research are two key assumptions, one that young people are sexual beings, and two that they are active agents who construct their everyday social worlds (even though, as social beings, they are never free and independent agents, but are always constrained by the social and material worlds they inhabit). Some researchers working within this paradigm advocate "participatory" forms of research in which young people are addressed as potential authorities and encouraged to "produce knowledge" (Stuart & Smith, 2011) about their social worlds, and, at same time, critically reflect on themselves, their identifications and relationships through their participation in various kinds of research activities such as drawing, role play and photo voice. In this kind of research the "adult" researcher works with the young people, introducing them to the research activity, picking up on issues and concerns which they raise in their research and posing questions which relate to the problems they raise rather than deciding, in advance, what the research problem is and asking predetermined questions which relate to this. For example concerns about being harassed sexually in the school toilets were raised by many female learners in a participatory research exercise in which leaners attending a rural high school in KwaZulu-Natal were given disposable cameras and asked to take photos of safe and unsafe spaces in the school. These photographs became powerful resources for provoking reflexive discussion and for highlighting gendered concerns not usually communicated to adults and teachers (Mitchell et al., 2006).

In this article, I argue for what I call "participatory" interviews in research with young people. I focus on one such interview I conducted with five young African female learners attending a formerly Indian school near Durban, and reflect on the quality of the data which this interview generated. In the interview, the participants were encouraged to discuss their interests, identifications, relations, aspirations and views about school. Sexuality, usually intertwined with race, emerged as a key theme in conversations which the learners led. I argue that this interview provides rich and powerful insights on the significance which sexuality holds for these girls and how this connects more broadly with the ways they construct their identities as young women in the school context. I also suggest that the interview offers glimpses of *how* these young women act, behave and perform in relation to each other and the interviewer

The very idea of a *participatory* interview raises questions about interview dynamics, and I address these and discuss my role as facilitator and the relationship the young women and I developed with each other during the interview. I address the interview not as an "instrument" which elicits information from them but as a social encounter or event, and an important social context, which affects and influences how research participants present themselves and what they say. I discuss the implications of doing critically reflexive qualitative research which pays close attention to the relational dynamics of the research encounters, for identifying and analysing "findings". I argue

that participatory interviews may offer models of good pedagogic practices in sexuality education (or Life Orientation) in schools.

Thinking about interviews and focus group discussions as social encounters

In thinking about and engaging with interviews and focus group discussions as social encounters, I draw on the work of feminist writers who have raised concerns about power and self-reflexivity in research and argued that relations of power are constructed in the very process of doing research, and that these are particularly acute when they are hidden. This is when the researchers seek to minimise their influence by constructing apparent conditions of objectivity and relate to those they are researching as "mere objects, there for the researcher to do research 'on'" (Stanley & Wise, 1983:164).

I am influenced, also, by social constructionist understandings of identities as positions we construct, negotiate, and perform in particular contexts, as opposed to essences we possess. According to social constructionist accounts of "race" and gender, there are no African, white or Indian, male or female essences, rather renderings of African-ness or whiteness. Masculinity or femininity makes sense only in relation to characteristics constructed as Other. Some social constructionists have drawn on psychoanalysis to develop a radical critique of the reification of opposing identities like African and white, male and female as fixed and independent opposites. "Opposed identities ... are not only constructed in relation to each other", Richard Johnson argues, "they always carry in their inner configurations, some version (fantasy, image, imago) of the Other" (Johnson, 1997). "Racial" and gendered identities, then, are not only played off in relation to each other, but produce the Other through projected anxieties as well as longings which are split off from self. A sense of "racial" or gendered identity is derived *through* constructing the "racial" or gendered Other, which becomes a fantasy structure on to which difference is projected, a peg onto which fears or desires can be hung.

How to research young people, gender, sexuality, and race without contributing to the reification of these categories is a key concern, which frames the kind of qualitative research and analysis that I advocate. This means addressing the significance which different young people attach to gender, in conjunction with variables such as sexuality, race, social class and age in particular social contexts and how they construct and engage with Others.

I draw on Goffman's (1959) and Butler's (1990) understanding of "performativity" which, in my view, carry important implications for thinking about research events, such as interviews, as social encounters or contexts in which research participants *perform*, and for deciding what kind of data counts as significant and how to record and analyse this. By attending to how young men and women perform in interviews we need to focus not just on what they say, but how they say it, which includes their emotional tone, pauses and hesitations.

Goffman argued that the social world was analogous to a stage and that individuals were like actors putting on performances which they considered appropriate in specific contexts and situations

and with specific "audiences" (particular people with whom they were interacting), even if they convinced themselves that they were not acting at all, that these were essential attributes they possessed which made them behave in the ways they did. The idea that identities are positions we construct through performances has been taken up by post-structuralist feminist writers, notably, Judith Butler (1990). She argues that gender is something we do and construct relationally rather than an essence we have, and, further, that our gendered performances become so naturalised through repetition that they create the impression that they are the outcome of certain fixed and essential attributes, which make males, and females behave in predetermined ways. But there is no "doer behind the deed" only the "deed".

My analytic approach is influenced by the "biographical turn" in the social sciences (Thompson, 2007). This is based on the view that language is not simply descriptive but constitutive of realities (Foucault, 1979), that experiences are never raw but always mediated and shaped by people's narrative accounts of these (Riessman, 1993). In line with these perspectives, researchers need to pay close attention, I suggest, to the narrative accounts of young people in the interviews treating these not simply as windows on a real world "out there" but as important resources through which they construct themselves and others. This means not taking for granted what the research participants say in these as if this is simply a reflection of their internal and external realities, but situating what they say in the context of the research encounter and the particular kinds of identities and relations they forge and fashion in this.

Taking research encounters as social contexts and addressing the participants as performers: school-based interview research with young men and women in South Africa

The interview was conducted with five African girls attending Gandhi (pseudonym), a formerly Indian school which was gender mixed. The interview is based on an interview study on which I worked with a colleague, Deevia Bhana, which sought to engage with Grade 11 (16 – 17-year-old) learners in different kinds of public schools in the Durban area and investigate their accounts of their lives and identities as young men and women in and outside their schools.

Our approach in all the interviews we conducted was to address the young people as authorities and experts about themselves and to encourage them to set the agenda noticing issues, which they raised, and encouraging them to reflect and elaborate upon these. We wanted to find out from them what it is like being young people of their age, and the significance *they* attached, if any, to gender and sexuality in their accounts of themselves and their relations with others (see Frosh et al., 2002). We were interested in what our interviewees said about their experiences in their schools, as well as how they presented themselves as particular young people with specific interests, concerns and relations. There were certain general themes we tried to "cover" in all the interviews we conducted – for example relations with boys and girls, and with adults, pleasures and anxieties, aspirations, interests and leisure time activities, reflections on being learners and on their schools. But how and in what order these were addressed and how much time was accorded

to each of these depended on the young people we were interviewing, how they framed the discussion and their engagement in particular issues.

The schools in the study

Before referring to the interviews, I shall elaborate briefly on the schools our interviewees attended and where the interviews took place. What was so striking about these was how different they were in terms of resources and composition of students.

The formal de-racialisation of schools in South Africa has resulted in the formation of racially diverse learner populations in the formerly white and formerly Indian schools, but not in the township schools which remain exclusively African. The township schools are much more poorly resourced than the formerly white and formerly Indian schools and because of this, many parents choose to send their children to these latter schools. The best-resourced schools, the formerly white ones, are not surprisingly popular with Indian as well as African parents who can afford to send their children to these. Though the formerly white, Indian and township schools are public schools in the sense that they are all partially funded by the government, the formerly white schools charge by far the highest fees. This means that only young people from relatively affluent backgrounds with addresses in the formerly white catchment areas are able to attend. Because of this, many of the formerly white schools, are racially mixed but still predominantly white (in spite of the political transformation in South Africa, whites are still economically highly privileged. Whites and Africans account respectively for approximately 9% and 80% of the population as a whole in South Africa, yet of the learners in the "top 100 public schools" (according mainly to academic results) only 18% are African and 67% white (see Govender, *Sunday Times*, October 2009).

