

TEACHING SENSITIVE ISSUES
TEACHER TRAINING, EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY AND HIV/AIDS IN SOUTH
AFRICA

by

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Abstract

This thesis discusses teaching sensitive issues in a framework of education for democracy and social change. Specifically, the research examined how teacher-education students in South African teacher-education institutions in the Western Cape province are taught about HIV/AIDS and sensitive issues and how they describe their experiences.

The thesis discusses how social change, i.e. the transition from a traditional and modernist society to a society with postmodern features, affects schooling as it changes the social structures in which schooling take place, and furthermore how sensitive and controversial issues come to the surface and demand to be dealt with as society changes. This has implications for the educational framework chosen – i.e. going from an authoritarian form of education to education for democracy based on democratic teaching methods, student participation and diversity.

This thesis is built of the assumption that only teachers who are properly prepared to handle teaching in a diverse classroom will be able to handle teaching sensitive and controversial issues.

There were two main findings of the research. Firstly, the need for teacher professionalism, defined as teachers' didactic and reflective competence in teaching sensitive issues. Secondly that there is a need for participatory democratic education in dealing with sensitive and controversial issues.

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List of Abbreviations

AIDS Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

CBT Competency Based Training

GET General Education Training band

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

NEPI National Education Policy Initiative

NQF National Qualifications Framework

OBE Outcomes Based Education

SAQA South African Qualifications Authority

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about teaching sensitive issues within an educational framework based on the concept of Education for Democracy. We will analyse how changes in the social formation change the way knowledge and meaning are dispersed and produced and how this again affects or necessitates changes in educational frameworks. We have chosen to look at how these changes affect teacher professionalism and demands on teachers' didactic competency, and how these are especially important when teaching about sensitive issues.

Sensitive issues can be defined as issues that are difficult to speak about within a certain context or culture. What is seen as a sensitive issue will then vary from one context or culture to another, and these issues will often come to the surface and become more visible or urgent in times of social change.

In describing the teaching of sensitive issues, we have specifically chosen to focus on teaching about HIV/AIDS as a sensitive issue, and more specifically how teacher-training students are trained to teach about HIV/AIDS and sensitive issues in South African teacher training institutions. This thesis builds on the assumption that in order for learners (pupils in schools) to learn about sensitive issues, in this case HIV/AIDS, there is a need for teachers who are themselves properly taught to understand the nature of and ways of teaching these topics. This is the responsibility of the teacher training institutions.

In South Africa HIV/AIDS is a disease that has had large repercussions for society, with places where up to 80% of the population is infected by HIV or have developed AIDS. These are the people that are supposed to be productive, earn an income and contribute to the development of modern South Africa (cf. <http://www.aids.org.za/hiv.htm>). In addition South Africa as a nation is undergoing a serious transformation, and education plays a large part in this process of change. The post-apartheid South African education system is adapting to this change by both ridding itself of the unevenness of schooling that existed during apartheid, but also in developing an educational concept or strategy that will aid in the development of more democratic and enlightened citizens. In this process of educational change South Africa has adopted a basic concept of ‘education for democracy’.

This thesis aims to look at teaching within a context of social change, what social change means and how it affects individuals in the way they construct knowledge and meaning and how this again informs their construction of self (see chapter 3).

We will then go on to discuss how these changes, in going from a modernist social formation to a social formation with more post-modern traits, drive changes in education, (as discussed in chapter 3 and 4) both in terms of how knowledge is produced and in how to teach. We will also look at how this influences teacher professionalism and makes clearer a demand for teachers’ didactic competencies. We will then contextualise this by using questionnaire and interview data gathered from three different teacher-training institutions in South Africa. We researched how student teachers are taught about, and relate to, teaching about HIV/AIDS and other sensitive issues. We will then use these data to discuss teaching strategies that allow for

teaching about sensitive issues, and how these relate to the concept of ‘education for democracy’.

Researcher background and motivation

Personally I have a significant reason for choosing to do my research in South Africa. My father is South- African. Though I have never lived in South Africa, I have family there, and my father moved back when I was 14. (That is as soon as he could get a visa to go back to South Africa, the apartheid visa laws not allowing for him to enter the country). My first experience of South Africa was in December 1989 as the apartheid laws were being softened. The day of our arrival the “beach laws” were thrown out and everyone was allowed to go to any beach. We went to a former white beach which now was full to the brim of non-white people wanting for the first time in their lives to try out the luxury that was formerly only for whites. Open white sandy beaches lined with boulevards and small shops, instead of rocky mud-holes far away. This day signalled for many the end of the so-called “petty apartheid” (the aspects of apartheid politics that were very visible).

Going to South Africa for the first time was also my first real meeting with a world where class and colour were deciding elements of who you were and what you could/ couldn’t do. In Norway I was labelled exotic because of my black hair and my class background, which didn’t really fit in where I grew up. There, there were few people of colour, and the notion of class was hidden, though clearly felt, in the social structures. However, in South Africa it was

interesting the way I was openly viewed in other people's eyes. apartheid was still very much ingrained in the mindset of the people. When I was with my family in South Africa I was suddenly Indian or Malay, and people looked very strangely at my mother who was clearly white and walking around with these people of "colour". Yet, when I was with only my mother I was white (more or less that is). South Africa thus is both a country in which I am an outsider (having lived in Norway for my whole life) and a country where I am somehow an insider, with family ties, and some limited understanding of the cultural variance of the country. However I don't pretend in this research to be an expert on South Africa and it is written mostly from an outsider's perspective. This I aimed for in my work, as I really didn't feel that I could claim intimate knowledge of this culturally diverse society.

Research background and rationale

Education is not value free, and it cannot exist outside of the society that surrounds it. This is on the grounds that the school as a social institution is influenced by, on the one hand, the students that come into the classrooms and, on the other, the political and educational debates that take place in the society at large, both locally and nationally (and to some degree even on a global scale). Schools are institutions of socialisation, supplementing that of the family. In schooling, there is always a political focus, implicit or explicit, reflecting a basic normative stance in education. This focus and stance have repercussions in the curriculum of the school and constitute the concept of education underlying concrete guidelines for teaching and learning. (Wiese, 2002)

The idea for this research project came to me as I was writing up my Norwegian masters thesis, ("From "sameness" to "diversity" – towards a post modern concept of education, Wiese, 2002) while on a study visit at the University of Birmingham. Indeed, at times this

thesis draws on my Masters thesis when points were made in it by the writer that are relevant to the present study but weren't made elsewhere in the literature and which therefore couldn't be referenced to another source. In the masters thesis I explored the changing context of education and how this might influence changes in the educational paradigm – from that of a modernist, authoritarian teacher-centred pedagogy towards a post-modern concept of education based on concepts such as cultural identity and ‘education for democracy’. My thesis was purely theoretical, and my idea was to do a PhD based on its theoretical framework and to acquire empirical data to explore the basic assumptions underpinning my use of theory. In order to get an empirical dimension to my former work it was decided that researching HIV/AIDS education in teacher training in South Africa would be both an interesting and under – researched subject.

There were three main reasons for me choosing South Africa as the country in which to do my research. When the preliminary fieldwork was performed, in 2004, South Africa was celebrating 10 years of democracy – 10 years of the “new” South Africa - the “rainbow nation”. 1994 was the year when Mandela became president, and the fall of the “Apartheid” was seen as complete. This, thus supposedly signalled a new era of democracy and inclusion of all races, religions and creeds. (However this is very much a simplification of a process that took a long time to achieve, and which is currently still ongoing.) Social change does not happen overnight, and one can debate whether a country becomes democratic just by having a popular vote. For a more thorough investigation into the process of change in South Africa, the state of politics today and the current state of the ”rainbow nation” (see, for example, Johnson (2009)).

With these political changes came extensive changes in education – restructuring the organisation of the former 19 education departments into one, trying to improve access for all to all schools which brought with it changes in the curriculum signalling that schools should work towards a more culturally and racially open and democratic society.

South Africa is also one of the countries in the world where HIV/AIDS is most rampant; up to a quarter of the South African population is currently infected with the HIV virus.

HIV/AIDS thus is no longer an illness that only affects the individual, but has repercussions for the society as a whole. However, as an example of the impact of how distortions of truths can spread, we see the former South African president Thabo Mbeki's insistence that HIV and AIDS were two separate entities, the one not leading to the other, and that AIDS was a poor black mans' disease inflicted on the black population by the rich whites

(www.aids.org.za/hiv.htm). This, in turn, has influenced the way HIV/AIDS was presented to the South African public, which had again manifested itself in the construction of so-called social myths at the individual level, such as those asserting that the free condoms are laced with the disease and is actually a white mans ploy to infect and eradicate the black population. These myths then seep into the education system, either presented as unverifiable certainties, or as background "noise" to the more bio-medically oriented teachings of the school.

HIV/AIDS is not only an immunological disease with corporal symptoms, but also a disease that is linked to issues of sex, sexuality, gender, culture and history, as well as to poverty and politics (cf. Walker, Reid and Cornell, 2004). HIV/AIDS education therefore needs to be taught within a climate that allows for discussion not only of how HIV/AIDS is transmitted or contracted, but the disease must also be placed within the context of the larger society, that is

to say one needs to highlight the contexts of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa – and how this in turn will affect the way the individual student constructs his/her identity (Rivers and Aggleton, 1999; Kayaa et al, 2002).

HIV/AIDS is furthermore a topic that involves teaching sensitive or controversial issues, issues that include cultural and social as well as historical and religious issues. It is my contention that the education given needs to reflect this and that the best way this can be done is within a framework of education for democracy based on dialogue and the possibility for subjective identity formation based on the social and cultural constructs emerging in the “new” South Africa.

In order to understand the nature of teaching sensitive issues I chose to do research into teacher-training and HIV/AIDS because it is not only an under-researched topic, but because if teachers aren't being prepared to teach about HIV/AIDS and the issues this involves in their teacher-training courses, then there is little chance that one can expect there to be a change in student and classroom practices and the content used in teaching HIV/AIDS in schools. I therefore wanted to look at 1) if the universities/ teacher training colleges actually taught their future teachers about HIV/AIDS and 2) How/ what content/ methods was used in this teaching. I was also curious to know whether only groups of students, say those teaching ‘lifeskills’ (which is the name of a specific subject in schools – formerly known as guidance), were taught or whether this was a topic for the whole group of students. Furthermore, I wanted to find out how the students felt about teaching about issues like HIV/AIDS and how the teaching affected their construction of themselves as teachers. I moreover wanted to find

out how and if they were taught about teaching about sensitive issues in general and what they saw to be sensitive issues.

This thesis will, in particular, focus on the methods used in transmitting knowledge about HIV/AIDS in a way that puts the disease into the social, cultural and political context of the disease in South Africa. This approach is based on the assumption that only teachers who are prepared to tackle the sensitive and sexual nature of HIV/AIDS will be able to impart knowledge to pupils in a manner that will lead to a change in school children's behaviour in the field of sexuality and HIV/AIDS. In this thesis we have chosen to examine this assumption through developing an understanding of teacher professionalism and teachers didactic competency – how roles and competencies needs to be developed in the individual student through teacher-training courses.

Furthermore I was interested to find out about students' background knowledge as they came into teacher training. What were their schooling backgrounds and how does this vary from one institution to the next and with the contexts the students grew up in? as well as how they were taught in school (both generally and specifically) about HIV/AIDS? I also wanted to know why they chose to become teachers, and how they envisaged their future. I did this not only to find out about the students' knowledge of HIV/AIDS and sensitive issues, but also to gain an understanding of how they have constructed their knowledge/themselves within this changing society, and how this might have affected their views on teaching about and within a context where issues like HIV/AIDS are of importance.

I also chose teacher training because I am more familiar with teacher training institutions than schools. I was also more or less the same age as the teacher education students at the time of the field study, and could therefore hopefully gain certain types of insight/knowledge that other, older, researchers would find more difficult.

Institutional setting

The research focuses on one region of South Africa, the Western Cape. Three teacher education institutions that provide courses in initial teachers' education were studied - the University of Cape Town (UCT), Cape Technicon (Cape Tech.) and the University of Western Cape (UWC). Historically and currently these institutions cater for different sections of the populations, thus giving my study a broad range of cultural, social and historical perspectives within which to understand differences in the conception of HIV/AIDS and teaching practices. These universities teach programmes at different levels of teacher-training such as B.Ed. (Bachelor of Education) and PGCE (Postgraduate Certificate of Education), giving this study an empirical base covering several social and cultural groupings as well as encompassing teacher-training students that will later teach at all levels of the South African schooling system.

Historically South African universities have been quite autonomous in their decisions about what and when to teach. This is especially true for universities that traditionally catered for the English speaking (white) population - for a further discussion see chapter 5. This has

resulted in the universities being very wary of what they perceive as state interference into their institutional autonomy. In turn this attitude has resulted in the topic of HIV/AIDS education being taught very differently at the different teacher-training institutions (or universities and colleges), especially since HIV/AIDS education is often subsumed under the subject of 'lifeskills'. Thus, at the different institutions these differences are to some extent reflected in the nature and structure of HIV/AIDS education. At UCT the module is part of the so-called professional studies and is compulsory for all students, whereas in Cape Tech it is supposed to be part of the students' general education, but the quality and quantity depend on the individual teacher teaching the module to the different classes. At UWC the HIV/AIDS module is divided in three sections, all are compulsory for all students.

HIV/AIDS in the South African educational context

South Africa is one of the countries in the world where HIV/AIDS is most prevalent.

Preventative measures so far have not reduced the growth of this disease, and how this is to be achieved in an efficient manner is still to a large extent an unanswered question. However, there is a broad consensus that the epidemic can only be stemmed if knowledge is disseminated to the general populace about (1) the disease and its causes as well as the (2) the behaviours that are called for to avoid infection (Mathews et al, 2006; Walker, Reid and Cornell, 2004; Gow and Desmond, 2002). The present project aims to elucidate the role and function of the educational system in this context, specifically with respect to the approaches and methods used by various South African teacher-training colleges when teaching their students about HIV/AIDS.

HIV/AIDS and educational research

To what extent has research on HIV/AIDS in South Africa so far taken the role and function of the education system into account? There are three main foci that can be discerned in extant educational research on HIV/AIDS and its effects in Sub-Saharan Africa today (e.g. Baxen & Breidlid, 2004, 2009).

1. Resource depletion and a general undermining of schooling as a social enterprise
2. Knowledge, attitude and behaviour among learners and educators
3. Sexual behaviour and attitudes among students and young people

1) The first approach focuses on the impact HIV/AIDS on the entire educational system; the loss of teachers and students due to excess morbidity/ mortality and students dropping out of school in order to nurse sick family members or because they are unable to pay the cost of schooling such as school fees, uniforms etc (e.g. Hall et al, 2005; Johnson, 2000; Akoulouze, 2001).

2) The second approach is mainly made up of studies elucidating the extent to which learners and educators carry and act upon the Knowledge, Attitudes and Behaviour (so-called KAP studies) necessary to allow for effective prevention strategies to be implemented. Often such strategies are based on theories of self-efficacy in particular as it relates to condom use, or abstaining from certain forms of sexual relations (cf. Mathews et al, 2006; Campbell, 2003 and Flisher et al, 2003)

3) The third approach is primarily epidemiologically oriented, looking at young people's sexual attitudes and behaviours in the context of HIV/AIDS (Mathews et al, 2006; Haretell, 2005; Flisher et al, 2003).

In sum, it seems that the predominant focus of research on HIV/AIDS is either on the biomedical aspects of the disease, or on young people's knowledge and attitudes to sex and their overall sexual behaviours including the use of condoms. However, very little research has been done to date on the role of teachers as transmitters of knowledge about HIV/AIDS (e.g. Mathews et al, 2006, 2009; Helleve, 2010), with the limited research that has been performed mainly focussing on teachers' own knowledge about the disease (Akoulouse et al, 2001; Peltzer and Promtussananon, 2003) rather than on the complex task of transmitting relevant knowledge. Thus, very little is known about how educators approach and tackle the task of teaching about issues so closely linked to issues of sexual practices, gender, culture and history.

However in 2010 a report was published from a study of HIV/AIDS education in teacher training in South Africa called "HIV/AIDS in Teacher Education – evaluation report of a pilot project in South African Higher Education Institutions" (HEAIDS, 2010). This report discusses the piloting of an HIV/AIDS programme in several different teacher-training institutions across South Africa. In this report there is also a thorough review of different teaching practices at several different teacher trainer institutions in South Africa. According to this report HIV/AIDS programs started to be introduced in teacher training institutions around South Africa around 2005, and on an ad hoc basis. This report also points to the fact

that there has been a change in research interests in the field of education and HIV/AIDS in schools in South Africa in the last 5 years (i.e. in the space of time since the data in this thesis was collected) where researchers have started making interventions and designing programs for HIV/AIDS education instead of, as we have described here, looking at the actions and behaviours of learners in schools as well as looking at the educational practices across schools. (HEAIDS, 2010: chapter 2, Klepp, Flisher, Kayaa, 2008; Paul – Ebhohimhen, Van Teijlingen, 2008; Wegner et al, 2007). The HEAIDS report stated that,

Drawing from the various literatures, what have we learned? What are the key issues and how does this work inform future work in the area of Teacher Education in South Africa? Clearly this is all relatively recent literature and as noted above in the section under historical perspectives, in the area of teacher education the majority of studies have been carried out in the last 5 years or so. At the very least this also suggests that any expertise in this area (for researchers or teacher educators) is also relatively recent and concomitantly, there is no agreed upon idea of what teacher educator qualifications in the area of HIV/AIDS instruction should include. (HEAIDS, 2010:26)

The basic assumption of the present study is that HIV/AIDS education needs to be taught within a climate that allows for an open and transparent discussion of the nature of HIV/AIDS, not only regarding how it is transmitted or contracted, but also its place within the context of the larger society. In other words, educators need to highlight the various contexts of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa – including how the individual student constructs his or her (sexual) identity (Kayaa et al, 2002; Rivers and Aggleton, 1999; HEAIDS, 2010: chapter 2).

HIV/AIDS is a topic that involves sensitive issues, issues that are difficult for teachers to handle for cultural, historical and religious reasons. The education given to the students needs

to reflect these issues, and the best way this can be done is within a framework of ‘education for democracy’ based on dialogue and the possibility for subjective identity formation based on the social and cultural constructs emerging in the “new” South Africa. In the following I shall outline the nature of the institutional and cultural contexts in which these educational practices will have to be established.

Schooling, teacher- training and HIV/AIDS in South Africa

At the moment the South African schooling system is in a state of transition, moving away from the old racially based apartheid system, towards a more racially integrated, though to a large extent also money-based, schooling system (Harber, 2001; Chapter 2). In the apartheid days, 19 different departments of schooling were at work, delineated on the basis of race as well as geography. This system was indeed built to foster inequalities as was reflected in the schools’ curricula, as well as in their funding – with the most prominent feature being that the traditionally white schools were being favoured over those of the other social groups (Weber, 2002; Harber, 2001; Cross, 1999). These differences were also visible in the university structure and in teacher training. The different racially divided schooling departments had different teacher-training institutions connected to them. Diverging academic traditions therefore had developed in each sub-system, in turn impacting on the curricula that ruled the different teacher training institutions.

With the new curriculum (called Curriculum 2005 and its revised version namely the ‘Draft revised national curriculum statement’) (Department of Education, 1997, 2001) that is being

implemented into South African schools, the post- apartheid democratic government is aiming towards a unification of the schools curricula. Curriculum 2005 should also be reflected in the ways in which the teacher- training institutions train their teacher-training students. There is presently however no unified approach to teacher training in South Africa and the documents that govern the content of teacher-training merely give brief outlines of the courses students must have passed in order to be awarded their degrees (cf. chapter 2, Lemmer and Van Wyk, 2010; Robinson, 2003; Webber, 2002), and as we discussed above there is currently no document or seeming agreement as to what should be and are the necessary topics of HIV/AIDS education in teacher training in South Africa (cf. HEAIDS, 2010).

Theoretical framework – Social and educational change

This thesis seeks to investigate how changes in the social formation often spur changes in the educational framework. In analysing social change we will look at how society can be seen to have moved from a social formation based on traits described as modernist to a social formation that is perceived as having traits described as more postmodern. Postmodernism is often seen as a description of different social traits that herald a transition into something “different” (without necessarily defining what the difference is but actually discussing the nature of difference (cf. Woodward, 1997), thus it is a concept which looks at changes in social traits, what distinguishes one social formation from another (cf. chapter 3; Best and Keller, 1991). We have in this thesis focussed on social changes in the construction and

dispersal of knowledge and how this again affects the individuals' construction of self and his/her "orientation to meaning" (Castells, 1996; Dahlberg, 1985).

When discussing social change it is important to note that change is not necessarily revolutionary i.e. that it affects society in such a way that it transforms its social order to such a degree that it is completely upturned. Some changes only appear to support the current social formation, whereas others are in some ways transformative i.e. they require such changes in the social formation that it is useful to talk about a transition from one social formation into another. In this thesis thus, we describe how the changes in the way knowledge is produced or constructed and dispersed has opened up room for a more individualised construction of self, which can be described as differing from the descriptions of a modernist social formation to such a degree that it is useful here to use the concept postmodern. Knowledge is here seen as both knowledge in the form of news and as social or cultural constructs.

When discussing social changes in South Africa, and how these have affected education, it is therefore useful to use the terms modernist and postmodernist social formation as they point to different traits that act as markers for the analysis of social change. No society (or country) is therefore either modernist or postmodernist, but all carry traits that are both modernist and postmodernist in orientation. However, as societies change, issues that before may have been repressed often come to the surface and demand attention. These issues are often of a contentious and/or sensitive nature, and in the following we will discuss why and how these issues need to be dealt with in schools and teacher-training institutions.

Sensitive and controversial issues

In teaching about HIV/AIDS South African teachers are faced with the challenge of having to mediate/ communicate scientific facts about HIV/AIDS, how the disease is contracted and the risk involved in certain sexual practices, whilst at the same time placing the disease into a larger social, cultural, historical and political context.

Sensitive or controversial issues are issues or topics that are perceived as difficult to speak about within a specific culture such as, for example, matters of sexuality, religion and religious practices and also certain kinds of cultural practices. What is seen as sensitive or controversial will vary within and between different societies and cultures, but mainly it can be seen to be issues that carry a certain controversy and which therefore are seen as sensitive. These issues are often found on different levels of the society. Briefly, these can be seen to be,

- 1) Issues that are controversial at the social level like for example matters of religion or cultural differences that lead to differences and clashes in values within a population.

- 2) Issues that are seen as part of the private sphere, such as issues that concern sexuality and health – especially mental illnesses, and issues related to things that happen in the sphere of the home such as domestic violence and substance/alcohol abuse (cf. Claire and Holden, 2007; Oulton et al, 2004; Hess, 2004; Advisory Committee on Citizenship, 1998).

The 1998 so-called ‘Crick Report’ on teaching citizenship in England (The Advisory committee on Citizenship) gave this definition of controversial issues as;

‘... an issue about which there is no one fixed or universally held point of view. Such issues are those which commonly divide society and for which significant groups offer conflicting explanations and solutions. There may, for example, be conflicting views on such matters as how a problem has arisen and who is to blame; over how the problem may be resolved; over what principles should guide the decisions that can be taken, and so on (Advisory Committee on Citizenship, 1998:56).

In South Africa, as in many other countries, issues related to HIV/AIDS is seen as sensitive and are therefore found to be difficult to talk about. We therefore must pay particular attention to the ways and means adopted to tackle sensitive issues in practice.

In this thesis we discuss how education, and especially teacher education, needs to cater for sensitive issues. We will therefore not analyse specific sensitive issues but look at sensitive issues in general, or as related to issues that concern HIV/AIDS education. We will therefore not specifically discuss issues such as racism, black education or education of other minority groups, nor have we discussed religious education or political education in any specific terms. For further reading about tackling different sensitive and controversial issues in education cf. Kagawa and Selby (2010); Claire and Holden (2007), Asimeng-Boahene (2007); Hess (2004); Oulton et al (2004).

As will be discussed below, we have also not discussed specific methodologies for teaching sensitive issues, but discuss how they can be taught within a framework of ‘education for democracy’.

‘Education for democracy’ in teaching about sensitive issues

The Crick report set teaching controversial issues in a framework of a more democratic approach to education.

‘...educators must never set out to indoctrinate; ... to be completely unbiased is simply not possible, and on some issues, such as those concerning human rights, it is not desirable. When dealing with controversial issues, teachers should adopt strategies that teach pupils how to recognise bias, how to evaluate evidence put before them and how to look for alternative interpretations, viewpoints and sources of evidence; above all to give good reasons for everything they say and do, and to expect good reasons to be given by others’ (Advisory Committee on Citizenship, 1998:56).

This thesis will investigate to what extent an educational framework based on more individualised, dialogical and democratic teaching methods – a so-called “bottom–up” approach to educating, as opposed to a more authoritarian “top-down” approach (Harber, 2004; Harber and Davies, 1997; Freire, 1996) is presently being promoted and supported in South Africa.

Underlying the idea of ‘education for democracy’ there is always a political focus, reflecting a basic normative stance in education. Such a stance necessarily has repercussions in the school curricula, often resulting in guidelines for teaching and learning. There is, in other words, a close link between priorities at the socio-political level - the macro level of the pedagogic system, and events happening in the classroom - the micro level (cf. Glaeser, Ponzetto and Shleifer, 2007)

In the struggle to break free from a racist, segregated, mono-cultural and socially reproductive schooling system, South Africa has during the last decade gone through a process of adopting

a concept of education for democracy based on a conception of society as intrinsically multi-cultural, multi-racial and socially, historically and culturally diverse (cf. Chapter 2). Such a framework is based on the presumption that a viable concept of education should reflect the plurality of the “new” South Africa, stressing such values and ideals as social equity, equality, Ubuntu (or human dignity), non- sexism and non-racism (“Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy”, The Department of Education, 2001).

In this context, then, democracy can be seen as the possibility or opportunity for participation and the incorporation of human rights and needs in decision-making processes, be it at the macro level of state and government political processes, or at the micro level of group or individual actions. The concept of education for democracy revolves around and incorporates this ideal of democratic participation and stresses the need for student participation in inclusive learning processes.

The present study makes a further distinction between democratic and authoritarian teaching – the latter being teacher-centred teaching which separates the everyday life and knowledge of the learners from that of the content of education, in fact assuming that the teacher has the power and is in complete control of the learning content in the classroom (Freire, 1996).

Democratic teaching on the other hand is characterised by the recognition of mutual respect between the learners and the teacher (Harber, 1997, 2004) with learning being based on discursive teaching methods (Apple & Beane, 1999). Such a perspective claims that democratic education can only be achieved by using teaching methods that encourage active participation and the sharing of knowledge and ideas, as well as recognising the social and cultural diversity in the classroom and society in general.

Overall framework and research questions

To sum up what has been said so far. This thesis proposes to:

- a) *Discuss changes in the social formation, specifically how these changes affect the way knowledge is produced and dispersed, and how this changes the focus of education.*
- b) *Discuss and describe teaching sensitive issues within a framework of education for democracy – focussing specifically on teachers’ didactic competency and on teacher professionalism*
- c) *To study the methods used in transmitting knowledge about HIV/AIDS, and whether this is done in a way that puts the disease into the social, cultural and political context of South Africa today.*

Development of research questions

The process of the development of research questions will always be evolving as the process of writing goes along and the study progresses and one finds out about the interplay between the theory used and the data gathered. This process can be described as a hermeneutical spiral of developing understanding (thus going from one point and expanding outwards in the form of a spiral). As this project has progressed it has become more clear to me that this research is not just about describing HIV/AIDS education in teacher training in South Africa – looking at what is done and what is not. That is only part of the research and the main focus of this thesis will be teaching sensitive issues – both in developing or discussing a framework of how to

best teach about sensitive issues and in discussing the skills that learners and student teachers need in order to understand the nature of sensitive issues such as HIV/AIDS – i.e. understanding the social basis for why something is seen as a sensitive issue, and having the individual or personal skills to deal with situations, social contexts and/or actions that are of a sensitive nature. Skills in this context refers to ‘competencies’ such as reflexivity – acting reflexively- and abilities that allow for full participation in a democratic society – skills which entail understanding social and cultural differences.

In going into this study the purpose of the research was *to gain knowledge of the students’ preparedness to teach within the context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa today.*

The overarching research questions thus were to analyse and explain

- 1. Teacher- training students’ preparedness to teach within the context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa.**
- 2. The role played by teacher training institutions in South Africa and how they are preparing teachers to teach within the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.**

The specific focus of this study was on the methods and content used to teach teacher training students, and how the students feel that this experience has prepared them for teaching themselves when working in school as fully fledged teachers.

The specific research questions thus are:

1. **To what extent and, especially, in what way is teacher training addressing the issues of HIV/AIDS in South Africa?**
2. **How are teacher-training students being trained when taught about HIV/AIDS?**

More specifically what we aimed to look at were:

1) *The context of teacher-training*

The institutional context of the teacher training institutions – what is currently being done at institutional level to prepare teachers to teach within the context of HIV/AIDS in particular as regards the **methods** and **content** used in teaching?

2) *Teacher training students' preparedness to teach HIV/AIDS. How do teacher-training students perceive teaching within the context of HIV/AIDS?*

- a. How do the students feel HIV/AIDS should be taught in classrooms?
- b. How do the students feel about how they have been taught about HIV/AIDS?
- c. How do the students feel about teaching in a classroom where students are either directly affected by HIV/AIDS (by having HIV or AIDS themselves) or indirectly (by HIV or AIDS being in their family or close group of friends)?

- 3) *How do the teacher-training students construct knowledge about HIV/ AIDS and how is this related to their conception of their role (identity) as teachers, teaching within the context of HIV/AIDS?*
- a. What do students know about the different aspects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic?
 - b. How do students perceive their own role (identity) as teachers who are teaching *about* HIV/AIDS or *within the context* of HIV/AIDS in South Africa?

Chapter Layout and the structure of the thesis

In chapter 1 we give a brief introduction to HIV/AIDS in South Africa

In chapter 2 we look at the developments in South African schooling in moving away from the apartheid era and its deeply dividing and authoritarian teaching towards the post-apartheid era where the schooling is moving towards a more democratic education. We also specifically look at the developments in Teacher training from 1994 till today.

In chapter 3 we look at social development and social change, and how this influences the individuals' sense of self. We look at how social changes alter the structures in which knowledge is produced and look at how this changes the individuals' construction of self and how the individuals relate to knowledge and meaning.

In chapter 4 we look at how the social changes and changes in knowledge production lead to changes in the educational frameworks – going from a modernist authoritarian educational framework to a more post-modern democratically based educational framework intended to better suit a classroom which presents a larger diversity in student and teacher backgrounds.

We then go on to discuss how this influences the roles of the teacher and how this changes the views on teacher competencies and teacher professionalism. Furthermore we look at teaching sensitive issues in the context of these educational changes.

In chapter 5 we discuss issues of research methodology. Firstly we discuss the general nature of different research traditions and how this pertains to this specific research.

Chapter 6 is the chapter where we introduce the research methods framework and the framework for the analysis of the research data, as well as the nature of the fieldwork itself, such as the research sample and the limitations of the study.

Chapter 7 looks at the analysis of the questionnaire data

Chapter 8 looks at the analysis of the interview data.

Chapter 9 discusses teaching sensitive issues and the teacher-training students' development of a teacher professionalism and identity in the light of the data from the questionnaire and interview data

Chapter 10 is the summary of the thesis and the recommendations that stem from the research.

1.0 HIV/ AIDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

This chapter aims at discussing the wider context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. It discusses what HIV/AIDS is, and why it has had such an impact on South African society. In the introduction we discussed how HIV/AIDS has impacted on education, and the focus of research that has been done in South Africa on HIV/AIDS in education (see introduction pg. 15- 19). This chapter thus aims at a wider understanding of the political macro level, how structural constraints and cultural practices affect behaviour on the individual level and how these are played out amongst teenagers.

In this chapter we have relied on the information from the website www.aids.org.za. This is the website of the politically independent non-governmental organisation (NGO) *Aids Foundation South Africa*. We have relied on this website for information about the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa as it is politically independent and has as one of its goals to, through this website, spread correct information about the disease in order to aid the South African public as well as other NGOs in their search for correct information about the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa. This website therefore also provides thorough information not only about the spread of the disease in South Africa but also insights into the social and political contexts which have aided the spread of HIV/AIDS in South Africa.

Around 33,4 million people are today suffering from HIV/AIDS worldwide, of those about 22,4 million live in countries in Sub-Saharan Africa ([UNAIDS](#), 2009).

In 2008, sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 67% of HIV infections worldwide, 68% of new HIV infections among adults and 91% of new HIV infections among children. The region also accounted for 72% of the world's AIDS-related deaths in 2008 (UNAIDS epidemic update, 2009:21).

South Africa is the country with the largest population of people living with HIV/AIDS, having an estimated 5,7 million people infected in 2009. (UNAIDS, 2009). This means that about 1 in 4 of South Africans are directly affected by HIV/AIDS and about 1 in 3 is in some way affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic- through close friends or family having the disease.

HIV – (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) is a virus that enters the bloodstream and weakens the immune system's ability to fight infections. AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) is acquired when the immune system is weakened to such a degree that it has left the body open for severe opportunistic diseases (such as pneumonia etc) ultimately resulting in death. It is worth noting that it is not HIV or AIDS in itself that kills, but (opportunistic) infections that a person with a normally functioning immune system would be able to fight off (www.lommelegen.no).

When the virus has entered the body it can lie dormant for many years. Many people don't even realise that they have acquired HIV. During the first stage of infection (primary or acute stage - that is immediately after the virus has been acquired), the symptoms often resemble that of the "flu", that is if the person has any symptoms at all. The infected person then goes into what is called "seroconversion" that is the stage at which the person starts to develop antibodies to the virus, the virus ultimately winning the battle, but the body, and also medications, can keep the virus in check for many years. The third stage of HIV is known as the "silent" phase, this stage of the infection is often asymptomatic, and the person might not

even know that he/she has HIV. During this period the virus slowly works its way through the body.

While the associated infections are common in HIV negative persons, the critical difference is that those who are HIV positive experience these complaints as chronic infections, and they can persist for several weeks or months. Thrush, shingles and tuberculosis, coupled with weight loss, diarrhoea, fever and fatigue are all common symptoms of the late asymptomatic stage, and act as a marker for the onset of AIDS. In most developing countries, people live with HIV infection throughout the asymptomatic stage without knowing it. If a diagnosis is made, it is invariably at the late stage when the person presents at a clinic or hospital. While an HIV diagnosis is not an automatic guarantee of a person practicing safer sex or injecting habits, undiagnosed HIV infection increases the susceptibility of a society to the epidemic (www.aids.org.za).

The last stage of this disease is, as mentioned above, AIDS. This stage is entered when the person's immune system is so severely weakened by the infection that it is not able to fight so-called opportunistic infections. This stage ultimately ends in death.

HIV is transmitted by body fluids such as blood (including menstrual blood), semen, breast milk and vaginal secretions (see www.aids.org.za). The most common ways of acquiring HIV are by having unprotected sex, mother-to-child transmission and blood-to-blood contact, such as sharing needles for injecting drugs and using infected blood for blood transfusion (For a more thorough investigation into factors that aid the spread of the HIV virus in Sub-Saharan Africa see UNAIDS, 2009:21-36). It should be noted however that proper use of barrier methods (condoms) when having sex, greatly reduces the risk of acquiring the infection. HIV is not transmitted by for example kissing, (though there is a theoretical chance of acquiring HIV while kissing, but for the most part that requires blood to be shared through e.g. bleeding mouth ulcers) sharing of household utensils and normal social contact such as hugging.

However, when talking about factors that aid the spread of the HIV virus, there are indirect causes that aid in the spread of the disease. Poverty is a factor that is not a direct cause of the disease, but a factor that heightens a person's susceptibility for getting infected with HIV. In South Africa social and structural conditions which are the inheritance of apartheid rule are major factors as to why the disease has been allowed to spread so rapidly throughout parts of the South African population.

Many social factors contribute to the spread of HIV. These include: poverty; inequality and social instability; high levels of sexually transmitted infections; the low status of women; sexual violence; high mobility (particularly migrant labor); limited and uneven access to quality medical care; and a history of poor leadership in the response to the epidemic (www.aids.org.za).

1.1 HIV/AIDS; Politics and responses in South Africa

The political situation surrounding the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa has been marred by denial. In the transition from apartheid government to the first democratic government led by Nelson Mandela, the growth of HIV/AIDS was to a certain degree overlooked by the government in the face of other pressing factors. When his successor Thabo Mbeki took over as President HIV/AIDS had already turned into a national epidemic. Instead of handling the situation that had arisen, Mbeki supported by "rogue" scientists and his own health minister Tshabalala-Msimang, claimed that there was no link between HIV and AIDS and in doing so denied the existence of the epidemic, making the situation even worse.

Former President Nelson Mandela acknowledged after leaving office that his government had not acted swiftly or decisively enough to address the crisis. His successor, Thabo Mbeki, far from redressing this failure, compounded it with a deadly

denialism parading as intellectual inquiry. Under his presidency, more than 5 million people were living – and increasingly dying – with HIV. Yet Mbeki questioned the link between HIV and AIDS and said he had never met anyone with the disease (<http://www.aids.org.za/hiv.htm#6>).

Furthermore:

(...) it was calculated by Harvard School of Public Health in 2008 that 330 000 people died of AIDS in South Africa between 2000 and 2005 because of the government's failure to implement an effective treatment programme. In addition, researchers estimated that 35 000 babies were born with HIV during that same period for want of an effective MTCT (Mother to Child Treatment) programme (<http://www.aids.org.za/hiv.htm#6>).

However in 2008 Jacob Zuma took over government from Mbeki, and things have begun to change as he and his minister of health developed a national strategic plan for handling the HIV/AIDS epidemic – and developing a plan for the distribution of ART (anti-retroviral therapy)

Hopeful signs of a determined and comprehensive response to the HIV and AIDS pandemic in South Africa emerged during 2008. After years of denialism and mixed messages from the Mbeki Presidency and the Ministry of Health under Dr Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, there was the prospect of committed leadership and an effective response. The appointment of a new Minister of Health, Barbara Hogan, the functioning of the reconstituted South African National AIDS Council (SANAC) and the promotion of a National Strategic Plan (NSP), with clear targets for prevention, care and treatment, all pointed towards a new era of joint action to save lives. The NSP articulated two major goals – to reduce the incidence of HIV in South Africa by 50% by 2011 and to ensure that at least 80% of those eligible are accessing antiretroviral therapy (ART) (<http://www.aids.org.za/hiv.htm#6>).

1.2 Poverty and HIV/AIDS – the macro politics of HIV/AIDS

As discussed above, there is often seen to be a strong link between ill health and poverty. Susceptibility to ill health can be caused by living conditions such as access to clean water, heating (when it is cold), malnutrition due to lack of money for food, proper sanitary conditions, such as toilets and other cleaning facilities, and access to proper health care facilities and medication when sick. These conditions can (as in the case of sanitary conditions and lack of clean water, and malnutrition) in themselves cause illness, in others they predispose people to illnesses (e.g. lack of knowledge due to illiteracy and poor schooling, lack of medications, vaccinations and healthy foods, and the possibility of getting treatment for illnesses, and to stop infections from spreading once they have been acquired).

In the case of HIV/ AIDS poverty plays a significant part in the rapid spreading of the disease, especially in Sub- Saharan Africa. Directly because living conditions leading to a weakened immune system heighten the possibility of acquiring the virus when participating in risky behaviours (such as unprotected sex), as well as predisposing people for illnesses that might lead to HIV (such as lesions caused by other STDs). Indirectly because of behaviours connected with poverty. For women this relates to enhancing the dire family economy by means of selling themselves in exchange for financial support, such as prostitution and the “sugar daddy syndrome” where young girls have an older “boyfriend” that gives them money or gifts in return for sexual favours. These favours often happen on the man’s terms that is to say without the use of a condom (Eaton , Flisher & Aarø, 2003). Another poverty related risk factor for women is linked to sexual and physical abuse.

Socio-economic status is also related to the likelihood of young people experiencing physical abuse and sexual coercion within relationships. One study of high school pupils found that adolescents with lower socio-economic status (SES) experienced as much as eight times as much physical abuse and four times as much attempted rape and actual rape than did adolescents with high SES (Whitfield, in Eaton, Flisher & Aarø, 2003:162).

For men poverty or the threat of poverty often means having to move away from their families for long intervals at a time in order to get a job (such as for miners in South Africa, Campbell, 2003). In many cases this enforced absence from their wife and children causes the men having extra-marital affairs or sex with prostitutes putting both them and, subsequently also their wife and children, at risk from the HIV virus.

In the case of the mines the life for the men is characterised by physically strenuous and hard work. The work is not risk free and the conditions of the mines are not very healthy. Life outside of work is characterised by life in bunkhouses, where several men share one room. The culture in the mines are predominated by a culture of masculinity, used as a coping mechanism in the face of the mental and physical strains of the job, this identity is also linked to the men's' sexuality (cf. Campbell, 2003:chapter 1).

Linked to this masculine identity, as Campbell (2003) describes, were the repertoires of the insatiable sexuality, the need for multiple sexual partners and a manly desire for the pleasure that is locally called flesh-to-flesh contact.

(...) Ironically, the very sense of masculinity that assists men in their day-to-day coping also heightens their exposure to the risks of HIV infection (Campbell, 2003:32).

Poor schooling and illiteracy often follows in the wake of poverty, due to the parents not being able to pay schools fees, the children having to work to support the family, and generally poor schools, with teachers that have little or no tertiary education, little or no teaching aids, toilets, electricity etc.

1.3 The Personal level of infection – unsafe practices

I will here discuss six categories influencing individuals' behaviour in relation to unsafe sexual practices and perceptions of HIV/AIDS found in a meta-study on "unsafe sexual behaviour in South Africa" by Eaton, Flisher and Aarø (2003). As is shown in more recent articles for example Mathews et al. (2009), the categories used in this study are still relevant for today's situation.

Their study is a meta-study of 75 other studies of South African youth (18-35 years old) or studies of a larger population but where youth represent their own category. They give these reasons for high rate of unsafe sexual behaviour and high rates of HIV/AIDS among youth in South Africa:

- Knowledge and beliefs
- Perception of low personal risk
- Self efficacy
- Perceived cost and benefits
- Intentions
- Self esteem

In the following we will discuss some of these factors more closely.

1.3.1 Knowledge and beliefs

According to the study by Eaton, Flisher and Aarø (2003), South African youth know that AIDS is a fatal disease, but they have a lack of insight and knowledge into the dynamics of the disease, that is “the nature of HIV, the mechanisms of transmission and methods of prevention” (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003: 151). This lack of knowledge relates to for example the link between HIV and AIDS, and the proper way to protect oneself from acquiring the disease by the use of condoms. These studies also revealed,

(...) serious misconceptions (...) for example that hormonal contraceptives and intrauterine contraceptive devices offer the same protection against HIV infection and that a condom can be used more than once (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003:157).

These studies also revealed myths connected to the use of condoms such as the belief that a condom can cause the woman serious injury if it “disappears” into her. (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003:157).

1.3.2 Perception of low personal risk

Some of the studies cited in Eaton Flisher and Aarø (2003) show that “perceptions of risk are uncharacteristically low in some groups with high rates of sexual activity and low use of

condoms” (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003:158). This study quotes a study by Blecher et al. (in Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003:158) who studied outpatients at a STD clinic – that is people that already have contracted a sexually transmitted disease (which increases the possibility of acquiring HIV/AIDS), and reported a very low rate of condom use. In this study it was found that “fewer than 40% of their sample felt any risk to themselves from AIDS, and only 9% perceived any serious risk “ (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003:158). Denial of the existence of HIV/AIDS in the local community and the great stigma attached to HIV/AIDS is quoted as two of the reasons for the low perception of vulnerability to HIV/AIDS (ibid).

1.3.3 Perceived costs and benefits

This considers the perceived costs and benefits of using a condom when having sex. Many myths are connected with the use of condoms such as the belief that “condoms waste sperm” (cf. Reddy, Meyer-Weitz, van den Borne and Kok in Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003:158) and that condoms are less reliable than hormonal contraceptives in preventing unwanted pregnancy. Furthermore the “disadvantage of condoms cited most frequently is the loss of pleasure. Several studies report young men (and some women) claiming that they like sex to be “skin-on-skin”” (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003:158) thus prizing immediate pleasure over the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. Further disadvantages are related to usage, such as the need for several condoms if one wants to have several rounds of sex, awkwardness in purchasing condoms and fear of the condom breaking or slipping (ibid). Unfortunately according to the authors of this study there is a lack of studies in the perceived benefits of abstinence, mutual monogamy and condom usage (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003).

1.3.4 Low self esteem

“South African research has found that low self esteem is associated with earlier onset of sexual activity and having more sexual partners” (Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003:159).

The reasons for this might be that people with low self-esteem seek out affirmation from others, leading to sexual encounters. It is also hypothesised that people with low self-esteem are more afraid of being rejected by their partners if they don't have sex, than people with “more positive, self affirming self concepts” (Perkel cited in Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003:159). Furthermore it is also thought that a person with low self esteem is more “more likely to think that condoms are offensive to their partner, to think that using condoms make their partners think they are dirty, to be embarrassed about using condoms and to have a negative attitude towards condoms” (Perkel cited in Eaton, Flisher and Aarø, 2003:159).