The disparity in resources between the township school and the formerly white schools in our study was striking. While the formerly white schools had extensive campuses with trees and playing fields, there was little space in the township school for learners to move about at break times. There were long corridors and stairs in the formerly white schools and impressive looking administration blocks, while the township school comprised unconnected basic functional classrooms, with stone floors and drab walls, a staffroom and a principal's office.

At Gandhi, 85% of the learners were Indian and 15% were African. In terms of resources, Gandhi lay somewhere in between the formerly white schools and the township school. Like the township school, it seemed quite functional, with classrooms not housed inside large buildings as they were in the formerly white schools, but in quite basic looking, makeshift units. However, there was much more space in Gandhi than the township school for learners to mix and socialise at break time.

The participants

When arranging the interviews, we asked teachers to select students for each group (single sex and mixed, multi-racial and mono-racial) whom they considered reflected a range of levels of ability and commitments to school work. In the racially mixed schools in our study (all the schools

except for the township school in which every learner and teacher was African) we conducted some interviews in which the boys were in racially mixed groups and others in groups where they were of the same race. We anticipated, as indeed turned out to be the case, that our participants might present themselves differently and raise different issues in the different kinds of interviews conducted. For the six African girls who participated in the group interview at Gandhi, at least one of their parents worked – in lower middle-class grades in teaching, the police force, social work or insurance. They protested that because they were African going to an Indian school, it was often assumed by Indian pupils and teachers that they were poor and lived in the shack accommodation in the schools' catchment area.

Interviewing the African girls at Gandhi

Starting the interview

Usually, I began the interviews after the introductions by asking the group what they liked or disliked about school, and it was in response to this that Lulu, a girl in the Gandhi group, mentioned being one of the few African people in her class and being treated with contempt by the other children: "the others they treat you like, 'who the hell?', in class but then, you know at the end I know who I am. Why I am in this school. I'm here for education." When I enquired who the "others" were, they turned out to be Indian learners, notably Indian girls, as well as a few Indian teachers, framed what became an extremely animated and emotionally charged interview. "Race" and racism was thus put on the agenda early in the interview by the girls themselves.

Stories of marginalisation as African young women

In this interview, the girls provided rich examples of subtle and blatant forms of racism perpetrated mainly by Indian girls against them, and when doing so, were highly engaged emotionally, raising their voices and talking over each other, with the insensitive microphone, which speakers were asked to place near their mouths, being whisked around from one person to another. When examples were being given and elaborated, it was never just one person talking, rather they all joined in. Clearly, the stories they were telling of racism were common cultural ones which seemed to symbolise common experiences of marginalisation as young African women. These included accounts of the school's cake sale and how they were told by the Indian girls not to touch the cakes they were selling; how Africans were always assumed to be responsible for crimes committed at school; how Indian not African children were applauded when they gave presentations in English lessons; how Indian pupils undermined African teachers by mispronouncing Zulu words when asked to be quiet or shouting *"Mielies"* (maize or corn on the cob) conjuring stereotypes of loud lower-class African women selling food on the streets.

Constructing Indian young women as the Other

Though Indian boys were implicated in their accounts of racism and were presented as the main perpetrators undermining the authority of African teachers, the African girls' opposition to

racism was mainly directed at Indian girls, and this seemed to be fuelled by anxieties about being constructed as less sexually attractive than them.

This was apparent when I referred to the Indian girls I had interviewed. I was about to ask for their reactions to the claim by the Indian girls that people at school of different "races" mixed as friends when Samantha asserted that Indian girls were "more racist than [Indian] boys", and the other girls generally supported this. Their animosity to Indian girls centred, as we see in the passage below, around appearance – and notably the attractiveness of their hair – and the Indian girls' construction of themselves as "wonderful" in relation to African girls.

> Rob: I was interviewing a group of Indian girls actually (1)
>
> Samantha: Girls are more racist than boys.
>
> Rob: Are they?
>
> Fortunate: Boys are better.
>
> Fortunate= Ronda= Bongiwe: Boys are better!
>
> Lulu: You know one boy from our class, you saw him (1) He would talk to you, he will touch you and he will even take what you were eating and eat it.
>
> Rob: Yeah, yeah.
>
> Lulu: But the girls! They are racist.
>
> Bongiwe: One boy in class, after English, we were like walking. Instead of him asking me, "Please can I pass," he swears me and I swear back at him. He swears and I pushed him away.
>
> Rob: A boy or girl?
>
> Bongiwe: A boy.
>
> Rob: Okay.
>
> Bongiwe: I didn't want to swear back at him, but I had to do it. I had to.
>
> Lulu: The boys are not racist at all.
>
> Rob: Why do you think that is?
>
> Lulu: I don't know, I don't know.
>
> Bongiwe: The girls, they think they have everything, they wear make-up, their long hair, and we got short hair.
>
> Lulu: But one day I ask them, what's so, so now you racist? What's so wonderful? They told me their hair.
>
> Rob: Their hair?
>
> Lulu: The African hair, Oh no! They don't like it, and the only thing wonderful about them is they got nice hair, you know. And I said oh God! There's nothing wonderful about you! I had to say that.
>
> Rob: Right.
>
> Lulu: There is nothing wonderful about you, nothing, like we are the same. I don't care about, [loud angry tone] like I told them, I hate you all! Because of what they are doing to us.

Though Bongiwe provides what appears to be (in the context of the discussion) an example of an Indian boys' racist behaviour, Lulu immediately affirms "the boys are not racist at all", and Bongiwe does not contradict this but implicates Indian girls for being racist for constructing themselves as more attractive than African girls. While they provided examples of Indian boys' racism, their constructions of them as "better" or less racist or not at all racist served to accentuate the racism of Indian girls. This suggests they attached much importance to being *heterosexually* attractive and felt particularly troubled by the Indian girls being positioned as more attractive than them. Lulu denies this claiming "there is nothing wonderful about you ... I don't care about ..." but her loud, angry tone combined with the way she personalises her "hate", referring to "you all", as if they were present, suggested that she cared a great deal about this. The African girls' anger towards Indian girls stemmed not only from concerns about being undermined by them, but also from their *own* sense of feeling less attractive. Though Lulu and Bongiwe were critical of the significance Indian girls attached to hair as a marker of their attraction and difference from African girls, Lulu still described Indian girls' hair as "nice" in implicit contrast, of course, to African girls' hair: "the only thing wonderful about them is they got nice hair".

Fantasising about Indian boys rather than constructing them as racists

The African Gandhi girls' sense of marginalisation and exclusion around their identities as African heterosexual young women was made very explicit when they spoke about how much they longed to go to the school dance, (an important occasion also mentioned by the Indian girls and boys we interviewed at Gandhi), but could not go because no Indian boy would ask them out, and there were not enough African boys of their age to act as potential partners.

Bongiwe: Like now we will be having a dance. So, now we don't have partners and we scared to ask them, a boy to ask with you because they won't go. They won't go. I'm sure.

Rob: The Indian boys?

All: Ja!

Lulu: Like you African and he's Indian, he won't go. Like we want to go. We really want to go, but we don't have partners. The problem is that we don't have partners.

Mapopo: It's not like we don't want to go to the dance. We do want to go but we don't have the right partner. There are African boys here but not enough for us.

Bongiwe: But, another Indian boy asked me but I'm not sure.

Rob: Not sure? Why won't you do it?

Bongiwe: Um (1)

Lulu: He's a player.

Bongiwe: I'm not sure, maybe he's just playing.

Rob What do you mean?

Bongiwe: Joking ... But it's like, you say that nothing is impossible, but it's possible an Indian asks me out.

Rob: And it's not possible for you to ask an Indian boy out?

Lulu: How! Please! Who do you think you are? [incredulous tone at being asked such a question]

The dance was constructed by these girls as a celebration from which they were excluded, a celebration of heterosexual attraction, and especially female heterosexual attraction, with attendance depending on having a partner of the opposite sex, and in the case of girls, being propositioned by a boy. In contrast to the previous passage where the African girls criticised Indian girls for taking pride in their hair and subordinating them sexually, no criticisms were levelled at the Indian boys even though the implication was that it was the Indian boys ' antipathy to having them as partners which prevented them from going to the dance. The African girls wanted to be "asked" by the Indian boys, indeed Bongiwe fantasises about the possibility of a serious request from one and *reluctantly* describes the Indian boy who did "ask" her as "maybe" "just playing". Significantly it is another girl, Lulu, who calls him a "player", and it may be that when Bongiwe refers to "just playing" as "joking" she is using joking euphemistically, avoiding the connotations which "player" normally has of a male whose interest is purely sexual and who "sleeps around" or "plays around" with several females. Given the importance they attached to sexual attraction as an aspect of femininity and their everyday experiences of subordination and marginalisation at school, the idea that some Indian boys might find them attractive (in a non-abusive way) seemed to be quite empowering, as we see in the following passage, for Samantha and Lulu. Notably, Samantha blames an Indian girl, not the Indian boy, for him turning "against me".

Samantha: One guy in my class, remember that day? One Indian boy, no, (1) Adeil, he told me that I've got sexy legs one day and there was this [Indian] girl who was like 'you are so pathetic', and now everything I say now he's against me. She's always against me because boy who she was having a heart for, told me that I've got sexy legs. He likes my legs.

Rob: Alright. Yeah.

Lulu: And a [Indian] boy told me that you girls, with your jeans ... I think you're hot. And I take that as a compliment.

Doing analysis and paying close attention to the dynamics of the research encounter

I argued earlier for conceptualising interviews as particular social sites and contexts. This means attending in the presentation and analysis of the data to processes of identity construction going on in the interviews and the kinds of dynamics being established between the participants (including the interviewer).

Issues of gender, race, class and power are raised in the interview with the girls at Gandhi and we see, at first hand as it were, how our interviewees draw on these and present themselves as girls, in particular ways, evoking a range of different emotions. We also see how they negotiate with each other, building stories together, how they forge identifications and take up certain positions as well as modifying these. We see, too, how key themes such as race, femininities, and marginalisation emerge in the conversations and how they are taken up by the young people, reflecting both the significance and the meanings which they attach to these.

Sexuality, gender and race were introduced as important themes in the interview by the girls themselves, and were interlinked and intertwined in their accounts with race. Sexuality emerged early in the interview with the girls when they were talking about their experiences of racism in their school. Indeed, it was in relation to heterosexuality that they spoke with most engagement about these; sexuality became a focal point for them through which they contested the racism which they presented as a feature of their everyday experiences of schooling. Constructing themselves as heterosexually attractive their anger was gendered, directed at Indian girls as their oppressors, not Indian boys as their, albeit unlikely, admirers.

Engaging with the complex and nuanced ways in which the interviewees invoke sexuality and construct their identities

Vasu Reddy (2004) has argued, "that sexuality … seems to be associated with pain, suffering, mourning and death (in the context of HIV/AIDS and sexual violence)". This impression is one which is reflected and reinforced in qualitative school based studies with African girls on the topic of (hetero-) sexuality which have tended to focus on sexual abuse and violence perpetrated against them by boys and older men (see Morrell, 1998, 2000; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Jewkes et al., 2002; Bhana, 2005). This research is enormously important in drawing attention to abuses which may be taken for granted and seen as the outcome of natural gendered behaviour. However, as Patricia McFadden (1992, 2003) has argued, and I have argued elsewhere (Pattman, 2005) concern for the sexual rights of African girls and women in the region needs to address female sexual agency and desire as well as violations of their rights through sexual abuse and violence. This, I suggest, means developing research initiatives with African young women which attend to and engage with the (complex) ways *they* invoke and speak about gender and sexuality and the meanings they attach to these, as in this interview at Gandhi.

The African girls in the interview at Gandhi showed how sexuality was a source of anxiety and consternation for them but, contrary to the impression conveyed by the focus of the qualitative school-based studies above, a source, also, of much pleasure. Through their opposition to racialised constructions of heterosexual attraction which rendered them unattractive, and through fantasising about being asked out by Indian boys, they asserted themselves as desiring and desirable subjects. Heterosexuality, thus, was significant for these girls in complex ways, associated with desire and pleasure as well as marginalisation and racism. That their expressions and assertions of sexual desire were so racialised points to the significance not only of heterosexuality but also "race" as powerful and intersecting markers of their identities. Sexuality was a medium through which they asserted themselves and derived a sense of self-esteem and also a medium through which they were subordinated.

Self-reflexivity in the analysis

The girls spoke very positively about being interviewed, and notably the opportunities they had for "speaking our minds" or expressing "their feelings". Yet, the familiarity of all of them with the stories each one raised about "race", gender and sexuality and their feelings of marginalisation, implied that these were common themes they discussed among themselves. Presumably, then,

it was because they were telling these stories to me that they felt they were "speaking" their "minds". I suggest this was because I am an adult and was seen as a figure of authority who was also picking up on concerns which they raised and encouraging them to elaborate on these.

If we understand interviews as social encounters in which interviewers and interviewees participate and engage with others, these interviews were, of course, not strictly mono-racial since I was the interviewer and I am a white British man. My whiteness did not seem to inhibit the interviewees when expressing concerns about marginalisation, a key theme in both interviews. Their keenness to talk about these concerns was no doubt encouraged by the interest I showed when they raised these, and it may be that they attributed this to me being an *outsider*. My Britishness was certainly a point of interest for these interviewees; at the end of the interview when I asked if they had any questions they wanted to put to me, they were very keen to know how I experienced living in South Africa compared with Britain. It may be, also, that my line of questioning reinforced their sense of me as an outsider. Though I tried to be interviewee-centred, and followed up on issues which they introduced, I raised questions about everyday interactions and relationships which they took for granted, as reflected in the surprise which some of these elicited (for example, the incredulity expressed when I asked the girls if it was possible for them "to ask an Indian boy out").

The girls did not treat me either in a deferential or a hostile way as an authoritarian figure, but were friendly and keen to tell me about their anxieties, concerns and pleasures, and made me feel very positively towards them. In my field-notes, I describe the interview as "an amazing sociology lesson", and comment not only on what I learnt from them about their "everyday experiences of racism and how they dealt with this" but also how "privileged" I felt that they were telling me "a white, British, adult male outsider about this".

But I also felt "slightly uncomfortable" in the interview especially when the girls described Indians as the "new racists", when they were reflecting upon their feelings of marginalisation in the school, as if they were "so open and friendly with me because I was white", and by encouraging them to talk about their experiences of marginalisation, I was validating their view that Indians in the post-apartheid era had replaced whites as the race protagonists.

Interestingly, though she described the (different) black girls she interviewed at Gandhi as "pleasant", my colleague, Deevia Bhana, felt much less passionate about her interview with them. They did not dominate and steer the interview in the ways the African girls I interviewed had done, nor did they display the same passion and support for each other, and conspicuously absent from her interview were accounts of racism. It seems likely that this is because Deevia is an Indian woman.

It was noticeable too that 'race' featured much less prominently in the group interviews I conducted which comprised black white and Indian learners. It could be argued, indeed, that by interviewing black girls with other black girls I was encouraging them to identify along lines of race (and gender) in quite essentialist ways, for example as 'true Africans' as opposed to 'Indians', as they constructed themselves at one stage in the interview. But why were these girls so invested in asserting themselves in this interview as true Africans and as hetero-sexually attractive young women. Rather than dismissing these as false identities produced by the interview context, I suggest that the 'mono-racial' interview provided a relatively safe space for these young women

to articulate and respond to concerns they shared about race and racism, as young black women attending their school.