1.4 Summary

In this chapter 1 we have looked at some of the ramifications of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa, in terms of spread and the development of the disease in South Africa, both in terms of how it has been dealt with by the state and in looking at factors that aid the spread of HIV in South Africa like cultural myths, poverty and the stigma of HIV/AIDS. We then looked at how risky behaviours amongst young South Africans aid the spread of the disease.

In the next chapter we will look more closely at the history of schooling in South Africa and the development in curricula in the years after Apartheid. We will also look at how these changes have influenced teacher training.

2.0 South African Schooling History and Teacher Education Reform

The South African history of education, especially during the apartheid years, is very much a history of authoritarianism and racism. This legacy has informed the choices made in the democratic ideals that have informed post-apartheid education policy

In 1948 the National Party won the all white elections and this opened up a political and social space where they were able to put in place apartheid politics. This politics hinged on a model of white supremacy which by dividing the population into different groups based on colour and ethnicity – White, Indian, Coloured and Black official segregation was systematically put in place (cf. Kallaway, 2002; Weber, 2002; Gilmour, 2001; Taylor and Vinjevold, 2001).

In terms of education this led to the segregation of schools, the so called “Bantustan” policy (for a more thorough analysis of Bantu education cf. Kallaway, 2002) - where the ideals of the school were to “consolidate white power and privilege – and entrench black oppression and exploitation” (Weber, 2002: 618) or as the Minister of education, at the time, Verwoered stated;

I have no control of native education, I will reform it so that the natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them (Sebidi cited in Weber, 2002:618).

The schools were divided into different administrative departments depending on geography and colour – for whites, Indians and coloureds – the education for the black South Africans

depended on whether you lived in the so-called homelands (i.e. specific areas of South Africa where the majority of the black population were allowed to live) or whether you were allowed by special permission to live in the city. Cities were generally white areas, but the whites needed workers – domestics, gardeners and so forth – so some were allowed to stay in or around the cities. This division or segregation was also visible in the way the education was organised by the South African state: the different colour groups had their different educational departments and with this followed differences in state spending.

The apartheid education system was fragmented, segregated and unequal. It is well-known that annually the state spent around eight or nine times more on white education than on black. Political control, too, favoured whites. Power was centralised in racial, ethnical and regional governance authorities. This applied to school organization, curriculum and teaching methods, examination, supervision, teacher recruitment and pay, finance of recurrent expenditure, and school construction and finance (Weber, 2002:619).

These financial and other differences were very much visible to the eye, as I experienced on my travels to South Africa. The white schools were wonders of lovely big buildings with great expanses of green grass and several modern sports and playing fields – the students had school uniforms that mirrored the more expensive ones found in the British elite schools. There were few students to each class and with most educational resources available to the students.

My so-called Indian cousin's school (this was in Durban but it was much the same everywhere else) was a much more modest building with asphalt school grounds – the uniform was similar to white lab coats and there was also considerably larger classes and more students for each teacher than in the white schools. The Coloured schools were of a much more dilapidated variety - with broken glass windows and large not very well ventilated

classrooms – and large amounts of students for each teacher. Often there were not enough schools for the amount of students so that the school had to stagger the education, with some students being taught in the morning and some in the afternoon.

The black schools we saw, especially outside the towns, were nothing more than mud huts – without proper floors, often with no ventilation and, in most cases, no chairs or desks. Well educated teachers as well as school books were at a premium. The so-called sports fields were dried out grounds outside of the “school” buildings. (Cf. OECD, 2008).

In a summary of different key factors of education which reflect how educational spending influenced the schooling for the different social groups Gilmour (2001) noted;

- Differences in teaching qualifications and therefore salaries and costs: 46% of African teachers, 29% of Coloured teachers, 7% of Indian teachers and only 1% of White were un(der) qualified in 1994 (less than Matriculation plus three years training).
- Differences in capital expenditure: the overall classroom shortage to meet enrolments in 1994 was 50–60,000. In addition there are high rehabilitation costs to be borne as many schools are in a severe state of disrepair.
- Differences in curricula: NEPI (National Education Policy Initiative) indicated that although there was no core curriculum there were core syllabuses which, although creating some uniformity, were diluted by there being some 1,400 of these which created differences along race, gender and class lines; urban-rural variations;

academic-vocational differences, and through streaming, ‘ability, aptitude and interest’ differences. Different examination systems added to the sense of differentiation.

- Differences in quality: this issue may be reflected by drop-out rates and matriculation (Standard 10) results. Between 16–21% of Africans survived to Std 10 in 1994, compared with 22% of Coloureds, 68,8% of Indians and 72,5% of Whites (Gilmour, 2001:8).

The educational ideology or doctrine that underpinned education in the apartheid era was a home-grown doctrine called ‘fundamental pedagogics’. This was a pedagogy based on the ideology of white supremacy and of authoritarianism. As Taylor and Vinjevold (1999) summarise in their report “*Getting learning Right – report to the presidents education initiative research projects*” which is a summary of different reports made for the PEI (Presidents Education Initiative):

(...) the doctrine of fundamental pedagogics had profoundly detrimental effects on teachers' thinking and practice. Fundamental pedagogics is an indigenous product which, drawing on Dutch phenomenological philosophy, claims to have developed a science of education. During the apartheid years it was prominently associated with the Department of Education at the University of South Africa, by far the largest provider of both pre- and inservice education for teachers, and supported by a number of Afrikaans and homeland campuses. Fundamental pedagogics is based on premises which can be interpreted as authoritarian (for example, the teacher, as knowing adult, leads the child to maturity), but it was more the way in which it was taught - through a series of propositions which brooked no analysis or critique - that was chiefly responsible for its dismal reputation in liberal and progressive circles (Taylor and Vinjevold, 1999:139).

2.1 Teaching strategies and classroom life during apartheid

The nature of the education provided was very much, as described above, based on authoritarian principles (for a thorough investigation of authoritarian education see chapter 4) – the teacher teaches and the students listen. Skills such as critical thinking and reflection were skills that were not taught as this would be detrimental to apartheid politics. As summarised in the report by Taylor and Vinjevold (1999);

Enslin argues that the restrictions placed on students by fundamental pedagogics are considerable. Fundamental pedagogics, in her view, 'heads off the possibility of critical reflection on that system by making reflection illegitimate' (Enslin 1990: 83). In addition, Enslin asserts that fundamental pedagogics justified authoritarian practices and silenced teachers as only those with the science are qualified to speak. Finally, she describes fundamental pedagogics as 'an ontology which produces useful and docile teachers' (Enslin 1990: 100). Chisholm asserts that the values and approaches of fundamental pedagogics 'block and hinder the development of critical and innovative teaching strategies' (Chisholm 1993: 3), while Hofmeyr contends that the 'philosophy of CNE and its offspring fundamental pedagogics entrench authoritarian teaching methods' (Hofmeyr 1993: 3) (Taylor and Vinjevold, 1999: 140).

In the classrooms teaching strategies such as rote learning (being taught concrete facts which one is to remember and be tested on later), “chalk and talk” – the teacher teaches on the blackboard and the students listen, and spoon feeding were the teaching methods of choice. As we shall see in the data analysis chapters (chapter 8 and 9), the descriptions of the students’ own experiences are much of the same nature.

The educational system was as described above a very authoritarian system, not only in the way it was organised by the state, but ideals of obedience and order permeated the whole of the schooling system, affecting both the way the learning content was taught, but also the relationship between the students and the school, the teacher and the students, and between

the students themselves. Table 1 below shows the Educational Policy Changes in General Education and Training and Teacher Education in South Africa from 1994 to 2010 (cf. Morrow, 2007; OECD report, 2008).

Table 1. Education Policy Change in South Africa 1996 -2010

General Education and Training (GET)		Teacher Training and Higher Education
The National Qualification Framework formalised in; The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act	1995	White Paper One: The White Paper on Education and Training: First Steps to Develop a New System
The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act The National Education Policy Act South African Schools Act	1996	The National Commission on Higher Education Report
Official launch of Curriculum 2005	1997	White Paper Three: A Programme for the transformation of Higher Education formalised in the; Higher Education Act
National Norms and Standards For School Funding Act	1998	
	1999	
South African Council of Educators was created	2000	Norms and Standards For Educators
The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy	2001	
Implementation of the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS)	2002	
	2003	
	2004	
Education Laws Amendment Act "No fees Schools"	2005	National Framework for Teacher Education in South Africa
Amended National Norms and Standards for School Funding Act	2006	National Policy For Teacher Educators and Development in South Africa: More Teachers, Better Teachers
A New National Qualifications Framework "Enhancing the efficacy and efficiency of the NQF"	2007	
The National Qualifications Framework Bill – the NQF Act	2008	
Revision of the Revised Curriculum Statement	2009	
Development of Action Plan 2014 and the platform for the Curriculum 2025	2010	Revised Higher Education Qualifications Framework

2.2 Educational Changes in Post–Apartheid South Africa

In 1994 the ANC won the first democratic election, this put an end to the apartheid politics and was to herald a new era for schooling in South Africa. However, the new government and the Minister of Education,

(...) inherited a complex and collapsed system of education, high levels of adult and matriculant illiteracy, dysfunctional schools and universities, discredited curricula and illegitimate structures of governance” (Chisholm, 2003: 269).

Something had to be done and a new national qualifications framework (NQF) (Department of Education, 1995, www.nqf.org.za) and curriculum that were to encompass all schools and all parts of the population was launched. This curriculum was called Curriculum 2005 (Department of Education, 1997) which was the date by which this curriculum was to be implemented by all schools. The goal of this curriculum was moving towards a democratic society – with pupils leaving school with the necessary skills to handle life in the new democratic and modern South Africa.

What was needed, above all, was a new philosophy of education which would sweep away all remnants of apartheid policy and practise, be comprehensive and neutral enough to be acceptable to wide social layers, and provide the basis around which the system could be legitimately reconstructed. Such a philosophy was found in the National Qualifications framework (NQF). It provided the basis for the vision of a core curriculum which would integrate academic and vocational skills (Chisholm, 2003: 269).

In the following I will look at the development of the NQF and the pedagogical choices made in the NQF by the introduction of OBE (Outcomes based education), which later formed the

pedagogical platform which was then operationalised in Curriculum 2005 and later in the revised National Curriculum statement.

2.2.1 The NQF and the development of Outcomes Based Education (OBE)

The NQF was developed on the basis of educational ideas that evolved during the late 1980's and the early 1990's. There were at the time of the fall of the apartheid regime many different interest groups who wanted to promote their points of view and their interests which in turn informed the direction that South African education took after apartheid (cf. Jansen, 1991).

Policy development in South Africa was meant to tackle the enormous differences that existed in the country after apartheid. The goal of the NQF was amongst others to:

Create an integrated national framework for learning achievements; facilitate access to and mobility and progression within education, training and career paths; enhance the quality of education and training; accelerate the redress of the past unfair discrimination in education, training and employment opportunities; and, contribute to the full personal development of each learner and the social and economic development of the nation at large (Walters and Isaachs, 2009:9).

On the other hand a goal of the new education era was to bring South Africa up to speed with the demands of developing a modern global economy, with the educational challenges that this involves. South African education was to be brought into the 21st century as Walters and Isaachs (2009) put it;

(...) the overarching objectives and vision of the NQF were forged over a period of 10 years starting in the late 1980's and were shaped by a confluence of external and internal dynamics. (The key external influences came from western developed countries where changing modes of economic production were placing increasing emphasis on the importance of a skilled and flexible labour force, which was thought to require an integration of education and training which leads to the emergence of NQF's (of particular importance were the New Zealand, English and Scottish models) (Walters and Isaachs, 2009: 8).

Central to the new educational ideas that were later used in the South African NQF, was competency based training (CBT), an educational model that the South African trade unions had been introduced to by the Australian Metalworkers Union, (Jansen, 1991:14-15), but a model that was also prevalent in other western countries such as England and America. This model puts the emphasis on developing competencies:

Broadly CBT is an approach to vocational and occupational training that places emphasis on what a person can do in the work place as a result of completing a programme of training where competency refers to knowledge, skills and values required to perform a specific occupation (Walters and Isaacs, 2009:10).

This view of competencies is very much oriented towards "(...) increasing productivity as part of a broader economic agenda, in other words, increased productivity was linked to improved training" (Jansen, 1991:15)

In South Africa CBT was criticised for having a behaviourist orientation, education being reduced to checklist skills. Therefore the model adapted in South Africa was softened by introducing not only subject specific competencies, goals and targets, but also introducing overarching critical cross-field competencies that relate to social competency and democratic citizenship behaviours. The name for CBT in South Africa then, was to be

(...) Outcomes Based Education to ensure a more holistic and constructivist view of learning that would not reduce competence to only the observable but would include the consciousness and conscience of the learner. With respect to psychological theories of learning this marked a shift from the behaviourism associated with the work of Skinner, to the constructivist theories of learning associated with Piaget and Vygotsky (Moll, cited in Walters and Isaach, 2009:11).

The NQF was formalised in the South African Qualifications Authority Act (No. 58 of 1995) on 4 October 1995 (www.nqf.org.za). It sets the framework for not only ordinary schooling, but also lifelong learning, so that by developing a framework based on outcomes or competencies, it would be possible for people that had fallen outside the ordinary education system to qualify for degrees. (cf. Lemmer and Van Wyk, 2010) This was to be administered by SAQA (the South African Qualifications Authority), thus making it easier for people to gain a qualification and to be part of the legitimate economy.

2.2.2 Curriculum 2005 and OBE in schools

Curriculum 2005 was the operationalisation of the NQF in the ordinary schooling system. It was first introduced to the schools in 1998 which was then initially introduced in the first years of primary and secondary schools and the idea was to have it introduced in all grades and standards by 2005 – thus the name curriculum 2005. The SAQA (2003) explains the differences between the NQF and curriculum 2005:

The links then between the NQF, outcomes-based education and Curriculum 2005 are as follows:

- **the NQF sets a systemic framework** for organising the education and training system around the notion of learning outcomes, from the end of compulsory schooling through to post-doctoral research in higher education and training, setting in place systems and processes which support the tenets of democracy; **outcomes-based education as an approach to education**, offers the most appropriate framework in the South African context;
- **Curriculum 2005 is the curriculum** that has been developed within an outcomes-based education framework and is in the process of **being implemented in schools**. Furthermore learners who follow Curriculum 2005 and demonstrate the learning outcomes that it identifies will achieve a General Education and Training Certificate (GETC), a qualification registered at Level 1 of the 8-level National Qualifications Framework. (South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), 2003).

Part of the reason why South Africa chose to call CBT (competency based training) OBE (outcomes based education) was that South Africa identified a need to not only develop an education suited for a developing economy, but also to develop a curriculum that would include students learning skills and competencies that were of a more social and political nature, which reflected the social transition that South African society was undergoing, and which emphasised social and citizenship competencies necessary for building a viable democracy. In Curriculum 2005 these are referred to as ‘standards’:

In line with OBE, ‘standards’ are interpreted under the NQF as the outcomes or resulting competencies of education. Each competence is seen as having three dimensions:

- Practical competence (the demonstrated ability to perform a set of tasks);

- Foundational competence (the demonstrated understanding of what we are doing and why);
- Reflexive competence (the demonstrated ability to learn from our actions and adapt to changing circumstances) (Harber, 2001:44).

The curriculum and the NQF, in addition to the learning outcomes, describe what they call critical cross- field competencies – or more often Critical Outcomes. The SAQA describes the so-called Outcomes in this way:

The Critical Cross-field Education and Training Outcomes, commonly known as the Critical Outcomes, are an additional mechanism through which coherence is achieved in the framework. These Critical Outcomes describe the qualities which the NQF identifies for development in students within the education and training system, regardless of the specific area or content of learning i.e. those outcomes that are deemed critical for the development of the capacity for life-long learning. These outcomes are intended to direct the thinking of policy makers, curriculum designers, facilitators of learning as well as the learners themselves. (SAQA, 2000 :20 http://www.saqa.org.za/structure/nqf/docs/curriculum_dev.pdf).

These eight critical cross-field competencies were in Curriculum 2005 (Department of Education, 1997) listed as:

- Communicate effectively using visual, mathematical and/or language skills in the modes of oral and or written presentation
- Identify and solve problems by using creative and critical thinking.
- Organise and manage themselves and their activities responsibly and effectively.
- Work effectively with others in a team, group, organisation and community.
- Collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information.
- Use science and technology effectively and critically, showing responsibility towards the environment and the health of others.

- Understand that the world is a set of related systems. This means that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation.
- Show awareness of the importance of effective learning strategies, responsible citizenship, cultural sensitivity, education and career opportunities and entrepreneurial abilities (Department of Education, 1997).

These Critical cross-field competencies were in addition to, and supposed to be reflected in, the specific learning outcomes. These learning outcomes reflect the learning outcomes that the students are supposed to have achieved at the end of a year. We will return to these when discussing the revised curriculum below.

2.3 The transition era; critiques and criticism

Taylor and Vinjevold (1999) wrote this comment on the process of change that was to take place during the introduction of Curriculum 2005:

Thus, whatever the role of authoritarian systems of teacher education and management may have been in initiating the vicious circle of rote learning and creating the climate for its perpetuation, the fundamental mechanism for its propagation is the lack of conceptual knowledge, reading skills and spirit of enquiry amongst teachers. It follows, therefore, that reform initiatives aimed at revitalising teacher education and classroom practices must not only create a new ideological orientation consonant with the goals of the new South Africa. They also need to get to grips with what is likely to be a far more intractable problem: the massive upgrading and scaffolding of teachers' conceptual knowledge and skills. This is a prerequisite for the widespread adoption of active learning methods in classrooms, and the development of higher order knowledge, skills and attitudes on the part of pupils (Taylor and Vinjevold, 1999:167).

The South African educationalist Linda Chisholm in the 2003-2004 Volume of “the State of the nation – South Africa 2003-2004” (Daniel, Habib and Southall, 2003) gives this comment on curriculum 2005;

Curriculum 2005 is significant both because of the enormity of the practical and symbolic legacy that it attempts to address as well as the weight that is attached to what it can achieve. Not only is it expected to overcome centuries old educational practices, social inequalities linked to educational differences and apartheid based social values, it is also expected to place South Africa on the path to competitive participation in a global economy. For many, curriculum carries the burden of transformation and change in education (Chisholm, 2003:268).

However while needed in the process of change towards a more democratic South Africa, the Curriculum 2005 did not necessarily arise great jubilation among the South African teachers or academic community. There were many critics especially of the choice of OBE as the educational ideology and as to the way OBE was structured. Many South African educational academics and teachers were opposed to what they saw as an overly demanding curriculum that was imposed on an ill prepared teaching community.

As an example South African educationalist Jonathan Jansen wrote an article on “Ten reasons why OBE will fail” (Jansen, 1998). Harber (2001) sums up the main tenets of his critique:

(...) He argues that OBE will fail not because politicians and bureaucrats are misinformed about the conditions of South African schooling, but because the policy was being driven in the first instance by political imperatives which have little to do with the realities of classroom life (Harber, 2001: 50).

The main objections thus are firstly, as quoted in Harber (ibid.):

(...) that the language of innovation associated with OBE and the NQF is too complex, confusing and inaccessible for South African teachers. A teacher trying to come to terms with OBE has to understand over 50 concepts (...) and their relationship to SAQA, the NQF, NSBs, SGBs and the ETQAs (Harber, 2001:50).

Secondly that; “OBE is too closely associated with helping economic growth while there is little international evidence of a causal link between education and economic prosperity” (Harber, 2001: 51).

Thirdly that the proposed new teaching methods which are to lead to changing relationships in the classroom are hampered by the conditions in which this teaching is to take place, and unqualified teachers that are to drive this reform in schools. His third critique thus is;

(...) that existing conditions in schools will not allow for such changes. To be successful the policy would require a critical mass of highly qualified, professional and committed teachers (...) without sufficient cadres of such teachers Jansen argues, OBE will either not happen, or despite the enlightened model of transformational competencies, will actually be interpreted narrowly in accordance with a more mechanical model of behaviourism (Harber, 2001:51).

The fourth criticism as quoted in Harber (2001) is a

(...) philosophical questioning of the compatibility of specifying outcomes in advance with a democratic school system. There is, he argues, a fundamental contradiction between insisting that students use knowledge creatively only to inform them that the desired learning outcomes are already specified (Harber, 2001:51).

This is linked to the fifth critique which is a comment on the process of curriculum development and the process of curricular change.

(...) in contrast to the history of the ANC during the educational and political struggle of the 1980s when the process of learning were values in themselves, the introduction of OBE was not really a curriculum change process in which teachers were fully involved. Instead it was imposed and teachers are defined as implementers while

official support has been uneven, fragmented and for many teachers non-existent (Harber 2001:51).

The sixth criticism is;

That OBE enables policy-makers to avoid values and therefore asking the central question of what education in South Africa is for. He argues that the learning outcomes are too bland and decontextualised and as a result could be interpreted very differently in different contexts (Harber, 2001:52).

The seventh criticism goes to the amount of bureaucracy OBE has created, and “the administrative burden of teachers particularly via record keeping and other demands of continuous assessment in a context where average class sizes are set to increase” (ibid.)

The eighth point of criticism that Jansen puts forward is that;

OBE trivialises curriculum content when content matters (...) OBE also assumes that knowledge acquisition proceeds in a linear fashion so that one outcome is linked to the next in a steplike manner, which is highly questionable but has been ignored in the move towards implementation (Harber, 2001:52).

His ninth point of criticism goes to the matter of money needed for the introduction of a new curriculum, such as retraining of teachers, new forms of assessment, new and different forms of teaching methods and new systems of monitoring and evaluation etc. This is something for which there is no fiscal base according to Jansen (in Harber, 2001:52).

Jansens tenth and final criticism is that:

There is international evidence that suggests that assessment techniques do not change radically despite the introduction of OBE. He argues that hurried discussions in the

Learning Area Committees in South Africa were not in fact accompanied by intensive debates about reorganisation of the assessment system and that as a result traditional examinations will continue to play a powerful role in shaping teaching and learning (Harber, 2001:52).

2.4 The “Draft Revised Curriculum Statement” and “The Manifesto on Values, Education and democracy”

As an answer to the criticisms by Jansen and many others, amongst whom were teachers and lecturers in teacher training, there was in 2001 a process towards developing a revised curriculum. One of the main problems of the new curriculum was the content of the critical outcomes – the values that the new school system was to create in the student body. This started a debate on Values in Education, which resulted in the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (Department of Education, 2001).

This manifesto identifies values that are to be the main values that underpin the education system and teaching in South Africa. These are the values which are to underpin the South African educational system and it is hoped that they will steer South African education towards a more democratic and just education system. These values are abstracted from the constitution and contextualised in order to fit in an educational setting. As described by the chairman of the values in education committee, these values are:

- **Democracy** is the first of the ten fundamental values highlighted in the Manifesto as having relevance in education. More than merely adult enfranchisement, or an expression of popular sentiment, democracy is a society's means to engage critically with itself. Education is indispensable in equipping citizens with the abilities and skills to engage critically, and act responsibly.

- **Social justice and equity** are highlighted because, while the Constitution grants inalienable rights to freedom of expression and choice, true emancipation means freedom from the material straits of poverty. Access to education is probably the single most important resource in addressing poverty.
- **Equality** in education means that not only must all South Africans have access to schooling, but the access must be equal. None may be unfairly discriminated against. Beyond that, the value of equality and the practice of non-discrimination means not only understanding one's rights, as an educator or a learner, but that others have them as well. There is a difference between treating everyone as equals, and their being equal.
- Of **Ubuntu** (Human dignity) the Manifesto argues that while equality requires us to put up with people who are different, and non-sexism and non-racism require us to rectify the inequities of the past, ubuntu embodies the concept of mutual understanding and the active appreciation of the value of human difference.
- Sustaining **An Open Society** the document argues, is critical to democracy. The virtue of debate, discussion and critical thought rests on the understanding that a society that knows how to talk and how to listen does not need to resort to violence.
- **Accountability (responsibility)** is the essential democratic responsibility of holding the powerful to account. It is part and parcel of granting power in the first place, and a reminder that there can be no rights without responsibilities.
- So it is with the **Rule of Law**. Without commonly accepted codes, the notion of accountability would lose meaning, and the light of the open society would begin to dim: the rule of law is as fundamental to the constitutional state as adherence to the Constitution itself.
- The manifesto highlights **Respect** as a constitutional value, though it is not explicitly defined in the Constitution. But respect is an essential precondition for communication, for teamwork, for productivity, in schools as much as anywhere else.
- Finally, the Manifesto cites **Reconciliation** as a key value, asserting that healing, and reconciling past differences, remains a difficult challenge in South Africa. More than merely being a question of saying sorry, it requires redress in other, even material, ways, too (Department of Education, 2001:3-4).

These values are the main tenets on the road towards a new and democratic South Africa as identified by the workgroup on Values in Education. One of the main challenges with this manifesto was to develop ways to marry the OBE framework set out in Curriculum 2005 with these democratic ideals, and to find ways in which democracy could be introduced in the

school as both an educational ideal and as practices to be performed within the schools and in the classrooms.

The manifesto identifies 16 ways in which these democratic ideals, as also described in the South African constitution, can be put into practise:

- Nurturing a culture of communication and participation in school.
- Role-modelling: promoting commitment as well as competence amongst educators.
- Ensuring that every South African is able to read, write, count and think.
- Infusing the classroom with a culture of human rights.
- Making Arts and Culture part of the curriculum.
- Putting history back into the curriculum.
- Learning about the rich diversity of cultures, beliefs and world views within which the unity of South Africa is manifested.
- Making multilingualism happen.
- Using sport to shape social bonds and nurture nation-building at schools.
- Ensuring equal access to education.
- Promoting anti-racism in schools.
- Freeing the potential of girls as well as boys.
- Dealing with HIV/AIDS and nurturing a culture of sexual and social responsibility.
- Making schools safe to learn and teach in and ensuring the rule of law.
- Promoting ethics and the environment.
- Nurturing the new patriotism, or affirming a common citizenship (Department of Education, The Draft Revised Curriculum Statement, 2001:2).

2.4.1 The Draft Revised Curriculum Statement (The revised C2005)

This Manifesto was developed in the curriculum review process and was taken into consideration in the refinement of the Curriculum 2005, called the “Draft Revised Curriculum Statement” (Department of Education, 2001). As we saw earlier in Jansens’ critique of OBE, partly what he criticised was that it was too complex, both in form and in language. There were just too many concepts and standards that the teachers were to understand. The goal of the revision process thus was:

The development of a National Curriculum Statement, which must deal in clear and simple language with what the curriculum requirements are at various levels and phases, must begin immediately. Such a Statement must also address the concerns around curriculum overload and must give a clear description of the kind of learner in terms of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes - that is expected at the end of the General Education and Training band (Department of Education, The Draft Revised National Curriculum Statement, 2001:10).

Basically what the revised curriculum does is to simplify and refine OBE and to try to make clearer how the values as described above are to fit better into the subject areas and the learning outcomes. By reducing the number of different design features from eight to three the curriculum tries to make clearer the main tenets of OBE. These design features are now:

- 1) Critical and developmental outcomes
- 2) Learning outcomes
- 3) Assessment standards

According to the revised curriculum, the critical and developmental outcomes are:

- Identify and solve problems and make decisions using critical and creative thinking.
- Work effectively with others as members of a team, group, organisation and community.
- Organise and manage themselves and their activities responsibly and effectively.
- Collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information.
- Communicate effectively using visual, symbolic and/or language skills in various modes.
- Use Science and Technology effectively and critically showing responsibility towards the environment and the health of others.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems by recognising that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation.

The developmental outcomes envisage learners who are also able to:

- Reflect on and explore a variety of strategies to learn more effectively.
- Participate as responsible citizens in the life of local, national, and global communities.
- Be culturally and aesthetically sensitive across a range of social contexts.
- Explore education and career opportunities.
- Develop entrepreneurial opportunities (Department of Education, 2001: 15).

The learning outcomes and assessment standards are basically the skills that the curriculum expects to be met during the General Education Training band (GET) (in South Africa from reception class up to 9th grade).

Learning outcomes are in the curriculum defined as;

A learning outcome is derived from the critical and developmental outcomes. It is a description of what (knowledge, skills and values) learners should know, demonstrate and be able to do at the end of the General Education and Training band. A set of learning outcomes should ensure integration and progression in the development of concepts, skills and values through the assessment standards. Learning outcomes do not prescribe content or method (Department of Education, 2001: 18).

Assessment standards are the level at which the students should demonstrate knowledge:

Assessment standards describe the level at which learners should demonstrate their achievement of the learning outcome(s) and the ways (depth and breadth) of demonstrating their achievement. They are grade specific and show how conceptual progression will occur in a Learning Area. They embody the knowledge, skills and values required to achieve learning outcomes. They do not prescribe method (Department of Education, 2001: 18).

In essence the learning outcomes describe the knowledge the students should show at the end of the GET whilst the assessment standards describe the level of knowledge the students should portray at the end of each learning stage (class). The assessment follows the outcomes stated for each 'learning area'. These learning areas are in the revised curriculum:

- Languages
- Mathematics
- Natural Sciences
- Technology

- Social Sciences
- Arts and Culture
- Life Orientation
- Economic and Management Sciences (The Department of Education, 2001).

Thus, in order to get their General education and training certificate, students need to show the knowledge acquired as stated by the learning outcomes given for each learning area.

These outcomes are derived both from the subject itself (for example knowledge of a specific language), and from the critical and developmental outcomes specified by the curriculum. The students are thus meant to show both knowledge of specific subjects as well as more general skills such as critical thinking, reflexivity, working as part of a team – i.e. what the manifesto described as skills needed in schooling in order for it to adhere to the democratic ideals set out by the South African curriculum. In total the learning outcomes in the new curriculum are reduced to a total of only 66 measurable outcomes (cf. The Department of Education, 2001)

2.5 The revised NQF “Enhancing the efficacy and efficiency of the National Qualifications Framework and the revision of the Revised National Curriculum Statement

Towards the end of 2007 a new national Qualifications framework was introduced in schools in South Africa. This policy is called, “Enhancing the Efficacy and Efficiency of the National Qualifications Framework” (Department of Education, 2007)

This revised framework was introduced in order to

(...) strengthen South Africa's NQF and seeks to ensure the various elements of the education and training system are brought together more effectively. Furthermore, it seeks to streamline implementation of the NQF and to make it more responsive to the country's needs. The original goals of the NQF, including the concept of an integrated approach to education and training are retained, but organisational structures are to be changed with the view to improve efficiencies and effectiveness within the NQF (<http://www.saqa.org.za/show.asp?include=about/nqfhistory.htm>)

According to Lemmer and Van wyk;

The NQF has undergone a substantial revision since 2001 when a review process commences. In 2008 the National Qualifications Framework bill was passed and became law in February 2009. The NQF Act (Act 167 of 2008) provides for the further development, organisation and governance of the NQF and applies to qualifications offered by education institutions, skills development providers and professional designations. A significant change embodied in this act is the organisation of the NQF as a series of levels of learning achievement, arranged in ascending order from one to ten. (Lemmer and van Wyk, 2010: 251)

Following the changes in the NQF as described above, there came in October 2009 a ministerial report which reviewed the national curriculum statement. The task of panel of experts set to review the National Curriculum Statement was to

(...) investigate the nature of the challenges and problems experienced in the implementation of the *National Curriculum Statement* and to develop a set of recommendations designed to improve the implementation of the *National Curriculum Statement*” (Department of Education, 2009:5).

The main findings of this review committee were that there seemed to be a general confusion about the standards and assessment criteria of the current curriculum. Parents, students and teachers all seemed to report that they did not thoroughly understand the “(...) plethora of policies, guidelines and interpretations of policies and guidelines at all levels of the education system (...)” (Department of Education, 2009:7). The main recommendation that stemmed

from this report is that there needed to be a revision of the whole curriculum, especially of the assessment criteria and the OBE platform on which the curriculum is based. The committee suggested that there be a 5 year plan to improve teaching and learning across the schooling system (Department of Education, 2009:5).

This report culminated in an announcement from the Minister of Education that there was to be a revision of the whole OBE platform and that there would be in place a new Curriculum and Assessment Criteria Policy statement, which would be implemented by January 2011. This process of curriculum renewal will then form the basis for a new educational platform which will be formulated in “Action Plan 2014 and formalised in a new Curriculum “Schooling 2025.” (<http://edulibpretoria.files.wordpress.com/2010/07/motshekga-statement-6-july-2010.pdf>)

2.6 Changes and challenges

As we saw above, there were in the aftermath of apartheid a number of problems with South African schools and the school system. The democratic ideals introduced in Curriculum 2005 and later refined in ‘The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy’ and in the new ‘Draft Revised Curriculum Statement’ as well as in the different schooling legislation, are meant to deal with partly the unevenness of inherited from the apartheid school system, as well as building a new foundation that will lead to globally productive, reflexive and informed democratic citizens.

However, there are still a number of challenges that remain in the schooling system, such as the unevenness of schooling. In the transition period from apartheid schooling, one of the first things that was done was to try to even out the differences by opening the former white schools up to students that would earlier have been excluded on the basis of race. These schools, known as model C schools, are mainly state funded schools where the students still pay some school fees. (Webber, 2002)

In trying to iron out some of the differences in the schools, the government needed to spread the funds that went into the schools differently than had been done during apartheid. In 1998 came the Norms and Standards for School Financing Act (Republic of South Africa, 1998). In order to strengthen schools that had formerly had very little, a greater part of the education budget was allocated to making these facilities better, thus giving the former white schools tighter budgets than before. In order to make up for this budgetary deficit, the schools, through elected boards of governors were to set a schooling fee that would in part make up for the tighter state budgets. It was also made possible for students of lesser means to either not pay schooling fees or to be able to pay less in fees all due to the income of the student's family (OECD, 2008)

These changes were designed to give equal opportunities in access to schools. However there were problems in terms of geography as these schools were often in former white areas, so students from areas outside the schools would have to travel far to get to the "good" schools. But the larger issue is still that of money and the ability to pay school fees. Even though these fees are rather less than in private education facilities elsewhere, they are still high enough that they separate between the moneyed elites and the "rest". This means that it is mainly still

the richer white population as well as the more moneyed elites from the other colour groups that have access to these schools, so from a separation based solely on colour has altered to separation on the basis of capital, so it often ends with much the same result. Even with the grants and allowances made for students of lesser income groups, these are fairly rare within the model C schools (see for example Weber, 2002; OECD, 2008). There is thus still a very long way to go before there is “fairness” and equality in the South African schooling system.

2.7 Policy changes in Teacher Education in South Africa 1994 - 2005

This part of the chapter aims to look at the development and changes in the policies that govern teacher training in South Africa from the end of the apartheid era till 2005.

Alongside the changes in the schooling in South Africa, there have also been changes in teacher –training (cf. OECD, 2008). The multitude of different schooling systems during the Bantu education era when the goal was to uphold the racial differences of the Apartheid government, was reflected also in the teacher training institutions with separate teacher training programmes and courses according to the colour and schooling system the teacher-training programmes related to.

Prior to 1994, the system of teacher education was driven by the political logic of the apartheid system which sought to provide separate forms of education for different racial and ethnic groupings. The consequent duplication and fragmentation of teacher education, led to a lack of overall coherence in the system and a multiplicity of curricula and qualifications. Thus until 1998, there was no national system of registration for teacher education programmes in South Africa and, by implication, no quality assurance of programmes (Robinson, 2003:19).

Sayed (2002a) describes the changes to teacher education during the apartheid era like this:

The emergence of the system of teacher education had its roots in the apartheid system. As a consequence of the 1910 constitution, white teacher training was located under the control of the then four provinces. The introduction of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 necessitated a system for training black teachers. Thus a racially stratified teacher education system emerged, with separate teacher education colleges for Coloureds, Indians and Africans. As the homelands policy took root in the early 1960's each 'self-governing' and later 'independent' African homeland took control of teacher education in its own area. Thus by the 1960's teacher education colleges were separated along the lines of race and ethnicity, creating partial, multiple and separate pathways to teacher education (Sayed, 2002a:381).

One of the goals of the apartheid government was to keep the different racial and ethnic groups as separate as possible. This, as described above, related to the opportunities teacher-training students from the different 'colour' or ethnic groups had. According to the apartheid philosophy the different colour groups also had different standings and possibilities in the South African society.

By the early 1970s, teachers were trained on racially and ethnically separate colleges and universities. This was coupled with a system of posting which allocated trained teachers to different racially and ethnically segregated schools. In other words, each type of college or university trained teachers for specific schools (Sayed, 2002a:382).

These differences were again reflected in the subject areas taught in the teacher-training courses at the teacher education institutions for their respective colour or ethnic group. Whilst it was upon the white to rule and govern it was the plight of the blacks and coloureds to serve the whites, thus, the black colleges and universities had a restricted curriculum and mainly trained people in the arts and humanities (Lemer and van Wyk, 2010). According to Sayed (2002a),

This was a consequence of the underdevelopment of mathematics, science and technology in the secondary system for the black population. Most of the graduates from black teacher training colleges were trained in subjects such as religious studies and history. There was thus a 'vicious education cycle' with too few teachers in maths, science and technology, resulting in poor quality education in these subjects in the school system (Sayed, 2002a:382).

While there was a difference in the teacher training provided at the different teacher training institution based on race, there was also a lack of regulation of universities and teacher - training colleges, meaning that there was no uniform or standardised teacher training. Even between the so-called white universities there were historical differences due to whether the university or college was an Africans or English medium university. Whilst the English speaking universities followed an Anglo-American curriculum tradition with local curricula and with the institution defining the subjects and their content, the Africans speaking universities followed the Germanic tradition of a more standardised curriculum (cf. Kruss, 2008).

These differences led to the need for changes in both the structure of teacher training in South Africa and the content that these institutions taught. The period from 1994 onwards thus started what Sayed (2002a) called a frenzy of policy documents and acts:

The period since 1994 can be best described as a frenzy of policy documents and acts. This resulted in a complex policy framework with competing policy discourses and a tremendous call on financial and human capacity in a number of statutory legal bodies and structures (Sayed, 2002a: 383).

In the following sections, we will look at some of the main policies that have shaped and governed teacher training in South Africa since 1994. Firstly we will look at the consequences that these policy changes had on the number and structure of teacher training

institutions (and other higher education facilities) in South Africa. Then, we will discuss the implications of the National Qualifications Framework (see above) for teacher training and the development of Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE) (Department of Education, 2000). We will then discuss the development of the National Framework for Teacher Education in South Africa (Department of Education, 2005). We will also look more specifically at changes in teacher education after 2005.

2.7.1 The process of amalgamation of teacher education facilities – 1994 -2005

What met the government in 1994 was a plethora of different institutions which were not only separated along the lines of colour and ethnicity, but also along the lines of subject orientation and with a deep rooted individuality in setting the subject curriculum.

Teacher education programmes ranged from teacher education colleges which offered a one-year further diploma to two- year certificates in education and three to four- year diplomas in education. Technical colleges offered N3-N4 certificates with a completed apprentice/trade certificate and a three year national diploma, while technicons inter alia provided the options of a three year national diploma in education, a four year-technical degree programme and other advanced education programmes such as a master's degree in education. The university sector provided for undergraduate and postgraduate diplomas. However, the most popular choice of university student teachers was to enrol for a three-year bachelor programme and thereafter a one-year higher education diploma, or a composite degree in education. Universities also offered the more advanced programmes such as honours, master's and doctoral degrees in education. (Lemmer and Van Wyk, 2010: 248)

This situation started a process of restructuring and rationalisation of teacher education facilities which meant that all of the teacher education colleges, except the larger multi-site institutions, would be amalgamated with or into universities (cf. Lemmer and van Wyk, 2010;

Kruss, 2008; Parker, 2003; Sayed, 2002a). In the period from 1994 till 2005 there was a restructuring in teacher training which meant going from about 281 institutions offering some form of teacher education (as described above) to 26 institutions offering teacher training degrees (at bachelor or post graduate level) (cf. Lemmer and Van Wyk, 2010).

The first step to restructuring teacher training came in what is known as White Paper One or The White Paper on Education and Training: First Steps to Develop a New System (Department of Education, 1995). This paper recommended

(...) the first ever National Teachers Audit. Firstly the Audit aimed to analyse teacher supply and demand and use in order to develop models for future needs. The Audit concluded a general oversupply of teachers; the unequal distribution of teachers particularly in remote areas; and shortages of teachers in scarce subjects such as maths and science. (Lemmer and Van Wyk, 2010: 248)

Furthermore this Audit concluded that teacher training needed to be centralised and that the colleges of education would become part of the higher education sector and follow in line with what was described in the tiered system of educational qualifications set out in the National Qualifications Framework (which will be discussed below) (cf. Sayed, 2002a).

In 1997 this process of restructuring the whole of the Higher Education sector was formalised. White Paper One was followed by what is called White Paper Three: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education (Department of Education, 1997a), resulting from the Higher Education Act of 1997 (Department of Education, 1997b). The goal of this act was that “colleges of education be incorporated into existing universities and technicons – creating a public higher education system of 30-40 multi-campus institutions” (Parker, 2003: 33).

For teacher education this resulted in a restructuring process whereby colleges of education were to be made into subdivisions of universities and technicons (Lemmer and Van Wyk, 2010; Parker, 2003; Sayed, 2002a). One of the teacher training institutions from the data sample in this thesis, Cape Tech, was affected by this process of amalgamations of smaller higher education institutions into larger multi campus universities. Cape Technicon merged with Peninsula Technicon in October 2003 and is now subsumed under the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (<http://www.cput.ac.za>). This was however after the questionnaire and interview data had been collected from this institution and it will in the rest of this thesis be referred to as Cape Tech.

2.7.2 The implications of the NQF on teacher training - the development of the Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE) 1994 -2005

With the new 1994 government there was, as we have discussed above, a drive towards unifying and standardising schooling in South Africa, and this also went for teacher- training institutions. The shift in education with the introduction of the National Education Policy Act and the introduction of the NQF and curriculum 2005 (see 2.2.1) signalled a change for the teacher training institutions. As a result of going from a content-based education to an education based on the acquisition of skills in the form of competencies and objectives, the Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE) (Department of Education, 2000) were introduced to teacher education in 2000 (cf. Parker, 2003). These provided teacher education with a specific framework designed to match the teaching in teacher – training institutions with the developments of the school curriculum.

The Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE) use an outcomes- based approach to teacher education and provide detailed descriptions of what a competent educator can demonstrate. This emphasis of the policy is on performance in the schools, classrooms, management and support services for the schooling system. The new policy is intended to contribute significantly to the improvement of Curriculum 2005 by training educators who have the knowledge, skills and values to make learning in schools more relevant to the economic and social needs of South Africa. (Parker, 2003:29)

Amid the radical changes affecting schools and the teaching profession, the Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE) was approved by the Minister of Education on 4 February 2000 as a national policy. This set out the requirements of the Department of Education in respect of the knowledge, values and skills that an educator should acquire and represented a competence- based approach to teacher education rather than a content- based approach (Lemmer and van Wyk, 2010:).

For the first time in South African history these standards outlined what Robinson (2003) describes as a:

(...) Framework and a procedure for the approval of teacher education programs and outlined the kinds of qualifications that the Department of Education would consider for funding and for employment. The policy provides an outline of the knowledge, skills and values that are seen as hallmarks of a professional and competent educator (Robinson, 2003:19).

This meant that the introduction of OBE into the schools was also reflected in the education of teachers focussing more on participatory teaching methods, social unity and democratic schooling, and moving away from rote learning, authoritarianism, and social division. This thus signalled a change in the way that teaching is to be performed in the classroom. In outlining teacher educator strategies that fall into the realms of the more democratically oriented Curriculum 2005, the Norms and Standards for Educators identifies seven main roles for teachers:

- Mediator of learning
- Interpreter and designer of learning programmes and materials

- Leader, administrator and manager
- Scholar, researcher and lifelong learner
- Community, citizenship and pastoral role
- Assessor
- Learning area/subject/discipline/phase specialist (Department of Education, 2000, Robinson, 2003:20, Lemmer and van Wyk, 2010:252- 253,).

These seven roles do not directly mirror the content of the school, but they give an indication of the changes in the teacher roles, envisaged in the “new” South African schooling system.

According to Lemmer and Van Wyk (2010)

The roles and competences are therefore norms for educator development and provide the exit level outcomes for qualifications. Thus, the roles and competences must be developed in all initial educator qualifications. Finally, the qualifications of teachers were linked to the National Qualifications Framework (...) (Lemmer and Van Wyk, 2010: 253)

Furthermore these roles are combined with a description of teacher competences that according to Robinson are:

(...) aimed at removing the dichotomy between theory and practice. Practical competence is defined as the ability, in an authentic context, to consider a range of possibilities for action, make considered decisions about which possibility to follow, and to perform the chosen action. Foundational competence is where the learner demonstrates an understanding of the knowledge and thinking that underpins the action taken. Reflective competence refers to the ability to integrate or connect performances and decision making with understanding and the ability to adopt to change and unforeseen circumstances and explain the reasons behind these actions (Robinson, 2003:20).