Participatory interviews and their contribution to Life Orientation

I began by discussing how qualitative research on young people, gender and sexuality in Southern Africa had been motivated by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and I want to conclude by commenting in very general terms on the potential contribution school-based participatory interview research activities can make to contemporary forms of sexuality education in schools in the region.

A great deal of learning went on in the interview I described, not only from my point of view, but also the girls who reflected on how empowering and validating the interview had been and how they had "learnt" from each other as well as from some of the questions I had asked in response to issues they raised, for example about their contrary views of Indian boys and girls which had "made them think". Participatory interviews are both research and pedagogic activities and, I suggest, may offer examples of good pedagogic practice in sexuality education in schools, especially as they resonate with the rhetoric of Life Orientation. This was introduced in public schools in Southern Africa in response to the perceived failure of didactic teaching approaches (whether these focused on giving information or moralised about young people having sex) to stem the tide of infection. In contrast to these, Life Orientation advocates a participatory approach to sexuality education consonant with "best practices" as formulated by UNAIDS (World Bank, 2004). This aims to make the social lives, relationships, and identifications of the learners the key resources and encourage critical self-reflection concerning the place and significance of gender and sexuality in their everyday lives (Pattman, 2006).

Acknowledgement

As stated, the interview extracts I address in this paper are taken from a school-based study with 16 – 17-year-old boys and girls on which I worked on in association with Deevia Bhana in 2009. It was great working with her and I learnt so much from her.

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10. Using drama to (dis)locate queer sexuality

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Introduction

The act of locating self is an important staking claim to one's identity within a world which privileges and discriminates against people due to these locations. Lewis (2011), begins her paper by locating herself as, "an intersectional, an interdisciplinary, a complex epistemology, and pedagogical location" (Lewis, 2011:49). The act of locating is how I start my workshops about sexuality, and this seems to be a good place to begin.

In this chapter, I draw on my work as an activist and facilitator working for Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (GALA). I explore the use of interactive drama (the *Queer Jozi Tour*), in engaging young people to reflect on queer sexuality. The *Queer Jozi Tour* is an interactive drama workshop which works with young people to dramatise historical narratives of queer experience in Johannesburg. My analysis will focus on one of the workshops and is based upon my own written reflections, workshop plans, workshop feedback forms and debriefing sessions with co-facilitators. I unpack two critical questions: (1) What possibilities does this technique offer to young people in reflecting about queer sexuality? (2) How useful is Boal's pedagogies in engaging students to talk about queer sexuality? In answering these questions, I explore the ways in which interactive drama can dislocate heterosexist assemblages and through dislocating these assemblages, offer opportunities for critical reflection on sexuality and society.

Physical locations

Since apartheid's abolition, South Africans have had the unique opportunity to transcend, creatively reimagine and reshape their identities (Francis & Le Roux, 2011). While this is true, deep furrows of inequality based on race, gender and sexual orientation still define our experience. The promise of access to quality education a cornerstone of South Africa's post-apartheid constitution,

is met by an education system in which drug abuse, sexual violence and xenophobia are prevalent (Msila, 2011).

South Africa's transformation agenda has located race and gender as indicators of our movement towards reconciliation, while other forms of inequality, such as discrimination based on sexual orientation, have been left untouched (Francis & Hemson, 2007). Queer (used here as an umbrella terms for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex) people in South Africa are particularly vulnerable to discrimination (Manion, Judge & De Waal, 2008; Nel & Judge, 2008; Reddy & Roberts, 2008).

Many queer youth share the same challenges as all poor, unemployed young South Africans. However, they also face further challenges such as discrimination, prejudice-motivated violence, sexual assault and social exclusion (Francis, 2012; Nell & Shapiro, 2011; Nell & Shapiro 2013).This is reflected within formal education where prejudice is often conflated by curriculum statements and teacher guidelines that remain silent on sexual diversity (Potgieter & Finn, 2012) and by teachers who view homosexuality as deviant and immoral (Francis, 2012). The experience of queer youth is shaped by a system that reinforces heteronormativity, leaving them silenced, isolated and harassed (Butler, Alpaslan, Strumpher & Astbury, 2008; Francis, 2012; Francis & Msibi, 2011; Horsethemke, 2009).

The experience of discrimination by queer youth is a symptom of an assemblage of inequality, that systematically discriminates against people based on the categories (or containers of) gender, race, class and other factors (Richardson, 2004). A container in this case refers to the building blocks of this assemblage. Puar (2005) argues that such assemblages call for creative queer modalities to dislocate prejudicial constructions, in our case using the *Queer Jozi Tour* to dislocate heterosexism in educational institutions.

Pedagogical locations

Thus far, I've sketched the location of individuals within an education system implicit in inequality. The next challenge is using this location as a vantage point from which we can build a creative communal learning space (or *lekgotla*). *Lekgotla* is a Sotho/Tswana word which indicates a non-hierarchical community gathering where social justice is deliberated (Madikida, Segal & Van Den Berg, 2008). The foundation of this lekgotla is the experiences of the group, their understanding of inequality, discrimination and privilege. This becomes a base from which the group can learn (Norton, 1994). I will look at three pedagogical locations – Afrocentric, interactive drama and social justice frameworks.

African epistemology

Much has been written about Euro-American dominance of what constitutes valid knowledge and how such knowledge should be produced and disseminated (Dei, 1994). While such dominance has been challenged by progressive thinkers, it has left a legacy dominated by Euro-American thought, including constructions of queer sexuality that are alien to the African context (Muthien, 2007; Povinelli & Chauncey, 1999). The challenge then is creating a space which

engages community by using narratives of sexuality from Africa (in our case South Africa). These narratives offer a challenge to the Euro-American discourse and challenge the notion that queer sexuality is unAfrican (Dei, 1994).

This is crucial in unpacking queer experience within the South Africa context, as using narratives of African queer sexuality can dislocate Euro-American dominance. This dislocation is an activist one: part of my work at GALA (a queer research and heritage organisation) is about collecting and preserving narratives of African queer sexualities so as to challenge the notion that queer sexuality is unAfrican but also imported Euro-American "gay" narratives (Nkabinde & Morgan, 2006). While this is true, there is danger in blindly marrying African narratives to certain problematic nationalist assemblages (Puar, 2013). Thus the struggle here is one that aims to not only dislocate Euro-American notions of queer sexuality but also unpack queer African narratives of sexuality that engage the experience of intersecting inequality in South Africa.

Ntseane (2011) proposes an Afrocentric and feminist pedagogical strategy. She argues that learning can be seen a process of acculturation, aiming to transition the group towards inclusive, permeable and integrated communal sense of knowing. This process also extends to disseminating knowledge through songs, theatre, dance or poetry. This strategy resists formal education, making the lekgotla not only a community intervention but as alternative praxis.

Interactive drama

Burleson (2003) argues for a critical performative pedagogy that situates the performing body in the centre of theory and practice. In this case, students enact course material thereby authorising and sharing it. This signifies a shift from a mode of informing students to a state of discovery through enactment, with performance becoming a learning practice. Burleson argues for integrating performance with informative practices, as this allows for the primary mode of teaching to be open to different modes in which students may learn. In a way this technique reflects on a tension between Ntseane (2011) and Burleson (2003), with the former imagining the creative potential a lekgotla offers and the latter linking this to the practical limits of learning spaces.

Both approaches use action-based learning, a useful transformative pedagogy. Eldemann (2006) argues that dramatising identity (an embodied state) has the potential to reflect and transform the identity constructions of individuals. Embodiment or an embodied state in this case refers to the enactment or dramatisation of a queer narrative hence a representation of queer identity.

Drag as queer performance allow for an interesting reflection on gender, as the cross-dressing performance allows for a dislocation (Jenkins, 2013); it makes the familiar (performance of femininity or masculinity) become unsettling through the disruption of traditional gender performance (Paxton, 2011). While this is true, "realness" (a term used to describe accurate representations of masculinity or femininity in drag) in dramatising a queer narrative, is often an accurate representation of gender stereotypes (MCloughan, 2010). The challenge then is moving beyond "realness" of representation to unpack inequality in a critical and conscious manner (Mazonde, 2010).

This process locates the workshop participant somewhere between their ideas and the embodied representation, with discussion erupting from the tension between the two (Mazonde, 2010).

The key aspect here is the opportunity embodiment offers to the workshop participant in terms of resistance to heterosexist assemblages –not merely as reaction but as opportunity for creative engagement (McRuer, 2004).

Social justice education

Yet, how do these two pedagogical locations fit into current ideas about social justice education? Social justice education (SJE) aims to arouse students to identify obstacles to their freedom, humanity, dignity and to think of ways to challenge these (Davis & Steyn, 2012).

SJE is usually been aimed at students of colour or disadvantaged students, and some argue for a shift towards engaging the oppressor (Davis & Steyn, 2012; Francis & Le Roux, 2011). This shift is important when unpacking assemblages of inequality. This assemblage being a system that reflects the unequal distribution of power and access to resources based on (containers of) race, gender, sexual orientation, disability and class (among other factors). Individuals experience this structure in complicated intersecting patterns of marginalisation and privilege (Davis & Steyn, 2012). One challenge when working with a group privileged within this system (white, male, heterosexual, etc.) is challenging them to reflect outside this container, on the role they play in supporting and gaining from the system (Francis & Le Roux, 2011). This challenge is often met with resistance within the learning space, as by acknowledging the role a privileged person might play in some way dislocate his identity (as a white, male, heterosexual) and associated values (Davis & Steyn, 2012).

It is important to be sensitive when unpacking inequality, especially when there is potential for conflict. However, sensitivity should not come at the cost of evading challenging discrimination (Francis & Hemson, 2007). Jansen (2008; 2009) argues that safety should not be compromised and that it is important to listen to the narratives of oppressors not as a sign of agreement but as a sign of respect. Davis and Steyn (2012) argue that, for them, the focus should be less on giving the oppressor voice and more about teaching oppressor groups to listen to the subaltern. The challenge then is to create a *lekgotla* that is safe for participants and open to dissent, a space that unpacks the experience of queer people and challenges structural inequality. The focus of this *lekgotla* will be less on deconstructing the identity of the oppressor and more about a process of creative and experiential learning that uses dislocation as the starting point for discussion.

Thus my pedagogy is one which is located within narratives of queer African sexuality, interactive drama and a social justice framework which engages oppressor groups. The knowledge of the group would be harnessed and challenged in this interactive process – with their perceptions shaping performances (Mazonde, 2010). This *lekgotla* space then has the potential to dislocate dominant narratives of gender, race and sexual orientation.

Research locations

A fair amount of research has engaged with the context of social justice and creative communal learning (see Francis, 2010; Mitchell, 2008; Moletsane, Mitchell, De Lange, Stuart, Buthelezi & Taylor, 2009; De Lange, Mitchell, Moletsane, Stuart & Buthelezi, 2006 for interesting approaches). These papers reflect on two useful aspects, codification and naturalised discourse, as key to reflecting on the process of communal learning about social justice.

Interactive and participatory drama techniques can be useful in attempting to create change, by engaging a community to reflect on the experience of queer people and encourage inclusion. Fairlamb (2012) argues a case for drama being used in an integrated approach to raise awareness about queer issues at school. Jordan (2011) noted that when using drama to prevent bullying of queer youth, it is important to critically reflect on power and privliege within the workshop space. Mazonde (2010) argues that theatre is not merely about reaffirming cutural representation but about unpacking the way culture functions in a critical and conscious manner. Important in this process is a self-aware researcher, one who is open about her personal, political and academic agendas. These examples reflect on three useful aspects, power, privilege and utility of drama when dealing with queer youth.

This act of locating, like the historical queer African narratives used in the workshop, reflects an act of unearthing, digging and exploring the strands of queer sexuality as it is etch into the city. Digging encourages a creative dislocation between now and then, an inconsistency between what *was* and what *is* – that in it creates an archaeological tension. This tension in compelling: a resistance against queer narrative being contained within a gay ghetto, a reluctance to be contained within the assemblage.

Containment

I am contained within my role as community worker and my role as a (reluctant) scholar. Muthien (2007) reflects on the tension between the academy and queer community work – her argument being that the academy is only useful if ordinary people are able to use it in concrete ways. This is reflected in the containers of theory and praxis.

Theory: Freire and Boal

Freire (1970) critiques what he calls the "Banking Model" of pedagogical practice: The belief that learners are empty bank accounts waiting for knowledge to be deposited. He argues that this model is problematic for three reasons: (1) it reproduces systems of domination and submission; (2) it does not recognise the diverse ways individuals experience, understand and make meanings of the world; and (3) it doesn't allow all parties to be involved in the process of creating understanding or knowledge (Freire, 1970). This critique implies the notion of an ideal learning space, one that actively engages with the different locations and experiences of the group, that aims to highlight areas of incomplete knowledge and that works with the group to build an understanding of these areas (Freire, 1970).

Central to Freire's conceptualisation is the need to locate pedagogical practice within the politics of inequality. This locates teaching and learning as political acts that either accept or contradict the status quo. The act of learning about oneself and one's location – and the act of learning about and from each other – allows for a shift from one location to another, from awareness to critical consciousness. The idea being: critical consciousness is the first step to creating change in one's community (Freire, 1970).

While Freire's ideas allow for a praxis that moves individuals from their locations through an experiential learning process, Boal's techniques allow for these ideas to be relocated to alternative spaces (workshops or theatres). Boal envisions theatre as a space to speak back to political structures, as a space where everyone is an actor and everyone can take a stand. For Boal the theatre space is one which can promote social and political change, a space for active interactions around inequality, where individuals can explore, dramatise, analyse and change reality (Boal, 1979).

Praxis: Queer Jozi Tour

The intervention of interest is the *Queer Jozi Tour* an interactive drama workshop engaging young people about queer African sexuality. This workshop similar to Boal's techniques aims to dislocate inequality and challenge prejudice. It developed out of my work as GALA's youth and education project coordinator, as part of GALA's strategy to strengthen the rights of LGBTI youth in southern Africa.

I was invited by the Kaleidoscope LGBTIAQ Youth Network (a national network of queer youth organisations in South Africa) to facilitate several sessions at their national conference in 2012. In one of the sessions I was invited to unpack the history of the Queer people in South Africa. I had recently been involved with a work group at GALA to redevelop the Queer Tour of Johannesburg and Soweto – an interactive queer tour that located queer African narratives within the history of the city (Gevisser, Pakade, Khan & Manion, 2011). These narratives aim to highlight the racial, gender, class and nationalist tensions in South Africa. With this in mind, I put together an interactive visual presentation for the conference with diverse narratives and unpacked the intersecting tensions mentioned above.

Part of GALA's focus is on creating space for people to unpack personal narratives, reshape these in a manner which is suitable and use these as tools for advocacy (Khan, 2012). The experience led me to reflect: I was working with a group of twenty young queer people, leaders of student's organisations across the country, who were filled with creative energy – how could I harness this? I had a series of fascinating narratives from queer history – linking our stories to the struggle against apartheid, to narratives hidden in the histories of migrant labour, stories of passionate love and resistance. I also had four hours of workshop time to play with.

As an activist, I am inspired by the work for Freire, Boal and my guide, Judy Seidman, and so I am always challenged to find participant-driven, interactive, creative communal learning spaces. Thus, I did the following: I picked ten narratives – reflecting on diverse parts of queer history

linked to personal and political struggles, and shaped these into simple scripts for smalls groups to dramatise. I did this while keeping in mind the aims of the workshop: (1) to teach participants about the history of queer people; (2) to create space for discussion about the experience and perceptions of queer sexuality in South Africa; and (3) to challenge prejudice.