In essence there is a drive towards standardisation and the norms and standards for educators set a tone for the performance of one's role as a teacher by introducing such things as lifelong learning, teachers' pastoral and community roles, and describing the need for a reflexive competence into the roles and competencies that one wishes of the teachers. Moreover,

One crucial feature of the NSE is their strong emphasis on the importance of the subject and content knowledge of the teachers. Nick Taylor and Penny Vinjevoold (1999) show this clearly in *Getting Learning Right*, the synthesis research report that carried out under the President's Education Initiative (PEI). This research shows that many teachers lack the basic disciplinary subject content knowledge that forms the foundation of the school curriculum. For example, many teachers are fairly skilled in conducting group work, managing a class and in basic assessment and record – keeping and yet lack the basic content knowledge required by the learners. The NSE directly addresses these weaknesses by linking strongly the development of subject knowledge competencies to inculcation into higher education disciplines. (Parker, 2003:30)

The aims of the Norms and Standards for Educators was thus to bridge a gap between the content taught in teacher training and the ideals of the new curriculum. In the following we will look at how the restructuring of teacher training took place after the completion of the fieldwork in this thesis, namely from 2005 till today.

2.8 Changes in education and teacher training in South Africa since 2005 – The reviewed NQF and its implications for teacher training and general education

In 2007 the new NQF was introduced in South Africa (see table 1 and above). This drive for change in the NQF has affected policy developments in teacher training. With the amalgamation of several teacher-training programmes and with the restructuring of the

university system with smaller institutions combined into larger ones and others restructured to become satellites or parts of universities (Kruss, 2008, see above) there has been a drive towards strengthening and more consistency in teacher education programmes.

The adoption of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) according to which all education qualifications had to be registered at an appropriate level meant that faculties and schools of education had to ensure that their Qualifications complied with the level descriptors of the specific NQF level when applying for registration of qualifications on the NQF. Many universities used the opportunities of this compulsory NQF registration to change the way in which teacher education was being offered at the respective institution. However, some institutions did not go beyond the administrative procedures associated with qualifications registration. The second national initiative, the Norms and Standards for Educators (NSE), meant that providers of teacher education had to interpret the seven roles of educators as aspects of a whole, rather than seven individual functions that had to be taught separately. (Lemmer and van Wyk, 2010: 255)

This strengthening and drive culminated, for teacher education, in the development of a National Policy for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa which had the title; *More Teachers, Better Teachers*. (Department of Education, 2006)

The goal of this new policy framework was to:

(...) develop a teaching profession ready and able to meet the needs of a democratic South Africa in the 21st. century. It brings clarity and coherence to the complex but critical matrix of teacher education activities, from initial recruitment as a student teacher, throughout the professional career of a teacher. The overriding aim of the policy is to properly equip teachers to undertake their essential and demanding tasks, to enable them to continually enhance their professional competence and performance, and to raise the esteem in which they are held by the people of South Africa. (The Department of Education, 2006: 4)

Furthermore this Framework;

Seeks to provide an overall strategy for the successful recruitment, retention and professional development of teachers to meet the social and economic needs of the country. The objective of the policy is to achieve a community of competent teachers dedicated to providing education of high quality, with high levels of performance as well as ethical and professional standards of conduct. (The Department of Education, 2006: 5)

This policy is underpinned by the belief that teachers are the essential drivers of a good quality education system. International evidence shows that the professional education and development of teachers works best when teachers themselves are integrally involved in it, reflecting on their own practise; when there is a strong school-based component; and when activities are well co-ordinated. The national and provincial education departments are obliged to provide an enabling environment for such preparation and development of teachers to take place. However, it is the responsibility of teachers themselves, guided by their own professional body, the South African Council for Educators (SACE) to take chare of their self-development by identifying the areas in which they wish to grow professionally, and to use all opportunities made available to them for this purpose, as provided for in the Integrated Quality Management System (IQMS) (Department of Education, 2006:5)

The goal of this policy framework thus was the provision of an outline for a qualifications system for teacher education in South Africa, following in the footsteps of the Higher Education Qualifications Framework (HEQF) (cf. Lemmer and Van Wyk, 2010).

The aims of the HEQF was to provide:

(...) the basis for integrating all higher education qualifications into the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and its structures for standards generation and quality assurance. It improves the coherence of the higher education system and facilitates the articulation of qualifications, thereby enhancing the flexibility of the system and enabling students to move more efficiently over time from one programme to another as they pursue their academic or professional careers. (Republic of South Africa: 2007: 5)

Furthermore, the aim of the National Policy for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa thus was to clarify that there were to be two main pathways into being a teacher (what is referred to as Initial Professional Teacher Education (IPET)). These degrees will follow the

Norms and Standards for Educators and comply with the framework (nomenclature) of the Higher Education Qualifications Framework (HEQF).

The Framework for Teacher Education and Development thus:

(...) reiterates the notion of applied and integrated competences associated with the seven roles for teachers. This will remain the basis for designing new teacher education programmes or revisiting new ones.

In line with the nomenclature of the HEQF, two pathways are suggested in the National Policy Framework for Teacher Education and Development for initial professional teacher education:

- A 480- credit Bed degree, which includes the equivalent of one year supervised teaching practise. It is suggested that this should be set at level 7 on the NQF. (Currently the Bed is at level 6 of the old NQF)
- An appropriate 360- credit bachelor's degree, followed by a 120 – credit Advanced Diploma in Education (Which will replace the current Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), and the old Higher Diploma in Education (HDE). According to current discussion documents the Advanced Diploma in Education will also be pegged at level 7 on the new NQF. (The PGCE is at level 6 on the old NQF) (Lemmer and Van Wyk, 2010: 256-257)

Currently, in the autumn of 2010 the HEQF is being restructured – and the implications of this is not known, but there are indications of changes to be implemented such as those mentioned above. There is also a drive towards Continuing Professional Teacher Development (CPTD) which has as its aim that:

All teachers need to enhance their skills, not necessarily qualifications, for the delivery of the new curriculum. Issues such as subject knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, teaching skills, addressing barriers to learning, skills in areas such as health and physical education, HIV and AIDS support, diversity management and classroom management are disciplines listed. (...) Teachers will be awarded Professional Development points should they successfully complete formal university programmes (such as an ADE in maths, for example). However, teachers may also acquire PD points if they successfully complete accredited training activities in any of the five categories: Programmes offered by NGOs, teachers unions; community or faith- based organisations, or other approved providers; and self- chosen activities. Each teacher will be expected to earn a target number of PD points in each successive three-year cycle. (Lemmer and van Wyk, 2010: 258- 259)

These developments it is indicated will appear in a new HEQF (Higher Education Qualification Framework), which at the time of writing (Autumn, 2010) is not yet published (Lemmer and van Wyk, 2010).

Postscript – Changes in Educational Policy since 2005

In this part of the chapter we will look at educational developments that have happened since the fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken. In the above we have discussed the major policy changes that relate to changes in the NQF, the curriculum and the impacts these have had on schooling and teacher training. In this section therefore we will look at other policy developments in education.

In its struggle to become more democratic, just and equitable there were, as discussed in section 2.5, changes in the way schools were financed and governed in order for learners with poor economic backgrounds to be able to afford proper schooling. This was done partly by the introduction of parents into governing bodies, and partly by reallocating funding so as to even out the vast gaps and inequalities in the schooling infrastructure (cf. OECD, 2008). The introduction of governing bodies continued the trend of fee paying schools, by making it up to the specific schools governing boards to both set the fees for the schools and to make schemes for generating more money for school funds.

In 2005 there came an amendment to the National Norms and Standards for School Funding Act of 1998 (Republic of South Africa, 1998), which is called the “no fee schools” act

(Republic of South Africa, 2005) – making some schools in the more economically disadvantaged areas “no fee” schools.

Most recently, in terms of the Education Laws Amendment Act of 2005, “no fee schools” have been specified, encompassing all those in the poorest two quintiles (*i.e.* 40% of learners nationally, ranging from 56% in the poor Eastern Cape to 14% in the richer Western Cape) (Department of Education, 2006h, p. 3). Apart from its direct financial impact on poorer parents and their children, the introduction of no fee schools, together with the refinement of exemption regulations, is intended to eliminate the victimisation of those who, as a consequence of being unable to pay fees, had their results illegally withheld or were subjected to public humiliation. All no fee schools were to receive a minimum amount of state funding of ZAR 554 per learner per year starting in 2007. During the 2007 academic year, 40% of learners (over 5 million learners) attended 13 856 no fee schools (Department of Education, 2007e). (OECD, 2008:99-100)

However, even with all the attempts to iron out the apartheid legacy from the schools and educational policies, the daily life in South African schools still continue much in the same vein. Other than the unevenness that still exists in the schooling opportunities, there are a number of other challenges in the schools in South Africa, the growing amount of severe violence (shooting, rape etc.), issues of race and gender and the issue of HIV/AIDS in the schools. In the words of Walters and Isaachs (2009)

14 years after the election of South Africa’s first democratic government, South Africans have become all too aware of the difficulties of education change posed by the challenges of transforming the legacies of apartheid: the persistence of inequalities, learners lack of access and success, weak management practices and poor teaching practices. Our collective failure to produce significant successful change is all the more depressing because of the dazzling array of our transformative policy interventions. South Africa has a strong and progressive constitution and comprehensive policy and regulations focused on achieving freedom, equality and human dignity (Walters and Isaachs 2009: 7-8).

2.9 HIV/AIDS education in Teacher Training

This has been and was still, an issue with the HIV/AIDS programmes in teacher training at the time of this study. There was across the institutions that I studied an agreement that this was a topic that it was necessary to train their students in. However, as described further on in the analysis chapters, it did at the time seem to be an ad hoc response to a problem identified often by one member or a few members of staff who were then in charge of putting together a teaching programme. As we saw in the introduction to this thesis (Pg. 16) these concerns are also relevant today, as stated in the recent HEAIDS (2010) report.

2. 10 Summary

In this chapter we have looked at the developments in South African education from the Apartheid education system based on a theory of ‘fundamental pedagogics’, racial segregation and inequality towards the education system post 1994 with its focus on developing a democratic form of education as reflected in the development of the Curriculum 2005 and the Draft Revised Curriculum Statement in 2001. We have also looked at the implication of these changes for teacher training. Lastly we looked at the changes in education since 2005, the time when the last of the fieldwork in this thesis was completed, and incidentally the year by which the original Curriculum 2005 was supposed to have been fully implemented in schools. We also briefly discussed the matter of HIV/AIDS in teacher training in South Africa, which we will discuss more thoroughly later in this thesis.

3.0 Social change and the construction of knowledge and meaning

In this chapter I aim to look at the social changes that have taken place in society over the last century or so and the consequences this may have had for the change in the way individuals construct themselves and their identities. The social changes will be analysed using theories of modernity and postmodernity, and then we will look at how these social changes affect individuals' identities. The aim of this chapter is to gain an understanding of social development in going from a traditional society via modernity towards a postmodern organisation of society. We will then look at how this has changed the way people construct themselves as people in society – their construction of self as individuals living in/participating in society and culture.

South Africa is currently undergoing an immense social change, at least at the level of policies and political action. One of the goals of this thesis is to understand education in a changing society, and how this again will affect the construction of educational policy and therefore schooling in general and specifically teacher – training. We then seek to explore how this entails a need to open up for teaching about issues of a sensitive and controversial nature such as HIV/AIDS. In this chapter then, we look at theories of social change and how this changes the way knowledge and meaning is produced and dispersed – and how this ultimately changes the ways people construct their own identities.

In order to look at differences in social development and highlighting features that mark the development of society in the last century or so, I have chosen to use the terms “modernity” and “postmodernity”. Both terms relate to a collection of different social traits related to

social, cultural, economic development (cf. Løvlie, 1992). We have chosen to use these social theories and ways of looking at society in order to be able to better analyse social changes and different social traits found in contemporary society.

No country will be completely either modern or postmodern as these categories are more theoretical constructs used for social analysis, though the traits will be found to a higher or lower degree in most societies or social groups and South Africa is a good example of a society in which there are strong elements of pre-modern, modern and the postmodern forms of social development.

In this chapter then I will firstly give a brief account of the development of traditional and modernist society and investigate some features of 'modernist' society. We will then look at theories of postmodernism and growth of the "network" society (cf. Castells 1996, 1997), I have chosen to base my theory mainly on Castells notion of a "network" society, and look at social changes that increasing globalisation and information technology have brought about.

In the following we have tried to look at the changes in the way the individual constructs his/her identity, and how this has affected identity construction in the postmodern society. We have based my theory within the social constructivist identity tradition that emphasises identity as a process whereby the individual builds his/her self through the social/cultural constructs available to him/her in the different social discourses or contexts within which he/she finds him/herself. This tradition sees identity as constructed through a process where the individual is seen as an active agent who tries out and tests different social scripts available to him/her in this construction of a self (cf. Harber and Davies, 1997). The

construction of a self can also, as we have done here, be described as the writing of a narrative of self - the story of me – the individuals’ quest for meaning – or what is referred to in this thesis as an orientation to meaning (cf Castells, 1996, 1997; Dahlberg, 1985). Identity thus, within this tradition, is not seen as stagnant but as flexible and changing – changing with the different contexts the individual finds him/herself within, flexible in the sense that the individual can have multiple “identities” or collections of social scripts that fit with the different and changing context of everyday life, both as micro and macro level identities.

We have chosen to use social constructivist theory here because it highlights both the changes in identity from something that is seen as fixed to something more fluid, flexible and changing, and because it highlights identity formation as a process – an individual search for meaning and as a process where the individual, instead of being a passive recipient, becomes an active agent in his/her own construction of self.

3.1 The growth of modernity

In the following we aim to give an outline of the social traits that are subsumed under the epitaph ‘modernity’, and how this developed from so-called pre- modern or traditional society. We will look at the development of the nation state and the subsequent organisation of this state, administratively, economically and socially.

Generally one can say that the modernist period is a very eurocentric period (eurocentric in this context referring to how the process of modernisation was driven mainly by the mainland European countries). Most of the development and social changes were firstly initiated in

Europe towards the end of the 1800's and the beginning of the 1900's, which then has spread as the "gold standard of development" to other parts of the world (cf. Østerud, 2002).

These changes involved as will be described in the following 1) the construction of nation states, 2) the change in production and its implications for society and the "division of labour" 3) changes in the way the state was governed – the growth of modern democracy 4) the growth of social institutions 5) social and cultural changes – segmentation of the social classes (cf. Østerud, 2002; Giddens 1991). In the following I will look more closely at each of these changes or social transformations.

3.1.1 The growth of nation states

The transition into modernity was characterised by the organisation of the state going from small "ever-changing" kingdoms to more solid states/ republics with a more democratic form of rule. The collection of small independent states into countries such as Germany and Italy signify the beginning of the modernist period in Europe (cf. Giddens 1997; Østerud, 2002).

There are several theories as to what caused this drive for the construction of larger and more unified nations or 'nation states';

- Nationalism and the creation of a national identity; the thought that people sharing the same language and culture should be part of the same state, like for example the German states.

- Territoriality, the thought that political authority should be kept within geographically decided borders
- Citizenship and the beginnings of a welfare state; where citizens not only have civic duties, like paying taxes and obeying the law, but that everybody within the state should, on the basis of their earnings, also have rights to e.g. medical care and education.
- Sovereignty; “the notion that the government possesses authority over an area with clear cut borders, within which it has supreme power” – meaning that within these borders the state apparatus has the right to create laws, and the right to enforce these laws in a just manner following certain procedures (cf. Giddens, 199; Østerud, 2002).

3.1.2 The industrial revolution and its social implications – the “division of labour”

At the same time as the growth of the nation states took place, the industrial revolution changed the way goods or items were produced. This in turn changed economic structures, from a more or less self contained family economy, where the family’s needs were covered by either what they themselves produced, or what they could get by exchanging products (barter), to an economy based on capitalism and mass production of goods. The economy thus became dependent on people selling their labour instead of their produce.

Changes in the means of production and the social formation of society led to changes in the structure of the social classes. Whereas before the upper and ruling classes were the landowners, the feudal lords etc, there was now a shift towards class based on ownership of

the means of production. With industrialisation came a stronger division of labour, between the owner and the worker (or capitalists and the proletariat as described by Marx), leading to a more segmented society based on social standing and class. Furthermore, the changes in the way goods and items were produced – the means of production- together with a rapid growth in the population due to lower mortality rates and a lack of work in the countryside led to a rapid urbanisation -people moving toward the places in which work can be found, changing the urban spaces from being mainly areas of trade, to being centres of industry (cf. Østerud, 2002).

With the industrial revolution came the growth of the so called ‘proletariat’, the working classes, as well as a growth in political parties and ideologies based on the principle of the social liberation of the proletariat. The underlying ideology was that by giving power to the state one could lessen the class divide, so that through legislation and taxation one could achieve social equality. This meant giving the state the power over the economy through taxation and the distribution/ division of resources (Wiese, 2002: 29).

Tönnies (in Hoem, 1978) describes the transition into modernity as a transition from “gemeinschaft” (in this sense referring to a sense of community) to “gesellschaft” (meaning a society based on the notion of labour or the labourer), as a transition from a society where the basis of the social formation was togetherness “(...) a high degree of personal intimacy, emotional depth, moral community, social cohesion and continuity in time” (Hoem, 1978:24) to a society where the social order is based on the selling of one's labour, which leads to changes in the social formation, characterised by formal organisation with clear goals and targets, and fixed positions of functions installed to realise these goals (ibid).

3.2 Changes in the rule of the state – the growth of the modern democracy

With the growth of the nation state and the changes in the economy came a need for a “new” way of rule, the old feudal ways were no longer deemed appropriate, and there was a growing animosity with autocratic rulers, kings and monarchs. With the social revolutions during the 1700’s such as the French revolution and the construction of the American constitution and their declaration of independence came the demand for a more “just” form of rule, one based on the principles of freedom, equality and brotherhood (the main ideals, and the slogan for the French revolution). This led to the development of what was to become an ideal for all so-called modern/ developed societies – the ideal of representative democracy (cf. Carr and Hartnett, 1996).

The notion of democracy originated in Ancient Greece, but then as a direct form of democracy where everyone (that is all men of a certain social background), could meet in the square and have their say on the way the state was run. The word democracy means exactly that, rule by the people. It is derived from the word “demokratia” which is an amalgamation of two words – *demos* meaning people and *kratos*, which means rule (Cf. Giddens, 2001).

This form of direct democracy was not a feasible way of governing in the “new” and growing nation states and from this emerged the idea of representative democracy whereby people are elected as politicians to represent in a parliament a group of peoples’ interests, thus creating the growth of the ‘modern’ parliamentary system. Therefore in the modern state, the ideal is that of having free elections, that is elections where the vote is anonymous and people do not get either paid or blackmailed into voting for someone. Where there is the ability to stage

election campaigns where the political parties present their “programmes” and where people ideally vote for those whom they feel present the programme most close to them or their conceptions of how the state should be run.

3.2.1 The growth of social institutions

With the growth of the cities and with an increasing demand for popular control came the growth of the “modern” social institutions, (large bodies of people gathered in one place, and with the changes in the mode of production and the way labour was organised, came the need for the state to take over some of the social functions that earlier had been contained within families/villages). One of these was the growth of mass schooling (cf. Green, 1997).

Briefly one can say that the modern school developed on the basis of three principles:

- 1) The principle of the church – in order to become confirmed and to take part in “adult society” one had to be able to read, write and memorise the Bible and catechism
- 2) Principles of the enlightenment era – the belief in the power of knowledge as a means of social and personal transformation by escaping the boundaries of society and understanding the dynamics for social change and progress
- 3) Mass schooling as a reaction to society’s need for qualified labour and popular control.

Formerly the school had been an institution reserved for the privileged few, the upper classes, destined for work as academics or other forms of white-collar work. With the change in the organisation of labour and a growing urbanisation, came a push towards institutionalised mass schooling. Changes in the way labour was organised - labour becoming more specialised – meant that the workforce had to be educated in a different way. The “old” method of learning by apprenticeship, where the father teaches the son his trade (because labour was mainly for men, the women learnt their “trade” in the house), and the trades were handed down within the family, were no longer sufficient, or feasible. Mass schooling thus grew from a societal need for qualifications, a need that could no longer be fulfilled by families.

The growth of the school coincided with what Foucault refers to as “The Great Confinement” (Foucault, 1989), that is the growth of social institutions such as prisons, hospitals, mental hospitals or asylums, meant to house those that could pose a threat to society, either in the form of their illness or in the form of what was seen as aberrant or deviant behaviour – what Foucault refers to as the “Dangerous classes”(Foucault, 1989). This was also an attempt at disciplining the people, and to make more distinct the social divisions – that is power exercised by having the power of definition or dominance as Bourdieu would refer to it (Bourdieu, 1984). This is the ability to determine and thereby having the power to label some types of behaviour deviant, claiming that their own norms and behaviours constitute what should be seen as “normal”, whilst at the same time being able to regulate the flow of manpower in society according to the ruling classes’ needs.

Another “goal” of these “confining” institutions was to instil discipline into the deviants.

The exercise of discipline presupposes a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of power and in which, conversely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible (Foucault, 1977:170-171).

Thus another reason why mass schooling became important in modernist society was the need for containment and control of the “lower” classes.

3.2.2 Social and cultural changes inclusion vs. exclusion, class and classification

In modernist society the nature of culture became a defining social factor. Culture thus became a defining factor of your standing in society. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1997) sees culture as one of several *forms of capital*. Bourdieu divides capital into three: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital.

Economic capital is the accumulation of one’s assets that is the collection of money and also property. In Bourdieu’s own words economic capital is: “(...) immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights” (Bourdieu, 1997:47).

Social capital is

More or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a ‘creditive’ which entitled them to credit in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1997:47).

Thus social capital is made up of one's social or familiar relations and social network. Social capital therefore, though different from economic capital, can in some instances be transformed into economic capital that is in the form of social obligations emerging from economic transactions or it may be institutionalised in the form of a title or nobility.

The last form of capital that Bourdieu describes is cultural capital. It is often connected to, and convertible into, both economic and social capital. The latter forms of capital make it easier to gain access to the situations and areas in which cultural capital is acquired, for example the educational system. Bourdieu (1997) divides cultural capital into three different forms; the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalised state. Cultural capital in the embodied state is as defined by Bourdieu "long lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1997:47) which includes what Bourdieu call symbolic capital, that is the access to the symbols and to how they are used, knowledge about language and the way to use language, using the right sign–signifier relations, that is different sets of meanings given to the different signs, such as the meaning or interpretation one attaches to the word.

Objectified cultural capital is found "in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc)" (Bourdieu, 1997:47). Lastly in its third form cultural capital is the institutionalised form of capital which is; "a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee." (Bourdieu, 1997:47) In the institutionalised state thus, cultural capital is made up of one's academic qualifications such as diplomas etc; the more reputable the institution, the better one's institutional capital.

Together these three forms of capital, economic, social and cultural capital constitute one's Habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). The different Habitus then form the basis for the social hierarchies depending on the amount of the different forms of capital the individual has.

Bourdieu describes the properties of the Habitus like this:

The habitus is not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalisation of the division into social classes. Each condition is defined, simultaneously, by its intrinsic properties and by the relational properties which it derives from its position in the system of class conditions, which is also a system of differences, differential positions, i.e., by everything which distinguishes it from what it is not and especially from everything it is opposed to; social identity is defined and asserted through difference (Bourdieu, 1984:171-2).

The Habitus as described by Bourdieu thus functions as a form of social classification in that it divides individuals into social groups based on their behaviours, values, race or economic power. These different systems of social classification are referred to as classificatory systems.

(...) a system of classification is something which is shared by members of a particular society. It is amongst the most fundamental characteristics of that society, and it is acquired by children growing up to be members of that society. It is indeed the basis of the **socialization** of that child, the conversion of a biological being into a social one who shares a system of communication with those who surround it (Hendry, 1999:20).

3.3 Postmodernism

As with most theoretical constructs, there is disagreement on the use of the term postmodern.

The big question is whether social developments have gone so far as to herald a new "era",

the postmodern, or whether society is still going through the later stages of modernity, preparing itself for a transition, or what is known as “late” or “high” modernism (Cf. Giddens, 1991). I have chosen to separate modernity and postmodernity in this thesis, mainly to show how the two differ in the way they put demands on individuals, in this case in terms of their identity and knowledge. I have also chosen to separate the two in order to discuss the changing nature of schooling: as society changes, what does that entail for the school? And specifically in this case, how do the social changes currently taking place in South Africa and the demands the HIV/AIDS crisis puts on the South African schooling? (This will be discussed in the following chapters).

3.4 Postmodernity - a brief introduction

The concept of postmodernism stems from a set of social theories that see society as having developed into something that can be described as qualitatively different from modernity. i.e. social development in the last few decades has moved so far beyond what is described as modernity. ‘Postmodernity’ thus is a concept used to characterise the social organisation coming after ‘modernity’.

These characteristics or changes are driven by developments in industry aimed towards internalisation and globalisation and especially driven by telecommunications and the flow of information. Postmodernism is not only found in social theory but is used as an umbrella term that also encompasses a number of different fields including the economy, art and architecture.

Post-modern theorists claim that in the contemporary high tech media society emergent processes of change and transformation are producing a new post-modern society, and its advocates claim that the era of postmodernity constitutes a novel stage of history and novel sociocultural formation which requires new concepts and theories (Best and Keller, 1991:3).

It was Daniel Bell in his book “The Coming of Post- Industrial Society” (Bell, 1976) that first described society as having evolved from modernism, into what he called “post industrialism”. His theory was predominantly an economic theory describing the changes and evolution of the economy from pre-industrial via industrial to “post industrial” society. His analysis of social change focussed on the shift from the production of goods in industrial society to the production of services, with the focus on information or “intellectual” technology in the postindustrial society.

In the more recent years Manuel Castells has continued in this vein, in his trilogy of the development of what he calls “the network” society (Castells 1996, 1997). Here he looks at different traits of contemporary society, and how this has been altered by “information technology”.

Our world and our lives are being shaped by the conflicting trends of globalisation and identity. The information technology revolution and the restructuring of capitalism have induced a new form of society, the network society. It is characterised by the globalisation of strategically decisive economic activities. By the networking form of organisation. By the flexibility and instability of work and the individualisation of labour. By a culture of real virtuality constructed by a pervasive, interconnected and diversified media system. And by the transformation of material foundations of life, space and time through the construction of a space of flows and of timeless time as expressions of dominant activities and controlling elites (Castells, 1997:1).

Postmodern theories, and especially those used in the field of education, often spring from the development of two social phenomena – that of 1) globalisation and the development of the

information technologies, and 2) the construction of self-identity (cf. Giddens, 1991; Castells, 1996, 1997; Stiglitz, 2002). In the following I will look at the globalising trends of contemporary society; especially the effects on the economy and the notion of time and space, and the construction of knowledge and culture.

3.5 Globalisation and the development of the “network” society’

The emergence of a new technological paradigm organised around a new, more powerful and more flexible information technologies makes it possible for information itself to become the product of the production process. To be more precise: the products new information technology industries are information processing devices or information processing itself. New information technologies, by transforming the process of information processing, act upon all domains of human activity, and make it possible to establish endless connections between different domains as well as between elements and agents of such activities. A networked, deeply independent economy emerges that becomes increasingly able to apply its progress to technology, knowledge and management to technology, knowledge and management themselves. Such a vicious circle should lead to greater productivity and efficiency given the right conditions of equally dramatic organisational and institutional changes (Castells, 1996:67).

Manuel Castells (1996, 1997) argues that the emergence of the new information technologies has affected the world in such a way as to change the social formation. In the “network” society the countries, economy, culture and knowledge have become intertwined and interdependent. The new form of technology (the so-called information technologies) makes this possible whilst at the same time making it necessary. The world of today has become more globalised, and the modernist ideal of the “self sufficient” nation state has come under pressure. With the emergence of mass production, the changes in technology and cheap “overseas” labour, the production of goods has become an international affair. Also, with the

price of transport going down, and the time it takes to transport goods around the world going from months to hours, a globalisation of the markets and goods production has taken place.

The interdependence of financial markets and currency markets around the world, operating as a unit in real time, links up national currencies. The constant exchange between dollars, yens and the European union's currencies (euros) forces systemic coordination between these currencies, as the only measure able to keep some degree of stability in the currency market and thus in global investment and trade. All other currencies in the world have become linked, for all practical purposes, to this triangle of wealth. If the exchange rate is systemically interdependent so are, or will be monetary policies (Castells, 1997:245).

Today's technological advances have also meant a change in knowledge production and in the way knowledge is dispersed. Where news formerly took days to disperse, today it is dispersed within seconds. Within 24-hour news channels, and the Internet technology, news can be watched in "real time" as they happen, where they happen. These technological changes have changed our notion of time and space – what Giddens (1991) calls time- space compression, where before there was a need for people to meet up at the same place at the same time, people can now meet virtually, that is by the use of video, telephone and internet communications, being physically together is no longer totally necessary (Castells, 1996: introduction).

3.5.1 Knowledge and meaning

These changes in turn transform the way knowledge is constructed, where knowledge is becoming more changeable, relative and fleeting – what is seen as a valid truth today is not necessarily true tomorrow. Baudrillard (Kumar, 1997) puts across this notion of a world made

‘hyper real’; a society where truth and what is real has become self referential, and where reality as it was, no longer exists, but has become simulations of reality, simulacra – where the original meaning of the signs and symbols upon which our culture is based is lost, and the signs no longer point back to the original meaning but to other signs and symbols – simulations of what was once real. One could argue that the shift from modernism to postmodernism is a shift from seeking an objective truth towards the exploration of subjectivity and the self.

The state of hyperreality means not just the dissolution of objective reality, of something ‘out there’ to which signs and images refer. It also means the dissolution of the human subject, the individual ego that modernity took to be the autonomous thinker and actor in the world (Kumar, 1997:99).

The German sociologist Zigmund Bauman, on the other hand, looks at how, in a world that is becoming more globalised, the local gains importance. He has coined the phrase “glocalisation” (Bauman, 1998). Where to Baudrillard the signs and symbols that govern our notion of truth become self referent, to Bauman, globalisation and localisation go together – whilst some things are becoming global, knowledge and identities become more localised, truth and knowledge become bound to the individual’s locality, its context. What gives knowledge its meaning thus is bound up in the contexts the individuals move within (Bauman, 1998).

Globalisation divides as much as it unites; it divides as it unites – the cause of division being identical with those which promote the uniformity of the globe. Alongside the emerging planetary dimensions of business finance, trade and information flow a ‘localising’, space fixing process is set in motion. Between them, the two interconnected processes sharply differentiate the existential conditions of the populations. What appears as globalisation for some means localisation for others; signalling a new freedom for some, upon many others it descends as an uninvited and cruel fate. Mobility climbs to the rank of the uppermost among the coveted values –

and the freedom to move, perpetually a scarce and unequally distributed commodity, fast becomes the main stratifying factor of our late-modern or postmodern times (Bauman, 1998:2).

Lyotard (cf. Usher and Edwards, 1994) describes what he sees as the “death of the grand narratives” – where the grand narratives, or the great overarching truths – like the world religions (Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism etc)- or political ideologies like Marxism-lose way to the localised knowledge, the “small narratives”.

(...) thus the centrality of language is merely a matter of philosophical assertions – it is echoed by changes in technology and moves toward a ‘post- industrial information society’ where language clearly plays a central role. A key question, therefore, is how scientific knowledge is to be legitimised in the postmodern moment, particularly as this now has to be achieved with a prior recognition of the place of language games, where the grand narratives of modern scientific knowledge, given their inconsistencies and socio-political consequences, no longer hold sway. The grand narratives are now being dispersed in clouds of narrative language elements – denotative, prescriptive, descriptive (Usher and Edwards, 1994:159).

What separates the modern from the postmodern thus is the rapid nature of change, not change itself, but the speed and the way in which knowledge is dispersed.

3.5.2 Language and culture; habitus and discourse

In a glocalising world peoples ‘habitus’ (see above) gains importance. Whilst at the same time heightening the divide between rich and poor, the globalisation of the economy and of knowledge production has to some degree obfuscated the “old” social system of class by seemingly making good education and high-powered jobs available for the clever and virtuous of all social backgrounds and standings. The old class structures thus, have become

“hidden” and the dividing lines in society have become less visible. That is not to say they do not exist but they are now more dependent on cultural and social capital - on the forces of dominance (Bourdieu, 1984).

In his early works, the British sociologist Basil Bernstein looked at how the use of language separated children from the different segments of society. Where the working class had what he called “restricted” language code (Bernstein, 1971), the middle classes used an “elaborated” language code. The difference between these is that where one refers to the concrete, (restricted) the other is abstract (elaborated). According to Bernstein, the school uses and presupposes knowledge of an elaborated code, being able to think in the abstract, and use words as a background for reasoning – thus excluding those that think in the concrete.

The French structuralist Ferdinand de Saussure, described language as dependent on Signs and signifier/ signified relationships, where the sign is given its meaning by the signifier (De Saussure, 1966). A sign in this sense can be a word, the word is given meaning by its signifier – that which gives the sign its content. A word that has been given meaning has been signified.

This language theory was taken further by the so-called post-structuralists, especially Jacques Derrida (cf. Bennington and Derrida, 1991). He looked at the use of language as a social phenomenon, how language is used as a form of domination. Language is given meaning by the context in which it is spoken. Language is not a neutral form of expression, language can be used in different forms as argued by Bernstein, the way language is used is often class dependent, though in a society where class no longer is as visible, and where class lines are to

some degree hidden, it is the wording and the meaning inherent in the language used that become a form of domination, facilitated by the use of different signifiers in different social groups. The contextualised use of language is often referred to as discourses – i.e. a structured set of meanings that give meaning to different social or theoretical phenomena, represented as texts or “signs”. Discourses thus are a collection of signs that have specific signifiers –or meanings - attached to them. A discourse is to be understood as

(...) determination of meaning within a particular domain by means of signs. All the signs in the discourse are moments, whose meaning is stabilised by their being different in specific ways whereby their differential positions are established (Jørgensen and Philips, 1999:37).

These different discourses exist side by side, vertically and horizontally in relation to each other and the individual can move between them, in what is normally referred to as a “field of discursivity” (cf. Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). It is the discourses the individual moves within that inform his or her “narrative” of self - the individual’s story or script or which represents the individual’s construction of “reality” (cf. Harber and Davies, 1997). Reality is sometimes seen to be an individual construction – that is one person’s “reality” is not necessarily the same as another person’s “reality” – what is true for one person is not necessarily true for another.

3.6 Identity, discourse and orientation to meaning

The transition into post-modern society is described metaphorically by Lyotard as a change from the puzzle to the moving mosaic, meaning a transition from a society where everything had its specific place or role like the pieces of a puzzle, to a society where the pieces fit in more than one place, like in a mosaic, so that they are movable from place to place. When the pieces move, the images change (Wiese, 2002).

The image of the moving mosaic (cf. Hargreaves, 1994) can be used as an image of the way the construction of identities have changed in the transition from modernist society to the postmodernist society. Where in modernist society an individual's identity was much more prescribed by its social standing, the construction of identity in postmodern society is more of a project of the construction of self – a project of situating your self in society.

Castells describes identity as

People's source of meaning and experience (...). By identity, as it refers to social actors, I understand the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute or a related set of cultural attributes, that is given priority of other sources of meaning. For a given individual, or for a collective actor there may be a plurality of identities (Castells, 1997:6).

Identity, especially in a postmodern society, is based on the individuals' interpretation of their experiences, the meaning attributed to these experiences. Identity thus is carried by social groups, depending on the, as Castells says, cultural attributes that give this social group meaning. Identity can therefore be both collective and individual. Collective in the sense that it is shared meanings within a specific context, and individual in the sense of the individual as a social actor that moves between different social groups and contexts. The construction of self thus, is often dependent on which social groups the individual moves between.

The focus of this research is to understand the student teachers' construction of self as teachers teaching within the context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. Identities can be seen as being discursive – changing as the students' contexts and understanding (in the sense of the students' construction of meaning) change. The discourses are situated within a specific social and cultural setting. Discourses, therefore, order and position meaning, and, at the individual level, identities.

Castells, describes three different forms of identity, Legitimising, resistance and project identity.

- Legitimizing identity: Introduced by the dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalize their domination vis-à-vis social actors.
- Resistance identity: Generated by those actors that are in positions/ conditions devalued and/ or stigmatized by the logic of domination, thus building trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society.
- Project identity: When social actors, on the basis of whichever cultural material are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure (Castells, 1997:8).

Using Lyotard's image of the puzzle versus the moving mosaic (cf. Hargreaves, 1994), the legitimising identity is the form of identity reliant on modernist society. Lyotard described it as a puzzle, where every piece has its specific place. Castells sees identity as legitimising the social institutions; you are created as a reflection of society (Mead, 1970), or the way society views you. The social institutions, like the school, act to keep you in your specific place.

In a postmodern society, however, identity, like knowledge, has become more fleeting and changeable, the moving mosaic, where the images change depending on where the pieces are put, and where the pieces fit in several different places. In terms of identity, this means that identity is contextual, it changes with the social discourses, or context that the individual moves within. In a sense the individual becomes the author of him/herself – it creates a script, a narrative of self. In Woodward’s (1997) words:

Identity gives us an idea of who we are and of how we relate to others and to the world in which we live. Identity marks the ways in which we are the same as others who share that position, and the ways in which we are different from those who do not. Often identity is most clearly defined by difference, that is what it is not (Woodward, 1997:2).

3.6.1 Orientation to meaning

“Identities are sources of meaning for the actors themselves, and by themselves, constructed through a process of individuation” (Castells, 1997:7).

Identity in postmodern society, in Castells’ terms, becomes an individual project or a project of individuation – a project identity. Identity thus is the outcome of a search for meaning – or an orientation to meaning. The individual’s construction of identity thus becomes a practise of networking, of connecting the different meanings given in the different social contexts and discourses that the individual moves between – a networking form of identity.

Meaning, as discussed above, is contextual and therefore dependent on the individuals' socio-cultural background and social circle, their Habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). In education this is important, as pupils' reaction to the educational content will differ with the students' cultural and social understanding of the knowledge presented in the school. Identity as orientation to meaning thus refers to the idea that the individual ascribes meaning to the different social and cultural artefacts that he/she encounters (and this process is often done in school) (cf. Vygotsky, 1978; Daniels, 2001). Knowledge is never value free, and it gains its meaning in individual interpretation. In Bernstein's words:

Education is central to the knowledge base of society, groups and individuals. Yet education also, like health, is a public institution, central to the production and reproduction of distributive injustices. Biases in the form, content, access and opportunities of education have consequences not only for the economy; these biases can reach down to drain the very springs of affirmation, motivation and imagination. In such a way biases can become and often are, an economic and cultural threat to democracy (Bernstein, 1996:5).

3.7 Knowledge, power and symbolic control

Knowledge is never neutral, it never exists in an empiricist, objective relationship to the real. Knowledge is power, and the circulation of knowledge is part of the social distribution of power. The discursive power to construct a commonsense reality that can be inserted into cultural and political life is central in the relationship of power. The power of knowledge has to struggle to exert itself in two dimensions. The first to control the "real" to reduce reality to the knowable, which entails producing it as a discursive construct whose arbitrariness and inadequacy are disguised as far as possible. The second struggle is to have this discursively (and therefore socio-politically) constructed reality accepted as truth by those whose interest may not necessarily be served by accepting it. Discursive power involves a struggle both to construct (a sense of) reality and to circulate that reality as widely and smoothly as possible through society (Fisk cited in Apple, 2000:43).

In a postmodern society, where identities are becoming more contextualised and discursive and the formerly strict class structures are becoming obtuse, power will often be found in the control of the symbols (language, culture etc). Who can decide what is valuable and what is not? Who can decide which cultural content or knowledge is most important? Who has the power of definition?

Bourdieu proposes that the school in its role as a conveyor of knowledge makes an equation between culture and nature (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990). By making a specific content appear as “natural” or neutral, instead of a content based on the culture of the dominant classes, power relations are inherent in school knowledge. He termed this “symbolic violence” – i.e. the way the middle classes have the power of defining what should be seen as valuable, which symbols are “right” and which are “wrong” – and the way these definitions are seemingly class free and the chances for success are seemingly open for all.

Bourdieu proposes that the school accomplishes this trick by appearing neutral, by pretending that the hierarchy within the school is created by different principles from those of the hierarchy outside of the school. In this way the school disguises and masks the way power relations, external to the school, produce the hierarchies of knowledge, possibility and value within the school. In disconnecting its own hierarchies from external hierarchies, the school legitimises inequalities between social groups deriving from different school attainments (Bernstein, 1996:9).

3.8 Identity, power and hierarchies

So, identities in a postmodern society are closely linked with the hierarchical power structures in a society. Power according to Castells is

(...) that relationship between human subjects which, on the basis of production and experience, imposes the will of some subjects upon others by the potential or actual use of violence, physical or symbolic (Castells, 1997:15).

He continues:

Symbolic communication between humans, and the relationship between humans and nature, on the basis of production (with its complement, consumption), experience and power crystallize over history in specific territories, thus generating **cultures and collective identities** (Castells, 1997:15).

In the following I will discuss the hierarchical nature of identities and how they are socially reproduced and classified.

Identities are built on cultural and social constructs. The constructs in this situation refer to the meaning ascribed to certain social and cultural actions, knowledge or artefacts. As Bourdieu described it, these artefacts are inherent in the different forms of capital, i.e. some forms of capital or some forms of content are more valuable than others. This is to some extent due to an arbitrary social classification that categorised the social/ cultural constructs and ascribes them different social and cultural value. These ascriptions of value are organised in what is known as a classificatory system.

One of the first authors to describe culture as classification, was the American cultural anthropologist Mary Douglas. She wrote about the rituals of everyday life and how these rituals, such as when to eat, what to eat when etc, differ according to our cultural and social background. In her work 'Purity and Danger' (Douglas, 1984) she describes how certain day-to-day acts are defined as either pure/ clean or dirty/evil. By doing so, certain acts and rituals that do not belong to the upper and middle classes can be classed or named as dirty or

unclean, and therefore help uphold the social hierarchy. She sees dirt as “matter out of order” the order being decided by the people on the top levels of the hierarchy.

In all her work Mary Douglas has been concerned with classification schemes – the patterns or cultural structures- that give concrete symbols their meaning and are reaffirmed in ritual and in speech. Deviance, dirt and other things that are regarded as pollution are important for her because of what they reveal about the systems and rules of classification (Wuthnow et al, 1984:77).

Furthermore these “rules of classification” or classificatory systems are used by social groups to demarcate the lines between themselves and others.

(...) the very basis of cultural classifications, of order in social life, she argues, is the presence of symbols that demarcate boundaries or lines of division. These are the ways in which collectives differentiate themselves from other collectivities (external lines) or subgroups or individuals are differentiated from one another (internal lines)” (Wuthnow et al, 1984:77).

Identities thus, as they build on the cultural and social constructs inherent in the social structures that the individuals move within, will thereby carry different social values. Though in a postmodern society things are seemingly equal, and the rigidity of the social class system has to some degree been washed out or blurred, the “habitus” and identities are still unequally valued by society. The meanings, or sign/ signifier relationships inherent in these habituses are still deciding factors in the social standing of the individual.

The British sociologist Basil Bernstein (cf. Bernstein, 1996) looks at how power and control is part of the pedagogic discourse. He makes a separation between power and control, where power is established through the construction of relations *between* categories and by means of control, of framing, these relations are upheld or transformed.

Power relations, in this perspective, create boundaries, legitimise boundaries, reproduce boundaries, between different categories of groups, gender, race, different categories of discourse, different categories of agents. Thus power always operates to produce dislocations, to produce punctuations in social space (Bernstein, 1996:19).

3.9 The construction of self - writing the narrative of self

Identity as discussed above is the result of the individuals' participation in different social and cultural discourses. Your narrative of self or your individual script is formed by this participation - the construction of meaning acquired through communication and interaction. Identity thus is the social and cultural "baggage" the individual carries with him/her (which Bourdieu so aptly described as habitus), which will in turn affect its behaviours and values.

Narratives of self thus govern our values and behaviours. In the end the way we construct our selves- in- society is reflected in the behaviours that we portray and the social and cultural values we carry. In describing narratives as a basis for what he calls "cultural psychology" Bruner (1996) describes actions this way;

(...)actions have reasons. What people do in narratives is never by chance nor is it strictly determined by cause and effect; it is motivated by beliefs, desires, theories, values, or other "intentional states". Narrative actions imply intentional states (Bruner, 1996:136).

This then is true not only for the literary writing of a narrative, but also for the "writing" of a narrative of self. Identity formation thus involves an intentionality.

Behaviours or individual actions and values, thus are constructed in a discourse of “shared meanings” of socially and culturally decided praxis. Individual identity thus can be seen as the individuals’ collection of these practices (praxis).

3.9.1 Discourse and individual script

Harber and Davies (1997) discuss the nature of school discourses and student scripts, and examine how a discourse “becomes shared, and part of a taken-for –granted reality” (Harber and Davies, 1997:112). The discourses they see as “a whole set of shared language practices and beliefs” (ibid); furthermore they discuss how these practices and beliefs in a setting of school improvement or decline often are imbedded in a single word such as “child-centeredness’ (Harber and Davies, 1997).

In examining this they use the concept of script in line with Davis’s earlier research on pupil deviance in secondary school (see Davies, 1984)

Davies developed the notion of ‘scripts’ and ‘typescripts’ (...) A typescript resembles a discourse, in that it is the broad set of expectations attached to a social position, such as man/woman, or bank manager, or criminal, or teacher. A script on the other hand is a much more individualized and possibly experimental statement, which acts to say something about oneself or others about who you are and where you stand at a particular moment” (Harber and Davies, 1997:112).

The script thus positions the individual within the discursive context and is a central tool in the writing of the individual’s “narrative of self”, as it involves a notion of choice, and agency

on the part of the individual. These decisions are on where and how to position oneself in society. These ‘positionings’ can be either made consciously or less so.