The workshop was implemented twice and at each workshop participants were invited to attend a half-day session as part of a human rights conference. The workshop employed Boal's forum-theatre drama techniques and the following schedule: The facilitator performed a poem by Staceyann Chin (Chin, 2011) as an icebreaker, aiming to dislocate participants and queer the workshop space. The facilitators then used several warm-up exercise to get participants to know each other and be comfortable. These included the privilege walk exercise and an exercise delving into the assumptions people make based on appearance (see Boal, 1992; College Committee for Diversity, 2011; Ingram, 2004; Young, 2006 for various approaches). Following the warm up exercise participants broke up into 10 groups, each group getting a script (with basic instructions), access to a box of props (dresses, scarves, placards and other items) and twenty minutes to prepare a three to five minute skit of their narrative. Facilitators acted as neutral inciters during the workshop, supporting and answering questions when needed. Once participants were ready to perform their plays, the facilitators treated the workshop as a tour with each performance being a stop or queer historical location – the visual presentation offering images and extra information about the narratives – and the discussion after each performance being an attempt to build understanding and dislocate prejudice.

The first time this process was implemented was with a group of nineteen queer-identified young people aged between eighteen and twenty-five from various tertiary education institutions in South Africa, this workshop acted as a pilot. The second time this process was implemented was with a group of thirty-three youth activist who were part of the International Human Rights Exchange programme based at the University of Witwatersrand – this is the workshop of interest in the chapter. This workshop was implemented with a largely heterosexual group of young people aged eighteen to twenty-five, the group was a mix of students from South Africa and the United States.

With this in mind, I'd like to return to the questions I posed initially:

1. What possibilities does this process offer to participants?

2. How useful is Boal's pedagogies in engaging to students to talk about queer sexuality?

Data and analysis

As lead facilitator, my analysis will draw on my own written reflections about the workshop process, the workshop plan, workshop feedback forms, and debriefing discussion with co-facilitators.

A qualitative approach was used to reflect critically on the workshop process. This involved unpacking the researcher/practitioner role in the workshop as one interested in improving the workshop process but also improving the researcher's/practitioner's practice as a community worker. In a way, this uses the workshop/research space as one that enables the participants

to reflect on their challenges and to create change, but also the researcher/practitioner on her experience, challenges and means of improving the community work they do. This form of self-study has been problematised by Craig (2009) and Feldman (2009). Craig (2009) highlights the socially and contextually located nature of self-study, and also the implication of multiple identities as complicating factors.

The main focus of the analysis is twofold. Firstly, it aims to unpack the experiences of the workshop by participants and the themes that precipitate through these reflections. Secondly, it aims to unpack the workshop praxis in contrast to the Boal's theoretical ideas – synthesising a reflection on the opportunities and limits these theoretical ideas give.

Dislocation: findings and discussion

Three types of reflections were identified from the workshop feedback forms. Firstly participants expressed they had learnt a great deal about queer sexuality. Secondly participants expressed appreciation for the interactive nature of the workshop using descriptions such as "fun", "creative" and "open". Lastly participants expressed positive reflections on both watching the drama and some anxiety at being expected to act in front of a group of their peers. Analysis of the participant feedback has been separated out using the following themes: the provocative, intersection, transition, belonging and drag.

The provocative

> "I wasn't really assured with acting the part, I took up the part of lesbianism – it seemed so provocative."

Several participants reflected that the act of portraying queer sexuality was somehow provocative. This was also linked to a feeling of discomfort at being expected to embody something queer. The embodying of queer sexuality was linked to an act of disclosure, similar to the act of *coming-out*. Participants reflected on this by highlighting that there was discomfort in the group, and people seemed afraid to open up:

> "[I noticed] discomfort of people afraid to open up",

> "some people [were] not willing to open up" "[I'd add] people's opinions and experiences i.e. participants opening up if they can."

This created an interesting and problematic dynamic: on the one hand a seeming keenness for queer sexuality within the group to be visible, but on the other hand linking this to the idea of the provocative. As a facilitator (and an activist) I don't believe people should be forced to disclose anything that makes them uncomfortable. A challenge in this case was verbalising to the group that one shouldn't feel pressured to come-out. One participant reflected this dynamic:

> "Disclosing sexual/gender status shouldn't be required since, it is such a personal thing that people might not want to or be ready to share. I was fine, but it's something to consider."

> "[I found the workshop] uncomfortable at times, but I know that it was good because it provoked me into thinking broadly about things"

> "[I felt] uncomfortable initially, which I feel in hindsight is a good thing."

In conclusion, provocation seemed to be a point from which discussion could begin, and discussion potentially the first step to creating change.

Intersection

"[I enjoyed] talking about the history and also the intersectionality of the many contributors to oppression. I like the line – the step forward/backwards simulation. But I think we should have talked about the fact that many contributors of oppression were missing and my ownership status of a smartphone is not as highly weighted as my skin colour."

The uncomfortable space (or should I say dislocation) described above lead to interesting discussion about how individuals at the workshop intersect with structures of inequality, with individuals locating themselves based on containers of race, class, gender and sexuality. One challenge in attempting to unpack intersecting aspects of inequality is the personal and unique nature of individual experience. The discussion swayed between discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender – to forms of inequality facing other members in the group. The group also highlighted the contested nature of intersectional politics, with some struggles like race or gender taking precedent over others like sexuality or class.

"I really enjoyed the open, informal structure and sentiment of the workshop. The short exercises that we played at the start (step forward and back, and grouping) were especially useful in situating myself based on my background, current person and surrounding group. I also learnt a lot about LGBT in South Africa which was quite amazing."

The theme here is an affective one, in a way what is reflected is how participants feel that their struggles is connected to others, or more important than others. For me it is reflected in the statement: "[I learnt] that gay and lesbian people have feelings just like anyone."

Transition

"It was hard to hear of all the human rights violations and to know that they still happen, but I know it is part of the education process, and change starts with education … [I feel] kind of helpless about how to change the stereotypes."

Participants reflected on the process using words like learning and education process, identifying their mental state post the workshop as open minded or somewhat more knowledgeable.

"[I learnt] much, much more about South Africa's LGBTIA History … [I was] happy to see education in action."

"[The workshop made me feel] great! More open-minded. It doesn't change my belief system, but I'm able to accommodate others in my thinking without offending anyone."

"[I feel] better aware and sensitive to the preferences of others. I felt ignorant for not knowing more facts."

"[I feel] not too scared or ignorant about the LGBT."

This links to the narrative of rights, and individual assertions that rights should be protected: "Human rights should be maintained regardless of gender, race, age and I also learnt to interact", "[I learnt] to respect other people's rights, to stand up for your own rights."

The challenge here is that understanding inequality or discrimination does not necessarily translate into action, the same way as legal equality for queer people doesn't mean social equality. For example: "I learnt more of how our constitution with gay and lesbian rights came about and how we as people still struggle to accept their rights as humans" does reflect on knowledge gained, but not action.

While this transition is apparent in the descriptions of participants, gained knowledge does not mean behaviour change. The use of drama as a tool for pedagogical transition, in this case reflects changed attitudes for individuals, but not an impetus for action.

Belong

A strong and somewhat unexpected theme (considering the group was largely heterosexual) was the theme of belonging or fitting in:

> "Generally the workshop made me feel like there was somewhere I belong", "I enjoyed being part of a population of bisexual, homos and straight people", "[I felt] really good actually. I felt like I could be honest yet, very comfortable."

This theme offers a powerful potential to reflect on the experimental power that a diverse space may offer. Unlike the possibility for provocation, belonging is associated with sharing, group coherence or being part of a community. This is an important part of the Freirian ethos, one that aims to create a community space for communal learning and communal change.

> "[I would like to add more] sharing of personal experiences with each other because I noticed that some people felt uncomfortable when asked about their sexuality ... [I feel] very comfortable to assert my sexuality and not feel judged."

This creates an interesting dynamic between provocation and belonging, on one hand sharing more personal information could lead to more group coherence, yet conversely in the above case it is a person who is comfortable with their sexuality who'd like others to share. In a way belonging and provocation, are linked to comfort and discomfort in the workshop space.

Drag

> "I found it personally (and unexpectedly) uncomfortable to portray a character in the skit that was actually quite similar to myself."

After the workshop a young woman came up to me, to ask about the poem I read at the beginning. We started chatting and she shared with me that she identified as queer, and found the workshop space super interesting. She had assumed that South Africa was terribly homophobic and was exhilarated by the many diverse queer narratives. She also mentioned an interesting dynamic, being queer, not out to the group, and choosing to play a queer character. She mentioned that

it was strange, finding freedom in the role and identifying with the character, yet realising this freedom was only available during the play. This for me reflected on a key problem with using drama: that while the role allowed for some queer representation and discussion, as a process (taking into account the limited time available) it is not enough to inspire freedom.

> "The acting meant putting ourselves in other shoes. I enjoyed that challenge because it reminded me of my attitudes and why I have them."

While that might be true – the act of embodying queer narratives as reflected in the above – does seem to create some dislocation. The dislocation occurred when participants unpacked the experience of embodying a queer narrative. Participants initially described as "challenging" the process of portraying something that is so different or foreign to their experience. In some cases this lead to identifying with the struggles of the queer people in the narratives, in others it seem to reinforce the idea that queer sexuality is foreign. And while this foreign queerness is something that needs to be tolerated (using a politically correct rights based discourse) it is still something separate from them. This was reflected in some of the skits:

> "[I felt] a bit uncomfortable with the humour some groups used in their skits."

Masculine male participants at the workshop took on cross-gender roles, raiding the props box for the most extreme outfits and wearing these quite proudly. While it is quite brave for the young men to take on these roles, these individuals had difficulty on the discrimination experienced by the queer characters they portrayed and had difficulty reflecting on the male (and in this case white) privilege they had. It is interesting to note that the only young woman to take on a cross-gender role was the one described above.

> "I really enjoyed the short dramas and they helped me out to understand the history of gay and lesbian rights", "I learned a lot about the history of LGBT violence in South Africa as well as the different opinions that we all have about sexuality ... I learned about activists I've heard about, some I never knew about, yet I'm South Africa."

While this process might not necessarily lead to action, the interactive drama was valuable in two regards. Firstly, it allowed for the queer African narratives to be shared in an interactive way, which allowed participants to be co-authors in this process and allowed the group to teach each other. Secondly, through the discussion after each skit different ideas and opinions about queer sexuality were unpacked and discussed. This allowed for representations and ideas to be creatively unpacked and contested. While this space for conflict was open, the facilitators tried hard to affirm the views and ideas of the participants, particularly the queer participants.

> "[I felt] loved for my identity."

The above themes reflect on the various possibilities the workshop space offered to the participants in unpacking queer sexuality, provoking discussion, reflecting on beliefs, the potential to affirm and examining prejudice in the workshop space. While this is true what are some of the theoretical tensions between the workshop process and Boal's ideas?

Pedagogy as politics

Two participants in the workshop had nuanced reflections in this regard:

> *"I felt like the facilitators were steering the answers, which made open and honest responses difficult",*
> *"I felt like there was an agenda being pushed at times, of some of the kinds of activists ... [I'd add to the workshop] an open discussion that is less mediated."*

This reflects an interesting challenge. As an activist, I enter the workshop space with particular human rights politics. In my work for GALA, I engage in particular feminist and post-colonial ideas about sexuality, gender and activism. Thus, within the workshop space it then becomes important to engage openly about and undo inequality.

This creates tension with Boal's concept of the joker as a neutral inciter. Being neutral in the context of the above workshop would mean being not taking a stand in the face of homophobia, racism and sexism. While in a longer workshop process, it is possible through discussion and participation that some narratives of inequality can be contested and dislocated. In a shorter workshop like this one (reflecting the time and resource constraints community organisations face) it may be important to find creative queer modalities to dislocate such a system of inequality.

As an activist I am pushing an agenda – an agenda committed to unpacking narratives of queer sexuality and combating prejudice. This is done by creating a lekgotla space with a particular logical structure. The first step is to disrupt the learning space, in this case by using a poem that foregrounds queer, performative and creative approaches to learning. The second step is to locate the individual within an assemblage of inequality (including factors such as race, class, gender, sexual orientation and others). The third step is to dislocate the participants' ideas about sexuality through embodying narratives of queer African sexuality. This movement between the individual's ideas about queer sexuality, the queer African narratives and the ideas of other in the group creates a complicated topography that maps borders between what is acceptable and what isn't. The discussion then is one which encourages border crossing, one which encourages an exploration of queer sexuality as it intersects with individuals. The role of the facilitator threefold: (1) to create a manage a safe learning space open to diverse ideas, (2) to challenge inequality in the space, and (3) incite creative exploration (through dislocation and border crossing).

Limitations

Participants highlighted some limitations in the workshop process. The biggest being time: participants argued for more time for preparation and discussion. Participants also requested that terms such gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer should be defined at the beginning instead of synthesising these through discussion. Some participants requested a clearer timeline for the skits.

This research based on the reflection of the facilitator bears the risk of being indulgent. As such, I have attempted to reflect on the workshop in an open critical manner, reflecting on my personal politics and on the experience of participants in as honest a manner as possible. The research being carried out on a small group of people does not make it suitable for extrapolation. It does,

however, allow for interesting reflections on a practice and encourages critical exploration of creative pedagogies.

Reflection

There are two implications for classrooms and teachers. The first implication links to location and dislocation. If we are going to accept education as a political activity, one that either supports or resists inequality, it is important to be conscious of our position as facilitators of learning. This includes our position within this assemblage of inequality, and our potential to dislocate this assemblage through who we are and how we teach. The act of dislocating is crucial in this endeavour: in a way dislocating being somewhat capricious, opening a rift between what an individual's ideas and the experience of embodying queer sexuality. This praxis is one which highlights differentiation (differences between that which is considered normal and that which is queer), and intersection (linking experiences of inequality within the group). This space is actualised through interactive drama allowing for the group to teach each other, but also embody narratives of queer African sexuality. This participatory-driven, action-based approach allows for more than gaining knowledge: but it represents an active engagement with beliefs and the potential to do action. While dislocation is a good place to begin discussion it is potentially sensitive, thus it is important for educators to create an open and safe space for diverse ideas, critical discussion and listening.

The second implication links to containment. While sexuality education has been contained within school, teachers are ill-equipped to deal with sexuality (Francis & Msibi, 2011; Francis, 2012) and teacher guidelines are often silent about sexuality (Potgieter & Reygan, 2012). This *lekgotla* acted as an intervention on formal education space – resisting the dominance of formal education, and as an intervention which aimed to combat prejudice against queer people. The recommendation here is one that aims to disrupt the border between formal education and community organisation. Since schools are ill-equipped and community organisation resourceful in their approaches, a useful way forward would be partnerships between schools and community organisations. Instead of seeing our work as separate and contained, this border too can be queered.

"The border was not a border. The line was broken. It was an idea. Not a thing", (Valadez & Elsbree, 2005:172). South Africa is a country etched in difference, where two or more cultures edge on each other, where people of different nations, races, cultures and languages occupy the same space. These differences are constructed in an assemblage of inequality – and the *Queer Jozi Tour* offers a means to dislocate this assemblage. This workshop offered young people a space to dislocate ideas about queer sexuality through the embodying queer narratives. I also reflected on some of the complexities involved in using Boal's technique within the workshop space, particularly challenging prejudice. One of the narratives used in the *Queer Jozi Tour* is that of Hillbrow in the 80s. Hillbrow is interesting because it was one of the few multiracial neighbourhoods during apartheid and where a queer subculture was present and visible. While the borders of structural inequality attempt to contain our demographic locations. Queer love, sex and resistance highlighted borders as spaces not of differentiation but of intersection.