Teachers may operate in isolation, and from the research, often fall back on teacher scripts they observed themselves as pupils. Pupils, on the other hand, are exposed on a daily basis to a whole variety of experimental and semi-permanent scripts from peers, and spend their lives watching the effects. Some are tried and instantly discarded; others are refined, polished, photocopied and subjected to endless action replays to achieve at least a temporary sense of control over the situation or a sense of identity” (Harber and Davies, 1997:112-113)

In sum identity understood as construction of self is, as described above, influenced by different levels of interaction. They are shaped through definition, boundarisation and interaction in social and cultural discourses at different levels of society, from macro level influences, such as the dominant social and cultural discourses found in the society the individual lives within. In a school setting these would be found in, for example, the official curriculum or school guidelines, to meso level influences such as values and attitudes found in the community the individual moves between, and on the micro level in the different ‘scripts’ available to individuals e.g. in school.

The construction of self or identity thus is influenced by these different levels in different ways and to different degrees, which together combine into the individual’s “narrative of self”, in turn informing or giving meaning to the individual’s behaviours, attitudes and actions.

3.9.2 Identity formation in a prismatic society

As mentioned the interpretation of individual experiences is made through the individuals' cultural and social "lenses". Harber and Davies (1997) use Riggs's theory of the 'prismatic society' in order to describe a form of social organisation. This theory describes the dual nature of the social organisation found in developing countries, countries in the transition from traditional to modern social organisation, but where at the same time, the culture and values are still partly traditional.

The theory of prismatic society is based on an analogy of a fused white light passing through a prism and emerging diffracted as a series of different colours. Within the prism there is a point where the diffraction process starts but remains incomplete. Riggs is suggesting that developing societies are prismatic in that they contain both elements of the traditional, fused type of social organisation and elements of the structurally differentiated or 'modern' societies. In prismatic societies therefore 'traditional' and 'modern' values and behaviours coexist in the same organisation (Harber and Davies, 1997:96).

South Africa is a good example of a society, which has been undergoing this transition from traditional to modern. However, South Africa is also different in the respect that to some degree it has the economic structures to bring parts of this society into the postmodern. In some respects one can claim that the modernisation process in South Africa has gone very quickly (yet unevenly for the different social groups) and that to some degree some sectors of society have skipped from a very traditional, closed social and cultural organisation to a more postmodern and diverse society.

3.10 Conclusion

We have in this chapter mainly looked at social development and how this has influenced the construction of a sense of self. We have also looked at how, in the postmodern society, knowledge and meaning have become vital factors in the defining of a person's identity and how these are again social constructs that carry differences in value and power.

This thesis is mainly focused on how teacher-training students construct knowledge and meaning about HIV/AIDS. The conceptions of HIV/AIDS in South Africa are very much an example on how the theory of the prismatic (extended to include postmodern society as well – see table 1) society can be used to explore identities and construction of meaning. HIV/AIDS is an illness that not only is it rife in the South African population, it is also a disease that due to its sexual nature and the myths concerning the disease and its “deviant” nature, should not only be understood in the terms of its medical implications, but also needs to be understood in terms of its cultural and social implications.

Construction of meaning of HIV/AIDS thus has to take into consideration the local culture/ knowledge of the individual student. The question then is, how does one make HIV/AIDS education meaningful for the students, so that the “correct” behaviours and knowledge can be imparted to the students, and it becomes part of their everyday actions or identity? This will be analysed further in the next chapter.

Table 2 Social change

	Traditional	Modern	Post-modern
Economy	Local High degree of self sufficiency (autonomy)	(national) Capitalism Division of labour (Marx) - later Mixed economy (state and privately run)	Globalised Capitalism (Interlinked international economies)
Form of production and trade	Mainly agrarian Mercantilism	Industrialisation Mass production	Post- industrial society; “Intellectual capitalism” (e.g. Bell) International mass production (multinational corporations) Networking form of production (Castells)
Form of rule	Feudalism Small kingdoms Oligarchy	Representative democracy	? Democracy ? Supra national organs (eg. EU, OPEC; WTO)
Social	Family based primary socialisation “organic solidarity” (Dürkheim) “Gemeinschaft” (Tönnies)	Growth of social institutions (e.g. school) Secondary socialisation (institutionalised) “Mechanic solidarity” (Dürkheim) “Gesellschaft” (Tönnies)	Focus on diversity/difference Networking form of solidarity and socialisation (e.g. Castells)
Cultural	Localised	Focus on social class Classificatory systems (Douglass + Bourdieu)	Contextualised meanings Glocalisation (Bauman) “hyperreal” (Baudrillard) sign- signifier relations (Derrida, Lyotard etc.)
Identity	Bound locally Family based	Function of society (e.g. Mead) “Legitimising identity” (Castells) Class based; social/ cultural capital	Contextualised identities (plural) Individual construction of meaning “Project identity” (Castells) Social construction of self Dependent on Habitus

4.0 Education For Democracy – Education in a changing society

In this chapter I will look at how social changes and changes in the way knowledge and meaning are produced and constructed influence education. We will here discuss this as a process of going from an authoritarian form of teaching towards more democratic forms of teaching. We will look at a framework for education for democracy, where the main focus is to analyse how education, in order to be suitable for developing a participatory and informed democracy, need to focus on more than just knowledge reproduction. We will focus on developing skills such as critical thinking, active participation and students' sense of agency and then look at how this affects teachers and the skills and knowledge they need to handle teaching in a changing society. We will then look at teaching sensitive and controversial issues.

4.1 Social change and the development of schooling

As described in the previous chapter, the development of the modern school can be seen from at least two angles. On the one hand it stems from the need to control large parts of the population – thus a way of exercising social control, and secondly it stems from the ideals of the era of enlightenment, that all people have the right to an education – the right to be enlightened, which in turn would lead to social change.

As society changes, so does the content and focus of the school. The basic idea of schooling is to educate productive citizens; that is prepare them for 1) (social) participation in society and 2) working life. Both are vital factors of socialisation in modern society. As discussed earlier, the way in which knowledge is produced and presented has changed rapidly over the last century or so. This has changed the way people define both themselves and others. In a society where knowledge has become fluid, changing and fragmented, the demands on the school in terms of catering for the individual's identity construction have changed.

In his book “*Toxic Schooling: how schools became worse*” Harber (2009) presents the main theories of some of the critical educationalists of the 70's and 80's. These theorists look at deconstructing schooling and describe the nature of schooling as authoritarian and with a focus on indoctrination as well as reproducing the order of society. Harber (2009) sums up the main critiques of dominant forms of schooling in this way:

- **Schools are authoritarian institutions with little serious participation by pupils in decision making and particularly in curriculum teaching and learning**
- **Schooling is increasingly controlled from above and therefore rigid, bureaucratic and based on the principle of one-size-fits-all rather than flexible and able to meet the needs of the individual**
- **A fixed, subject-based, official curriculum does not, and cannot, educate for the rapidly changing present, let alone the future.**
- **Much of what is taught in school is not perceived as relevant, interesting or useful by learners.**

- **Schooling is often based on compulsion to attend, which given the nature of schooling, both creates problems of resistance and ignores valid alternatives.**
- **Many, though not all, children are unhappy and bored at school.**
- **Schooling is driven by tests, examinations and ‘right answers’ which dictate the nature of classroom activity and cause stress and harm to pupils.**
- **Teacher education is part of the problem as, rather than challenging what happens in schools, it tends to socialise for it and reproduce it.**
- **Schooling is more about the reproduction of social inequalities than the provision of equality of opportunity – and this is so both within nations and between nations.**
- **Corporal punishment is harmful to learning and must go.**
- **Schooling tends to avoid critical and creative discussion of controversial issues.**
- **It is often forgotten that schooling is historically, a relatively recent form of education and that there are other forms. However, the essentials of schooling have not altered significantly since its origins.**
- **Schooling serves important functions other than genuine education, such as socialisation and indoctrination, freeing adults to contribute to, and earn from, the labour market and creating a source of employment for education professionals.**
- **A great deal of time in schools is wasted.**
- **There is a great deal of ‘do as I say’ from adults in schools rather than ‘do as I do’ (Harber, 2009:85-86).**

In the following we will discuss differences in educational paradigms and how social changes and changes in the way knowledge and meaning are produced, entails changes in the way education is structured. Firstly however, we will begin by looking at some basic concepts of education, namely the difference between educational form (the educational how) and educational content (the educational what) and move on to look at the influence that educational context has on teaching.

4.2 Educational Form and Educational Content

It is important to bear in mind when discussing the nature and/or concept of schooling, the division between educational form and educational content. Both play an important role in both authoritarian and democratic forms of schooling.

Educational content refers to the content that is taught in schools, for example the content as described in the curriculum, the content that is found in textbooks, or the content that the teachers teach in the classroom. Knowledge can, as we have discussed earlier can either be taught as ‘objective’ truths, or as matter that the subject orients towards –seen as a process of orientation to meaning (cf. Dahlberg, chapter 3.6).

The meaning of knowledge in authoritarian schooling systems is something that is not discussed or debated; it is seen as objective truths. In order to be more democratic, meaning and truth therefore needs to be seen as discursive, contestable and debatable - as localised meaning instead of overarching truths (i.e. Lyotard’s concept of grand narratives as discussed in chapter 3.4).

Educational form is the way the content is delivered in the classroom. As we shall discuss in this chapter, this can be supportive of an indoctrinating and authoritarian schooling system or be supportive of more democratic ways of dealing with the content that is taught in schools. Educational form often refers to teaching methods for example rote learning and teacher oriented teaching versus discursive, student based activities.

4.3 The educational context

Haavelsrud (2009) points to how educational choices and pedagogy are not just influenced by the conception of the best educational form and content. He points to how contextual variables – the society, culture and history that the curriculum etc is placed within are significant factors in the development of pedagogic practices in a society.

If we regard content, form and contextual conditions as the three major components of education – formal, informal or non-formal – an unresolved task is to understand the relations between them. The field of educational sociology has contributed to our understanding of how past and present contextual conditions – at micro and macro levels – have made their firm imprint on human thought, emotion and behaviour. Some studies focus on how contents and forms in the pedagogic practice can actually modify existing contextual conditions and even create new ones. When contextual conditions are seen in a future perspective (i.e. as the prescriptive vision as well as the predictive prognosis of future potential realities), the implications for educational contents and forms include decisions about which ideas about the future are legitimate and which are not (Haavelsrud, 2009:114).

In the following we will look at how these educational variables, educational form, content and the contextual variables or conditions, influence the educational practices and pedagogy in authoritarian and democratic educational systems. **Later in the chapter we will discuss how whether the form of education is to be seen as democratic or not, probably has**

more to do with the way the students are taught to think, and the variety of teaching methods they are exposed to than the specific teaching method(s) employed. In this sense teacher- led teaching can be democratic, if it is considered democratic or not has more to do with the way the teacher manages the content that is presented to the students. It also depends on the nature of the relationship between the teacher and the students (as will also be discussed below).

In the following we will contrast models of authoritarian and democratic forms of teaching; in authoritarian teaching the students are seen as objects to be filled with knowledge from the teacher's fount whereas in democratic education where the role of the teacher is as a facilitator for learning – not the fount of all available wisdom, i.e. instruction vs. learning (cf. Peters in Dale 1992; Stenhouse, 1975). We begin by looking at how this is reflected in the documents that govern education, namely the curriculum.

4.4 The curriculum

The curriculum is a tool for mapping out the political, theoretical and methodological structures of the school, i.e. both the form and content of the schools. These curricula define what is seen as important to teach students at various levels of education. The curriculum is often presented as a set of guidelines, often set by the government, which govern the practices and content of the school. To put it simply the curriculum is concerned with the 'what' and 'how' of the school. That is: What is to be taught, and how this is to be taught? Gudem (1990) defines curriculum in this way:

The ordered connection of teaching content which within a certain period of time, given through a plan that concerns teaching, schooling and education, shall be transmitted and worked through by the learners (Gundem, 1990:22 my translation).

However, the concept of curriculum can be seen as having two different operationalisations; firstly one where the curriculum is seen as an overarching political document given at the state level which describes the political agenda of the central education authorities and which describes the intentions, goals, knowledge and practices of schooling. The second is a view of the curriculum which emphasises the localised teaching content of the school what is actually being taught and how this is being taught in the classroom itself and within a framework often set by the schools themselves which again are often based on state guidelines. In this sense the school operates with many different curricula (cf. Goodlad, 1979).

Nationally based curricula are often vertical and regionally neutral in nature, furthering uniform goals throughout the system as if local differences do not exist. Such approaches and curricula are found in what is often referred to as authoritarian teaching.

In authoritarian systems one person or a group of people exercise dominance over other people although the form of dominance varies. This can range from outright coercion through fear, to deference to rank or believed experience, to persuasion through controlled communication, through consultation initiated by those in power (Harber, 1992:1).

Locally based curricula, however, may be demanding in resources due to the need to differentiate, and individualise teaching in a manner that is inclusive to all students.

4.5 On the nature of knowledge and the influence of contextual variables on education

In order to gain an understanding of the differences between an authoritarian form of education and a democratic form of education we will again briefly look at how knowledge is produced.

Authoritarian education is often placed within an educational framework based on the positivist (empiricist) research tradition which sees knowledge as the production of ‘Objective truth’ i.e. that only data (knowledge) which is falsifiable is true, and once proved it is seen as an objective truth. (this discussion will be developed further in chapter 5) However, postmodernist/ critical research traditions see knowledge production as influenced by both the social setting of the researcher and its influences – i.e. the subjective nature of knowledge, and seeing education as a social product, having a view of knowledge as socially based and as practices that reflect the kind of society one lives in (cf. Apple, 2000; McLaren, 1999, 1997; Giroux, 1989).

In chapter 3 we looked at how in a postmodern, prismatic society, knowledge and identity is part and parcel of a person’s life. One’s knowledge is part of one’s identity – identity is seen as the individuals search for meaning – meaning in the sense of understanding one’s surroundings and acting in accordance with this understanding. Knowledge in this sense then is more than the pure empiricist view of knowledge – not just as objective collections of falsifiable data or mathematical explanations of reality – but also understanding, what we in this chapter describe as contextual variables, as well

as the skills necessary to handle living in a society where knowledge is not just about reproducing data or “objective” descriptions of the world.

An example of this can be in the conception of HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS is an illness. It is basically a medical problem of a person’s health – a virus that lowers the body’s resistance to other infections. If looked at in this way, it is fairly easy to handle – there are three options for avoiding it (which is ultimately the goal) 1) develop a vaccine (this is on its way, but not yet here) 2) To abstain from sex, drugs etc – thus – no illness 3) Using a condom if having sex – as that is the only way to enjoy sex without running the risk of being infected. So far, so good – this knowledge is fairly objective, and by following these three points people should be able to avoid HIV/AIDS.

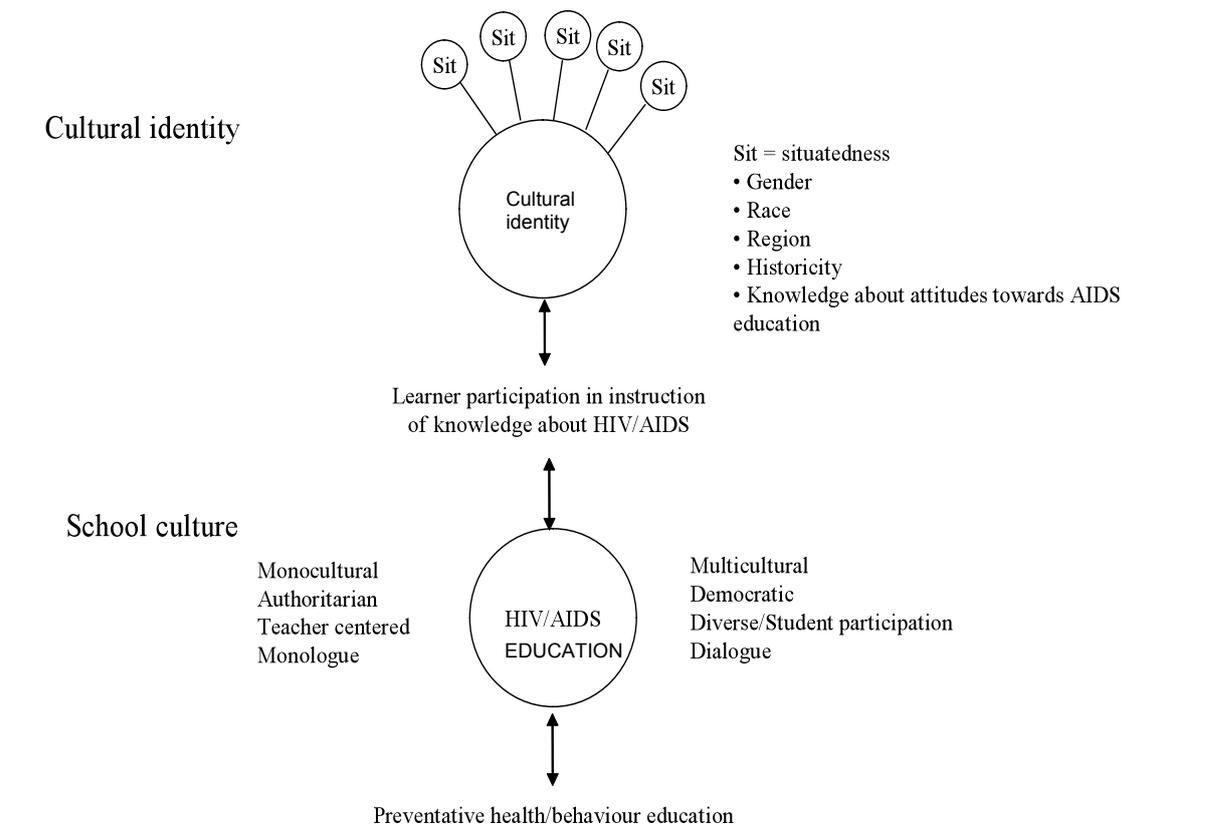
The question is why isn’t this happening? Why is this knowledge not enough?

Obviously teaching just the facts doesn’t stop the spread of HIV/AIDS – it’s been taught for years, but has had limited impact on behaviour (cf. Mathews et al. 2009). It is the contention of this thesis that by teaching only these objective truths one is overlooking the contextual nature of education and knowledge. By mixing the contextual variables (as discussed above) into this equation it soon becomes a much more complex topic: 1) HIV/AIDS has a sexual component and teaching about sex is hard – it is a topic that enters into the private sphere of the individual – and thus it is a topic that is difficult to talk about. 2) HIV/AIDS has (especially in South Africa) a cultural component. There are many myths as to how it is spread and to its cures, as well as being linked to views of masculine behaviour (such as rape) 3) there is a social connection; there is also the fact

that a lot more black poor people suffer from HIV than white people – so it is also linked to issues of poverty, racial segregation, and gender.

The question thus is, how is this knowledge imparted in the classroom and what kind of knowledge/skills does one need to handle issues as sensitive and complicated in nature, as HIV/AIDS? This is depicted in the following model:

Figure 3 Flowchart of the main arguments in this thesis



This model is aimed at describing how students' cultural identity is dependent on their situatedness (i.e. their vantage-point, their social and cultural baggage)– this is the identity or knowledge that the students bring into the classroom. Furthermore it tries to depict how this situated cultural identity is important in the teaching of sensitive issues such as HIV/AIDS, and how participation and knowledge about HIV/AIDS are dependent on the culture the students meet at school and in the classroom. As we shall see in the following, school culture can be based on authoritarian teaching, characterised by mono-culturalism – one culture rules the content of the schooling – and teacher centred pedagogy dominated by the teacher's monologue. On the other hand school culture can be described as multicultural – taking into consideration the variations in society that are represented in the classroom, democratic, diverse with an emphasis on student participation and dialogue (cf. Apple and Beane, 1995, 1999)

4.6 Schooling, power and the hidden curriculum

Official authorities, sometimes synchronized with oppressive and humiliating cultures, attempt to varying degrees to control both ideas and conflicts about ideas. But it has never been possible in any society to completely imprison transcending ideas about desirable contextual conditions of the future. And human behaviour – under any contextual conditions – has always been and always will be partly guided by ideas of more desirable contextual conditions – with or without the approval of governments. It is therefore imperative in education to recognize this *power* of the human mind to transcend the present and find ways to construct a future different from the present. Recognizing this power of the vision poses many challenges to education, as it might very well be that manifestation of this power is unevenly distributed over social classes, religions, genders and ethnicities; and it could also be that the means by which various groups are willing to use in order to realize their visions may be quite different from one category of people to another. What is acceptable and even desirable in one group may be unacceptable and undesirable in another – a social conflict in the making. This is a hot potato in any education whether it is formal, informal or non-formal. Answers will to a great extent depend upon past and present contextual

conditions – with the result that some ideas are classified as extremist and illegitimate (Haavelsrud, 2009: 114).

Schooling is and probably always will be a terrain of contested ideals – a field of competing ideas and practices. Therefore, if the goal of education is to maintain social control, controlling the content of education (and thereby upholding the values of the ruling classes and perpetuating, invisibly, their (dominant) ideologies and reinforcing the status quo), becomes important (cf. Apple, 2000).

In the school curriculum, teaching content is often presented as value free and neutral. The official aim of the school is to prepare the students for later life – by giving them an education, and preparing them for working life so that they can be productive citizens. Whilst presented as such within the curriculum, the notion that education, and especially knowledge, is value free and neutral has been widely criticised, and some educational theories claim that in addition to the official curriculum, there is in schools a hidden curriculum. The conception of the hidden curriculum points to the social and cultural reproductive function of schooling and the ways in which the school as an institution is a social construction that is aimed at the exercise of authority and control.

While designed to teach amongst others, equal rights through knowledge and enlightenment, the modern school has, nevertheless, been criticised for reproducing the culture of the dominating middle classes. With its focus on set ‘objective’ content and on abstract theoretical knowledge, the school had often been accused of alienating the children of the dominated lower classes whose body of knowledge is extracted from and have a point of reference in practical necessities and in manual labour (Wiese, 2002:79).

The main function of the school, according to Bernstein (1996) is that of acting as a social sorting mechanism: by emphasising a content that is abstract and concerned with

generalisations of reality it favours the middle classes who function within an elaborated code. The working classes who function within a manually oriented practical code lose out, and often feel alienated by the school content, what Bourdieu (1990) described as “symbolic violence” – the way the middle classes have the power of definition – that is in defining what knowledge should be seen as valuable, which symbols are “right” and which are “wrong” – and the way these definitions appear as seemingly class free and the chances for success are seemingly open for all.

Bourdieu proposes that the school accomplishes this trick by appearing neutral, by pretending that the hierarchy within the school is created by different principles from those of the hierarchy outside of the school. In this way the school disguises and masks the way power relations, external to the school, produce the hierarchies of knowledge, possibility and value within the school. In disconnecting its own hierarchies from external hierarchies, the school legitimises inequalities between social groups deriving from different school attainments (Bernstein, 1996:9).

In defining the “hidden curriculum” Meighan and Harber (2007) look at the different ways in which the “hidden curriculum” shows itself within the school and the classroom. In addition to the social reproduction of the curriculum, they point to aspects of schooling such as the division of knowledge into subjects, (who decides the contents of the subjects, and why are they seen as exclusive – i.e. not part of the same reality?) the timetable (the arbitrariness of the sequence of how the subject appear in a timetable, and the fragmentary way it is being presented to the students due to the time limit of each lesson) and the school buildings, (the organisation of space in the school building) as ways in which the hidden curriculum is present in the everyday life of schooling.

The hidden curriculum is what is taught by school, not by any teacher. However enlightened the staff, however progressive the curriculum, however community oriented the school, something is coming across to the pupils which need never be

spoken in the English lesson or prayed about in assembly. They are picking up an approach in living, and an attitude to learning.

The Canadian connoisseur of communication techniques, Marshal McLuhan would say, I told you so: the medium is the message. The medium is the atmosphere of the school, the furnishings, the routing, the relationships, the priorities. And the message? Well to limit our answer to the learning process itself, the message of education is:

Schooling;
Grading and competition;
Mastering a curriculum
Getting a certificate;
Being taught
Being taught by a teacher
Being taught by a professional teacher;
Treating knowledge as a commodity;
Getting specialized knowledge.

Such lessons penetrate deeper than the level of consciousness. They inevitably go with schooling (Head cited in Meighan, 1981:66).

4.7 Authoritarianism

In the following we will look at teaching as an authoritarian practice. What makes teaching authoritarian? In order to define authoritarian practices we have to define authoritarianism.

Harber (2004) defines authoritarianism in this way:

Authoritarianism is a type of political system where the government is not representative of the people and where the final power to remove a government is not in the hands of the voters as there are no genuinely free and fair elections. There is no free political choice and the government is not accountable to the people for its actions. As the government is not accountable it is free to do as it wishes and there are no guaranteed human rights. Citizens have little say in how the country is run and rule is by edict and dictat. (...) Diversity, critical thought and participation are not encouraged or are suppressed. (...) Communication is top-down and hierarchical. The ideal citizen is one who is submissive, behaves according to the wishes of the regime, respects authority and doesn't ask questions. (Harber, 2004:22)

What Harber describes in the quote above is also relevant for the practice of schooling – the distinction between teaching as an authoritarian practice or as a democratic practice is

ultimately a discussion of the type of student or citizen a society wants or needs. Or as

Haavelsrud (2009) puts it;

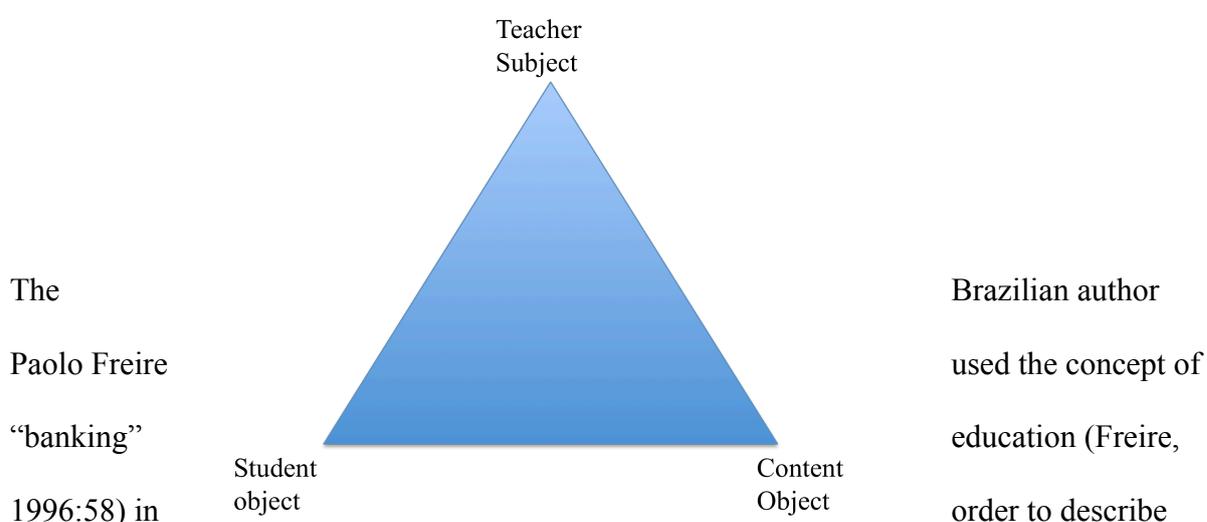
Formal education is part and parcel of such external contextual conditions. It can be a tool for violence or a tool for peace depending upon the contextual conditions in which it is situated. The education system is mainly designed to support and reinforce existing structures and cultures; even though it may to varying degrees in democratic states be designed to contribute towards change, reforms and modifications in both existing structures and cultures. The degree to which this is the case would very much depend upon the contextual conditions upon which the system rests and then especially on the political conditions. (Haavelsrud, 2009:116)

Above we looked at the distinction between educational form and educational content. In authoritarian teaching practices, the educational form (that is **how** education is performed – the teaching frames) is characterised by top- down – teacher- led- teaching, where communication is one way, from the teacher to the students, and the discourse is characterised by the teacher teaching and the students listening or repeating the teaching content. The educational content (**what** is taught) is geared towards developing obedience and knowledge is gained through the repetition of stated facts. The contextual conditions are often not geared towards democracy and democratic participation, but towards perpetuating power and upholding social and cultural divisions (cf. Harber, 2004, 2009; Alexander, 2001).

In the discussion on how teaching becomes an authoritarian practise, reference is often made to the process of objectification of the students. By seeing the students as objects of education, as something that needs to be taught, instead of a subject that carries a certain amount of pre-existing knowledge, the teachers, schools and the schooling system, make the students into objects of teaching instead of subjects participant in developing their own knowledge. In a system where political enlightenment and individual freedom is not fostered

(such as in South Africa during apartheid), this is a very important educational process which aids the ruling classes to uphold their power. The students learn that their opinions, their values and their cultural background are not as important as following the stipulated curriculum. Authoritarian teaching practices are often described by this simple but descriptive triangle (cf. Dale, 1996).

Diagram 4 :Pedagogic triangle 1; the student as an object of teaching



The
Paolo Freire
“banking”
1996:58) in

Brazilian author
used the concept of
education (Freire,
order to describe

what here is called authoritarian teaching. This concept is based on the notion of the passive pupil who is a recipient of the knowledge passed on by the teachers. Their role is thus one of receiving and repeating information without critical thought.

... Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués, and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize and repeat (Freire, 1996:58).

Authoritarian teaching practices thus involves passivity on the part of the pupil and teacher centred teaching, as the role of the teacher is to provide the students with the, so called,

relevant knowledge. Freire (1996) cites 10 ways in which this teacher student relationship is manifested in the schools:

1. The teacher teaches and the students are taught.
2. The teacher knows everything and the students know nothing.
3. The teacher thinks and the students are thought about.
4. The teachers talk and the students listen – meekly.
5. The teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined.
6. The teacher chooses and enforces his or her choice and the students comply.
7. The teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher.
8. The teacher chooses the programme content and the students comply.
9. The teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with professional authority which he or she sets in opposition to the freedom of the students.
10. The teacher is the subject of the learning process while the students are the mere objects (Freire, 1996).

Freire's work was mainly done in the rural areas of Brazil, where his project was to teach illiterate peasants to read. He found that the passivity of the school, the knowledge emphasised, and the teaching practices enhanced the peasants' feeling of estrangement.

As an alternative to the form of schooling described above, Freire came up with a concept he called **conscientizacao**, (conscientiation) (Freire, 1996), that is a concept of education that builds on developing a critical (social and educational) consciousness. The way to develop

such consciousness, according to Freire, was to use local knowledge and building formal knowledge on what was already known to the students. His principle then was moving from the known to the unknown, and back to the known, in this way he built on, and did not just ignore existing knowledge.

4.8 Democracy and Democratic Teaching

Democracy, as we have seen in chapter 3 is often thought of as a political term, involving the possibility of influencing the political processes of a country. This conception of democracy has changed throughout the years, and still has different connotations in different settings.

Democracy is often seen as congruent with participation, and democracy is often defined through the levels of possible participation (for example, to deem if a country's election is truly democratic one has to look at the possibility for all groups of society to participate and make sure no one is being excluded).

Democracy is about people actively participating in social and political institutions but it is important to note that democracy is not just about participating it is also about how we participate (Harber, 1997:2).

Even so, there are different ways of defining participation in relation to democracy. In his article "Democratising Education in a Decentralised System – South African policy and Practise" Sayed (2002b) cites two different ways of looking at participation and democracy.

The difficulty of understanding educational decentralisation in relation to participation and democracy is that there are two versions of participation and democracy which have potentially contradicting policy implications. The first version, which is expressed in systems of representative democracy, is that people participate through the cycles of election which empowers those politically elected with the authority to act on their behalf. The classic way in which this is done is that those politically elected work with the bureaucracy to implement the desired policy change. This version of democracy and participation is potentially centralising and does not elicit participation besides the act of voting. The second version of democracy is that of participatory democracy where people are able to make decisions about their lives at the level at which it happens. In this version, central political authority and professional expertise is constrained by more local forms of participation (Sayed, 2002b:37-38).

Participation in democracy can be seen as operating on different levels of society; the macro or state level, and the micro or personal level which enable people to take charge of and make decisions that can affect their way of life:

Democracy, then, is reflected not only in the macro level political processes, but also in micro level local action and citizenship. Thus democracy and democratic practices can refer to two different levels:

1. The macro level, i.e. the level at which the political practices and decision-making take place
2. The micro or individual level where the practices of (democratic) participation and citizenship are played out (Wiese, 2002:32).

The focus of this chapter is on the micro level of democratic participation; the level that concerns individual practices and possibilities for participation. The difference between authoritarian education and democratic education therefore can be described as the difference in the level of possible participation; where democratic education encourages participation, the authoritarian education encourages passivity where participation is limited to acting out the agenda of the teacher.

Thus the distinction between democratic versus authoritarian teaching is that whilst the latter is centred on a teacher-centred teaching that separates the everyday life and knowledge of the learners from that of the content of education (cf Harber, 1997, 2004), democratic teaching is characterised by the recognition of mutual respect between the learners and the teacher, with learning being based on discursive teaching methods (cf. Apple and Beane, 1999).

Such a perspective of education claims that democratic education can only be achieved by using teaching methods that encourage *active participation and the sharing of knowledge and ideas*. In doing so it also needs to recognise the social and cultural diversity in the classroom and society in general. In the words of Apple and Beane (1995):

Democratic schools, like democracy itself does not happen by chance. They result from explicit attempts by educators to put in place arrangements and opportunities that will bring democracy to life (...) these arrangements and opportunities involve two lines of work. One is to create democratic structures and processes by which life in school is carried out. The other is to create a curriculum that will give young people democratic experiences (Apple and Beane, 1995:9).

4.8.1 Democratic Education - the students as participant subjects and the need for critical thinking

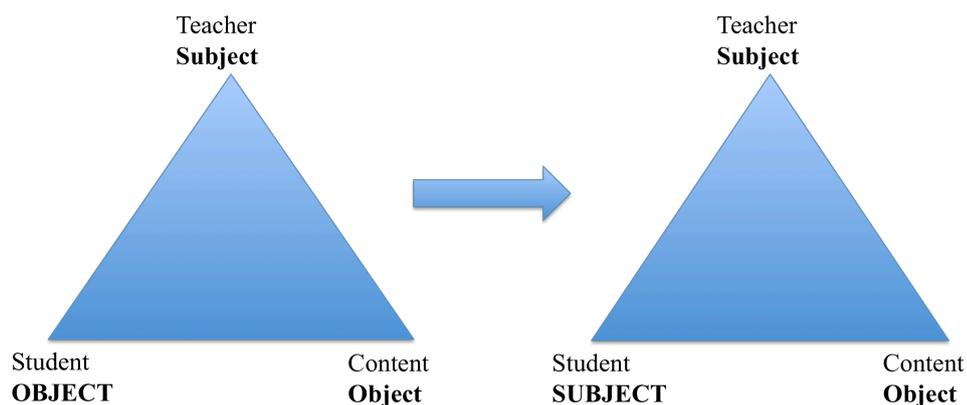
It is no more reasonable to expect an individual who does not know a lot about thinking to teach thinking effectively, than to expect one who does not know a lot about math, or physics or literature, to be an effective teacher in any of those areas. In the long run, how successful institutionalized education will be in incorporating effective teaching of thinking in the typical classroom will depend to no small degree on how much emphasis teacher-training programmes put on thinking in their curricula (Nickerson cited in Martin, 2005:212).

In a world where knowledge is fluid, fleeting, forever changing and often fragmented, and information is often conflicting, there has come a growing need for students to be able to practise critical thinking i.e. be able to contextualise knowledge, to put the knowledge available to them (often through education) into a wider social, cultural and political setting, and be able to evaluate what is actually valuable and not valuable information (even to the point of deciding what is “right” and what is “wrong” information). Teaching students or learners/pupils to be able to take an informed opinion, and think for themselves, is a necessary part of ‘education for democracy’. Critical thinking (in a school setting) then is about individuals’ ability to reflect on both knowledge as a social, cultural and political construct, and secondly on themselves as agents acting on it in a society characterised by social, cultural and political trends.

There seem to be two ways of looking at critical thinking, both see critical thinking as a skill that a student needs to acquire, but where one school of thought sees critical thinking as a subject that can be taught (Cf. Martin, 2005). Others, like me, see it as a skill that needs to be developed through the introduction of different and sometimes conflicting knowledges, educational themes, and practices (the word is ‘knowledges’ is used here used in plural to demarcate differences in the view of knowledge. By referring to knowledge in the plural we aim to create an understanding that there are different interpretations of the body of knowledge existing side by side) (cf. Odora Hoppers 2002). In the following I look at specific skills, which in my opinion are integral to the development of critical thinking. These skills are reflection and agency.

In order to achieve critical thinking, students in the classroom need to be seen as active subjects in the development of their own knowledge. From this point of view knowledge (as discussed in chapter 2) is subjective, discursive and contextual – the production of knowledge in the classroom is oriented both towards teaching “facts and figures” (obviously there is and should be a focus on teaching the students the “basic facts” of the three Rs – reading, writing and arithmetic) but at the same time there is an underlying understanding that the students in the classroom comes not as empty vessels to be filled from the teacher’s fount of wisdom, but as individuals with a social and cultural baggage that needs to be taken into account in the classroom i.e. to be seen as a subject in their own right. The dialogue in the classroom thus needs to be shifted from focussing on the students or learners as objects to being a participant subject where the object of education becomes the process of learning in itself as well as the content of the lesson.

Diagram 5. The pedagogic triangle 2; the transition from student as an object to student as a subject.



Teaching in a more democratic setting, becomes a dialogue between the teacher and the student. Dialogue in this sense does not mean that the objective of teaching is just talk, but

that the teaching in the classroom is based on the understanding that the students and the teachers enter into the classroom as participants with their own social, cultural and historical backgrounds, and that these are important parts of education. The dialogue here is the interplay between these differences in understanding and context between the students and between the students and the teacher.

At the basis of dialogue however lies an understanding of the authority of the teacher – that (s)he is the one that drives the education forwards.

(...) And since the dialogue is the united encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world which is to be transformed and humanised, this dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person's "depositing" ideas in another nor can it become a simple exchange of ideas to be "consumed" by the discussants (Freire, 1996:77).

Democratic teaching then is oriented towards two things

- a) The teaching of basic facts.
- b) The teaching of social and cultural skills necessary for living in a democratic society – for becoming active and participating individuals that aid in perpetuating democratic ideals.

In this thesis our aim was to build a framework for 'education for democracy'.

Here we will not be looking at the specific content of the different lessons that needs to be taught in the classroom, but discussing participatory teaching methods, and how they in turn can be used to teach the students skills necessary for living in a democracy (i.e. educational content). In this case the democratic skills we have emphasised are the ability for critical

thinking, reflective action and participation, as well as a sense of individual agency – that what you do and how you act (on the individual level) both affects not only your own future, but also might have repercussions on a larger social scale. We will then discuss more specifically why using democratic teaching methods and practices might be useful when teaching about sensitive issues including HIV/AIDS.

4.9 Teaching practices in democratic teaching

Harber and Meighan (1989) sum up the main differences between authoritarian and democratic teaching in this way.

There is a crucial difference between various forms of order, sometimes known discipline systems or the ‘problem of discipline’ as it is commonly referred to in discussions about education. The difference is between that of authoritarian order and authority on the one hand, and democratic order and authority on the other. In authoritarian systems, one person or a group of people exercise dominance over other people although the form of this dominance varies. This can range from outright coercion through fear, to deference to rank or believed expertise, to persuasion through controlled communication, through consultation initiated by those in power. In democratic systems, power is shared to some degree or other (Harber and Meighan, 1989:viii).

As has been pointed out above, the main difference between authoritarian teaching practices, and democratic teaching practices, is power sharing. Where authoritarian teaching practices are about keeping one or a small group of people in power, democratic teaching is about sharing power. Authority in authoritarian and democratic forms of schooling thus is in the first place about keeping discipline and order, and in the second about developing forms of

participation and about recognising that authority lies in the sharing of knowledge and understanding.

Democratic schools, like democracy itself, does not happen by chance. They result from explicit attempts by educators to put in place arrangements and opportunities that will bring democracy to life (...) These arrangements and opportunities involve two lines of work. One is to create democratic structures and processes by which life in school is carried out. The other is to create a curriculum that will give young people democratic experiences (Apple and Beane, 1995:9).

The questions then become; how *does one foster participation and democratic ideals in a classroom?* And *what does 'democratic teaching practices' mean for the teaching methods used in the classrooms?*

There is no such thing as a democratic teaching method. There are undemocratic practices, (like the sole use of rote learning and spoon - feeding) but no method is in itself either democratic or authoritarian. However, some methods are more likely to be democratic than others; in the words of Harber (1997)

In terms of classroom this means greater variety in teaching methods with students participating and being actively engaged in learning on a regular basis. Discussions, group work, projects, visits, simulations will all be used more frequently than in a traditional, authoritarian school (Harber, 1997:10).

Teaching is, and always will be influenced by the society in which it is placed. If the society's need is to create docile, hardworking and well disciplined workers (as described by amongst others Foucault – see chapter 3) or, in the case of South Africa during apartheid, to uphold social divisions and entrench racial stereotypes, then a schooling system in which disciplining by rote learning, spoon feeding and learning by repeating is likely to be key. However if

schooling is seen as important for creating or upholding a democratic way of life, or giving the students the skill needed for living in a post-modern society, where skills such as reflexivity, critical thinking and the belief in individual agency are key, then the teaching methods used in schools need to reflect this.

Education thus is, in the words of post-Vygotskian situated learning theories such as e.g. activity theory (for a further explanation see Daniels, 2001; Resnick, 1994) a situated praxis. The goal of teaching is teaching the students in and about the society in which they live.

Situated cognition argues that knowledge is acquired in and attuned to specific social and historical situations and that conceptual development can be understood only in terms of the situational context of action (Resnick, 1994:474).

Learning is a process whereby the individual participates in different social practices and is exposed to different cultural material, or in the words of Vygotsky, learning is mediated through the interaction with artefacts (artefacts can be such things as books, architecture, pictures, speaking gestures etc) (cf. Daniels, 2001).

Learning is viewed as situated activity [that] has as its central defining characteristic a process that we call legitimate peripheral participation. By this we mean to draw attention to the point that learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of knowledge and practice requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community (Lave and Wenger cited in Daniels, 2001:71).

Using this approach to learning means for teacher-training students that they need to be given the opportunity to learn by different means and in different contexts – where education allows students to have different experiences, and where there is an understanding of the difference

of the individual in the classroom, and where there is a possibility that this difference is used as a basis for the educational discourse (see for example Bourdieu in Chapter 3).

In relation to the theme of this thesis, there are obviously different ways of teaching students about HIV/AIDS, and some will probably have a better impact on students and pupils. One way is bringing people with HIV/AIDS into the classroom to “make it real” and more contextually situated. In one of the observations of the HIV/AIDS education classes at The University of Cape Town (UCT) the lecturer had brought in a young black male teacher to tell about his story of how he contracted HIV/AIDS. He spoke about how he had been aware of the disease, but he was for the most part careful, not many partners and normally protected. But somehow he had gotten himself in a situation where he had had unprotected sex, and it had turned out that he had contracted HIV. He then talked about how it was living with HIV, how it affected his life. He had in periods been quite ill, but used his resourcefulness to participate in medicine trials in order to perhaps live a longer and better quality life. He told his story in a matter of fact way – as a young man with a disease – as someone whom the students, even though they did not themselves have HIV, could relate to, both in terms of his age and also the way he lived his life - it wasn't all that different from their own lives. For them it seemed to tear down two barricades – that the people that contract HIV are people that are not careful, don't take precautions, don't know what they are doing etc. and it drove home to them the truth that they too could be at risk – they could make a bad decision and put themselves in the same position. This knowledge could possibly have been imparted to the students in other ways, for example by using videos, but the impact of the education might not have been the same.

4. 10 Dialogue and diversity – Educational form in democratic education

Contemporary notions of democracy demand that citizens are informed, reflexive and willing to participate in society. To be a good citizen means not following blindly in the foot steps of others, but using one's knowledge and understanding to create one's own path in life – the reflexive, participant citizen that has the belief and understanding that one's actions actually have consequences not only on the individual level but that it has ramifications for society as a whole (cf. introduction; Enslin, 2003; Gutmann, 1999, 1993; The advisory Group on Citizenship, 1995)

Situated learning theories see the interaction of students and teachers, with each other and in interaction with society, as the basis for learning (Daniels, 2001; Ball, 2000). This learning can be seen to be discursive and based on dialogue (cf. Freire, 1996; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Walsh, 2008). Thus the educational form in democratic education is one of dialogue, as opposed to, as we have argued above, monologic authoritarian teaching.

Dialogue is key if the goal or aim of education is to foster critical thinking where the ability to reflect on one's surroundings and learn from them is vital. As mentioned earlier, we are not going to be discussing the specific content of education, nor specific methodologies, but we will focus on some specific skills or areas of individual competency that we see as integral to a democratic form of education, and to education in today's society.

Dialogue cannot exist without critical thinking. Critical thinking means seeing reality as a process with the aim to further developing the human worth. This kind of thinking does not separate itself from action, but has contact with the practical and existential life. This understanding of the concept of knowledge is highly visible in what is written on the relationship between words and actions. Reflection without action is seen as verbalism. Action without reflection is seen as activism. Both are separately inadequate and presuppose each other (Haavelsrud 1991:81 my translation).

As noted above and in the introduction to this thesis, it has always been the goal of the critical education theory and the field of educational sociology to identify and change social and physical social structures and teach in such a way that the students are able to transcend repressive social boundaries. This was, amongst others, the goal of Freire's education and the basis for his concept of **conscientizacao** (see above, Freire, 1996). The goal of his education of Brazilian peasants was to give them the skills, both in terms of the educational content but also an understanding of the social "games" that they would need to understand in order to participate in society in a way that would change their own condition. By using a dialogical form in his education, he was able to build on and expand on the peasants pre existing knowledge, uncover relations of dominance and power, and give them the tools needed to participate in larger society and to make their needs met and heard (Freire, 1996).

The individual's possibility or ability to transcend social boundaries is often referred to as agency (Giddens, 1984). In order for this to happen, though, the individuals need to feel that there are options and possibilities – or choices. This sensation of choice is often referred to as the individuals 'action space' – for some people this action space seems vast and the options endless (these are often the people on top of society – they have a lot of different possibilities, they can become doctors, economists, politicians etc) – for others the possibilities seems very much limited – they seemingly have no choice and no options (cf. Giddens, 1984; Hundeide, 2003 and Mathiesen, 1977).

By understanding (through dialogue) the needs and knowledge of the students in the classroom, it should be possible to use this as a starting point for learning. But as no student in the classroom is the same – there will always be some degree of diversity in the classroom - there should be and is a possibility for using this difference as the starting point for reflection and for developing critical thought.

4.11 Pedagogic professionalism

Creating meaning for the students in the classroom demands one set of skills from the teacher and the curriculum and if the focus of the school is on “knowledge” (often reproduction and on scoring highly in tests), it demands another set of skills. The combination of the two is very difficult, and often education that stresses social skills, critical thinking and reflection, loses out when the focus is on measurable and examinable skills. South Africa can be seen as an example of how the ‘transformational competencies’ (as described in chapter 2.2) can lose out to the demands of knowledge production, and the focus in the classrooms becomes more on attaining the objectives (or outcomes as they are called in South Africa) that are stipulated for the specific subject and year, than on developing broader critical thinking and reflexivity.

4.12 Structural and contextual conditions necessary for democratic education

There are also certain contextual and structural variables that need to be in place in order for education to be democratic. The framework for teaching that we have delineated above, is a

demanding one. It demands a lot of the students and of the teacher. It also demands that the conditions in which teaching and learning take place are amenable.

The school, or place of learning, needs to be safe both structurally – in the sense that the school buildings are safe and accommodating for teaching – that they have basic commodities such as light, heat/cooling, desks etc, and safe in the sense that there is no violence – that the students and the teacher feel that they have a safe learning environment where they are not going to be physically or mentally hurt (examples via beatings, corporal punishment, threats, bullying etc.). Other factors that need to be in place are that both the students and the teacher turn up for lessons – that the students are for the most part willing to learn and that the teacher is willing to teach, and not doing other things during lessons (such as for example earning money or other forms of trade). For examples see e.g. Harber (2001, 2004).

Only when the place of study and the learning environment are safe for both students and the teachers one can start talking about democratic education and teacher professionalism.

4.13 Teacher professionalism

In this part of the chapter we will discuss teacher professionalism in the light of education for democracy. Teacher professionalism can be defined as teachers' ability to teach, both in the sense of knowledge of the subject, but also in terms of teachers' didactic competency – i.e. the ability to adapt the teaching methods to suit the content, how they conduct themselves in the classroom and on creating a “community of learners” (cf. Day, 2004; Klaassen, 2002; Ball, 2000; Daniels, 2001; Hargreaves, 1994)

4.13.1 Didactic competency

Democratic education, as we have outlined and discussed above, demands a lot of the teacher. Not only does it demand subject knowledge, but it also demands in-depth knowledge of teaching methods. More specifically it demands that the teacher knows not only how to use a specific method, but also how best to adapt it to the content that is to be taught in the classroom.

Didactic competency, then, is the ability to plan, perform and evaluate teaching, in a critical and reflexive manner, i.e. the teacher needs to be able to explain and reflect on his/her choices and how this will reflect on the bigger picture.

If the end goal of education is to create self-sufficient, reflexive and critically thinking individuals who have knowledge of the workings of society and know how to participate in a democratic society, then the teaching needs to reflect this even when teaching basic skills.

The democratic spirit needs to be reflected in the actions of the teacher. Or as the South African “Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy” (Department of Education, 2001) states:

‘..he or she is expected to play a community, citizenship and pastoral role, to practise and promote a critical and committed and ethical attitude towards developing a sense of respect and responsibility towards others, uphold the Constitution and promote democratic values and practices in schools and society’ (Department of Education, 2001:28).

Donald Schön (1991) described two important aspects of professionalism, which should be at the basis for democratic teacher professionalism, namely ‘reflection-in-action’ and ‘reflection-on-action’. These basic concepts reflect the need for a reflexive stance to teaching both whilst teaching and before and after the teaching has taken place. Together these contribute to the concept of the ‘reflective practitioner’.

‘Reflection-in-action’ means that good teaching demands the ability to adapt and reflect on one’s actions whilst teaching –demanding the ability to change what one is doing if it turns out that what one is doing is not meeting the needs of the students. The ability for the teachers to adapt to the situations that arise is a skill that is especially necessary in order for the classroom to be organised in a manner where participation and student discourse are to be fostered.

Reflection-on-action, is the reflection that happens before and after teaching. Before in the planning of the lesson, planning which methods to use, where to put the level of teaching, what is necessary for good teaching in this specific instance? It also demands of the reflective practitioner that they take the view of the students and plan according to the specific abilities or challenges in that particular class. Reflection after teaching, then, is reflection on what happened in the classroom; what went right? What went wrong? What were the challenges? Did everything go according to plan? Did I, as a teacher, learn something from this? Reflection on action is also important in developing theory, deeming what are suitable pedagogic practices and which are not. What goes well with a subject and what does not?

In terms of education for democracy, didactic professionalism points to the ability to cater for participation and create a learning environment where the emphasis is on dialogue, critical thought and reflection.

“In its end democratisation of education means power sharing in spite of different knowledge, experience and attitudes.” (Jensen, 1994:137)

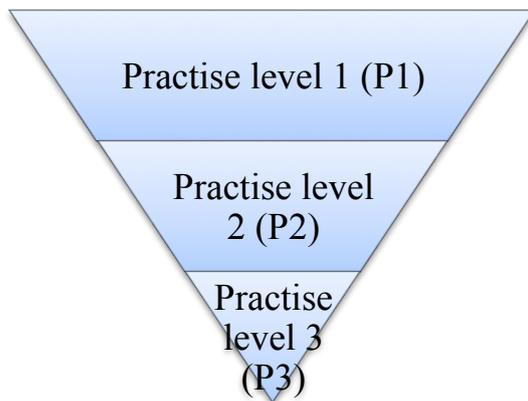
4.14 The relationship between theory and practise – putting educational practices in a theoretical context

In analysing educational practices and teacher professionalism, it is useful to look at the interplay between different levels of educational practise, between theory and curriculum development and specific educational practices. Above we discussed how Schön (1991) describes differences in levels of reflection. Similarly we can describe differences in levels of school and classroom practise.

The Norwegian educational theorist Lars Løvlie (1972), uses an upside-down pyramid to show how classroom practices, or what he calls ‘pedagogical perspectives’, can be seen on three different levels, starting with basic classroom practices at the top and ending with using these practices as the basis for educational theorisation or development of educational theories.

We have used this diagram to show the interplay between different levels of educational practise, between theory and curriculum development and specific educational practices.

Diagram 6. Practise levels of education (Løvlie, 1972)



Løvlie calls these levels for P-levels or practice levels. P1, the first level at the top of the triangle refers to “the concrete delivery of a teaching program” (Løvlie, 1972 my translation) i.e. what happens in the classroom, the discourses, the methods and the knowledge that are used directly when teaching in a classroom.

The second level, P2, refers to the reflections that the teacher has before teaching, i.e. the mental preparation for the lesson – which includes learning from and reflecting on past practices.

The P3 level refers to the critical reflections on educational practice. That is taking a “birds’ view” teaching and from there constructing critical theories relating back to the educational practices on the P1 and P2 levels.

In this model the P1 level is represented as the widest pedagogical perspective which then narrows as the practices become theorised, i.e. when it undergoes a transformation from *direct* practices to *indirect* theories, assumptions or theoretical abstractions underlying educational practices in the classroom. In order to use these Practice levels (P-levels) as a tool for understanding the educational practices, we also need to understand how these levels of educational practice refer to teacher professionalism.

Teacher professionalism as we discussed above relates both to the specific knowledge of the subject he/she is teaching as well as the teachers' didactic competency. Erling Lars Dale (1997) builds on Løvlie's pyramid in order to describe levels of teachers' professional competency, i.e. different levels of teacher professionalism. These the teacher needs to be aware of, and to some degree partake in. He describes professional competency as; "*a combination of insight (knowing that) and competency to act (knowing how) within a defined context in which the competency is valid*" (my translation, Dale, 1997:137). In essence the teacher needs both the insight into the subject(s) he or she is teaching, and the didactic knowledge to transmit this knowledge in the context of the classroom.

Dale goes on to describe how there are three different competency levels connected to the teacher's practice (that is for being a competent educational practitioner). These he refers to as K- levels (K standing for competency).

K1 is at the level of the classroom. This level demands of the teacher the ability and insight to implement his teaching in a classroom and school setting. It is reflected in the possibilities for

communication and in the communicative relationship between the teacher and the student/learner. In this research the K1 level refers to the teacher's knowledge about HIV/AIDS, as well as his/her ability to communicate the subject to the students. This obviously demands that the teacher has knowledge about the subject itself but also that (s)he has a teaching strategy that is useful when teaching about issues of such a sensitive nature – which necessarily includes taking the learners' social and cultural background into consideration and possibly using this as a strategy towards developing the learners' knowledge about the subject.

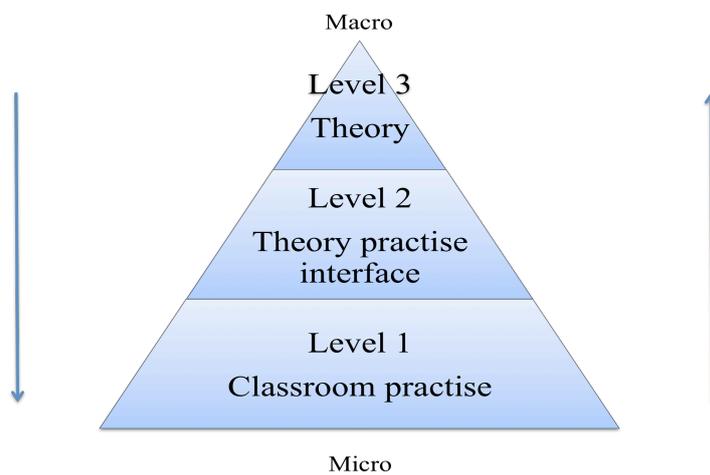
The K2 level refers to planning and evaluating teaching. This can be either what Schön (1991) describes as reflection- on- action, to evaluate your own teaching strategies, what worked and what didn't, or placing the lessons within the bigger picture of the curriculum. It therefore refers to the teacher's ability to both reflect on his/her own practices, but also look at how this will fit into the bigger picture of schooling as a whole. In this context this relates to how teachers relate the teaching of HIV/AIDS to the goals of the curriculum and how this “fits” into the larger picture of developing both the students' knowledge base and their ability to act reflectively when encountering issues that might be socially and culturally contentious and therefore of a sensitive nature.

The K3 level refers to “communicating and constructing theory” in order to interpret, analyse and evaluate teaching and schooling as a whole (Dale, 1997:138).

To relate these models to the present research; the aim of this thesis is to describe and analyse the teacher training institutions practices and the student' views of these practices and the

content they will use when teaching about and within a context of HIV/AIDS. In order to present this visually the triangle would look like this:

Diagram 7. The interplay between the different levels of educational practice



Level 1 is therefore on the micro level of education, and is the realm of classroom practise. In terms of our research this level relates to classroom practise, and is what happens in university in teaching students about HIV/AIDS, both in terms of the knowledge about the subject, but also in increasing their knowledge of which teaching methods is useful in teaching about sensitive issues.

Level 3 is the macro level, where societal influences, curriculum development and theory building go hand in hand. As we have seen earlier in this thesis, social development will influence which subjects needs to be taught – and to some extent how. This is then manifested in a national curriculum for education, which then sets the frames for educational practise and content. This is also the level of theory development and theory building, learning from

studies of and reflection on educational practices – in this case it concerns theories for building a framework for education for democracy that takes into consideration how to teach about issues that are of a sensitive nature.

The second level is the interface between the other two levels. It is partly a reflection on the specific classroom practices that are going to take place/ has taken place in the classroom. In this research this level is represented in the students descriptions of how and what they would teach when/if asked to teach about HIV/AIDS, their descriptions on how they would approach teaching about sensitive issues, and what they themselves describe as being a sensitive issue. This level thus partly represents the micro level as it is reflection on specific classroom practices but it is a wider reflection which also needs to build on theories of education and which needs to take into consideration the specific curriculum as set by the educational system that one works within – they set the boundaries or frames for what and sometimes how to teach. This level thus is where the teacher training students' preparedness to teach is discussed i.e. both their willingness to teach about HIV/AIDS and looking at their didactic competence in dealing with these issues.

In conclusion pedagogic professionalism involves both a specific didactic competency and an ability to act critically and reflectively in the context of the different levels of educational practise. In the following we will look at teaching sensitive issues and then discuss why in teaching about sensitive and controversial issues these skills are of importance.

4. 15 Teaching sensitive issues in a context of social change

Above we have discussed how the critical education tradition critiqued what they saw as a means-end rationality in schools (cf. Skjervheim in Dale, 1992), where knowledge was presented to the students as objective truths and the focus of education was on replicable and testable knowledge – as a means to an end and the end being good test scores, what the critical educationalists named instrumentalism. The instrumentalist mistake to them therefore was making schooling into something that carries a just technical rationality, the ability to replicate the teachers instructions, instead of being about developing the whole person, the individual as a social being.

By making knowledge appear neutral and objective, the political basis of the chosen school content was not contested. This is something that conservative political forces today (cf. Carr, 2007) are still upholding and which is again reflected in the current educational debates on what should be the content of schooling (should schooling focus on teaching knowledge to pupils, should the pupils/learners be tested more? etc.). The discussion of the neutrality of knowledge therefore is a normative discussion of the basics of schooling (cf. Apple, 2000) What is it important that learners learn in schools? Where should the focus lie?

After having been decimated by the Thatcher government, the subject of citizenship was in 2002, however, reintroduced in British schools. The advisory group for citizenship education (1998), the so- called “Crick report”, stated the aims of this subject as:

We aim at no less than a change in the political culture in the country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh

evidence before speaking and acting to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves (Advisory group on Citizenship Education, 1998).

The discussion of the need for teaching sensitive issues in schools thus enters into the debate on schooling as either instrumentalist instruction or as socialisation focussing on teaching social skills as well as knowledge.

How do you teach controversial issues within a political environment preoccupied with the notion of balance, discounting ideology, stressing the positive and focussing on academic standards? Opfer has pointed out that the ‘myth of apolitical education is long dead even though there is a trend in the education field towards portraying itself as increasingly neutral and objective (Carr, 2007:16).

In the following we will discuss why the need for teaching sensitive issues becomes more important in contemporary schooling, and why this means going from an instrumentalist view of the neutrality and objectivity education and knowledge towards focussing on developing skills and knowledges needed to handle a growing social and cultural diversity.

4.16 Teaching sensitive issues in schools - the need for democratic skills and reflexive competence

Controversy is not to do with different levels of knowledge and information but with different opinions, values and priorities, and, basically and essentially with different material interests. A controversial issue... is one on which society is divided. The difference of opinion may be about the very definition and naming of the problem to be solved; and/or about its causes and history, in society, in human nature; and/or about the actions which should be taken, both in the short term and long, to remove or manage the problem; and/or about the structure and contours of the ideal situation... towards which action is taken, and in the utopian light of which the problem was first perceived and labelled (Richardson cited in Hicks, 2007:68).

In democratic societies there will always be issues that are contentious, controversial and of a sensitive nature. This is the sign of a democracy (cf. Gutmann, 1999, 1993). Where opinions and knowledge are dictated by the state it is not a democracy but a dictatorship. These controversial or sensitive issues are part of the social formation, and therefore for a society to be a true democracy these issues must be handled in a democratic fashion. The basis of contemporary democracy is, as we discussed above, that of openness, possibility for participation and mutual respect of differences – these are values that need to be reflected both in the view of the learners and the methodologies used in the classrooms. (cf. Parker, 2002, Apple and Beane, 1999,1995).

Sensitive issues thus are not something that students can be instructed in (cf. Haavelsrud, 1979; Stenhouse, 1975; Peters, 1996), but something they have to learn (learning here means to make part of themselves). Learners can be instructed in specific knowledge about, for example, political differences such as differences in societies' political organisation, but in order for learning, as described above, to happen in addition to this instrumentalist type of instruction, knowledge must be presented in such a way that it develops reflexive knowledge giving the students a sense of meaning and ultimately influencing choices. Teaching sensitive issues then is not only about instruction in specific areas it is also about developing higher-level competencies – i.e. the ability to act and think reflexively and critically (cf. Oulton et al, 2004)

Habermas (1990) discusses the concept of 'communicative competence' (Habermas, 1990).

By this he focuses on the need for the ability to communicate in a reflexive and critical

manner. Communicative competence includes both the ability to communicate one's own political, social and cultural stances, meanings and opinions as well as the ability to critically reflect on the points of view of others.

Communicative competency reflects the individual's reflexivity and critical evaluation, i.e. being able to "put oneself in the other person's place", by trying to understand the other person's actions, interpretations (of the situation, knowledge etc), and perceived consequences of a situation. It also reflects on one's ability to discover and relate to the underlying power structures of the discourse (Wiese, 2002:102).

In order for students to learn these skills Habermas describes a need for a 'cultural competency' i.e. the understanding that actions and knowledges are culturally and socially based, and that what is presented is often coloured by the context of the individual. Culture, as we have discussed in chapter 3, will, in postmodern societies never be described as a neutral entity – it carries the values and expressions of different social groups. In the words of Apple (2000) culture is: "the way of life of a people, the constant and complex process by which meanings are made and shared" (Apple, 2000:42). Furthermore it is "a producer and reproducer of value systems and power relations" (Apple, 2000:42). Culture and cultural expressions therefore also become a struggle over whom has the power to define what is right and what is wrong (cf. Bourdieu, 1984).

Sensitive issues are issues that carry differences in values and value systems, thus the debate concerning teaching sensitive issues in schools becomes a question of dealing with diversity in the classrooms. Postmodern schooling will (at least if it is premised on what we have described earlier) always be contextualised in a diverse cultural setting and therefore have to concern itself with dealing with diversity and differences in the classrooms. If these differences are not directly visible in the classrooms they will most probably be visible in the

different media that the learners of today handle on a daily basis. Discussions of values and value systems, what is correct and not, what is tolerable and not, are discourses always present in society. Education therefore will have to deal with these issues and conflicts if they are to appear democratic cf. (Hess, 2004; Oulton et al, 2004).

In doing so, democratic education or education for democracy, opens up for a view of knowledge and meaning construction as a subjective process. In chapter 3 we discussed how in postmodern society identities are structured on the individuals meeting with different social and cultural meanings and contexts. The German sociologist Thomas Ziehe describes how in contemporary society the youth encounter different cultural expressions through what seems like a “smorgasbord” of opportunities or possibilities for identity construction in a process that he calls “cultural liberation (or release)”¹ – a dualist process where one both has the freedom to choose but where one at the same time is restricted by one’s choices. He sees the socialisation or identity construction in contemporary society as supported on three tenets:

- 1) Reflexivity
- 2) Everything being changeable
- 3) Individuation

Ziehe describes what he sees as an increased reflexivity in contemporary society, by which he means “*the ability to relate oneself to oneself (this is not necessarily an intellectual phenomenon, it is thereby not identical to being “reflexive”)*” (Ziehe, 1989:12 my translation). He continues:

¹ This process is in Norwegian referred to as ”kulturell frisetting”. I have translated ‘Frisetting’ into liberation in the sense of making something free – releasing or obscuring the boundaries.

Our culture places to an increasing degree a body of knowledge accessible for us, a knowledge by which we – almost like a videocamera – can watch, picture, thematize and comment on ourselves. In our relationship with ourselves we have more and more secondary experiences available to us, that is to say experiences that we communicate and which primarily always will be ahead of our own primary experiences. These days children and youth to an increasing degree get admission to this reflexive knowledge (Ziehe, 1989:12 my translation).

By everything being changeable he refers to the possibility for things to be formed or shaped - it can be problematized, thematized and changed.

(...) this applies to for example my own body and its looks, my ability to communicate, my whole habitus and my relationship with reality on one side it is a sign of a liberation. These areas of life are no longer destiny, that I encounter as mystified nature. On the other hand it is naturally a sign that I have to justify the way I form these areas of life, which apparently are at my disposition. What isn't destiny, I can change, and that which I can change, I am responsible for, a responsibility I can no longer slink away from (Ziehe, 1989: 13 my translation).

Individuation he sees as a process of a decision-making conflict, i.e. the conflict between one's inner ambitions and dreams and the reality one lives in. "*The decision-making conflicts, the choice of lifestyle and the resulting ambivalence and disappointment, is up to the individual to deal with*" (ibid.) Individuation to Ziehe thus is a

(...) Cultural tendency – with the increased possibilities and the sharpened decision-making conflicts is what I call individuation. By this I mean the individuals liberation from the traditional patterns of interpretation that he (the individual) carries from his (sic) original social environment. The individuation is an expression of a cultural modernisation process where the individuals cultural belonging gets a rapidly increasing biographic emphasis (Ziehe, 1989:14 my translation).

So, in essence what Ziehe describes is a process of subjectivation – of becoming a social subject.

These three cultural tendencies that I have mentioned here – reflexivity, the ability to be changed or formed and individualization – together means a decisive change in the opportunities that are made available to the individual, but which is also forced upon him. They form a background knowledge that is present, but which also makes up a horizon within which the children and the youth themselves must place the pattern of their world and self-conception (Ziehe, 1989:15).

What is important to note from Ziehe's theories, is that whilst the contemporary culture places before us a plethora of different cultural options, it is suspended in a dualism between the seeming neutrality, openness and accessibility of cultural expressions which are, at the same time, hiding power relations and conflicting value systems. This entails that one's choices thus must therefore be based on an understanding of this conflict of interest between something that is seemingly open whilst it is at the same time finite and closed.

In this sense the construction of a subjectivity, or identity, is the hunt for that which is meaningful or which gives the individual meaning – the secondary experiences that Ziehe (above) refers to. In chapter 3 we described this process as the individual's orientation to meaning. Identity or subjectivity (the process of becoming a social subject) is seen as an individual project (Castells, 1997), a 'project identity' where the individuals constructing meaning from the social, cultural and educational contexts he or she encounters. Schooling therefore, in contemporary society, plays an important role in the individuals' construction of meaning or in the search for or process of becoming a social subject carrying their own meaning and knowledge. Communicative or cultural competency thus becomes the ability to debate and discuss these cultural constructs that the learners carry into the classrooms.

Bringing the diversity into the classrooms then become important in contemporary schooling.

Carr (2007) states that:

With an increasingly ethnically diverse population, students clearly need exposure to and experience with, genuine diversity and social justice (Carr, 2007:21).

4.17 Challenges in teaching sensitive issues

Dealing with such issues, seeing global links and looking to the future requires teachers to have sensitivity and skill. Bland, formulaic responses, or even worse, pretending that the children neither know nor care about controversial issues, is patronising and potentially dangerous (Claire and Holden, 2007:6).

As these issues are by definition sensitive and controversial they are from the outset seen as issues that are challenging to teach. Teaching sensitive or controversial issues requires teachers to deal with differences in the classroom, and often with diverging social and cultural stances. If we look at HIV/AIDS education, what makes this a sensitive issue is that it is a disease, it is sexually laden – a subject which enters into the private sphere of the bedroom and is connected with issues of sex and sexuality, and it is an issue that has been given a social and cultural content, especially in South Africa. It is a topic that goes to the root of social power- relations (see chapter 1), and which carries a political and cultural content. Cultural in the sense of social constructions about who gets HIV/AIDS (which social groups or individuals – gay people, black people etc.), why people get HIV (“it is a disease the white man has given the black man to eradicate the black man from society”), and how to cure it (witchdoctors or sleeping with virgins etc.).

The challenges in teaching sensitive issues thus are how to deal with these issues in the classrooms in a manner that 1) creates an understanding of the topic 2) spurs reflection and 3) deals with the issues in a manner that does not offend or alienate social groups or even learners in the classroom. There are specific ways or recipes for dealing with sensitive issues (cf. Claire and Holden, 2007), however what they all stress is that they need to open up for participation and discussion amongst the learners in the classroom (cf. Oulton et al, 2004).

4.18 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at developing a framework for education in a changing society, and in doing so looked at going from a modernist, authoritarian form of education, towards a more democratic form of education better suited to handle the demands of contemporary society which is characterised by more multi-cultural and diverse social and cultural expressions. We looked at how this has implications for the organisation of the classroom in terms of the teaching methods used, the knowledge which is taught to the students and we highlighted how this puts a demand on the teachers in the classroom in terms of a changing demands not only on specific fact based knowledge, but also on teachers having a didactic knowledge – knowing how to teach in order to spur reflection in the classroom. We then looked at the challenges of teaching sensitive issues in the classroom. We discussed what makes issues sensitive and controversial and why they demand the development of a specific set of skills, namely the ability to communicate and understand different social and cultural contexts, of both the teacher and the learners in the classroom.

5.0 Research methodology

In this chapter we will firstly discuss the theoretical methodological framework of this thesis. We will discuss this by looking at different methodological traditions and discuss where this thesis is placed. We then go on to discuss the research fieldwork setting and the research methods used in collecting data for this research.

5.1 Theoretical methodological framework

The main bulk of this research takes place in a qualitative methodology framework built on a discourse oriented, hermeneutical and interpretive approach. The research is based within the critical education (emancipatory research) tradition. This tradition has as its aim and focus to understand the social contexts and cultural hegemony (cf. Gramsci in Borg, Buttigieg and Mayo, 2002; Habermas, 2000; Bourdieu, 1984) of schooling, with special emphasis on the fate of underprivileged groups and how schooling is affected by differences in students' economic, cultural and social backgrounds. South African society is still very much influenced by the social and cultural divide created by the former apartheid regime (cf. Alexander, 2002; Harber, 2001) making this analytical framework useful.

More specifically we have based this research within a framework which can be seen as critical postmodernism (cf. McLaren, 1997)– emphasising the subjectivity of the author and researcher and how the researcher's situatedness and the perceived research context will

affect the outcomes and the interpretation of the data. It also focuses on the contextualisation of meaning and how different discourses interact and how meaning is shared and constructed.

5.1.1 Hermeneutics

The critical education tradition often uses hermeneutics as a way of analysing social, cultural and historical change. Hermeneutics sets at the foreground the “lifeworld” of the researched as well as that of the researcher (cf. Habermas, 1990). “Lifeworld”, as it will be used in this research, will be taken to mean the social, cultural and historical contexts of the participating actors.

A critical hermeneutics brings the concrete, the parts into focus, but in a manner that grounds them contextually in a larger understanding of the social forces, the whole, the abstract (the general). Focus on the parts is the dynamic that brings the particular into focus, sharpening our understanding of the individual in light of the social and psychological forces that shape him or her (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:287).

Traditionally hermeneutics was a method used for textual interpretation, looking at the way the reader’s understanding and construction of the meaning of a text changes as the text evolves. The understanding is described as moving in ever widening circles or spirals, as interplay between the part and the whole – the part enhancing one’s understanding of the whole (The hermeneutical spiral).

The critical education tradition has then applied this to the understanding of social phenomena, such as economic circumstances, cultural and social capital (cf. Bourdieu, 1984)

etc. that influence the way a person constructs him/herself as an individual within his/her social or educational context (cf. Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

The situatedness of the researcher thus in this instance refers to the fact that the research is placed within the "lifeworld" of the researcher, and thus the interpretation of the data and findings will be coloured by their understanding of the research context, their subjectivity.

As we will see in the following, the demands for objectivity differs with the research paradigm or tradition that the researcher adheres to. Some researchers claim that research is only truly valuable if it strives towards total objectivity, whilst others would claim that this is not feasible and that other criteria might need to be used in order to deem the usefulness or value of the research.

5.1.2 Subjectivity vs objectivity – the quest for (or questions of) Truth

The ethos of social science is the search for "objective" truth. The faith of the student is his conviction that truth is wholesome and that illusions are damaging, especially opportunistic ones. He (sic) seeks "realism" a term which in one of its meanings denotes an "objective" view of reality... How can biases be avoided? (Myrdal in Phillips, 1992:49)

The belief in the objectivity of the data varies from one research tradition to the next. Where some might claim that there is a possibility for research to be truly and totally objective, others claim that there is no such thing as objective knowledge, the "truth" is seen as local and bound by the researcher's social, cultural and historical context, and the social, historical and cultural "lifeworld" of the researched.

Plato (in his work on the state) divided the world into two: the real and the ideal. The things as they appear to us here on earth are just imperfect copies of an ideal. The ideal is the mould by which everything is created, the perfect image of what the thing should be. The ideal, though, according to Plato is not replicable on earth, the thing as it exists on earth is only a faint replication of the ideal. The ideal thus is unattainable here on earth. But, this delineation can be seen as a useful metaphor to demarcate the line between the different research traditions and highlight their quest for objective truth.

The question thus becomes; *is there any way in which research can be truly objective? And if so, what constitutes objective knowledge? And do we as researchers actually seek an objective truth?*

5.1.3 Objectivity and the Quantitative tradition

Within the quantitative research tradition one can find theoretical frameworks such as positivism, empiricism, neo positivism (or logical positivism) or post positivism. What these frameworks share is the belief in the possibility of objective data, the belief that one can objectively describe the social world as it really is (or in Plato's words the "ideal" state).

Knowledge is seen as given by the senses, and the goal of the research is to generate universal laws (normative research) about the "functioning" of the world. The method used is inductive, meaning going from the singular to the plural by making generalisations based on the singular (also known as the correspondence theory of knowledge) (cf. Philips, 1992).

These research traditions have been strongly criticised in recent years. Most of the critique draws on the idea that the social sciences and to a certain degree also the natural sciences, are often influenced by different kinds of bias, and that the demand for total objectivity is impossible to realise as it is impossible to take the phenomena out of the social situation in which they exist – they change as the social, historical and cultural contexts around them changes, they are thereby contextual and changeable (cf. Wiese 2002). This critique has to a certain degree been accepted by the neo-positivist or post positivist research traditions (cf. Philips, 1992). The emphasis has changed from a focus on total objectivity to a focus on ‘intersubjective replicability’ of the data, meaning that different researchers, replicating the research should be able to come up with much the same results as the initial research. This puts the demand on the researcher to be able to document her/his methods and questions, also known as an audit trail. Another way of heightening the replicability of the data is to make sure that the data at hand satisfy the criteria for validity and reliability.

5.1.4 The demarcation of scientific knowledge and the principle of falsification

In this part of the chapter I want to look at differences in the definitions of truth and knowledge, starting with Karl Popper and looking at his struggle to identify a criteria that delineated science and non- science. I will then look at Thomas Kuhn and his views on truth and knowledge, how different truths can co exist side by side and how theories develop. Lastly I want to look at the postmodern ideal of truth and the subjective nature thereof, as illustrated by Jean Francois Lyotard’s notion of the death of the grand narratives.

In his writings Popper (cf. Phillips, 1992) discussed the so-called demarcation problem of science; what is to be counted as science and what is not? What can be seen as scientific knowledge and what are just loose assumptions? Theory according to Popper is something that leads us to an understanding of the world, but this does not mean that all theories about the nature of the world and the universe are scientific. In order for something to count as science, Popper criticised what is named the verification principle (the idea that to say something is true it has to be scientifically tested and verified) of the logical empiricist or positivist tradition. Instead, according to Popper, one should emphasise trying to prove that a conclusion is untrue, or falsifiable. Science then, was to strive prove that one's theories were wrong or falsifiable; whether the research should count as science, according to Popper, therefore is whether one has a falsifiable hypothesis or not (cf. Phillips, 1992).

But in fact the belief that we can start with pure observations alone, without anything in the nature of a theory, is absurd (Popper cited in Solhaug, 2003:210).

5.1.5 Kuhn; Paradigms, Scientific revolutions and the changeable nature of science

Thomas Kuhn is another researcher that has criticised the then dominant positivist ideal of universality on which quantitative research was based. Knowledge according to Kuhn (cf. Phillips, 1992) is to be found within the context of a research paradigm, a framework of specific values, methods and concepts. Within these paradigms some things become more and also less valued, such as the quest for objectivity. Kuhn is a relativist, for him different

paradigms of research can exist side by side, or independently of one another. What constitutes the “truth” within one paradigm does not necessarily do so in the next.

Knowledge, according to Kuhn can be “objectively true” but only within the framework of the paradigm, not across paradigms. True or total objectivity therefore is impossible as long as other paradigms exist.

Paradigms however are not constant structures; they are changeable, often as a result of so-called scientific revolutions. These scientific revolutions occur when the concepts and values within a paradigm change to such a degree that they cannot exist within the framework of the original paradigm. This is, according to Kuhn, how research traditions develop and change (Philips, 1992).

5.1.6 Postmodernism – “The Subjective dimension of knowledge and Truth”

Diametrically opposed to the positivistic or empiricist traditions view of absolute objectivity is the relativist, post-modern position claiming that there is no such thing as objective knowledge or truth. Knowledge is totally subjective, and this makes the assumption of the existence of universal descriptions (or truths) impossible. Knowledge, and also research, thus becomes influenced by the situatedness of the researcher -his/her social and cultural context, the research tradition and way of constructing knowledge. Research is seen as socially, historically and culturally situated, and knowledge as relational, contextual and more importantly changeable and fleeting.

(...) Poststructuralists and postmodernists have contributed to the understanding that there is no clear window into the inner life of the individual. Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race and ethnicity. There are no objective observations only observations socially situated in the worlds of – and between- the observer and the observed (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:19).

The French post- structuralist philosopher Jean Francois Lyotard described this transition from a belief in universal truths as the death of the ‘Grand Narratives’ (cf. Usher & Edwards, 1994). These grand narratives are all-encompassing truths or belief systems such as the different world religions, philosophies like Marxism and even scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge according to Lyotard (ibid.) cannot exist without language, language is what constitutes it, and therefore scientific knowledge becomes part of what he describes as a language game, a narrative, a game played out between different signs and their different signifiers.

This death of the ‘Grand Narratives’ leads to a fragmentation of culture. Knowledge, truth and in this context also including research and the researcher, become localised and subjective. The so-called small narratives gain importance; these are the social and cultural constructs upon which we build our own personal narratives.

As the ‘Grand Narratives’ lose importance, and the small gain importance, this elicits a shift in the scientific emphasis on objectivity. That is not to say that ‘anything goes’, but that there has been a shift in focus from that of absolute objectivity towards a belief in intersubjective consensus – that the understanding and description of phenomena are shared between different individuals that function within the same research paradigm. This will redefine the emphasis on reliability and validity of data. For research to be reliable and valid within this

tradition, the researcher needs to make his/her research context and assumptions clear and also the reason for the research – and by doing so help reduce bias or, if not so, at least to make the bias clear to the readers. Concepts such as openness and reflexivity in research thereby gain importance.

5.2 Discourses

Discourses order and position meanings, and, at the individual level, identities (Wiese, 2002:17).

Discourse theory looks at how actions or social practices are ascribed meaning or, in the postmodernist sense how signs are signified. As we discussed in chapter 3, discourses point to the process whereby actions or practices are given meaning, and to the context in which they are ascribed this meaning. Discourses thus can be seen as theoretical mechanisms that structure different meanings and contexts, or in the terminology of discourse theory – a structuring of sign – signifier relationships. The main usage for discourse analysis has been textual analysis, but it has in light of post-modern or late modern social theories, proven useful when analysing social practices (cf. Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999).

Discourses see social practices as contextualised happenings. These practices appear within a specific context which is informed by a specific discourse – the interpretation of the action or practise is interpreted in light of the way it is ascribed meaning based on the discourse it is interpreted within.

Different signifier (word)/signified (concept) relationships can give the signs and ultimately the discourse a different meaning depending on the context the sign is used within. Meanings, therefore, are provided by the sign-signifier/signified relations that are found within each of the different discourses (Wiese 2002: 17).

Discourses are often seen as being constructed around a “nodal point”. The nodal point is: “a privileged sign, that the other signs are centred around and get their meaning from or in relation to” (Jørgensen & Philips, 1999:37). The discourses are therefore seen as structures built on different sign-signifier relationships where some signifiers are excluded whilst others are seen to support the main points of the discourse. Discourses in this way act to regulate their own meaning, and as such it acts as a boundary for interpretation. Discourses thus are networks of interpretations of how signifiers relate to a specific sign.

Discourses, like Kuhns paradigms (see above), are not seen as exclusive but as co-existing interpretations, existing in a so-called “field of discursivity”. This field of discursivity then acts to challenge the meaning of the signifiers found within the discourse, and as such discourses can co-exist and give each other meaning. In the following we will look at the interplay of different discourses as they relate to this thesis.

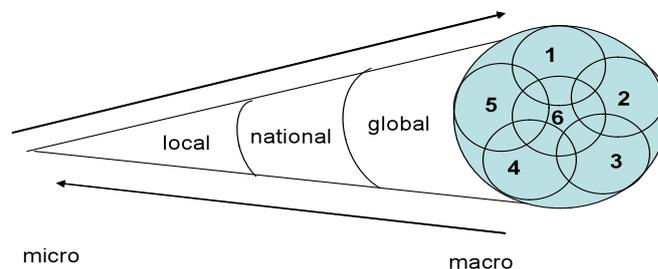
5.2.1 Discourses; the micro and macro; social levels of research

HIV/AIDS is a disease that no longer only affects the individual that carries the disease, it also affects the larger society, both because of the way it is spread (the sexual nature of the disease), and the social, cultural, historical and not the least political implications of the disease. An important element of the construction of meaning around HIV/AIDS is the use of

various discourses. Discourse in this context refers to an individual/ a group of individuals' construction of meaning that are to be found at different levels of society.

One discourse at the macro level of society can comprise several others at the micro level, and they will in turn influence and inform one another. I will in the following look at the different discourses involved in my research and try to give a picture of how these interact in the bigger picture.

Figure 8 Discourses and their levels of influence



This model shows how discourses exist on different social levels and how they interrelate (based on “the Cone of Peace”, Haavelsrud, 1991). The cone shape shows how the different levels of discourse influence and are influenced by each other, with the local being the micro level and the national/ global being the macro level of the research. The circle at the end of the cone shows the interrelatedness of the discourses that provides the context for this

research - in this case the context of teacher training in the Western Cape province of South Africa.

Identity can be seen as the individual's construction of meaning of a certain topic or within a certain context. I aimed at getting an understanding of the different discourses that govern both teaching about HIV/AIDS and the different discourses available to the students in their construction of self-as a teacher. These discourses are formed partly by individuals' situatedness in society, their personal beliefs, histories etc, and partly by the encounters they have as student teachers, both within teacher training at the teacher training institutions and also by their experiences in in-service teacher training. I will look at the gap between these different discourses and how this might relate to an educational concept of education for democracy, and how this might inform what can be seen as a viable HIV/AIDS education in South Africa.

The micro level of society is commonly seen as referring to the individual's behaviour, or the local level. The macro level reflects what is going in groups or society at large, and the interplay between these levels harbouring a potential for transformation. In this thesis the micro level primarily reflects identity construction and the inner workings of the school, while the macro level has to do with societal and political processes. At the intermediate level, national, state policies are spelled out in, for example, the curriculum (Wiese, 2002). The macro level of society, then, comprises the political and historical discourses of a nation. Depending on the political climate "du jour", some discourses are put to the foreground of the social and political debate, for example the current debate on secularisation of the schools and

the use of the Hijab. (This debate is currently a hot potato much discussed for example by Norwegian politicians, teachers and other interest groups.)

In this chapter we have looked at the theoretical methodological framework of this research. In the following chapter we will look at the research setting the fieldwork took place in, and discuss the research methods used in the collection of the data for this research.

6.0 Research Design and Research Fieldwork Setting

In the chapter above we placed this research within a qualitative, hermeneutical - interpretive, critical postmodern, discursive approach to research. By doing so we have emphasised the fleeting and contextualised nature of knowledge and truth, and placed the research of this thesis within an approach to research that emphasises the situatedness of the researcher and the researched, so that this research is a glance into a phenomenon placed in a specific time and in a specific place. We have not in this research emphasised generating generalisable data as this concept is understood in the quantitative tradition (see chapter 5 above)– but we have focussed on developing a mainly qualitative design used to gain more in depth knowledge of a research context which, in this research, specifically, is HIV/AIDS education in teacher training institutions, and the students’ own experiences and views/ description of their future practices. The research was located in the Western Cape province of South Africa during 2003 and 2004. We have studied three different teaching contexts within this region, focusing on the teaching practices in three specific university contexts. The study aimed to map out and describe how variation and similarities between the institutions can highlight problems of HIV/AIDS teaching and, hopefully, result in recommendations about how to teach about HIV/AIDS and other sensitive issues to teacher training students in order for them to be able to teach about this topic when they themselves become fully- fledged teachers.

In this chapter we will describe the research both in terms of how the research progressed and the research methods used, from the initial research design to the pilot, the revised research design and the fieldwork performed in this study. We will also look at general questions of

research, such as the validity and reliability of research, issues of sampling, ethical questions and limitations of this research.

As we discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the aims of the research were initially too analyse and explain

- 3. Teacher- training students' preparedness to teach within the context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa.**
- 4. The role played by teacher training institutions in South Africa and how they are preparing teachers to teach within the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.**

6.1 Initial research design

At the beginning of this research it was deemed that the best way to explore these research questions was by developing a case study design. This study was thus initially formed as a case study of three different teacher-training institutions in the Western Cape province. In the following we will look at the development of the initial case study design and the research methods we planned to apply.

6.1.1 Case studies as a research approach

A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2003:13).

Our focus is the teacher training taking place in three teacher training institutions. Each of the institutions in this study presents their own unique case – the way they are organised, the way the teaching is organised, the teaching staff, the student’s social and cultural background etc– within the socio-political context of education in South Africa.

A case study can be seen as “a bounded system” – a system with “*working parts, it is purposive; it [is] often as a self. It is an integrated system*” (Stake, 2000). At the same time these cases are connected, by amongst other things the social reality of HIV/AIDS, by the regulations on teacher education and especially the South African national curriculum.

Stake (2000) describes three types of case studies, intrinsic case study, instrumental case study and collective case study. Whereas the first two are case studies of one case only, the collective case study pertains to studies where more than one case makes up the study. “*(...) a researcher may jointly study a number of cases in order to investigate a phenomenon, population or general condition*” (Stake, 2000:437). Furthermore he describes the collective case study in this way

Individual cases in the collection may or may not be known in advance to manifest some common characteristic. They may be similar or dissimilar, redundancy or variety each important. They are chosen because it is believed that understanding them will lead to

better understanding, perhaps better theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases (Stake, 2000:437).

In this study then the teacher-training institution case-studies were chosen because;

- They give insights into different student backgrounds, due to historical and social differences in recruitment to the institutions
- They offer teacher-training programmes at different levels, i.e. PGCE and B.Ed.
- We wanted to gain an understanding of the teacher-training institutions within one specific area –namely the Western Cape Province and how they organised HIV/AIDS education,

The case study approach, by using different methods of data collection, (i.e. methods triangulation) gives insight to different aspects of the context that is being researched. In this case the research methods used are interviews, observation and use of a questionnaire.

In researching my cases I planned to use three different research methods, in order to heighten the reliability and validity of the study and in order to gain an insight into different aspects of the cases (as will be discuss further below)

- Questionnaire
- Interviews
- Observations

6.1.2 Survey

In cases where there is a need to gain information from a larger group of respondents a questionnaire or (large scale) structured interviews can be used to survey a larger sample than might be possible with other data collection tools. A survey thereby gives a “broader” scope of the research field and can be used to for example heighten the reliability of the data gathered. It furthermore gives the researcher the possibility for comparison between, for example, the information gathered in the interviews and those given in the questionnaire; thus giving the researcher a possibility for comparisons between the different groups of respondents in the sample – in this case the teacher –training students that have been used for the interviews and the rest of the student population. This could tell the researcher about, for example, the possibility of a skewed sample i.e. that the students willing to participate in the interviews are the ones that are the most talkative, that is to say the absence of the more silent students’ views, or only those from a certain religious group, or only from a certain class background etc. – this phenomena is also known as response (selection) bias (Undheim, 1996:161), as is discussed in more detail at the end of this chapter.

6.1.2.1 The Questionnaire

The emphasis in developing the questionnaire (see Appendix 1), for this research was to survey a larger sample of teacher-training students about their knowledge of HIV/AIDS, the nature and content of the HIV/AIDS education in the teacher-training institutions, their

attitudes to teaching about HIV/AIDS and sensitive issues in general and in the South African context and to get an idea of the students' earlier experiences with HIV/AIDS education i.e. the training they had had from their earlier schooling.