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11. Sexuality Society & Pedagogy: Author Biographies

Jean Baxen is Professor in the Education Department at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa, and the author of numerous reports, peer-reviewed papers, and book chapters on aspects of education in South Africa. She is author of *Performative Praxis: Teacher Identity and Teaching in the Context of HIV/AIDS (2010)* and co-editor of the volume *HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa: Understanding the Implications of Culture and Context* (2009). Jean Baxen is an active member of the education community in South Africa and sits a number of editorial boards, advisory committees, and review panels.

Jennifer Brown recently graduated from the University of the Witwatersrand where she gained a distinction for her MA Development Studies. Her research was based on the attitudes and experiences of teachers and students towards Life Orientation and formed the basis of this chapter. She has a specific interest in the promotion of sexual health amongst young adults, which was developed during her time working on a mobile health application at HIVSA, Johannesburg. She hopes to continue working and researching in the area of sexual health within Southern Africa.

Paul Chappell has over 12 years of international work and research experience in the field of disability, inclusive development and HIV/AIDS. As a person with a disability, Paul holds a PhD in social science education and has extensive experience in sexuality and HIV pedagogy amongst youth with disabilities in South Africa. He currently works as a postdoctoral research fellow in the Department of Anthropology and Development Studies at the University of Johannesburg. His research interests include the development of sexual identities amongst youth with disabilities and the use of participatory methodologies in sexuality and disability research. Paul is also a co-chair of the HIV and Disability Task Group for the International Disability and Development Consortium (IDDC).

Renée DePalma teaches at the University of A Coruña (Spain). From 2006-2009 she was Senior Researcher on the UK-based No Outsiders project, an action research project investigating approaches to address lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender equality in primary schools. The project yielded two books: Undoing homophobia in primary schools (2010) and Interrogating heteronormativity in primary schools: The work of the No Outsiders Project (2009), both published by Trentham books. She is mainly interested in the social construction of marginalization within and beyond schools, and the design of counter-hegemonic institutional contexts and classroom practices.

David Dickinson is a Professor in the Department of Sociology, Wits University. He has conducted a range of interdisciplinary studies including work on Japanese investment in the UK, crime and unemployment, national identity and economic development, and the financing of vocational training internationally. Between 2000 and 2011 David's research focused on HIV/AIDS. He has published on this topic in a range of journals including the *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *African Journal of AIDS Research* and *Journal of Southern African Studies*. His specialised area is that of workplace peer educators, the subject of a book *Changing the Course of AIDS*. He is currently completing a book on folk and lay theories of AIDS. He is presently interested in agency within South African township communities including: neighbourhood security initiatives, squatting movements, and the organisation of casual workers.

Dennis Francis is a Professor and currently, the Dean of Education at the University of Free State. Prof. Francis is also an Honorary Professor of Education at the University of the KwaZulu-Natal. He holds a PhD in Sociology and teaches in the fields of Social Justice Education and Sexuality Education. He has written extensively in the areas of education for social justice and sexuality education. He is the author of *Acting on Sexuality and HIV*. Dennis is a National Research Foundation rated researcher and the current chairperson of the South African Education Deans Forum.

Gabriel Hoosain Khan is the previous archivist, and youth and education coordinator at the Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action, a human rights organisation with keen interest in mainstreaming LGBTIAQ narratives, entrenching the rights of the LGBTIAQ people and building community. He earned his Bachelor of Arts in English Literature and Psychology from the University of Witwatersrand, an Honours in Psychology and is currently working towards his Masters in Education at the University of Free State. Gabriel has a keen interest in the history of LGBTIAQ struggles and its intersection with other struggles for justice in Africa. He is has a keen interest in working with LGBTIAQ youth, and has spent the last two years doing hands on work with various LGBTIAQ groups in southern Africa. As a queer Muslim interested in social justice struggles, some of the areas which interest Gabriel include intersecting identities (sexuality, gender and ethnicity) and immigrant communities within the context of post-colonial Africa.

Ronicka Mudaly is a lecturer who works in the undergraduate and postgraduate sectors in the School of Education in the University of KwaZulu- Natal. Her pedagogy is informed by a quest for science education which is socially just and more relevant. Her current interests and publications include humanist approaches from a Freirean perspective to science education, gender and sexualities studies, and youth empowerment through research. She advocates that science, as a discipline, be viewed as a human activity, which is embedded in social, cultural and political issues. Inclusive, participatory methodologies of teaching and learning, which render multiple forms of oppression visible, and create spaces for understanding the intersecting influences of power, politics and identity, are central to her pedagogy. She advocates entering uneven social spaces to generate transformative pedagogical strategies with a view to respond to socio-scientific challenges.

Jaqueline Naidoo is a lecturer in the discipline of Teacher Development Studies, School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal. She has extensive teaching experience in research discourses and methodology, HIV and AIDS education, teacher identities and teacher development. She has engaged in research on the geographies of children's schooling experiences. She has examined issues of teachers' identities and emotionality in HIV and AIDS education in her PhD studies.

Rob Pattman is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Stellenbosch and is an Honorary Professor in sociology at University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. His research interests include young people and social identities, with a particular focus on gender, sexuality and race, as well as HIV/AIDS. His interests include developing self-reflexive research methods which position young people as experts.

Cheryl Potgieter is the Deputy Vice Chancellor and Head of College of Humanities at UKZN. Previous posts include Professor of Psychology at the University of Pretoria, Founding Director and Head of the Gender and Development Studies at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and Director and Head of the Woman and Gender Studies Department at the University of Western Cape. Cheryl has a Doctorate from the University of the Western Cape and Masters Degree from the University of Cape Town. As a researcher, she has written and researched policy for government departments, the private sector and NGOs. She has published in both local and international journals in the areas of race, gender, sexuality, and broad areas related to transformation and guest edited the first and only academic journal in Africa with a specific focus on homosexuality. Cheryl is a rated researcher.

Finn Reygan (MSc Equality Studies, PhD Psychology) focuses on applied research that supports the health and well-being of sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) minority populations across the lifespan and transnationally. Through his work he hopes to bring about positive social change and has a particular interest in the well-being of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) young people in school systems globally. He publishes in peer-reviewed journals such as the Journal of LGBT Youth, Perspectives in Education and Psycho-oncology and has authored a number of book chapters. He has lived and worked in Europe, North America and South Africa and is currently a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Lesley Wood is Research Professor in the Faculty of Education Sciences, North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus, South Africa. Her research focuses on helping teachers to develop their potential as change agents to address the adverse circumstances facing the school system in South Africa, including the challenges of HIV/AIDS in education. She focuses on the methodology of action research as a way to promote social change and heads up a research entity, Community Based Educational Research, in her institution, as well as being an editor of the journal, Educational Research for Social Change.

SEXUALITY, SOCIETY & PEDAGOGY

Understanding the social aspects of the teaching and learning of sexuality education is one of the most rapidly expanding fields of research internationally and in South Africa. Sexuality, Society and Pedagogy problematizes some of the prevailing assumptions that frame this area of study. In doing so it aims to make visible the challenges of teaching sexuality education in South African schools while demonstrating its potential for reshaping our conceptions of the social and cultural representations thereof. Although the book is largely situated in experiences and perspectives within the South African context, it is hoped that the questions raised, reflections, analyses and arguments will contribute to thinking about sexuality education in diverse contexts, in particular more developing contexts. Sexuality, Society and Pedagogy targets community practitioners, teachers, school governing bodies; teacher educators, educational managers; educational researchers, policy makers, academics and students at all higher education and training institutions interested in sexuality and HIV/AIDS education.

Dennis Francis is a Professor and currently, the Dean of Education at the University of Free State. Prof. Francis is also an Honorary Professor of Education at the University of the KwaZulu-Natal. He holds a PhD in Sociology and teaches in the fields of Social Justice Education and Sexuality Education. He has published extensively in the areas of education for social justice and sexuality education. He has published the edited collection Acting on Sexuality and HIV: Using Drama to Create Possibilities for Change. Dennis is a National Research Foundation rated researcher.

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