This questionnaire was meant to form the basis of the pilot study (see below). The questionnaire was also meant to provide the basic background and understanding necessary for the development of the interview and the observation schedules. It was important to include some questions of a more qualitative nature, so as to gain an understanding of the kind of answers that can be expected and to get a feel for what to ask in order to gain a fuller picture of the teacher training students' conceptions of HIV/AIDS education, both in their own teaching practices and the teaching they have received from the teacher training institutions they have attended.

There are many reasons why it is useful, even within more qualitatively oriented research context such as this, to use a questionnaire.

Robson (2002) list these main advantages to using questionnaires:

- They provide a relatively simple and straightforward approach to the study of values, beliefs and motives
- They may be adapted to collect generalisable information from almost any human population
- High amounts of data standardisation (Robson, 2002:234).

There are also other advantages to using questionnaires, in this case the argument was that they are to a large degree cost and time efficient; they can be handed to a large sample of students at the same time, thereby gathering a basis for both generating numerical data and, to a certain degree, also more qualitative data.

6.1.2 Interviews

Interviews can be more or less structured, ranging from highly structured interviews to fairly unstructured interviews. Structured interviews are interviews with a fixed set of questions, from which the researcher is not supposed to deviate. They are often found in large-scale surveys, and often have field workers doing the research with the researcher (cf. Fontana and Frey, 2000). The interviews have a structured introduction, and a list of questions, the interviewer asks only the questions given and does not deviate from the questions on the list. In a semi-structured interview, however, the researcher often has a list of questions or topics that he/she would like to have answered. The questions are seen as guidelines to be used in the interviewing process and the researcher is free to deviate from the set questions in order to get more in-depth knowledge. The questions thus function more like tools in a process of inquiry where sometimes more questions have to be asked and sometimes some of the answers given answer more than one question. In my case, the aim was to make the interview process into more of a dialogue with the teacher-training students than a fully structured question and answer session. In some cases this succeeded while in others the questions were more slavishly followed. Much depended on the nature of the interview and the students' willingness to enter into a discursive process. This will be discussed further below.

Another form of interview is the unstructured interview (cf. Fontana and Frey, 2000).

Unstructured interviews happen in the field and are often a result of a conversation between the researcher and an informant. In my case, this approach was suitable in gaining information on hidden and informal aspects of the curriculum and the student learning processes that were not initially accessible to me.

6.1.3 Observations

Observations can be used primarily for four purposes, Firstly, broad general observations may be used as the starting point in a qualitative research project to get acquainted with the setting and the new context. Secondly, more focused observation may be used to evaluate whether people really do what they say they do. Thirdly, observation may be used to access tacit knowledge of subjects, that is, the subconscious knowledge that they would not be able to verbalise in an interview setting. Fourthly, observation, may be used to capture phenomena and its specific components in greater detail, for later analysis (Dahlgren, Emmelin and Winkvist, 2004:72).

Observations, consequently, would reveal various patterns of interaction, limitations and possibilities in the different contexts of research. Broadly speaking there are four types of observation, overt and covert; participant and non-participant observation, *Covert observation* is when the research subjects do not know they are being studied. *Covert participant observation* as a method of research is very difficult and involves the researcher/ researchers “going native”, i.e. becoming part of the context they are trying to research. One of the most well known books about this research, and the first in its kind, is Whyte’s “Street Corner Society”, where the researcher studied gangs in a particular area, “Cornerville”, in Boston in the 1930s (Whyte, 1955).

Covert non-participant observation often involves observation from e.g. a window or a car, onto the context that the researchers are studying. This form of observation may be useful in a number of studies, especially in research where what is being studied is not entirely legal e.g. prostitution, organised crime etc. Lately the ethics of doing covert research is being brought into question, mainly on the basis of informed consent. Is it ethical to study people who do not know they are being studied? These days, more and more research is being done overtly, that is to say the informants or objects of the study are aware they are being studied and observed, and they can choose whether or not they want to participate in the research.

Overt participant observation is when the informants know they are being observed, but at the same time the researcher is “taking part” in the research context.

(...) in participant observation, the researcher is able to develop an insider’s view of what is happening through a mix of personal experiences, observations and informal discussions (Dahlgren, Emmelin and Winkvist, 2004:72).

Furthermore;

Participant observation is (...) a conscious and systematic sharing, in so far as circumstances permit, in the life-activities, and on, occasion, in the interests and affects of a group of persons” (Kluckholm cited in Dahlgren, Emmelin and Winkvist, 2004:72).

Overt non-participant observation is a very common form of research; it involves the researcher studying the research context as a “*passive onlooker- observation as an outsider*” (Dahlgren, Emmelin and Winkvist, 2004:72). This form of observation is very common in, for example, classroom research where the researcher sits at the back of the classroom noting down the students’ behaviours, teaching methods etc, often based on a structured plan – an

observation schedule. The researcher does not comment or intervene in situations but observes the actions and reactions of the subjects.

Observations can also be structured or non –structured. In structured observation an observation guide is used. This is often a form that dictates what the researcher aims to look at,

(...) in structured (systematic) observation the researcher chooses beforehand specific activities that will be observed, while one by unstructured observation does not limit one's interests to apply only to specific activities (Halvorsen, 1993: 86 my translation).

In structured observation thus the researcher often has constructed a research guide that specifies the types of activities the researcher will concentrate on in the field. This type of observation is often used in for example classroom research, where the aim is to look at student behaviour, teachers' teaching methods, contents covered, etc. The researcher then notes in his/her papers the occurrence of different phenomena, how often they occur and how and when they occurred, obviously depending on the nature of the research. In this type of research a lot of modern technology can be implemented to aid research, such as for example the use of video recording equipment or a tape recorder.

In unstructured observation the researcher comes into the situation without a clear schedule of what s/he is observing, though this does not mean that the researcher comes into the field or situation unprepared but that instead of looking at the specifics of a situation, s/he records instances and impressions that s/he might find interesting.

6.1.4 Initial research design summary

The initial research design was then formed as a case study approach using questionnaires, interviews and observations (see above) aiming to explore and describe the supposed differences in HIV/AIDS education and teaching practices at the different institutions that participated in this research. In designing a case study approach for this research we supposed that there would be enough internal differences in the cases to form specific cases, due to the historical, social and educational differences of the institutions, to glean enough information to build a case study based on analysing the differences between the cases to describe how differences in approaches between the teacher- training institutions impacted on the students' learning of HIV/AIDS related knowledge and knowledge about teaching sensitive issues.

In order to refine the research instruments and gain a broader and more in depth understanding of the research context an exploratory pilot study was carried out.

6.2 The pilot study

Brock Utne and Gudmundsdottir (2010) discusses the nature of an exploratory pilot used both to gather data and to get to know the research field properly. They emphasise that the pilot study is

(...) an important tool in order to avoid methodological surprises, and authors who use this research approach claim that it strongly increases the reliability and the validity of

their research. Doing a pilot study often helps the researcher to focus and adapt the research better to the local situation, notwithstanding that research can unarguably be improved (Gudmundsdottir and Brock –Utne, 2010:360).

During the pilot study and the first period of fieldwork I was based at the University of Cape Town, as this is where my project and initial contacts were based. I used this period to get in touch with the other colleges and universities and to establish useful contacts. I also piloted my questionnaire and collected the questionnaire data from Cape Tech. I was also able to observe some Lifeskills classes at UCT and UWC. I furthermore got a number of unstructured interviews with students whilst either waiting for someone to show up for an interview or during lecture breaks. The students would ask me about my research and I would ask their opinion on some matter, for example on the nature of the teaching given at an institution, or what they personally felt about the nature of the HIV/AIDS crisis in South Africa. These interviews would happen spontaneously and gave me a lot of (unstructured) background information and insight into the students' way of thinking and construction of self. They were not value free, often my opinions shone through and we would discuss different viewpoints. Unstructured interviews also happened with the teaching staff of the institutions where faculty members and I would chat about the organisation of education. These unstructured "interviews" were very informative and gave a very different sort of insight into the lives of students and staff – and through them I managed to access areas of my research that might be more difficult to access with the more structured and "traditional" research methods. The people in these unstructured interviews were all aware that this was part of my research and that it would be used as information to give a broader understanding of the context of the research.

6.2.1 Results of the pilot study

As the pilot study progressed it became clear that using a case study approach would be too demanding for this particular research, partly because of the ad-hoc nature of the HIV/AIDS education at the different institutions (like the fact that UWC would not be starting a specific HIV/AIDS education programme until 2004) and because of the lack of an official HIV/AIDS policy for teacher training (see introduction and chapter 2), and partly due to the demanding nature of performing three in-depth case studies. It was therefore decided that this study would specifically focus on the views and experiences of student teachers and would therefore not include, for example, a systematic documentary analysis, nor would it include planned interviews with lecturers. The pilot also pointed to the fact that structured observations of HIV/AIDS lessons would be difficult to perform, mainly due to the, as described above, ad-hoc nature of HIV/AIDS education in the sample institutions at the time of this research. The observations performed in this research then are unstructured observations used to gain an understanding of the teaching context, rather than specific structured observations that form a part of the data that was later analysed. The reason for excluding these methods was also because of the way the HIV/AIDS programmes at the different institutions were structured with institutions, especially UWC, using a series of external lecturers. The focus and scope of the research therefore needed to be sharpened and narrowed. In the following we will look at the refined and final research design using a qualitative mixed method survey design instead of a case study approach, but firstly we will look at the refined research questions and research objectives which were developed as a result of the pilot study.

6.2.2 Refined research questions and research objectives

It became clear during the pilot phase of this study that the main focus of this study would be concerned with

- 1) The teacher training students' own experiences of HIV/AIDS education - their situatedness.
- 2) How they are prepared to teach
 - a) How they are being taught about HIV/AIDS and other sensitive issues
 - b) Looking at how this was catered for in the three different institutions of this study.

Consequently, we decided to foreground participation in the learning processes, the students' perspectives and their learning contexts and how this more bottom up approach would highlight differences in approaches to learning and preparation to become teachers who are teaching within and about in the context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. The reason why we have chosen to foreground the students' perspectives and their learning contexts is that what the different institutions in this study offers is different learning contexts, partially due to their historical differences (as described above) and partly due to the different content and focus of the HIV/AIDS education given at the three different institutions.

The main objectives of this research then became to:

1. *Map and explore teacher training students' backgrounds and their understanding of HIV/AIDS and teaching about HIV/AIDS in the context of South Africa*
2. *To study the methods used in transmitting knowledge about HIV/AIDS, and whether this is done in a way that puts the disease into the social, cultural and political context of South Africa today.*
3. *Discuss and describe teaching sensitive issues within a framework of education for democracy – focussing specifically on teacher training students' didactic competency and on teacher professionalism*
4. *Discuss changes in the social formation, how these changes affect the way knowledge is produced and dispersed, and how this changes the focus of education in order to realise educational context more suitable for understanding and teaching sensitive issues*

In the following section we will discuss how these changes, which came as a result of the pilot study, affected the research design, in moving away from a case study approach to qualitative mixed methods survey approach/ analysis using interviews, informal observations and a questionnaire survey.

6.3 Final research design

A qualitative mixed methods approach has in the last few years become more utilised in the social sciences as a way of getting a broader insight into a specific field.

Like qualitative research and quantitative research, mixed methods research represents a collection of approaches, or designs, for collecting, analyzing, interpreting and reporting data in empirical research studies. In particular, mixed methods approaches are those approaches to research in which the researcher decides to blend or combine both quantitative and qualitative methods. (Plano Clark, Creswell, Green, Shope, 2008:363)

In this research we have employed the research methods described above, namely a questionnaire survey and interviews to get a broader look into the different learning contexts, and hopefully use these methods to gain a deeper understanding of the teacher training given at the different institutions as well of how the students themselves feel that they are prepared to teach about HIV/AIDS – i.e. their preparedness to teach about HIV/AIDS in the context of schooling and HIV/AIDS and in South Africa.

In general, researchers decide to mix methods within their research because the two together result in a better understanding of the problem being studied. This improved understanding arises when the complementary strengths of quantitative (numbers, trends, generalizability) and qualitative (words, context, meaning) approaches offset the different weaknesses of the two approaches (...) looking at a phenomenon from only one perspective can constrain our understanding of it. However, if we examine the same phenomenon using multiple perspectives that represent different but complementary views, then we are more likely to gain a better, more complete understanding. (Plano Clark, Creswell, Green, Shope, 2008:365)

This research then aims at analysing the differences in approaches to teacher training at the different institutions, as well as to gain an understanding of these students felt preparedness to teach. Earlier we discussed the nature of discourses (see chapter 5) and how they offer a way

of understanding how phenomena are interrelated whilst still carrying a core of its own. We employed a cone model to show how the discursive context of this research (see chapter 5), affects the interaction between the different levels that influence of the learning context, and how changes in the macro level – such as for example changes in curriculum – will influence the micro level of students' learning, and how changes at the micro level of education – such as the possibility for participation – might lead to changes in the macro levels of society.

This research then aims to look at the individual level of how teachers prepare themselves for, and are prepared for, teaching about HIV/AIDS, as well as looking at the institutional level of how the students themselves describe the teaching given to them about HIV/AIDS and other sensitive issues during their teacher training courses. The specific research then is placed in the first two levels of the cone, the micro and meso levels of society. However, as mentioned in chapter 4 education does not happen in a vacuum, it is a result of socio-political factors and happenings at the macro level, both in terms of social changes and their influences, and on the decisions that happen in deciding on a specific curriculum and other relevant policies.

The final research design then follows a qualitative mixed methods design, which differs from the original case study design in its use of mixed methods to highlight different angles of the research questions. This allows the researcher to analyse the data thematically – as will be done in the data analysis (see chapters 7-8) - and not look specifically at variations in detail between the different cases, but at variations in descriptions between the students at the different institutions.

6.4 Questions of validity and reliability of the research

As we discussed in chapter 5, the different research traditions put different emphasis on the nature of research bias. The empiricist, positivist and post – positivist position demand research to strive for objectivity by doing the outmost to design and perform studies that eliminate research bias – by heightening the so- called validity and reliability of research. This can be done by the nature of the research instruments used or the research design used.

In the social sciences there has been a move towards the realisation that total objectivity of data will not be achieved. This is due, as discussed in chapter 5, to the nature of social research – it is often removed from the clinical field discussing a subject area which does not carry a specific truth, but instead carrying different interpretations of a reality – and where the interest of the research is the description of a specific field at a specific time. This research falls in line with the second form of research, where the focus of the study is to gain an understanding of how teacher-training students were taught about HIV/AIDS and other sensitive issues, and how they themselves describe their past and theorise on the way they would like to teach about these issues in the future.

6.4.1 Validity and reliability in Qualitative research

In quantitative research the emphasis is on the on the process of collecting data – the validity and reliability of the data are often defined through the “security measures” involved in the

data collection. This might be a little more difficult to achieve in more qualitatively oriented research. There is a discussion amongst qualitative researchers (cf. Denzin and Lincoln, 2000) as to whether to use the terms reliability and validity of research are also useful in the field of qualitative research, or whether other concepts should be adapted to better suit the qualitative field of research. In my opinion I think that though the concepts might have a slightly different meaning because certain things are very hard to achieve outside of a laboratory, I think that these are valid descriptions of security measures that should be taken into consideration when doing any social research. At the same time the quest for objectivity and generalisability is often not as marked within the qualitative field. The focus here is much more on intersubjective consensus, openness, visibility, transparency of the research process, and reflection on the part of the researcher- the ability to stand back and look at your methods and being accountable for your research e.g. not just publishing random “facts” of your own fabrication just because the data gathered did not suit your own research aims or hypothesis.

6.4.2 Triangulation and the validity of the research questions and student answers

The way most often used by qualitative researchers to ensure the validity and reliability of the research is using different methods of data collection (i.e. a mixed methods approach, see above) thereby using a research design tool known as methods triangulation (cf. Hesse – Bieber and Levy, 2008, etc). This allows the researcher to gain insight and knowledge of a field in various ways and thereby heightens the possibility of the research answering the research questions and excluding serious research bias.

The triangulation design's overall intent is to develop a better understanding of a topic by obtaining two different but complementary types of data. This is accomplished by combining the strengths of quantitative research (large sample sizes, trends, generalizability) with the strengths of qualitative research (small sample sizes, contextual details, in-depth description). This design is used when a researcher wants to compare quantitative and qualitative information in order to present well-corroborated conclusions. (Plano Clark, Creswell, O'Neill Grenn and Shope, 2008:373)

This research uses method triangulation to heighten the validity of the research through the use of anonymous questionnaires, interviews and also, to some degree, observations.

In terms of the validity of the questions in the questionnaire, for the most part the findings of my research turned out to be in line with most other research in the area of HIV/AIDS (chapter 1). As mentioned previously in the chapter, the fact that for the most part the students felt comfortable to talk to me about this subject was also a way of heightening the validity of the study – there is very little reason to believe that the students lied/told untruths to me in the interviews, especially as the coherence between the different students groups was fairly high (as we shall see in the next chapter).

However, as pertains to the answers given by the students in relation to the question on how they themselves would teach about HIV/AIDS, there may be a mismatch between actual practices and what the students themselves report. As the educational structures in South Africa have changed (see chapter 2), there has been a shift in the educational paradigm in moving from an educational form based on the reproduction of knowledge, towards focusing on more democratic and participatory methods. There has also been a change in the official rhetoric with the introduction of OBE into the school curricula (for a more thorough discussion on OBE in schools see chapter 2). This may have led the students to believe that

they are impelled to answer that they would indeed use more democratic and participatory methods, while in practise they are only paying lip-service to the official rhetoric that they are being taught in their teacher training course.

In the following we will look at the development and usage of the research instruments that were used in this research, as well as to discuss sampling and the specific sample of this research.

6.5 The fieldwork and the research tools/instruments

In this section of the chapter we will discuss how the field study was performed and the development of the research tools used in this study.

6.5.1 The Fieldwork

The fieldwork was executed in three periods in spring/summer/autumn (English seasons). The first period was six weeks from mid April to the end of May 2004, the second period was eight weeks from the end of August till mid October 2004, and the third was two intensive weeks in September 2005.

This research was carried out in the region of the Western Cape of South Africa. It focuses on teacher training in HIV/AIDS at three different teacher-training institutions –The University of Cape Town (UCT), The University of Western Cape (UWC) and Cape Technicon (Cape

Tech). Historically and currently, as mentioned above, these institutions cater for different sections of the population, thus giving this study a broad range of cultural social and historical perspectives within which to understand differences in the conception of HIV/AIDS and teaching practices. These universities teach at different levels of teacher-training programmes such as B.Ed. and PGCE, thus giving the study an empirical base covering several social and cultural groupings as well as encompassing teacher-training students that will later teach at all different levels of the South African schooling system.

The first period of this study is described in the description of the pilot study (see above). The second period of data collection was spent doing interviews at UCT and Cape Tech, and also observing two lecture series in professional studies, the HIV/AIDS module and a module on educational psychology. I spent a two weeks interviewing students at Cape Tech and observing some of the classes, as well as trying to “hang out” and talk to the students. My base was still at UCT and I as I lived on campus there. I spent my time doing interviews and observations as well as using it as a base for getting in touch with the other institutions.

The interviews and observations at UCT were mainly conducted in the students’ last term as PGCE students, this to be able to gain the most understanding of their perceptions of teaching, both in schools through Teaching Practice (TP). It was also coincidentally the semester when the HIV/AIDS module ran.

At Cape Tech, my sample consists of second year bachelors students – doing a four year course in teaching. I tried in my sample to get interviews with both the foundation phase and secondary students, and I also got one student from intermediate phase.

The third period was uniquely spent at the university of Western Cape, the students who participated were PGCE students who had just come back from six weeks of Teaching Practice.

When it comes to teacher training the emphases at the different universities vary considerably, partly due to 1) the nature of the programme (if it is a PGCE or a B.Ed), and partly due to 2) structural differences in the teacher training programmes. Historically South African universities have been quite autonomous in the decisions about what and when to teach and this is especially true for universities that are traditionally for the English speaking (white) population (in this research specifically the University of Cape Town and Cape Tech.). This has led to the universities being very wary of what they see as state interference into their autonomy. This has again led to the topic of HIV/AIDS education being taught very differently in the different universities, especially since HIV/AIDS education often is subsumed under the subject of 'lifeskills'. At the universities these differences show themselves in the nature and structure of the HIV/AIDS education. At UCT the module is part of professional studies and is compulsory for all students. In Cape Tech it is supposed to be part of the students' education, but the quality and quantity depends on the individual teacher teaching the module (more of an ad-hoc approach). At UWC the HIV/AIDS module is divided in three sections, all are compulsory for the students. (The teachers came from outside of the institution and the sections comprised of two different workshops and the completion of an internet module, which was initially developed for the University of Stellenbosch).

6.5.2 Collecting background information - observations

As an addition to the main part the research, i.e. the interviews and questionnaires, background knowledge and information was "collected" by informal, unstructured interviews. A lot of my time was spent "hanging around" the different institutions. The institutions are structured very differently and therefore the possibility for doing observations varied. In Cape Tech I found it very difficult to observe the students. It has an institutional culture much reminiscent of school style discipline with smaller classes and lessons. The students seemingly spend their day going from one lesson to another. There is a coffee-shop corner in the entrance to the school, as you enter into a big hall with staircases at either end and a library at one end and computer-rooms at the other. In the windows there are small alcoves where students sit and chat outside of lectures, but from what I could see there was not a lot of students around during lesson time and for the most part the place seemed quite unoccupied. The staff also had their own "teachers' lounge" where they sit to have coffee and tea and to have a chat, but this is also empty during lesson time. If not in lessons the teachers spend their time in their offices and the students, when they have a problem or a question, knock on the teachers' office door. I did not manage to access many lessons partly due to the fact that I had to be allowed in by the teaching staff, and they did not seem to want observers to sit in on their lessons, though I was allowed to observe a few lessons (5 lessons in total).

At UCT the students also had smaller group lectures, as well as some lectures that were for all the students. This was due to the subjects and age group (i.e. primary/ secondary) they had chosen to study. They also had some full group lectures called professional studies modules. The HIV/AIDS module was one of these full group modules. I mainly observed the full group

sessions, which in the time I spent there was the HIV/AIDS module taught, and an educational psychology module. Most of the time I spent in these lectures I tried to observe two things, one what was taught and how it was taught, and two what was the students' reactions and how did they behave in class?

I only observed (due mainly to timeconstraints) one lecture at UWC. At this institution as well I found it very difficult to mingle and interact with the students, mainly because I had trouble finding them, due probably to the organisation of the education building, where from my point of view there was no clear "place" to meet except outside on the lawn. The students I did find would either be in one of the computer labs, or sitting outside in the sunshine underneath the trees. These interviews were done at a time in the teacher training programme where there was little collective education for all the students at the same time, so unfortunately I did not manage to access more lectures or staff at this institution

6.5.3 The questionnaire

As South Africa is a country that has historically been very socially and culturally divided it was important to add questions pertaining to background characteristics that might give one a better understanding of the social, cultural and racial differences that colour the area of HIV/AIDS education in the Western Cape. After some deliberation and consulting with local researchers and my supervisor, I finally decided to use the "old" apartheid population

categories, but with a footnote explaining that the researcher realises that these categories are the heritage of the highly racist apartheid regime.

The questions in the questionnaire are divided into 5 parts (see appendix 1)

- Background
- Teacher- training students' knowledge about HIV/AIDS
- Training in HIV/AIDS issues
- Preparedness to teach HIV/AIDS
- Teaching sensitive issues in general

It was felt that it would be important to have a few questions that evaluated the students' knowledge about HIV/AIDS and how this 1) is spread, 2) affects the population 3) whether the students have any knowledge of people with HIV or AIDS. These questions were meant to give an understanding of the nature of the students' knowledge about HIV/AIDS and their understanding of risky behaviours connected to HIV/AIDS. The rationale behind this was to get a feel for possible misunderstandings and myths in the students' knowledge about HIV/AIDS, and also an underlying thought that teachers need to impart the right knowledge to the students they are teaching in order to change the behaviours that lead to the rapid and, to an extent, uncontrolled spread of this disease in South Africa.

One of the main foci of this research is teacher training in HIV/AIDS related issues given at the teacher training institutions. It was therefore important to have questions that probed the nature of this education; if there had been any training at all, what is the content of this

education, what are the foci (bio-medical, spread of the disease, socio-cultural implications) and what kind of teaching methods have been used?

It was furthermore important to gain an understanding of the student teachers' background education about HIV/AIDS and it was also important for me not only to find out about whether they had had any education either in secondary or primary school, but also what were the methods and content used in this teaching. This was in order to see how this might later have influenced the student teachers' understanding of how they themselves intend to teach about HIV/AIDS when they have become fully fledged teachers.

The last two groups of questions in the questionnaire were qualitative questions probing the students' preparedness to teach about HIV/AIDS in the context of HIV/AIDS. It also asked about the students' preparedness to teach sensitive issues in general (issues concerning sex, sexuality, religion, culture etc.). These questions were added to explore the possible answers one might get in the interviews. These questions were generally too big and not enough well defined to elicit specific answers but were open ended and meant to give the researcher a feel for the field, and to give direction to the questions one might ask in the interviews.

6.5.4 The interviews

The interview guide (see Appendix 2) was developed in the summer of 2004, partly based on the questions from the questionnaire and partly on experiences and knowledge from the pilot study. The interview schedule is based on the same principle as the questionnaire and the questions were formed around the same categories as those of the questionnaire.

The interview schedule (appendix 2) was developed on the notion of placing the questions along a line where the questions are formed so that they firstly ask about the students' past, family background, where they come from, schooling background etc. It then asks questions about the present – about their teacher training, what they aim to teach and how they feel about teaching about HIV/AIDS and how it should be taught, and how they feel they have been taught about HIV/AIDS during their teacher training. The last questions are more future oriented and ask the students about what they see themselves as doing in the future and why they have chosen to become teachers. The interviews form the qualitative basis of the study and were semi structured. The aim was to make the interview into more of a dialogue between the interviewees and myself than a question and answer session.

The interviews were mainly one on one, though in two instances I did have a group interview with two students and me. In one instance this was in order to save time – the students had a very busy schedule and this was done in order to access as many students as possible in a relatively short period of time. The other group interview was set up as a result of me wanting to interview a specific student and him feeling uncomfortable with being interviewed by me by himself. I then organised for him to be interviewed together with his friend, a fellow student whom he had also had teaching practice together with and with whom he felt comfortable. The interviews ranged in time from around 15 minutes to around 45 minutes.

Some interviews were more focused and some a bit less – some were also constrained by the time the students had to spare because it might be done in the break between two classes or similar. The interviews at Cape Tech and at UCT were in a very stressful time for the students, especially at UCT where they took place in the run-up to the final exams and the

students had projects to finish. As an interviewer I thus had to conduct the interviews in the students' spare time, whilst managing to do as many as I could within my own limited timeframe.

6.6 Research sample - institutions

The institutions I studied were very different in organisational culture. In the following the institutional differences, the process of acquiring research samples and the role of the researcher at the different institutions will be discussed.

6.6.1 Cape Technicon

Cape Technicon felt more like an advanced school, with the student and teacher roles that entails – the students here were in their late teens/ early twenties (with one exception), most had come more or less straight into teacher training from high school or secondary school. In this institution I was connected with the teacher who teaches, amongst other things, HIV/AIDS. In getting a sample we discussed between ourselves who were the most likely candidates to answer 'yes' to a request to being interviewed. We settled on two classes, one primary and one for secondary education. Getting students to agree to being interviewed (except for one case) involved me being introduced by the teacher, and then me giving a very brief introduction to my work, and then asking the students to please sign up. The ones who did gave me a contact number and a time they felt they could meet me. The interviews

themselves were either performed in the office of my colleague, with me sitting half way behind a desk and the student sitting in a chair next to another table (where my digital recorder was placed) or they were performed in empty classrooms with me on one side of the desk and the student on the other (one interview took place in four different classrooms, until we finally found somewhere where it was quiet enough (they were having building work done so I have loud banging noises on my recordings) and where no other people needed the classroom. The setting was very much that of a teacher talking to a student. I did try to be more on level with the students, but I think I was mainly perceived as a teacher who wanted information. They were very good about answering my questions, but compared to UCT the interviews were a lot shorter and very much characterised by a form of student- teacher relationship.

6.6.2 The University of Cape Town

My main base while in Cape Town was at UCT. I was staying at the university accommodation and it was therefore easy to access the students. I decided that while I was there that I would try to do some very informal observations of the students and chose to sit in on their professional studies lectures – where all 110 students were supposed to attend together. These lectures were in addition to the HIV/AIDS module and were a module on educational psychology. By observing these classes I got acquainted with some of the students – mainly those who were curious as to what my work entailed and they would come up to me to chat during the breaks. Most of these were male students, which gave me the

perfect opportunity to ask them if they wouldn't mind being interviewed by me. Getting candidates for interviews was then partly as a result of getting acquainted with the students – they would also introduce me to their friends, and point out people that it might be interesting for me to interview, and partly by accosting students and asking them to please come and talk to me, mainly so that I could get as much of a spread between the genders and different backgrounds as I possibly could. I asked those whom during the lectures it struck me as interesting to interview (due to them having done their teacher training practice in underprivileged schools). The interviews were much more informal than those at Cape Tech. partly because the students knew me – I was seen more as a fellow student by them than a researcher/ teacher – and because they were more similar in age and background to me i.e. we had similar interests and, to some degree, similar experiences. This made for a very relaxed setting in the interviews and the students whilst answering my questions; it seemed more like a dialogue of peers. My role here then, was that of an honorary fellow student.

6.6.3 The University of Western Cape

To gain permission to do my research at UWC I had to apply for ethical clearance in order for the university to give me access to the students and staff. This application was accepted and I was allowed to do my research there. I was given a contact at the School of Education that was there to support my work and help me find the students I needed. My role here from the beginning was that of a visiting researcher. Lectures at UWC are also organised so that there are some lecture series that are for the whole class, and I was allowed half an hour of one of these lectures to hand out my questionnaire and to recruit students for my interviews. This

went fairly well – with a bit of help from the lecturer, and some of the keener students, I got some of the students to sign up. A problem with UWC is that the education building does not seem to have a place where students naturally congregate. Some students can be found sitting under the trees in the courtyard outside the education building, but there was no place where it would be natural to “chat” with the students. I therefore had very few spontaneous conversations with students or staff outside of the scheduled interviews and meetings.

Another challenging aspect was finding a room to use whilst interviewing. While there were some spare offices that could be used, the key could not be found or similar, thus some of the interviews had to take place outside under the trees or on the benches in the courtyard (which luckily were quite undisturbed so that, other than poor sound quality and a few interruptions, the interviews went ahead as planned). My role here then was that of the visiting researcher.

6.7 The research sample - students

In all 163 students handed in the questionnaire and 26 students were interviewed.

This table contains an overview of the data gathered. It should be noted that due to research constraints, such as the timing of my visits to the different universities and problems with accessing HIV/AIDS education lessons at Cape Tech. and at UWC, there are no structured observations in this sample (a more thorough discussion of the limitations of this research will follow later in this chapter). The observations made in this research then consist mainly in the form of unstructured observations. They have therefore not been included in the specific analysis, but reference will be made to these observations and informal interviews that often

happened spontaneously in the research field (we will be coming back to the ethical questions concerning informal interviews and observations later in this chapter.)

Table 9: Numbers of interviews and questionnaires answered per institution

	Interviews	Questionnaire	Estimated Formal ² Observations
The University of Cape Town	9	76	17
The University of Western Cape	8	54	2
Cape Technicon	8	33	5
Total	27	163	24

6.7.1 The sample at The University of Cape Town (UCT)

At the university of Cape Town the sample consisted of 76 questionnaires and 9 interviews (see table 9).

² Informal observations happened on a day to day basis – through interaction and conversation with students and lecturers. These are not included in the diagram as they are difficult to number.

6.7.1.1 The questionnaire

76 questionnaires were answered; they were handed out during one of the obligatory professional studies modules on Child Development, giving the students little chance to refuse to answer.

6.7.1.2 The interviews

I did nine in-depth interviews with the PGCE students at UCT; five men and four women, of a population that is largely dominated by females. Two of these students were coloured, one female and one male student. All students described themselves as coming from a middle class background, though some from the lower middle classes and some from a higher, all mainly from the southern suburbs and the white areas on the Cape Peninsula.

I performed the interviews with the students in the last two weeks of my stay in Cape Town. There were a couple of reasons for this, one was that I wanted to get acquainted with the student population and make them acquainted with me, and as such be more willing to accept being interviewed, the second because I had spent two of the previous weeks at Cape Technicon. The sample was gathered partly by me acquiring knowledge of who might be interesting to interview. The students had just returned from teaching practice, and four of them (males) had had their TP in so-called underprivileged areas of Cape Town (informal settlements in the Cape area). I also tried to speak to as many coloured students as I could for diversity - one person I asked at the end of a lecture and one was recommended to me as someone I might want to talk to and as someone that might want to talk to me. The method of

gaining a sample thus was partly by asking students I had come to know during interaction with them in lectures and outside on the steps of the graduate School of Humanities and partly as a form of snowballing effect where students were recommended to me by other students that were already part of my sample. The girls proved particularly elusive and it was hard to find some that had the time to be interviewed. (It was during the run up to exam season and towards the end of their PGCE course and the students had a lot of work that needed to be done.) The interviews themselves took part in either a lecturer's office, other spare offices and in classrooms that were not being used at the time. The interviews themselves ranged in time between around half an hour to about an hour.

6.7.2 The sample at Cape Technicon (Cape Tech.)

In all 33 questionnaires were answered from Cape Tech. The sample also consists of 8 interviews with students (as seen in table 9).

6.7.2.1 The questionnaire

The questionnaire was piloted at Cape Technicon. The questionnaire was handed out to a class of first year second semester teacher-training students. In all 33 students answered the questionnaire. The students had been told about the questionnaire earlier that day, but were, to a large, extent a captive audience. The students then had one hour to answer the questionnaire.

The respondent time varied, though most students took about 20 minutes to answer the questionnaire.

6.7.2.2 The interviews

The interviews were performed between the 20-22 of September 2004. My sample consisted of eight students, three from secondary education (years 7-12, to be specific secondary school teaching business and technology) four from primary education (years Reception-3) and one intermediate phase student (years 4-7). Demographically I had four respondents who characterised themselves as black or coloured – two coloured, and two black, and four white respondents in South African terms. They come from different socio economic backgrounds, both middle and lower classes, and they are from different areas around the Cape.

The students were sampled from mainly two classes held by my contact at Cape Tech. In the secondary school class only three of around fifteen agreed to be interviewed, some probably put off by the topic of HIV/AIDS education. The primary school class was much easier to ask, they were used to questions about HIV/AIDS having been part of another study and happily volunteered to be interviewed, though when it came to showing up to be interviewed some did not show. The student from the intermediate phase was recruited by two of the girls I interviewed from primary phase when one of their fellow students was a no-show.

6.7.3 The sample at The University of Western Cape (UWC)

The sample at the university of Western Cape consist of 10 interviews (three of which are with students from Lesotho – these are included as they offer much information about how they have been taught about HIV/AIDS in their teacher training programme, as well as because Lesotho as a country is perhaps even more plagued by the HIV/AIDS epidemic because of its economic reliance on South Africa through migrant workers working, for example, in South African mines).

There were also 54 respondents to the questionnaire (see table 9).

6.7.3.1 The questionnaire

The questionnaire was handed out in a full group lecture there were about 55 of the 80 students present on that day. The students had been told about the questionnaire taking place at the beginning of the lecture and I was given about half an hour of class time. Due to some problems with access to offices and classrooms, some of the interviews had to take place outside, either under a tree or on a bench. This was not a problem for the students, as the places found were quite sheltered, but there were a few interruptions (such as a lecturer coming to accuse me of stealing her students) but this does not seem to have influenced the interviews much. The students who were interviewed outside all gave their consent to talking to me “in public”. The rest of the interviews took place in a small classroom or in a lecturer’s office.

Demographically I got a fair spread of backgrounds, three of the girls were from Lesotho. The University of Western Cape is a former black university and there were no white students at the School of Education. The sample thus consisted of people formerly categorised as black or coloured.

6.7.3.2 The interviews

The students were recruited after having filled in the questionnaire, when they handed it in. With some help from the lecturer a total of fourteen students signed up for interviews. In the end six of this original fourteen showed up. While I was waiting for a “no show” one girl came up to me and asked to be interviewed (she had not been in the earlier lecture and her friends had told her about me). Three more students were recruited with some help from one of the students who was interested in my work but felt he might be too old to answer it himself, from the students’ computer room. In all ten students were interviewed, five female and five male.

6.8 Representativity of the sample

In this research the biggest threat to the “truth” of the research lay in the sampling procedures, and the sensitive nature of this research. This can lead to a skewed sample, as mainly you are asking people to volunteer. In doing so there is a danger of getting people that are already willing to talk about HIV/AIDS. A problem with the reliability of the data here would be that

you are unable to access the parts of the student population that see teaching HIV/AIDS as a problem, or indeed something they would not feel comfortable talking about. I tried in my “recruitment” speeches to make it clear that I was not after the students’ own sexual history and practices, that I was mostly interested in their views on teaching HIV/AIDS and their personal, and especially educational, background and their future in South African society.

The different institutions cater for different degrees. The study sample at UCT and UWC were doing a post graduate diploma and the sample at Cape Tech. was doing a bachelors – the samples also differ in amount. At Cape Tech. we sampled one class of first year bachelors students (total 33) for the questionnaire, whilst the interview sample was collected from two different classes to get a better spread of future teaching area – the first class which also answered the survey was aiming to teach secondary school, the second class aimed at teaching the first four years of primary school. At UCT and UWC the questionnaire was handed to the students during a whole class lesson (that is one lesson in which all the students are meant to participate) – and as such represent the main student body at the time of the study.

It should also be noted that my interview sample is skewed in the male/female ratio, as I have almost the same number of men and women, in a population that is largely dominated by females. This was done partly on purpose, from wanting to interview people of both genders based on the assumption that males and females might have differences of opinion and knowledge about this disease, and partly by the males being the ones who would volunteer to be interviewed by me on this topic.

6.9 Ethical issues

Ethical issues are concerns that arise in any form of social research:

(...) they arise inevitably from the kinds of questions behavioural scientists ask and the methods used to obtain meaningful answers. They may be evoked by the research topic itself, the nature of the setting in which the research is conducted, the kind of persons serving as research participants, the procedures required by the research design, the methods of collecting data, the type of data collected, or the nature of the research rapport. As a matter of fact, certain types of ethical difficulties occur repeatedly in social relations research (Judd, Smith and Kidder, 1991:479).

In this research it was especially important to achieve anonymity for the students in the sample. The Norwegian National committee for research ethics in the social sciences and the Humanities (NESH) (2001) states on the topic of anonymity and confidentiality of the research that:

Research must show due respect for the individual's privacy. Informants are entitled to exert control over whether or not to make sensitive information about themselves available to others (NESH, 2001:12).

Persons who are made the subjects of research are entitled to confidential treatment of all information they give on personal matters. The researcher must prevent the use and transmission of information which may harm the individual on whom the research is carried out. The research material must normally be rendered anonymous, and the methods of storage and destruction of lists of names or other information which makes it possible to identify individuals must satisfy strict requirements (NESH, 2001:13).

The questionnaires in this study were anonymous and confidential and were handed to the students in whole class situations where a number of students answered the questionnaire at the same time. The questionnaire did not contain names or numbers allowing the researcher, or indeed others, to identify which individual student has completed the questionnaire.

Participation in the interviews and the questionnaires was on a voluntary basis where the students were asked for their participation in a classroom setting. The students were informed about the main aims of the study and that it was part of a doctoral study and asked if they would be willing to participate. It was furthermore emphasised that answering the questionnaire was entirely voluntary and it was stressed that individuals that did not want to answer the questionnaire were completely free to refuse.

The Association takes voluntary informed consent to be the condition in which participants understand and agree to their participation without any duress prior to the research getting underway” (BERA, 2004).

The information given in the interviews was treated confidentially. On account of the small spread in background, in the data analysis the students will either be identified by institution or gender, e.g. male student UWC. The interviews did not specifically aim to gather information of a sensitive nature, that is issues concerning the students’ sexuality, religion and in this case specifically their HIV/AIDS status, though if any information of this sort was disclosed as part of the interview, it was treated with sensitivity, discretion and confidentiality. The interviews was also held on the understanding that the students was not forced to divulge information that they are unwilling to disclose, and that they only answered what they wanted to answer.

When it comes to the informal, spontaneous interviews and the informal observations in this study, they for the most part form the background understanding of this research. The participants being observed and the participants in the informal interviews (or chats) were all informed that this would/ might form part of the research. The spontaneous interviews happened often by people approaching me with information or viewpoints that they thought

would be interesting for my research, where as when the observations took place the students were informed who I was, the nature of my study and my role there as an observer – as well as to the possibility that this would form part of my research.

6.10 Practical issues and research limitations

As with any research there were a few challenges to my research such as

- issues of sampling
- gaining access
- timing
- cultural/social knowledge

6.10.1 Issues of sampling

As has been pointed out, getting students to participate or even show up to be interviewed was not always an easy task and this added to the rather opportunistic, ad hoc nature of this research. For the most part though, I feel I have ended up with a representative sample in that I managed to get a spread of male and female students and also get, where possible, students from different backgrounds and students going to teach different subjects - both within the case study institutions themselves and across the institutions. Problems of sampling were often related to students not being willing to talk about sensitive issues, or not having time or wanting to participate. The subject that was researched is still seen as a very sensitive issue

and it is normal that this would deter some of the students from wanting to participate. The interviews at two of the institutions also happened at a time when the students were gearing up for their final exams, so that some declined for the reason that they had very little time free to participate in the study. However, I tried my best to accommodate the students' schedules when the students signed up for the interviews. Participation in the study was also voluntary, and it could be argued that that led to the sample being positively biased towards the students who were willing to talk about HIV/AIDS and therefore it would be more probable that they would want to teach about it when they become fully fledged teachers.

There are also no interviews with the lecturers who gave the HIV/AIDS lectures at the different institutions. This was partly due to the fact that they were inaccessible, that is for example at UWC where the person who had put the HIV/AIDS course together was currently on study leave at the time of my study there, and because of the use of outside lecturers. It was also deemed that as the focus of this study was on student teachers' construction of knowledge of HIV/AIDS in the context of South Africa, the students own experiences of their training and their descriptions of what they had learnt while both at school and during their teacher training courses was of more direct relevance to this research.

It should also be noted that these are institutions where the students are taking either an undergraduate degree or a post graduate degree in teaching. The sample at Cape Tech. being second year, second semester students doing a four-year teaching degree, whilst most of the students at the University of Cape Town and the University of Western Cape are post graduate students doing a one-year postgraduate Teaching degree. This was done intentionally, as the initial intention of this research was to access the four institutions that

offer teacher training in the Western Cape Province, to get a spread of both postgraduate and bachelors students and see what they were being taught about and how they were being taught about HIV/AIDS. However, due to the fact that at the time of the research the University of Stellenbosch was using an internet module instead of regular lectures to educate their learners about HIV/AIDS it was deemed that it might be too difficult to access the students who had completed the module, and this university was therefore excluded from the study.

6.10.2 Timing

This research was done in three relatively short “spurts”. Another way of doing the research would have been to have done all the fieldwork at the same time, but staying longer. For personal and practical reasons I decided that this was not right for me. Time thus became an issue partly because it takes a while to arrange the meetings and set up appointments for interviews and the like, and partly because the students and staff at the institutions had a lot on at the time of the research.

There is also the question of the time lapsed between the research data was collected and the production of this thesis due to the personal situation of this researcher. However, the present data does represent the student construction of knowledge at the time, is supported by the recent HEAIDS report (2010)(see introduction) and there are still important insights into and understandings of HIV/AIDS education stemming from this research.

6.10.3 Gaining access

For the most part gaining access to students was, as discussed in the descriptions of the case studies, a relatively easy process. At UCT I was introduced to the students by being allowed to observe lectures, and at Cape Tech. I was helped by another lecturer who introduced me to her classes and asked the students to take part in my study. At UWC the process of gaining access was a bit more difficult, with having to apply for ethical clearance both from the ethics council and from the university registrar before being allowed to perform the research (something which I was only informed of two months prior to leaving). But once the application was handed in and cleared the university also helped by allocating a resource person to help with the research process, and to help gain access to students and staff. At UWC I was helped by a lecturer, who also organised the HIV/AIDS lectures for the PGCE students

6.10.4 Social and cultural knowledge

South Africa is a very complex society, with firm social and cultural boundaries. Being part South African myself, I have a little knowledge of this society. But as I left for South Africa I decided to introduced myself as a Norwegian researcher doing a PhD at a British university, thus taking on the role of the outsider looking in. In many ways this is what I was, though I do think that the South African part of me made it easier to understand some of the more intricate social and cultural boundaries that exist in the South African society, and use this knowledge in situating my research and the questions that I was able to ask the students in the interviews.

6.11 Data analysis

In the process of the data analysis there was found to be little variance in the students' answers as pertaining to their backgrounds, their schooling histories and the HIV/AIDS education given to them while they themselves were in school.

The analysis therefore does not make as clear a use of the case study approach that would be expected from the initial research design (as described earlier in this chapter). The analysis will therefore be presented thematically instead of through the explicit use of cases, except where there is discussion about different practices at the three different teacher training institutions, such as in the descriptions of the students experiences of HIV/AIDS education during their specific teacher training courses.

6.12 summary

This research is based within a hermeneutical interpretive research framework, using a mixed methods approach. In this chapter we have discussed the development of the research process, from an initial case study approach to the final mixed- methods approach. We have also looked at the research sample, the research limitations and ethical issues connected with his research. . In the following we will discuss and analyse the findings of this research.

7.0 Analysis chapter – the Questionnaire

This data analyses is divided into questionnaire data i.e. the responses to the questionnaire in this chapter, and the interview data which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The aim when presenting the questionnaire data is to gain a broad understanding of the practices of the teacher-training institutions, as well as a mapping of students' knowledge and understanding of HIV/AIDS education and education in sensitive issues.

The interview data will provide a more in depth analysis of the practices of the different institutions as well as gaining an understanding of the factors that influence the students' views, their past schooling experiences, their current experience and their views of the future as teachers teaching about and within a context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa.

The aim of the present chapter is to provide an overview of the findings from the questionnaire (see appendix 1). As discussed in the methodology chapter, the questionnaire was divided into five different parts; background variables, knowledge about HIV/AIDS, how much teacher training in HIV/AIDS issues the student had had, and the focus thereof (both in their teacher training and in school), preparedness to teach about HIV/AIDS and a general category of teaching sensitive issues.

By background we here understand the students' gender, age, the degree they are taking and what in this questionnaire has been called their social and cultural background. This relates to

the old apartheid categories whereby the South African people were divided into a four racially based categories.

By checking the students' general knowledge of HIV/AIDS we aimed to look at how the students answered basic knowledge questions about HIV/AIDS. This was to get a general understanding of the students' knowledge level.

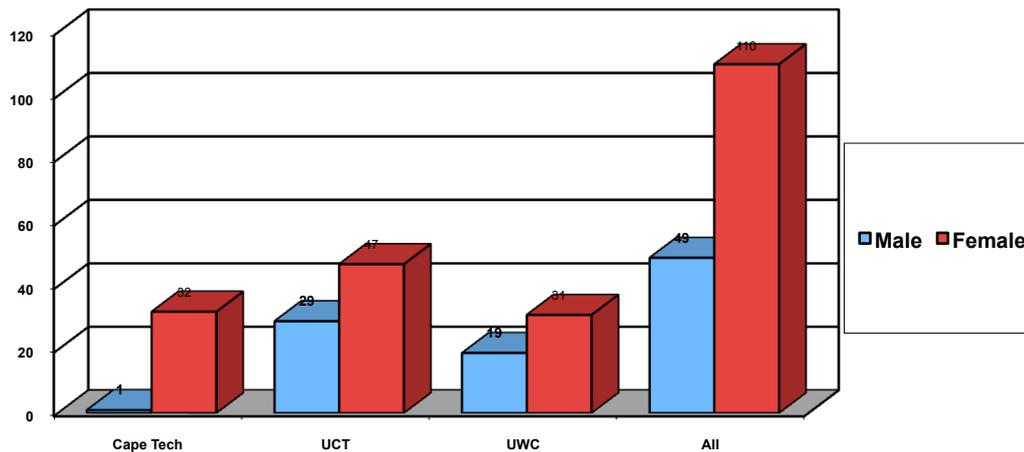
The next questions looked at the students schooling background, and how they have been taught about HIV/AIDS, both in primary and secondary school, in order to gain an understanding of how, and if, the students have been taught about HIV/AIDS before they came to do their teacher education, and during their teacher training, and to see if what and how they are taught had any influence as to how they answer the questions about how prepared they are to teach about HIV/AIDS in the future, as well as the emphasis they put on how and what to teach about HIV/AIDS when they themselves become teachers.

The last questions covers the topic of sensitive issues, asking what the students see as sensitive issues, and how they have been taught about sensitive issues during their teacher training course.

7.1 Background variables

The questionnaire was handed to 163 students from 3 different institutions, Cape Technicon, University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University of Western Cape (UWC). As we can see from the following table, 33 students from Cape Tech. answered the questionnaire (making it 20 percent of the overall participants), 76 students from the University of Cape Town (or 47% of the overall participants) and 54 students from the University of Western Cape, (or 33% of the overall participants). The difference in percentage is due to issues of access such as number of classes accessed and the number of students that showed up for lecture the day the questionnaires were handed out.

Table 10. Numbers of male and female respondents to the questionnaire

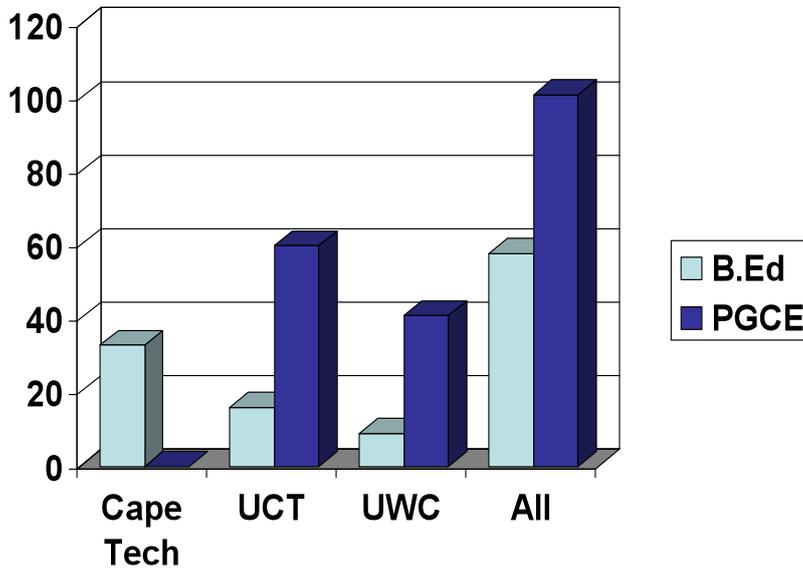


The students were then asked about their program of study, (either PGCE- Post Graduate Certificate of Education or B.ed – Bachelor of education), their age, and as discussed in the methodology chapter) using the old apartheid categories, the students were asked about their colour or social background.

7.1.1 Study programme

As seen from the figure presented below 101 participants were taking a PGCE degree while 58 of the participants were doing a B.Ed. All of the students asked at Cape Tech. were doing a B.Ed, whilst 16 of the participants from UCT as well as 9 of the participants from UWC were also doing their B.Ed degrees. 60 of the participants from UCT were doing their PGCE degrees and the number of PGCE students participating from UWC is 41. These differences can be ascribed to the institutions that were visited, and the teacher training programmes that were in the study. The PGCE is a teaching degree that qualifies one as teacher after having completed a bachelors degree where as the B.Ed is bachelors degree in teaching.

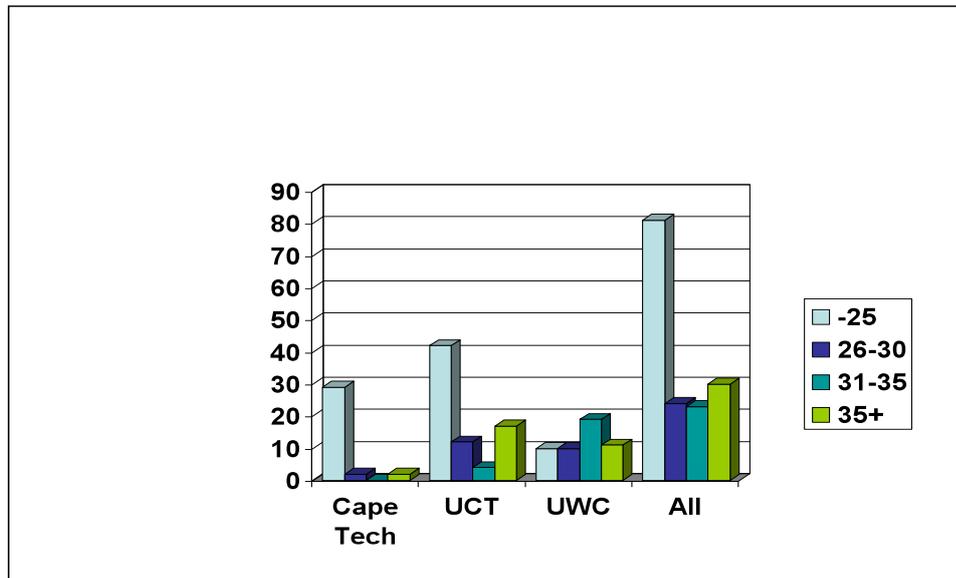
Table 11. The number of participants taking B.Ed and PGCE degrees



7.1.2 Age

Of the 159 participants who answered the question of age (4 are missing), 81 of the participants answer that they are between 20-25 years old, 24 are from 26 -30 years old, 23 of the participants are 31- 35 years old whilst 30 of the students are over 35 years old. The main bulk of students thus are in the category 20 -25 years old, followed by students over the age of 35. Those students that fall into the category over 35 might be students who have earlier worked as teachers, but who are now doing a teaching degree, like for example the Botswana students at the University of Cape Town.

Table 12. Age spread in sample pr. institution



What we can see from this graph is that of the sample the students at Cape Tech. are the youngest students, whereas UWC has a more even spread between the age groups. UCT mostly has students in the youngest age group – that is under 25s, but they also have several students over the age of 35.

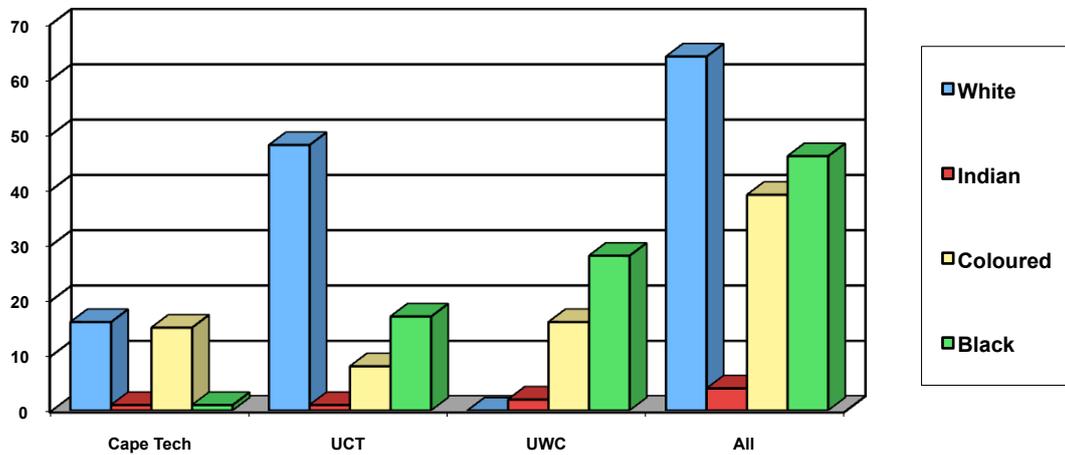
7.1.3 Background

In order to look at potential social and cultural differences the students were asked about their background. In this question I used the old apartheid categories of White, Indian, Coloured and Black because, though they officially do no longer exist, people still unofficially use and understand these categories. It was however emphasised in the questionnaire itself that the researcher realises that these categories are from the former racist apartheid regime.

From the table below we can see that 64 of the participants categorised themselves as white, 4 as Indian, 39 as coloured and 46 as Black. The table below also shows how the students have categorised themselves according to background and the institution they are from. The class at Cape Tech is split more or less in half between students who categorise themselves as white (n = 16) and students who categorise themselves as coloured (n = 15), with one student each in the category for Indian and Black. UCT is now a multi racial university with over half the general student population either coloured or black, this however is not reflected in the population of their teacher training students for 2004; of the 74 (out of 76 students) who answered this question 48 of the students categorise themselves as white, one as Indian, 8 as coloured and 17 as black.

UWC on the other hand has no students categorising themselves as white, 2 who categorise themselves as Indian, 16 as coloured and 28 as black. These institutions then have very different student populations, with UCT being most predominantly white, Cape Tech. having, in this study, the most mixed student group, and the students doing teacher training at UWC in 2005, were predominantly coloured or black. The reason for these differences is difficult to tell from the data gathered, and also from the different discussions I had with the students and teachers during my fieldwork, but they can possibly lie in the institutions historical differences, which are linked to different geographical positions, and possibly the grade average needed to be accepted at the different institutions.

Table 13. Spread of background by institution



7.2 Knowledge about HIV/AIDS

These questions were designed to test the HIV/AIDS knowledge of the teacher training students as well as to find out about their own experience of HIV/AIDS.

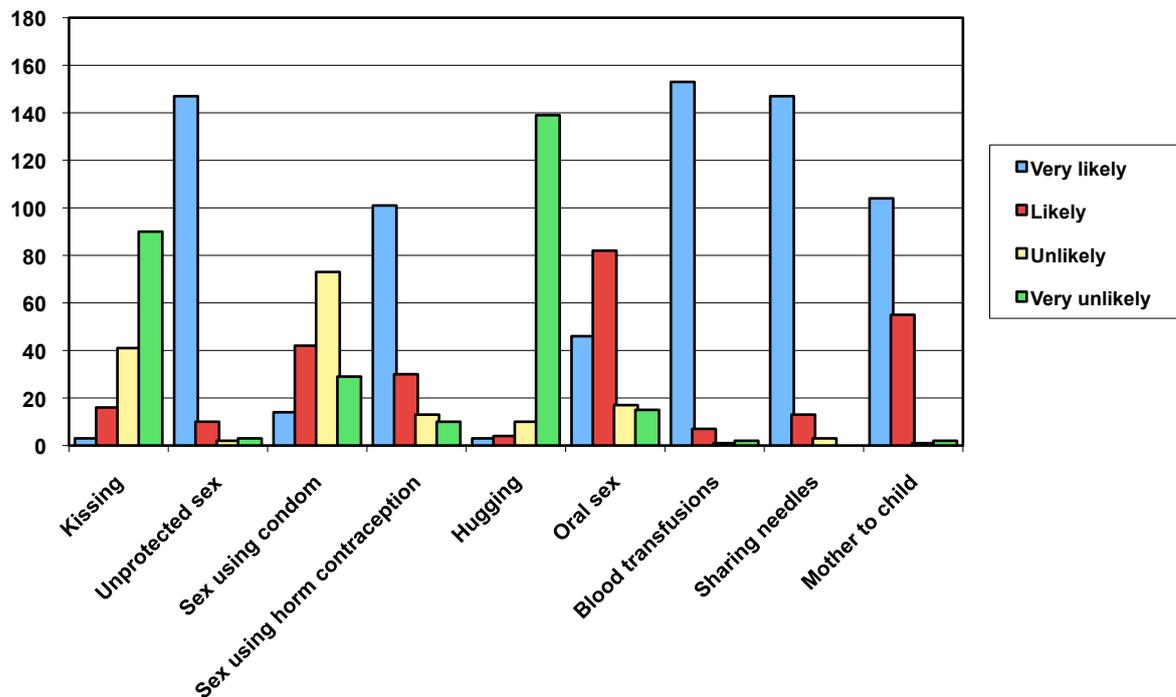
The first question was *“Please rate how likely you think it is that the following behaviours/acts will lead to a person contracting HIV?”*

The behaviours were rated from very likely, likely, unlikely, very unlikely. The behaviours that the students were asked to rate were: a) kissing, b) unprotected sex, c) sex using a condom, d) Sex using hormonal contraception e) Social contact, i.e. hugging, shaking hands,

f) Oral sex, g) Blood transfusions with infected blood, h) Sharing needles for drug injection, i) Mother to child infection.

Of these the most likely way of contracting HIV/AIDS, is anywhere where large amounts of body fluids are in direct contact with blood, and where there is possibility of fluid to blood contact, such as through unprotected sex, sex using hormonal contraception, sharing needles and mother to child infection, Blood transfusions with infected blood is high risk, risk with kissing is minimal or even negligible (only one proven case where HIV has transmitted through kissing and in this case the subjects had both severe gingivitis), sex using a condom (provided the condom is used properly), the risk from oral sex is lower than if you are having unprotected sex, but higher than if you were using a condom, with social contact there is no danger at all. The answers to these questions were as follows:

Table 14. Knowledge of likelihood of contracting HIV/A



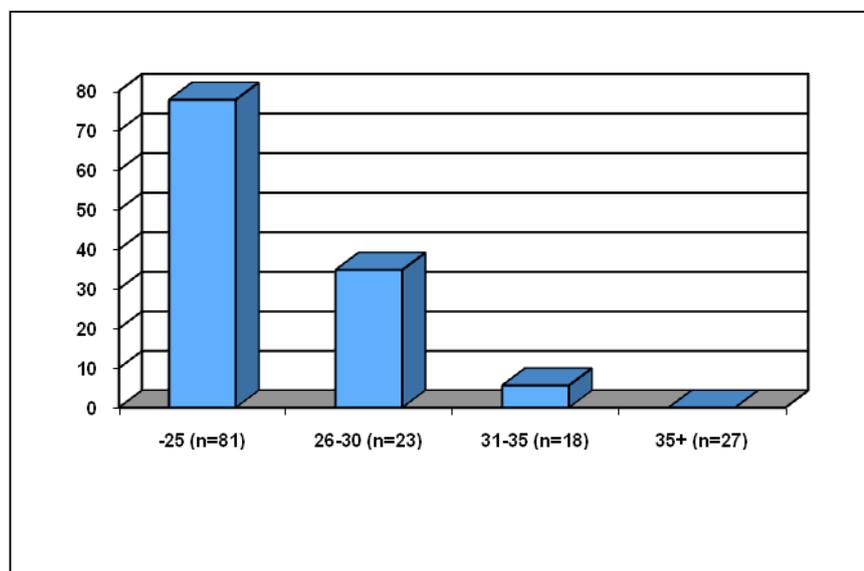
To conclude on this question; for the most part the students were able to give the correct answers, yet there is still a lack of awareness of the risks of certain behaviours, like e.g. the risk involved like use of contraception like condoms that for the most part is safe and the use of hormonal contraception, which is as unsafe as unprotected sex in this context.

An attempt was made at finding out if there were any factors that were statistically significant in explaining variations and differences in the students' answers. The factors that were tested for were age, which institution the students were at, which degree they were taking (B.ed. or PGCE), their social and cultural background, and they had had education at secondary school, this was then correlated with the responses of "right" or "wrong" answers given on the 8 different questions on HIV/AIDS knowledge (see appendix 3).

This analysis showed that there was a significant difference between the number of students' correct responses (i.e. what was in this analysis marked as "right" answers) and their age. There is also a significant difference between students that report having had HIV/AIDS training in secondary school and those who report not having had that training in secondary school. This is again correlated to age – i.e. the students that answered the most "wrong" answers were in the categories of 31- 35 and 35 and over.

Between the institutions the most "wrong" answers were given at UWC – but this correlation disappeared when corrected for age. It seems though that the reason there were more wrong answers at UWC was not because overall the students knew less about HIV/AIDS, but because they had more students in the older age groups than the other two institutions. They thereby also had fewer students that reported having had HIV/AIDS training at secondary school. There was also a tendency for students who reported having background 4 (i.e. students that were black) to have more wrong answers, but when testing for whether the students had received HIV/AIDS at secondary school the correlation here disappeared. This tendency therefore is most probably explained by the fact that the students of background 4 (Black) were older (and thereby had not received HIV/AIDS training at secondary school). The reason why they have not received HIV/AIDS training at secondary school is most probably because they went to school before HIV/AIDS was seen as problematic. It was only after the introduction of curriculum 2005 (see chapter 2) that the HIV/AIDS education was properly introduced in schools.

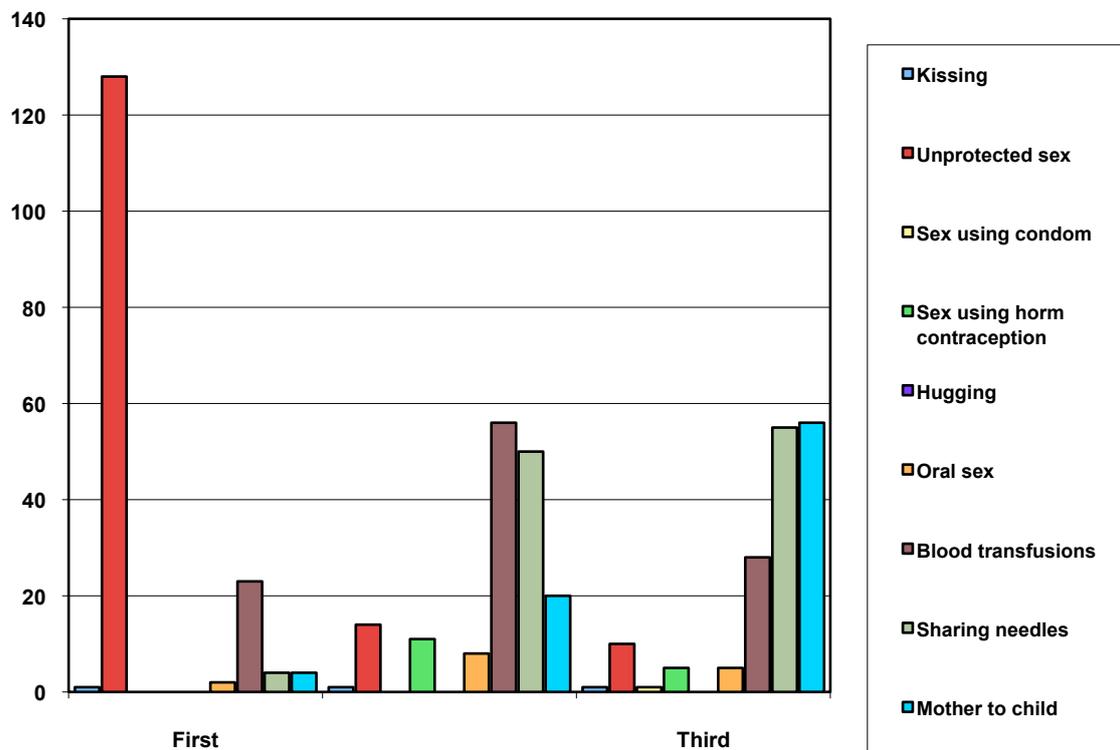
Table 15 Number of the students in the different age groups who reported having had HIV/AIDS education in secondary school.



The percentage of students that report having had HIV/AIDS education in secondary school is highest in the youngest student group (i.e. those under 25), whereas of the students over the age of 31 only 1 student reported having had HIV/AIDS education in secondary school.

The next question was “*of the above, what do you think are the 3 most common ways of contracting HIV/AIDS?*” For this question the three most common ways of contracting HIV/AIDS are unprotected sex (into which can also be subsumed, oral sex and sex using hormonal contraception) sharing needles for drug use and mother to child infection.

Table 16. Rating the most common way of contracting HIV/AIDS



As the most common way of contracting HIV/AIDS the main bulk of students (78% n= 128) answered unprotected sex.

For the second most common way of contracting HIV the students' answers, 34% (n= 56) of the students mention Blood transfusions, 31% (n = 50) mention sharing needles for drug injection and 12% (n = 20) mentioned mother to child transmission.

For the third most common way of contracting HIV/AIDS the students mention, amongst others, 34% (n=56) mention mother to child transmission, 34% (n= 55) mentioned sharing needles for drug injection and 17% of the students mention blood transfusion.

Thus, unprotected sex (here including sex using hormonal contraception – as hormonal contraception in this case is as unsafe as unprotected sex i.e. sex not using a barrier method such as condom or femidom for protection), sharing needles for drug injection and mother to child transmission are the 3 main ways of attracting HIV/AIDS.

The students were then asked if they personally knew someone that has HIV/AIDS.

55% (n= 89) of the students answered that they knew someone with AIDS, and 45% (n= 74) answered no to this question.

If one breaks this number by institution, at Cape tech. 73% (n=24) of the students answer no, and 27% (n=9) of the students answer that they know someone with HIV/AIDS.

At UCT 51% (n=39) of the students answer that they don't know anyone with HIV/AIDS where as 49% (n=37) of the students answer that they know someone with HIV/AIDS.

At UWC 80% (n = 43) of the students know someone with HIV/AIDS and 20% (n= 11) say that they don't know anyone with HIV/AIDS.

As we can see from this, at the universities where the main bulk of students have are white, there is a greater amount of students that claim that they don't know anyone with HIV/AIDS, whereas at UWC which student population consist mainly of students that group themselves as either coloured or black, the majority of the students know someone with HIV/AIDS.

The reason probably lies in the fact that HIV/AIDS in South Africa is more predominant in the black communities than in the white, (chapter 1) and it is probably a disease that would be more concealed in the white communities than in the black – i.e. you are less likely to disclose to other that you are a carrier of HIV, and the better your economic circumstances the more likely it is that you are able to pay for the HIV medication (however, when it comes to the AIDS stage of the disease, it is harder to conceal).

7.3 Training in HIV/AIDS issues

In this part of the questionnaire the aim was to gain an understanding of the students' experience of the HIV/AIDS related training that they were given through their teacher training studies and also their prior training when in school themselves.

7.3.1 In teacher training

On the question “*Have you been taught about HIV/AIDS during your teacher training – course*” 92, 6% (n= 151) of the students answered yes, whilst 5, 5% (n=9) answered no.

The students were then asked to give an indication as to the content that was presented in the lectures. “*If Yes, Please elaborate as to what you felt was the focus and content of this*

education? (e.g. focused on medical aspect of the disease, social and cultural implications etc)” (Students were free to give more than one answer).

The categories to this answer that was mentioned the most by the student were, social issues (social aspects of the disease) which was mentioned by 53 of the students and cultural implications (cultural aspects of the disease) which was mentioned by 43 of the students. 20 of the students mention that the focus of the teaching given was on medical aspects of the disease.

Examples of answers given:

“What it is, how it is transmitted, how it can be prevented, implications on families, economy of the country, implications of social implications, How to care for those who have HIV/AIDS”

«Social constructions, stigma, fears etc »

“Focussed on HIV/AIDS in the community, everyone needs more awareness of this”

“How to prevent it in the classroom. How you contract it”

“Teaching children not to touch blood - it has germs that can make you very sick”

“Medical, how to deal with it - cautions/ safety cleaning up own blood etc”

“Focussed on social implications, teaching children suitably, sensitively etc, Quelling stereotypes/ false notions of HIV/AIDS”

“The focus was on medical aspects of disease and social as well as cultural implication. IT was mainly encouraging abstinence and motivating students to educate communities, friends and relatives of the pandemic”

Furthermore 17 of the students mention how to teach about HIV/AIDS as one of the focuses of the HIV/AIDS related teaching they were given. A further 21 students mentioned how to relate to people/students with HIV/AIDS, and 5 students mentioned ‘how to deal with

HIV/AIDS’ or ‘how to live with HIV/AIDS’. 23 of the students mention that the focus of the education was on transmission or spread of HIV/AIDS (how HIV/AIDS is transmitted or how it is spread) 27 mentions (HIV/AIDS) prevention and 11 of the students feel they have been taught about protection or “how not to get HIV/AIDS”

Other factors of the education that have been mentioned are, Counselling, general description of HIV/AIDS, the stigma attached to HIV/AIDS, and that they have been taught about HIV/AIDS facts.

As we can see from the answers cited above and the number of answers given, the students answer that the training they were given in teacher training both focuses on teaching facts but also focuses on teaching about the disease in its the social and cultural context.

7.3.2 Teaching methods in HIV/AIDS education in teacher-training

The students were then asked to describe the teaching methods used to teach them about HIV/AIDS by ticking the categories found in the table below

Table 17: Frequency of teaching method used in teacher training on HIV/AIDS

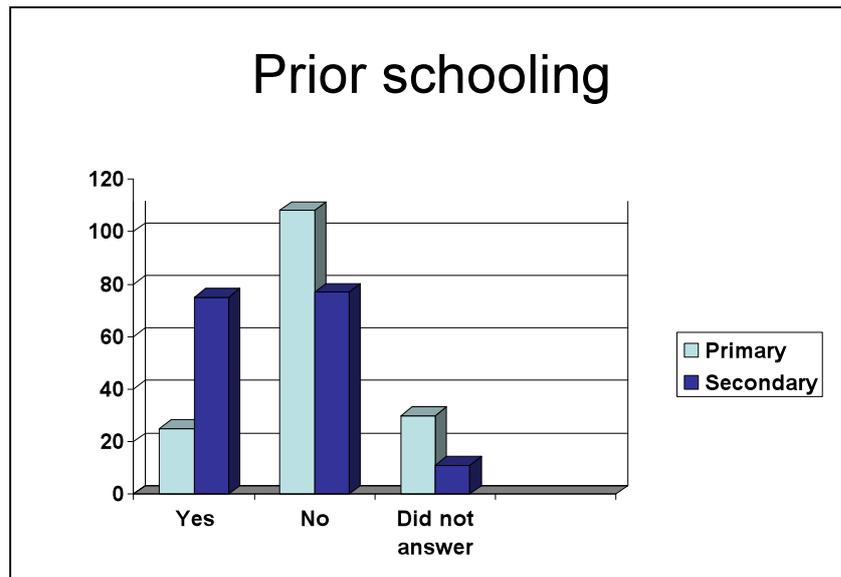
Type	Frequency
Lectures	130
Discussions	125
Group work	101
Self study	53
Role-play	50

For the most part there seems to be a varied approach to teaching HIV/AIDS at the different institutions, with potential scope for a more discursive and even more democratic approach to HIV/AIDS education.

7.3.3 HIV/AIDS education in primary and secondary school

In the next question we aimed to find out the amount of training in HIV/AIDS related issues that the students had had before they came to university, firstly in primary school and then in secondary school. This was to see whether this would have any influence in how and what they answered both in relation to the question on level of knowledge and questions on how they themselves would teach when they themselves become teachers.

Table 18. HIV/AIDS education in primary and secondary school



On the question of whether they had had any HIV/AIDS training in Primary school 108 of the students answered no, and 25 of the students answered yes, 30 students did not answer the question.

On the question of whether they had had any training in Secondary school 75 students answered yes, and 77 answered no, 11 students did not answer the question.

From this we can see only 25 of the total students (163) has answered that they had some form of HIV/AIDS training in primary school, whereas less than half of the students i.e. 75 of the total 163 students answered that they had had some form of HIV/AIDS training in Secondary school.

It is in this context worth noting that HIV/AIDS did not appear as a disease until the mid 1980's and it was not a part of the curriculum during the apartheid years. As we saw above, the older students would therefore not have heard about this infection in school. As one

student noted: *“attended school in apartheid, when the disease was not well known or emphasised”*.

7.3.4 Teaching content and methods in primary school

After having answered the question of whether they had had any HIV/AIDS education in primary school, the students were then asked the question *“if yes, please describe the teaching methods and content used to teach you about HIV/AIDS in school”* .

Of the thirty students that answered this question this is how the students described the content and the methods used;

Teaching methods primary

“Discussion in class. People who were HIV positive came and spoke to us”

“We had discussions and we watched videos”

“Roleplay, not in a wide concept. Example: cover your sores with plaster and bandages”

Content in primary schooling

“How AIDS is contracted, how to stop the spread of AIDS, to not isolate an AIDS sufferer but to be a friend, AIDS related diseases”

“What is HIV, How does it spread, how to reduce the spread of AIDS”

“Cause, prevention, treatment, no cure”

As we can see from the quotes above, the main focus in primary school was on awareness of HIV/AIDS as a disease, looking at how it was contracted, spread and how to protect oneself and reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS. It seems to be centred much on the individual, related to first-aid, but with the sexual component toned down to an extent. It also seems to focus on how to behave around people with HIV/AIDS.

Content in secondary school

“HIV positive People told us how it is to live with HIV and how we can prevent it. Told us about the statistics in South Africa compared to the rest of the world How you get “

“Mainly gave facts & statistics in how many people die from it every year”

“Transmission, myths + facts 'use a condom education”

“Unprotected sex dangerous, Abstain or wear a condom”

“How to put on a condom, ways of contracting HIV/AIDS”

“Contracting HIV/AIDS - the process, how to protect yourself against the disease, the implications of the disease - living with HIV/AIDS”

Teaching methods in Secondary school

“Videos, discussions, presentations, people coming to talk to us, An AIDS sufferer also came to talk to us, noted etc.”

“We had people to talk to us, we has a SHARP group at school, people with AIDS giving us lectures. Group discussions, video footage. They brought in condoms and toys to show the school how to use condoms etc. (...)”

“In a guidance class where we each got a sticker and 2 ppl [people] went round and either made a x or a heart, each person who got a x 'got' AIDS.. explaining how it was spread”

“Video showing people who had the disease, how the disease works, sex education lessons examples given and then explained”

“Showed us video of HIV/AIDS/ AIDS related diseases - showed people dying (FEAR tactics), discussion and questionnaire followed”

“Chalk and talk”

“Talks and discussions in Biology class by biology teacher”

“Up front talk, lecture at assembly”

“It was at times used, in a form of an article, where we as learners would perhaps rectify spelling errors in the text. Grammar related to the pandemic, learning two things at once”

From these answers we can assume that the focus of HIV/AIDS education, also in secondary school centred on the nature of the disease either as a disease itself, or in the context of sex education and using a condom or abstaining from sex.

The methods used, as described here, were either centred on a “chalk and talk” approach (i.e. teacher-centred, worksheet based approach) centred on facts and figures, or more participatory and discursive using methods such as group discussions, using videos or getting in external groups that specialise in teaching about HIV/AIDS, to deliver the message.

Positively a range of teaching methods seem to have been experienced in school, but for a more in-depth explanation see the next chapter on the students responses in the interviews.

7.4 Teachers' preparedness to teach about HIV/AIDS

In this part of the chapter we will look at how the students themselves describe how they have been, and if they feel that they are, prepared to teach about HIV/AIDS.

Question 13 *“If you were asked to teach about HIV/AIDS what would be your reaction?*

Please explain.”

This table looks at the frequency of some of the answers given. As we can see from the table most of the students have a positive response to teaching about HIV/AIDS, whereas only a minority say that they would feel that they are not prepared, or feel apprehensive about teaching about HIV/AIDS

Table 19. Students’ reaction to being asked to teach HIV/AIDS

Answers	Frequency
I would do it/ positive reaction	109
Its an important topic/ imperative/ learners need to know seriousness of HIV/AIDS	23
I feel prepared/ well educated/ have enough info	18
I would feel nervous/ apprehensive or unprepared/ negative reaction	17
Not enough info/ wrong knowledge/ need more knowledge about HIV/AIDS	11
Need appropriate info/do more studying	9

From this table we can see that most of the students have a positive reaction to teaching about HIV/AIDS answering either that they would do it, that it is an important subject or that it is a subject that learners need to know the seriousness of. Only a minority of the students have a negative reaction, where some feel that they are not well enough prepared to teach about HIV/AIDS.

These are some of the students’ responses:

Positive reactions:

“it would be a great pleasure for me. I would grab the opportunity with both my hands”

“I would want to be the one to teach our learners on A.I.D.S. education. The earlier they learn about this deadly virus H.I.V. the better for their future. This is also a means by which we can protect our future generation”

“I would teach about HIV/AIDS as I think that it is vital information that all people/ children should be taught. People should be more aware of this killing disease as many people are unaware about the ways that one can contract the disease”

“As a life orientation teacher in the making, I would not object at all. It is imperative that learners are aware of the dangers of HIV/AIDS. It is necessary to give learners info, in order that they make informed decisions”

“I would gladly accept the request. I would try and teach in a way that will impact the learners in a way that is obviously absent at present. I feel that the impact on the youth is not as great as what we as educators would like to imagine”

“I would teach it, but from my own perspective i.e. abstain from having sex before you're married will reduce contracting HIV considerably”

“I would accept, but would not teach HIV/AIDS in specific lessons or have specific content. I would bring it up as a discussion forum - mentioning facts along the way and creating a comfortable situation in which to talk about issues that surround HIV/AIDS”

“I will definitely feel highly motivated to teach it because it is a vital part of our society that cripples our community”

Negative responses:

“I would feel unprepared i'd feel i'd have to do more reading up on the subject of HIV/AIDS. All I know is how one can contract the disease, and the best ways to protect oneself from infection”

“I would be nervous because what if i give the wrong info, or what if I insult or offend someone”

“Help, Not equipped form both theoretical and practical point. I would teach incorrect info, i.e. have misconceptions which I haven't cared to address. HIV/AIDS ed. has not been of interest to me.”

“Nervous, don't feel confident”

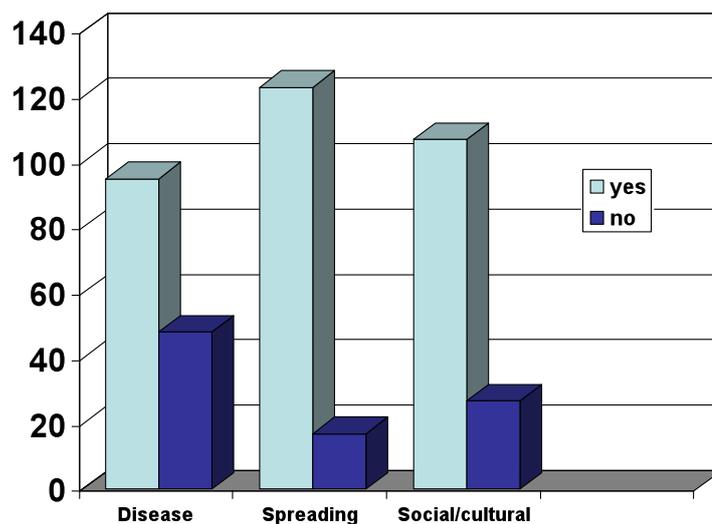
“Depending on what and how I was told to teach, I'd be very negative about it especially with an older group, ot all seems to fall on deaf ears. If I was allowed to approach the topic in my own way - then GREAT!”

The negativity that some the students report for the most part seems to stem from being nervous about their own knowledge of the subject; they don't feel confident that they have the “right” answers or enough knowledge to teach about such a difficult question.

All the students seem to feel that this is an important topic, but some are a bit apprehensive regarding whether they would be allowed to teach about HIV/AIDS in “their own way”. This goes for both students that have answered that they would have a positive reaction to teaching about HIV/AIDS and those that report that they are negative to teaching about HIV/AIDS, or that have reservations in teaching about this subject. However for the majority it seems that the students view HIV/AIDS education as important and vital, and they answer that they will be willing to teach about this subject to their future students if asked to do so.

In **question 14** the students were asked “*Do you feel that you teacher-training course has provided you with sufficient knowledge about HIV/AIDS? Please elaborate*” this was then broken into yes/no question for HIV/AIDS as a disease, the spread of HIV/AIDS and the socio-cultural impact of HIV/AIDS.

Table 20. Sufficient knowledge in HIV/AIDS by disease, spread and socio cultural impact



As we can see from the table above, most of the students respond positively to the question about whether they feel that the teacher training has provided them with sufficient knowledge to teach about HIV/AIDS. However there are still a number of students that answer that they don't feel that they have sufficient knowledge about HIV/AIDS as a disease; 95 students (58%) answered yes and 48 (29%) students answered no.

More students respond positively to the question of whether they have had enough training about the spread of the disease where 123 (76%) of the students answered yes and 17 (10%) answered no. On the topic of whether they feel that they have been given sufficient knowledge about the socio-cultural impact of HIV/AIDS 107 (66%) of the students answered yes and 27 (17%) students answered no.

The following comments the students gave in response to the question of whether they felt that their teacher-training course had provided them with sufficient knowledge:

Yes/ Positive:

“To the extreme! in a good way of course. At times I feel like an infected person because they focus on this so much!”

“Yes, lifeskills (subject) has given books, cartoons and much direction... and lesson 'aids' ideas.”

“Yes, because now I am aware of lots of things that I didn't know, I know how to approach a lesson to the people who might be affected/infected”

“Yes we discussed different scenarios concerning HIV/AIDS education and the different approaches that could be employed”

“Yes, because I gained on how to handle learners that are affected and infected by the disease, and what role to play in the community and school environment”

“More is always good, but I feel fairly educated”

No/ Negative:

“No; I think we are still going to go more in depth about it”

“No, haven't had much time to spend on HIV/AIDS education”

“I think that I am lucky that I was aware of the disease before this course - I am not too sure how much I would have learned otherwise”

“No, more common, practical knowledge would be useful. How to deal with actually dealing with HIV in the school you teach”

“No, know how it is contracted, etc. Still unsure of how to teach effectively”

“No, you can never have 'sufficient knowledge' about HIV/AIDS”

“No! I have enough scientific knowledge, but I would like to work on other areas like the personal emotional & social aspects”

“It has provided me with more questions about how to teach it, rather than actual teaching strategies”

7.4.1 Summary - Teacher training students preparedness to teach about HIV/AIDS

As we can see from the answers to the question about teaching about HIV/AIDS and the question of whether they feel that they have been provided with sufficient knowledge, the students for the most part are positive about teaching about HIV/AIDS and that they feel that they have been provided with sufficient knowledge to perform this teaching.

However there is a minority of students that answer negatively to the questions of whether they would teach about HIV/AIDS if asked, and the reasons they give is that they don't feel sufficiently prepared, in terms of feeling that they don't have sufficient knowledge or that the

thought of teaching about HIV/AIDS makes them feel nervous or apprehensive. As we can see from this quote given above

“I would feel unprepared i'd feel i'd have to do more reading up on the subject of HIV/AIDS. All I know is how one can contract the disease, and the best ways to protect oneself from infection”

However, we can also gather from the students' statements that the students for the most part find this to be such an important topic that they would teach about it even though they have some reservations either in terms of the topics to be covered for example,

“I would teach it, but from my own perspective i.e. abstain from having sex before you're married will reduce contracting HIV considerably”

As for the focus of the education given at the different schools, there seems to be across the institutions focus on all aspects of the disease, and the students overwhelmingly seem to report that they feel that they have sufficient knowledge about the disease. This is, however, a question that will be covered more in-depth in the interview data.

7.5 Teaching about HIV/AIDS in schools – future orientation

The students were then asked; *“How do you feel that teachers should teach about HIV/AIDS in the classroom?”* The answers were many and ranged from answers about teaching methods, to content and to what I have called educational form(see chapter 4)

A teacher should have a good knowledge of the culture's or community's views on safe sex, use of condoms & HIV. Teaching should be sensitive, relevant and contextualised using discussions, case studies, facts - variety of styles and methods. Be sensitive to where learners are at.

Try to get kids to relate to the disease. Make it relevant. Don't just lecture. You need to keep material original, because kids are becoming bored and irritated with repetition of the issue

7.5.1 Teaching methods

Of the methods the students mentioned the most mentioned were discussions, Role- play, visual aids and excursions to hospital or AIDS orphanages, or getting speakers into the classroom to speak about their experiences with HIV/AIDS. Most students that mentioned several different methods emphasised that they would vary their approaches and use a variety of different activities.

Typical quotes are:

With openness and through a variety of activities (i.e. role play, guest speakers, posters, videos)

Using the PC, group discussions, cartoons, videos

Discussions, peers should teach each other, role play

Taking in a few (more than 1 person) to speak about their experience with HIV/AIDS (either as someone who had lost someone close to them from HIV/AIDS) someone suffering from HIV/AIDS etc. etc)

Give lots of space to discussion - students know the facts but are not dampening behaviours.

Take learners to HIV/AIDS orphanages and clinics = impact teaching

7.5.2 Content

For the students that emphasise content, they for the most part mention such things as teaching the students the correct biological facts about HIV/AIDS, how it is contracted, spread and how it is prevented, whereas others emphasise the disease's social and cultural implications – such as the context that HIV/AIDS appears in and issues surrounding the stigma and taboos of HIV/AIDS. Others again focus on teaching the students personal skills such as being able to say no, assertiveness and self-esteem;

I feel teachers should try to give the basics of the disease as a whole & not just focus on certain aspects. (...)

It depends heavily on the age of the class - simple facts at first and as the learners get older, organise excursions to hospitals - make the lessons more graphic i.e. use visual aids. Teach skills that accompany - saying no, assertiveness, self-esteem etc.

Biology - the virus, LO (Life orientation) - social, emotion, cultural implications, depends on grade

7.6 How teachers and schools should relate to teaching about HIV/AIDS

As we can see from the quotes given above, when the students were asked how they would teach about HIV/AIDS in the classroom, most of the students emphasised how they felt that teachers should approach the sensitive nature of HIV/AIDS. In terms of the teacher's skills or dispositions they mentioned, for example, that the teacher needs to be compassionate, sensitive, open minded, understanding, non –judgemental and not shy, but also give the correct information at the level that their students are at.

Others also emphasised that this is a topic that needs to be repeated every year, and that the focus and content of the lessons needs to be spread across the curriculum (i.e. be taught in different subject and different years). Some of the students also mentioned that there needs to be openness about the topic and that the teachers should not be influenced by their own views on the subject.

Teachers are rolemodels to their students. And they should talk freely about the disease mainly its consequences.

Teachers need to be sensitive to the fact that there might be infected learners in their class

I feel it is important - teachers shouldn't be shy, skirt around sensitive issues

I feel that info should be imparted as openly and free of judgement as possible, I think that correct info is imperative - do not misguide the learners with your personal beliefs!

They (teachers) need to relate well to the learners and address their interests and know all the different cultural values/ diversity of the classroom so that all this may be addressed when teaching HIV/AIDS. Learners' views must be taken into account

I think it's very important but teachers should start educating children at a young age so that they can grow up with the right morals and know from small already how responsible they should be in life.

The students emphasise using a variety of different methods and content to impart both the correct biological facts about HIV/AIDS and also teach about the social and cultural implications of HIV/AIDS. They also feel that the teachers need to teach about HIV/AIDS in a sensitive manner both in terms of having learners in the class that have HIV/AIDS and also, because this is a subject that concerns sexuality, stigmas and taboos. However some students emphasised that there is also a limit to the focus the issues should be given, in order not to fall into the trap where the students get over exposed and thus fatigued and bored or just blasé about the subject.

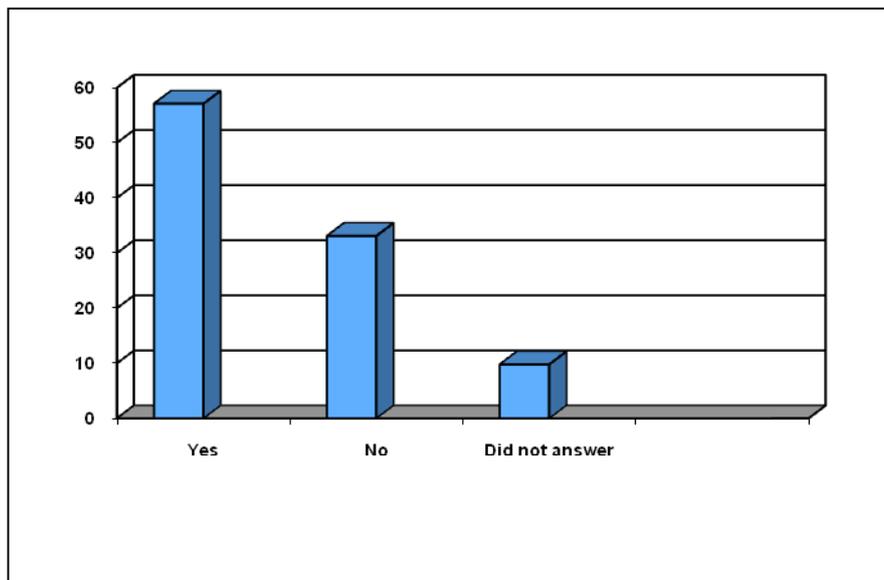
*They shouldn't teach so much that children get bored and frustrated just enough to inform
It should be emphasised, but not overemphasised to avoid one becoming blasé about it. How you do this heaven alone knows?*

7.7 Obstacles to teaching HIV/AIDS and HIV/AIDS as a sensitive issue

In this part of the chapter we look at the students' responses to what they see as the obstacles to teaching about HIV/AIDS, as well as asking the students how they feel that they have been prepared to handle teaching sensitive subjects.

On the question “*Do you think that there are any obstacles to teaching about HIV/AIDS?*”

Table 21. Obstacles to teaching about HIV/AIDS



From this table we can see that more than half the students (57% n= 93) answer that they think that there are obstacles to teaching about HIV/AIDS. 33% (n= 54) answer that they do not feel that there are any obstacles for teaching about HIV/AIDS.

When asked to elaborate on their answer on what they see as the obstacles to teaching about HIV/AIDS, the students mentioned things both external to the school which influences the possibilities for teaching and the students understanding of the subject, and things internal in the schools which have a direct impact on teaching about HIV/AIDS

In mentioning factors external to the school, the students mentioned students' cultural background, how the community views HIV/AIDS and sexuality, as well as parent's views on sexual/HIV/AIDS education. Issues that the students mentioned that are internal in the school were, sick learners, bored students who don't want to hear or listen, as well as issues with the subject itself; the sexual and sensitive nature of the subject as well as the teachers not having the proper the knowledge content.

Examples of this can be seen in these quotes;

This is a controversial topic that has affected many people personally. If a member of a child's family has died from AIDS that child may be unwilling to learn about HIV because of painful memories

Children bored of hearing bout it, Under lots of pressure from media, society - confusion about having sex

Knowledge, misconceptions, disinterest, social differences, lack of authority

Boredom with the subject... can lead to lack of attention

Stereotypes, stigma, attitudes, e.g. "heard of this before" or "don't need to know about it"

Peoples ignorance and lack of education. Also cultural values norms which make people disregard the warnings

Ignorance or misunderstanding. People with their own agendas e.g. religion or cultural aspects

Mass apathy; since there is such a great amount of information that is thrown into people's faces, they either become over-whelmed or they deal with it as mere abstract facts

Parents - Do they actually want their children to learn about HIV/AIDS? Cultural myths also - "men cannot be raped" this is a typical cultural myth

Cultural background, teaching about sexual intercourse, relating to HIV/AIDS in African communities is not welcome.

Resistance from wealthy learners and their parents - AIDS only for the poor "we do not need it"

7.8 Preparedness to teach sensitive issues

The last question the students were asked was *"Teaching about sensitive and controversial issues such as religion, culture, sex and sexuality can be a major challenge. In what ways has your teacher training education prepared you to teach such issues in the classroom?"*

The answers the students gave can be categorised into answers on how to behave when approaching such issues, such as being open minded and not prejudiced and to be sensitive to the learners' social and cultural backgrounds.

They just taught us not to be biased in whatever we teach and not show favouritism or whatever to a certain religion, sex, culture, etc.

First check with parents & get their consent/ feelings - To be respectful - To always teach the correct information - to not be subjective/biased

To respect everyone's view, & opinion, not to pin point children's differences but rather look at their similarities

They've taught us a bit about respecting people and their views even if our own differ and teaching objectively without personal prejudice.

The main point is to deal with such issues in a sensitive way. Be sensitive towards people of different backgrounds

To teach those issues from a global perspective & not personalising it

Other students' responses concern whether they have had this training and where, i.e. in which subjects they have been taught about how to handle teaching sensitive issues, some also describe superficially topics they have been taught:

We do have subjects which deal with these issues and they are very useful

By making you comfortable and giving enough knowledge about the subject

We've spoken about Religion and how to teach it if not at all

They covered every aspects one can think of and are still training and educating us for even more challenging obstacles

By guiding us on how to deal and teach it so that it is not a sensitive issue

We have been given lessons on those topics in Life Orientation

Our Life Orientation lectures has prepared us for this. We do a lot of the work on our own

Exposed to world religions. Learning about world religions + respecting others and their beliefs. -Lifeskills prepares us for sensitive issues, sexuality, sex, culture etc. Major part of this course

We have life orientation lessons world religion lessons, culture lessons sexuality measured with life skills and life orientation

As we can see some of these students have been taught about how to approach teaching about sensitive issues, through their classes as Life Orientation teachers. Life Orientation is the subject where these issues are the most likely to come up as this is a subject specifically meant to deal with social, cultural issues, as well as issues that pertain to the students daily life. It is also the subject in which HIV/AIDS is most likely to be taught in schools.

Some students mention that they feel that the university has opened up for a debate on how to handle sensitive issues and this has led them to be more able to teach such issues.

We have been provided with a great network of lectures, and if we have problems we can talk about them

We ourselves are only introduced to these new issues, so we also have a fair discussion so we'll be able to talk about this comfortably

7.9 Summary

From this chapter we see that there is a spread in the students' knowledgebase and that this is correlated positively with who had HIV/AIDS education in secondary school. Very few of the students report having had any HIV/AIDS education in primary school, but almost half the students report having had some form of HIV/AIDS education in secondary school. When it comes to how HIV/AIDS was taught to them in school, there is a variation in the answers, where some students report that it was teacher or worksheet centred fact based education others report that it was of a more discursive and interactive nature. However this does, at

least, suggest a variety in approach. We also see that outside groups come in to the schools to teach about HIV/AIDS and related issues.

When it comes to the students' preparedness to teach about HIV/AIDS, we have learnt that all the teacher-training institutions give some form of HIV/AIDS related training (for a general discussion on teacher students preparedness to teach and to developing a teacher

professionalism when preparing future teachers to teach about sensitive issues, see chapter 4)

When asked to describe the content of the HIV/AIDS teaching, the students emphasised that they had been taught general facts about HIV/AIDS – how HIV/AIDS is spread, and the bio-medical facts about the HIV virus and how to protect oneself from the virus. They also reported having been taught about the social and cultural implications of the HIV/AIDS pandemic (see introduction and chapter 1), such as how to live with/deal with people with HIV (or AIDS) including counselling students with HIV, the social stigma of HIV/AIDS.

When asked about teaching methods, the students all report that the institutions use a varied approach to teaching about HIV/AIDS – using such methods as lectures, discussions, drama, role-play etc.

Most of the students feel that they are prepared to teach about HIV/AIDS in their future work.

Most of the students, furthermore, report that they would be positive when asked to teach about HIV/AIDS but a few report that they would have a negative reaction. When asked to give reasons why they were positive or negative the students that answered negatively were negative because they either felt that they were not well enough prepared – feeling that they did not have the correct or not enough knowledge about HIV/AIDS to teach about the issues, or they did not feel that they would be allowed to teach in their own manner. However, even

though they were apprehensive about teaching about this, they for the most part answered that they would teach if asked. The reason most students gave was that this is such an important topic that it needs to be taught about.

When asked if they felt that they had been well enough prepared to teach about HIV/AIDS in their teacher training course most students answered positively. Both these questions which were to gain an understanding of the students' preparedness to teach about HIV/AIDS for the most part gave the same outcome. The students for the most part felt that they had been well enough prepared, which is reflected in the positive answers on the question above as well.

The minority that did not feel well enough prepared also answered negatively when asked about whether they would teach about HIV/AIDS if asked – negatively in the sense that they would be apprehensive, but that they would rather the students have some form of teaching about these issues than not have any at all, as this for them is such an important topic to teach about. They would if necessary, go and seek the information they felt was missing for themselves (in order to be sure about the correct facts etc.).

The students were then asked how they felt HIV/AIDS should be taught in school. This seems to very much reflect their own experiences from their teacher-training programme, as well as the demands from the new curriculum (see chapter 2), that is the interpretation of OBE as something that demands interactive and creative teaching methods (see chapter 2.2) They list teaching methods such as group-work, role-play or getting people in to talk about living with HIV/AIDS etc. They also stress that the educational form needs to be sensitive, open, inclusive and give room for discussion and the learners' (social and cultural) differences (as discussed in chapter 3). When it comes to content, the students' stress that the learners need to

know the correct facts and “the whole story” – i.e. its relation to sex. They also stress that the students need to learn about the context of HIV/AIDS – especially when it comes to issues of the stigma/cultural taboos that still surround the HIV/AIDS issue in South Africa.

The last theme of the questionnaire was about teaching sensitive issues. Both related to HIV/AIDS as a sensitive issue and to teaching sensitive issues in general. The first question the students were asked about this theme was if they saw any obstacles to teaching about HIV/AIDS. Over half the students responded yes to this question and the obstacles they saw were both because of the nature of the disease especially its sexual component, the way it has been interpreted in the local communities and the cultural interpretations of this disease. (Taboos, stigmas attached to those who contract the disease etc.) Other issues the students mention were things that might influence the teaching such as sick learners and students that have what they called “HIV/AIDS fatigue” – that this is an issue that there is so much focus on both in schools and across the society so that when it comes to teaching about it the students become anesthetised by the subject.

The last question concerned how the students had been prepared to teach about sensitive issues. The answers to this question range from personal qualities of the teacher such as being open, sensitive and not biased, to more subject specific answers such as that this was a subject that they had covered in Life Orientation. Only a few students answered that this was a theme across the teacher training which they were prepared for and which was a theme that was up for discussion amongst the students.

In relation to the specific research questions which we listed in the introduction to this thesis we can see that the students for the most part answer fairly positively, and that there are changes going on in teacher training in South Africa (see chapter 2), both in terms of teaching methods and content generally (chapter 4) and especially in the field of HIV/AIDS education. These findings will be further analysed in the next chapter where we look at the findings from the interview data, and finally the main findings of this thesis, namely teaching sensitive issues and teacher professionalism, will be discussed further in chapter 9.

8.0 Analysis Chapter 2: The interviews

As discussed in the research methods chapter (Chapter 5), the interviews were held for the most part on a one-on-one basis, though in some cases they were held with two students at the same time, partly because it suited me and the students in terms of time, and in one case, because the student was reluctant to talk to me by himself. In all I interviewed 26 students at the three different teaching institutions, 9 at The University of Cape Town, 7 from the Cape Technicon, and 10 from The University of Western Cape.

The questions asked concerned, first, the students' backgrounds – where they come from, and what kinds of schools they went to. This was in order to gain an insight into their academic backgrounds and to find out how this might have influenced their views on teaching. It also proved to give an interesting insight into schooling in South Africa towards the end of the apartheid era and in the early years of the new democratic South Africa. Furthermore, the questions asked were on the students' training in HIV/AIDS issues both when in school themselves, at university/technicon in general, and specifically during their teacher training. I also asked the students about why they had chosen to become teachers and what they envisioned doing in their futures (see Appendix 2 for the full interview schedule).

8.1 Prior school experience and student background

In this part of the chapter we will discuss the students' backgrounds (as described above) and their schooling experience prior to their teacher training. In this part of the chapter we will also discuss the students prior training in HIV/AIDS.

8.1.1 School resource context

There are vast differences between schools in South Africa in terms of quality. Most of the students that were interviewed had gone to so-called “good” schools (they do well in the academic result tables) and many had attended what was formerly known as Model C schools. However, not all the students I interviewed grew up in the fairly well resourced schools in the suburbs of Cape Town. One Female student at UWC describes her school in the former Transkei in this way:

Can you say something about the schools you went to?

S: School in the homelands, in my primary years, then I studied my degree here in UWC.

I: So can you describe it for me, what kind of school it was... did it have a lot of good teachers...? Was it under resourced...?

S: There were no more resources in our schools. The school(s) were poor.

I: What were they like? Did you have to share schools books?

S: The school is not good... its like Rondavels [round mud huts – my comment]

I: How was that for learning? Was it OK for learning or?

S: Its not good because only the board (floor?) and then you just sit down..

I: No chairs? No tables?

S: No chairs during that time... (Female student, UWC)

8.1.2 School background - Schooling in the era of transition from apartheid into democracy

One of the aims of the study was to get an understanding of the students' school background. Some of the students described to me how school was during the apartheid era and then when the schools were opened to all. One male student at UCT described his experiences like this:

S: When I was at school the schools were still closed -only when I was at school we used standards not grades- so when I was at std. 8 the schools became "open" so 1992... so that was the first time we were exposed to non-white people (...)

I: So did it change anything when the schools opened up in '92- do you think?

S: It was quite different... I remember being back in junior school, and that was in the '80s. There was a lot of violence and that sort of thing around at the time, so we used to have drills and we would practise if anyone came to the school and caused trouble we would all go and gather in the hall, or if this happened we would stay in the classroom rather and close the shutters, get under your desk and we would practise these things, so we were brought up in that environment so you feared the black people... if you saw a black person you know.. afraid.. you know (...) (Male student UCT)

He then goes on to describe how at first very few students of colour were there when the school first opened up- mainly due to the fact that the students already were in different schools, and did most probably not want to change school in the last few years of schooling.

However, after a while the school became more and more multi-racial and these days it is a very multi-racial school.

The private schools in South Africa did not have to dance to the pipe of the apartheid regime and therefore some of the students I interviewed had always gone to schools that have been multiracial. One of the male students from Cape Tech describes his schools environment in response to question of if he thought that mixing races would have altered the school environment in any way:

I don't know if it affected the learning environment.. It affected the atmosphere in which you learnt.. If you were in a single or an all white school, it's dominated by all white culture and there is no change in it. Whereas if you have 3-4 different cultures, the environment is just so diverse and the trouble is if you are in a single stream of thought there is no outside influence, your thoughts never change, there is no creativity... I think that that was a definite plus side of the education. (male student Cape Tech.)

Another male student from UCT described his school, and what has happened to the school in the last years of democratisation like this:

S: (...) It's a middle class school it was – I don't know if you know anything about the history of education in South Africa... Well it was a school historically assigned for people who were classified as 'coloured' like my family was... Schools in South Africa were segregated so this was a 'so-called' coloured school. It was a very good school, still is a very good school, a very political school, very politicised and it was and still is very homogenous in terms of social class and people tended to be the same, from similar backgrounds, similar family lives. Our parents all had stable jobs, we owned out homes, we had stuff... We lived in the suburbs, it was a kind of suburban existence, the only snag or abnormality if you like was that is was not racially mixed, we were all, because of S.A. history, we were all classified as coloured.

I: Did you go to school under Apartheid?

S: The kind of last dying years... I finished school in the mid- 90's and it was very interesting that schools like [...] has not really changed in that respect it is still pretty

much the same, because I think Jean [lecturer] mentioned yesterday that former 'white' schools have become quite well mixed and desegregated... They basically have become middle class... They have basically attracted middle class kids across the whole spectrum, whereas a school like [...] is very much the same as it was... Which is unfortunate because it is a very good school (...) (Male student, UCT)

8.1.3 Teaching methods

The focus of this study is to create a framework for HIV/AIDS education based on a concept of education for democracy (Cf. chapter 4). It was therefore interesting to gain an understanding of the teacher training students own school background and the ways they were taught in school themselves and to see how this might have affected their view of how they themselves intend to teach. The students were asked about their education in general, as well as their education in HIV/AIDS related issues. In this section I will look at the more general descriptions of the nature of the teaching given to the students while still in school. One similarity across the board was that the favoured teaching method of the schools were mainly “chalk and talk”, spoon-feeding and rote learning – the teachers spoke and the students listened. Most of these students went to school in the era before OBE became the favoured framework for teaching.

One female student from UCT describes her school like this:

In the terms of knowledge it was very stuck in the old days, because they didn't offer accounting or business economics or anything like that... they offered us Latin, and you know old age stuff, that the other schools didn't have. And just stuck back in time I

think... but yeah, like I said teachers wouldn't speak to you openly about things like sex and AIDS, you know... (Female student, UCT)

A little further into the interview she goes on to describe teaching methods. The school was a predominantly Catholic, formerly white, now model C girls school, and the school had quite a rigorous Christian tradition. She describes how this affected teaching;

You get your worksheet and bla di blah, I do remember like our one science teacher, she tried to, she was very different to all the other teachers, she was like boisterous and loud and everything, and she used to like... I don't know she just stuck in my head because she was different to everybody else, And so was my one English teacher, also different, lots of class discussion, in English and... But other than that, if I think about biology I just think about worksheets. (Female student, UCT)

One Female student at Cape Tech. describes her school as a good school, but at the same time describes the nature of the teaching at her school as spoon feeding:

S: We were spoon fed a lot and they gave us a lot of information, uhm, we didn't have... we were, ah I don't know how to say it, we were spoon fed a lot we were given all the stuff."

I: "Rote learning?"

S: "No, no, spoon feeding, is when you are not given all the information, you don't have to really do much, it doesn't really help when you are here, because then you get spoon fed as much, but otherwise my teachers, I had some really nice teachers, I had some really horrible teachers, obviously the teachers that doesn't like you because you can't write English essays or whatever, but otherwise my school, I made... I loved school, so I mean it doesn't matter what school I went to, I would have made the best out of it... I just personally love school." (Female student, Cape Tech.)

Another male student from Cape tech. describes his experience with teaching as "Chalk and Talk":

As far as I can remember, a lot of the methodology was "chalk and talk", write on the board and instruct, not so much as it is now, focus on group work and such and

such... Teacher speaks, individual works... That was pretty much the normal teaching system for most of us. (Male student, Cape Tech.)

Some of the students though, especially those who had just graduated from secondary education, experienced some forms of what they call the “OBE methods” – of more teacher/student interaction, groupwork etc. One female student at Cape Tech describes her experiences of college, and then especially one of her teachers like this:

A lot of the teacher’s class... He studied here, and he implemented a lot of OBE, for us, his class was really fun, he made us really love the subject but other than that there was a couple of teachers that was very “chalk and talk” and there was a lot of that kind of teachers, the majority of the teachers were fine... a lot of OBE was implemented. I think they were just getting into it and they decided to try it out on us. (Female student, Cape Tech.)

8.1.4 HIV/AIDS training

Most of the students that went to school in the 1990’s and later should have been exposed to some form of HIV/AIDS training whilst in school, as by then the disease was well established in South Africa. Some of the older students I interviewed went to school during the apartheid regime when AIDS was still viewed as a minor problem and when AIDS was only one of many grave problems that South Africa faced at the time, such as problems of violence and racial segregation (see introduction and Chapter 2). There was also at the time a lack of knowledge about HIV and therefore a lack of awareness, or as one male student from UCT describes his experience when asked if he had had any HIV/AIDS training while still at school:

I must just think.. as a first answer I would have to say no... our matric was in '94 and at that stage it was still coming out and they had not really identified... They were still talking about it having come from a blue monkey somewhere in Africa... or I don't think so... (Male student, UCT)

Or as another male student from UWC put it:

I did not get any AIDS – HIV education at school. I don't think they actually considered it a priority while I was there. (Male student, UWC)

However for those who were taught about HIV/AIDS in school, most of the students characterise their HIV/AIDS training as “boring” or awkward because it was something the teachers were not comfortable talking about, or just something that was not talked about.

As one female student from UCT describes it:

S:(...) yeah like I said teachers wouldn't speak to you openly about things like sex and AIDS you know (...) Things like that just weren't spoken about at a proper girls school, so according to all teachers every girl there was a virgin.

I:So they didn't teach you anything about...

S:We learnt about the biological of contraception and... We didn't learn about what happens during sex, we learnt... I don't remember that we learnt at all about the male penis actually...” (Female student, UCT)

However, as we also saw from the questionnaire answers in the former chapter, about half of the students though they did get some form of HIV/AIDS related education (75 who had had training and 77 who reported not having had HIV/AIDS education while in secondary school). The training in HIV/AIDS issues in the schools though was variable and ranged a lot in content and approach with the training range from very sparse, in the form of one worksheet (which is how one student remembered her training in school) to schools who got outside groups in to deliver the message, or as part of the curriculum in “guidance” lessons.

Mostly though, it seems to have been related to sexual education and specifically STD's (sexually transmitted diseases). However it seems that most students feel that this mostly was a non-issue, an issue that was dealt with either in passing, or casually mentioned at some point during their schooling – and not a subject that had to be discussed.

One female from UWC described the content of her HIV/AIDS lessons in school in this way:

Because it's kind of basic knowledge they give you, and it's the same everyday, and it's the same knowledge they give you (...) Like you can't be infected by kissing and stuff like that, everytime it's the same thing (Female student, UWC)

Another Cape Tech. student who went to different schools, described his experiences in the different schools like this

(...) firstly, the school in Eastern Cape I can't say much, I can just say they were completely ignorant of issues of HIV and AIDS, you wouldn't find any like posters or condoms and awareness of like HIV and AIDS but I guess like they at the time they were I was really.. I mean at the time there were very few people aware of HIV and AIDS because it wasn't like, it hadn't emerged at that time and maybe if I had been (...) they wouldn't have know about that there were people - women with HIV and AIDS people wouldn't have talked about it.. it wasn't like something people were conscious about it and stuff like that, but when I came back to finish my primary school in town, a school in (Township) and there I could see that on TV they would be and.. our teachers could say that HIV was affecting our lives, and then they tried to actually introduce us in grade 7 and stuff like that they, tried to show they tried to introduce the thing into us, but I mean I could see that they were not comfortable with that stuff because they felt like we were to young boys and girls and then they don't need to get into things like HIV and AIDS, things started really changing when I was in high school, you find that we had a subject called guidance, guidance, like I mean, I was so... you find that if we would talk about sexual issues and HIV and AIDS and if they were talking about a boy has got a piece (?) with the parents and the girls would have (a cow?) and we would laugh at those things and they would like (?) and then in grade 9 things started changing and we talked about flirtation and we talked about what is it doing to our family and what is it doing to our environment, what is it doing to our country and stuff like this, I mean the whole thing started changing from there, and then when I was doing my grade 10 then I would (?) I started like to actually care of myself, practise safe sex and stuff like that you know... I would.. because I was

beginning to mature, myself, and then the whole thing started to change and I was starting to be and adult now I was responsible for my own stuff and things like that, and I was getting good guidance from my teachers then because they were no wrong.. and (?) girls to have sex with me, because they already knew that at that we at our age, I was almost 16, were in relation with sexual intercourse and stuff (Male student, Cape Tech.)

UWC recruits a number of students from Lesotho, and some of them are doing their teacher training qualification there. Three of my interviewees at UWC came from this little country situated high in the mountains, surrounded by South Africa on all sides. In Lesotho HIV/AIDS is perhaps an even bigger problem than in South Africa itself, this is perhaps due to Lesotho being dependent on many of its workers going to work in, for example, the South African mines during which time they contract this disease and bring it with them home to their wives and girlfriends. One of the female students at UWC who is from Lesotho, described to me the nature of HIV/AIDS education during her school years.

So actually when I was at primary school we did not have any AIDS education... in fact it was still a monster... people were scared to talk about it, even our parents; and the other thing is the culture, because according to my culture, parents or teachers or older people.. they cannot talk anything about sex with us... so we never had more about AIDS and those STD diseases. Only when we were at high school then we started hearing about AIDS and that whole thing, And the other thing was when they talk about AIDS it was more associated to sex... so when everyone were not sexually active you do not want to think about AIDS. (Female student, UWC)

However, as training in schools is often quite sparse it seems that the students can get their knowledge about HIV/AIDS from sources outside the school. This might be in the form of working with youth groups as advisors or from parts of their family working with people with HIV/AIDS. Otherwise in South Africa today there is a substantial focus on HIV/AIDS and the problems that casual sex or sex without a condom is causing and there are therefore massive campaigns in the form of billboards and TV commercials – some of the students

mention this as a source of knowledge but they also mention that this is a source of what can be referred to as “HIV/AIDS fatigue” – that this issue is focussed on to such a degree that it becomes background noise, instead of knowledge that is internalised and reflected upon...The “oh no, not again” response was often mentioned as a response to “ even more HIV/AIDS training”.

8.1.5 Summary of students schooling background

The different schooling backgrounds that the interviewed students come from, range from very under-resourced schools in the formerly Transkei area in Eastern Cape, to private highly resourced schools in the leafy suburbs of Cape Town.

However, there was in all little difference between the teacher-training institutions as to students schooling background, most students that were interviewed having gone to some form of model C school. One common denominator for the majority of the schools, under-resourced or not, seems to be that they had a focus on transmitting knowledge and that the favoured method of teaching was “chalk and talk”, the teacher teaches and the students listen or fill in worksheets. However those who attended school more recently do describe a move towards greater student participation as a consequence of the introduction of OBE. Another similarity across the board is the general lack of reflexive and discursive training in HIV/AIDS related issues. The majority of students remembered it as being a topic at some point in their education, but it was mentioned as one student put it “*as just another disease, like cancer*” (Male student, Cape Tech.).

8.2 How HIV/AIDS affects the students' own lives

One of the questions asked in the interviews was if HIV/AIDS was something that affected the students' own daily lives – if it was an issue for them, something they think about, something that is part of their everyday lives.

As one student male student from UWC answered:

To tell you the truth.. I'm one of these people who need a "reality check" myself...I do think about it, but it doesn't really. OK it does inform the choices that I make., to what extent I can say that it has affected my life, but I haven't actually, went to (...) drastic measures, drastic changes in my life. I do carry a condom, that type of thing, always. So, I suppose, it has affected me in some way (...) but (...) and of course you go for the HIV AIDS check, every 6 months or so.. my last one was when... in February (Male student, UWC).

Or as one female student at UCT answered:

I: Do you think that the HIV/AIDS is an issue for you personally at all? Is it anything that affects your life in any sense?

S: *Umm .. Ya ...Definitely ... I have thought about it ... ja ...*

I: In which sense have you ... sort of ...?

S: *Well ... I've been worried about getting it ... sure I went for an HIV test ... which was very scary ... but ... Umm ... little things like being in clubs where I cut my foot once very badly ... Umm, knowing that ... Umm .. (...) ... I'm quite a paranoid person in general but I do not worry about it.*

I: You worry about ... in which context does it sort of worry you ... is it mainly something that is personal to you or is it something that is 'out there', or?

S: *As in me getting affected? Or ...Ya, I worry about people that I know that could get affected ... and I do know of people that I know are affected, but I don't know them personally ... so I can feel that it is coming a lot more closer to home ... and that's why I worry.*

I: Umm .. sure ... is there any other way that you [look back?] and see sort of, a virus you might get ... sort of ... does it affect your everyday actions then?(What) do you think? In which ways would it affect your behaviour or action ... do you think?

S: Umm ... Ya ... If I had children or friends who had children ... I would be very careful in the ways that they know about it ... it affects the way I behave because I am quite 'aware' of it ... and I would like to make sure that most people are aware of it ... just so that they know about it. (Female student, UCT)

An other female student at UCT answered as follows:

I: Do think HIV/AIDS is an issue for you personally? Does it sort of enter into your mind as something that you know makes you change your behaviour in any way?

S: ja. Of course.. when it comes to sex?

I: well yah, any relationship, well any sort of thing that might influence, you know, your relationship with anything really, Does it influence you in any way? Obviously sex comes into it?

S: uhm let me see how has it changed me? I think to a certain extent I am of the mindset that "it won't affect me" cause, I know it is wrong, but I think like I don't live in like poor conditions and everything and all those things.. which is wrong I know but..... it is kind of like subconsciously that I think like that which is, yeah I know it is wrong, but I don't think it would affect me...

I: sure. I mean, what are the reasons that it wouldn't affect you, you think? It's basically.. is it that you don't live in poor areas.. is that sort of mainly the main reason do you think?

S: yeah. That is mainly the reason, and you know, I don't mix with people that are unhygienic, and bla di blaah... You know it is silly things like that that makes me think that I wouldn't be affected. Which I know is completely stupid.

I: a lot of people seem to feel that way.

S:I know, I think maybe I've, you know, just taken on society norms as well to a certain extent.

I: so it doesn't affect.. does it affect you in every day or is it mainly sort of sexual relations...

S: no not every day

I: just sort of.. but how does it affect your sexual relationships do you think?

S: well, obviously I wouldn't have unprotected sex first of all... and if I were to have unprotected sex, I would have myself and my partner tested. I am sensible in that way.. but I don't know what it would be like.. like.. if he just doesn't like a condom or whatever.. I don't know... I don't know... (Female student, UCT)

HIV/AIDS then for most of the students – across the institutions - is something that they only think about now and again, when they cut their foot in a nightclub, when they go for AIDS tests etc. (some insurance companies requires people to have AIDS test regularly in order for people to be insured) but it is not something that they specifically think of or relate to on a daily basis. Some students also practised abstinence on religious grounds – so for them it was not seen as an issue of daily importance. As one male student at UCT put it: *“I am abstaining at the moment so it is not an issue”* (Male student, UCT).

For some students though it is a topic that was much more to the forefront of their actions. One male student at Cape Tech. described this scenario when asked about HIV/AIDS being part of his everyday life. This is a student that lives in a township – in a community where HIV/AIDS is rife.

Yes, because you know, I always had this kind negative feeling, about like, how to say it... sort of ignorant feeling according AIDS and stuff like that, because I always thought that AIDS were for people like Prostitutes... people that like, sleep around all the time, people who drink, people smoking and like drugs and stuff like that, I used to think that AIDS is for people like that, I used to think that AIDS is very distant from me.. so but until I saw AIDS killing the people that I actually know, until I saw people like talking to me, people who really got AIDS, and that's when my conception of AIDS and stuff like that started to kind of turn and I really used to ignore AIDS and said to myself I will never get AIDS, but ever since I saw these people that were very close to me, it took that to realise that AIDS is real and it is killing people, especially like my cousin from (...) my cousin she died of AIDS 2002 December, she, I mean when I was growing up we used to play together and stuff like that, I mean she was older than me, she was kind of 8 years older than me, and when I was growing up she was there so.. and I remember like in my.. when I went to my went to my matric dance,

she was the one who opened the door for me and after I like came back from the dance those are the things that I remember her by, she was not a bad person and stuff like that, she had this boyfriend, this boyfriend that was coming from jo'burg, he is an old man, so I mean girls from townships they like to date these people kind of are wealthy and stuff like that so that they can take care of them and (?) and so she had this girl.. this guy I mean this guy and apparently this guy was HIV positive and she got infected from this guy (?) 2002 December, then she died, and... my sisters friend also died around that time, and the I know people like they were dying and then were no longer secretive about it and would saying she died of AIDS and stuff that is when I started to kind of be conscious of HIV and AIDS (Male student, Cape Tech.)

Another student described why HIV/AIDS was an issue for him because of his own sexuality but even so, it is not something that really informs the way he lives his life. But he does know people or know of people that have HIV, but still it is not something that feels like a subject that is close to him

I: This is something you “think about” ... well, you know, ... in everyday life ... is it an issue for you ... is it something you think about ... is it something you are conscious of ... sort of, [in?] your world, in any sense?

S: That's tricky ... in a way it is, as I am gay, so I do kind of grapple with these issues, so you push it to the back of your mind and you just go through your life and you take 'precautions' and you do what you think is necessary and what is 'safe' and what is 'safer' but it's a reality, so it does worry me.

I: So you do not know any people with AIDS...

I: Umm ... I've met people who are HIV-positive ... and I do not have any close friends who are HIV-positive ... I do not have any relatives that I know of ... [with it?] ...

I: ... its not very close to you ...?

S: No ...

I: So not even it being in South Africa ... sort of ... very close ...?

S: Not really ... when you phrase it that way, in terms of 'location' and 'geography' ... I [will soon be?] living in another part of the world ... I don't think it will be any 'different' ... I mean, living in Britain or Europe or the States ... I have never, like, been in any [direct??] contact with the disease ... like, known someone who has 'suffered' ... who has been overcome ... has had to stop work ... and eventually died from it ... I mean ... that's [???] ... Although we have a domestic worker ... a lady

who works for us, and she is HIV-positive and I think that she has been HIV-positive for a few years now ... Umm ... and there was a time when she was quite bad ... but I was not there to see that ... I lived overseas for 10 years ... (Male student, UCT)

To sum up, the students described HIV/AIDS as something that does not affect their daily lives. It may inform their actions, such as being protected (using a condom) when having sex, but it is not something that is at the forefront of their daily lives. Furthermore it is not something the students (except for a very few exceptions) feel that they are part of, it is not really part of their world. It is for other people, the poor, the unhygienic and the people selling sex for a better life.

8.3 Other sources of information about HIV/AIDS

When driving from the airport in Cape Town one of the first things that hits you are huge billboards meant to enlighten the people about the HIV crisis. They tell you to wear condoms, to get tested etc. In the interviews the students mentioned the different sources they derived their knowledge of HIV/AIDS from. Interestingly this was mentioned as one of the reasons why the students felt what they called “HIV/AIDS fatigue” – why they feel that this is a topic that to some extent is overdone. Information about HIV/AIDS, condoms etc. is to be found more or less everywhere, and these posters were also visible in all three of the institutions that I visited. There would, for example, be condom dispensers with free condoms and a warning to wear a condom to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS in all the bathrooms. (Interestingly these seemed to be empty most of the time I was there – so either this is something that works i.e. they are used by students to protect themselves, or they are empty because the university staff

forget to refill them.) There would also be visible posters up on the boards either informing about how HIV/AIDS is spread or provide the number of an HIV/AIDS helpline.

One source mentioned as one of the main sources of information for the students was the media and especially TV programmes. There seemed to be consensus between the students that a lot of children “these days” watched a lot of TV, so a lot of information about life would come from different TV series as well as TV advertisements. As two students at Cape Tech. put it:

S1: No it didn't really I don't know we don't... when we were in junior school we didn't care.. the children of today I always say are very, very different from what we were... we were very like.. blissfully unaware of things that went on around us, children now today know a lot more, and it is scary, so I think today you kind of have to do it at a younger age because they know so much more.

I. why is it they know so much more? is it media...

S2: media, TV, they watch so much TV..

S2 :a lot of the parents work, so they force them to sit in front of the TV, not force, but they are in front of the TV so they know a lot more they watch weird..

S1: shocking how much they watch

S2 little kids are like watching 16 movies and you are like OK... I wasn't even aware they could do that when I was like, a certain age.. so it's the way society I think has changed and it's influenced the way children are brought up today

I: do you think that sort of changes the way you need to teach about HIV/AIDS as well or do you think that the TV in any sense sort of conveys the message of HIV/AIDS to the kids

S2: Uhm, I don't actually like ? or what ever: I don't think TV has.. it depends on the adverts, some of the adverts..

S1: adverts are shocking these days

S2: uhm, it is just.. also like the media needs to be careful about what times they show things. I can assure you that bold and the beautiful and days of our lives are showed

in the afternoon, and that is when parents come home and then they just plonk their kids in front of the tv, and go make supper so kids are going to watch that, because that is the only thing that is really on.

S1: unless they hey have, you know M-net or DSTV

S2: ja.. and most people don't have M-net or dstv so that's what they are going to watch, and sometimes the sex is so explicit so you know, and it makes it OK, so,.. that is also.. because every next person is sleeping with another person, and so it makes it sort of ok to be (...)

S1: And so it's sort of a message like

S2: it is the norm

S1: it is normal to sleep with every Tom Dick and Harry because... and that doesn't, that doesn't convey the message that you have to have safe sex. So... Female students, Cape Tech.)

Other sources where the students would get information about HIV/AIDS would be specific HIV/AIDS courses. These courses are often organised by, for example, church groups – one student said he had to have a course that covered HIV/AIDS in order to do work for his church as a youth leader.

One student at UWC who grew up in former Transkei mentioned that the information about HIV/AIDS would be found in the health clinics;

I: so you had (have) not heard about HIV AIDS in school before you came here... Have you heard about it from somewhere else? Or was it something that you knew about before?

S: I had heard about it in the clinics only...but not at school

I: What did they tell you in the clinics...or why did you to go the clinics to find out or where they around?

S: No I was just visiting so they got the problem for HIV

I: So the clinics there would be doctors, like, nurses, and doctors and things (yes) So what would they tell you about HIV AIDS?

S: They told us about the dangers of this disease...So we must always...must be wise...we must use condoms when we are having sex because AIDS is killing (Female student UWC)

Others again would have gone to courses organised by the universities own health services.

8.4 Teacher training and HIV/AIDS

This section looks at how the students are taught at the different institutions, how they perceive this teaching and how this influences the way the students themselves think about teaching about HIV/AIDS and issues related to HIV/AIDS.

8.4.1 HIV/AIDS training at UCT

HIV/AIDS training at UCT is part of the professional education programme, and is compulsory for all students. The students describe the focus of teaching sessions as for the main part “not bio-medical” – that it assumed that students knew how the disease was spread and the general nature of the disease. The students said that the focus was on social aspects of the disease and as well as on how social relationships are formed.

From my own observations, I experienced the teaching methods as varied, the first two weeks there was a substitute teacher telling the students about the HIV/AIDS programmes that they were developing for schools and what this process entailed. Quite a few students, from their

own statements, did not find this part of the lecture series to be very relevant – mainly because it dealt with the “things they already knew”. However when the class was once again taken over by the main lecturer, the students felt that they were learning new things and were able to see HIV/AIDS in a wider perspective

S: I think it was very well done ... the first few sessions ... I thought the people presenting weren't quite pitching it at a post-graduate level ... I don't know ... my feeling is that sometimes workshops like that are pitched at a level where they are taught to teachers, or whether they are taught to politicians, whether they are taught to people with 'basic education', or a those with a huge amount of education ... they pitch it at the same level. It could have been maybe set up just a little bit ... but Jean's sessions have been very good ... each time ... you hear comments about it the next day or the following week and how people have enjoyed it ... they really actually got to be thinking ... and it engaged them, which does not always happen in a lecture ... you know ... sometimes its useful but its hard to concentrate ... but with her, people have always been engaged and its made them think ...

I: But how do you think she did this ... or ... what was it she did that made it so good?

S: I think she, first of all, puts it first, a little bit, of all, outside of our reach ... almost the information and the content ... you know ... she makes us stretch towards it ... so that by the end of the lesson, you would have grasped it and made it part of ourselves, which I think is very important in a lecture, (be)cause then it is actually you will be carrying it with you and not just forget about it once the exam is done ... and the issues were very real to people .. she made it extremely real, especially with examples she had shown, the resources of which she has given to us ... and she has also consulted us a lot of the time about what we want to do ... asking us whether we would like some speakers to come in next week on HIV ... and she would always let us know at the beginning of the lesson ... really what is going on and what we are and give us choice in that .. (Female student, UCT)

These lectures focussed, as mentioned previously, mainly on the social aspects of the disease – how it is affecting South Africa as a country as well as on personal issues such as e.g. sexuality and sexual identity, group pressure, as well as on living with the disease.

The methods used were discussions, group work, using videos to start up discussion and bringing in someone to talk to the students about how he contracted HIV/AIDS, what it was

like to discover that he had HIV, how he now lives with it and on how he accesses medication by participating in various medical trials.

The students describe the sessions as giving them a “reality check”. As one student described a lot of the students live sheltered lives, HIV/AIDS is not part of their reality – he then goes on to say that “*Hopefully it (the lectures) get them thinking about life outside their own (context)*”. (Male student, UCT)

Before the lecture series the students reaction to the HIV/AIDS course was “oh, no – not again” – that it was something they didn’t really need, and something that they already had knowledge about. After the lecture series the students felt that their way of looking at HIV/AIDS has changed – as one student remarked; they found the lessons “engaging” and that it made the students think about their own background and how this affects how they in turn teach. Furthermore it became a topic for discussion also outside of the classroom, where students discussed their own attitudes and views on the subject. (I happened to sit in on a few of these impromptu discussions and got the impression that this had opened up a “new world” for many of them.)

There was only one aspect that the students felt was lacking in this lecture series, and that was on strategies on how to teach HIV/AIDS in schools – though, in my interviews I found that what the students themselves described as methods they would use, were methods that had been used to teach on the lecture series – but this will be covered in more depth later.

I also asked the students about whether they had had any HIV/AIDS training outside of the professional education HIV/AIDS series. Except for the lifeskills students, none of the other students mentioned that HIV/AIDS had been part of their courses. HIV/AIDS is a topic that is covered in schools for the most part in the subject area of Lifeskills – The students here described HIV/AIDS as being part of their lifeskills training. However, when asked if HIV/AIDS was a topic that could be covered within the area of their subjects most of the students could describe areas in which the topic of HIV/AIDS could be part of their teaching, e.g. History (looking at the history of South Africa and why it was possible for HIV/AIDS to become such a large problem), Economy (by looking at for example different ways that HIV/AIDS affect the South African economy), English, (by reading novels where HIV/AIDS is a topic) and so forth.

In my interviews I also asked the students whether they had had any experience with HIV/AIDS while doing their teaching practice (TP). Quite a few of the students answered that it hadn't been a topic at their school, whilst a couple of the students had been to a two day course on teaching about HIV/AIDS as part of their TP in schools in a poorer area. This school's quest was to stem the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which in their area was affecting at the time up to about 80% of the population. Three of the interviewees I specifically asked to talk to me because I knew that they had chosen to have their teaching practice in an so-called underprivileged school – that is a school in one of the many townships of Cape Town. One had his TP in Kayelitsha and the two mentioned earlier in a school close to “Ocean view” in Hout Bay. The student that had had his TP in Kayelitsha (it was at a special maths school – which was in some way linked to a college) said that the teaching staff there thought that

about 100% of the students had had sex, and the school had decided to give out free condoms – but even so, he did not see HIV/AIDS as being an issue there.

8.4.2 Student views on teaching HIV/AIDS at The University of Cape Town

Most of the students interviewed at UCT reported that they felt that it is very important to teach learners about HIV/AIDS because when living in South Africa it is something that will affect you in some way or other, even though you personally feel safe. HIV/AIDS therefore in their opinion, is an issue that needs to be addressed, and not “hidden under the table” or “mystified”.

In the interviews I asked the teacher-training students how they themselves would teach about HIV/AIDS. One student mentioned she would do it “*in a different way*”, that is she found that the current approach of rote learning and the ticking of boxes and answering of tests did nothing to enhance the learners understanding on HIV/AIDS. She instead wanted to make HIV/AIDS education more discursive and let the learners ask questions on topics they were interested in.

S: would try to bring it into as many subjects as I could, but I wouldn't teach the way they teach it in AIDS classes.

I: How would you teach it?

S: Like I would try to make it more relevant and applicable to their lives.. I don't know how I am going to do that yet... just make it not like.. for me it is an issue outside my life.. So I would have to learn how to bring it into my everyday living first before I could go out there and teach them about the relevancy of HIV/AIDS to their lives

I: What... so how would you teach about it.. if you were going to teach about HIV/AIDS how do you go about it?

S: Well oh, I still don't know how I am going to go about it, for me it's still a non issue. And I can't go over there and teach (...) to the children and not (?) My self.. then I would be a hypocrite.. I am not sure... I don't know. All I know is that I do want to make it more relevant to their lives.

I: What do you think of.. what do you think are the best ways to teaching HIV/AIDS? You know how do you make things relevant?

S: I think maybe getting in guest speakers, people living with AIDS and HIV. And interacting with them as well. And showing them there is no reason to fear people with HIV/AIDS

Well if you think about it... there are lots of people that will walk around everyday that don't even know that they have HIV/AIDS, and you interact with them every day. You have no idea as well.

I: Sure

S: So they only shun those who do they know have HIV/AIDS. At least they do.. others don't... which is a very scary thought actually. (Female student, UCT)

One other student felt that the learners need to know the facts – what to do and not to do, but at the same time there is a need to focus on raising the learners consciousness, that their own actions have consequences and that they are in charge of making those decisions. The message of these lessons should be that “no-one is immune” because, as he said, “*the teenagers feel immune and they are not*” (Male student, UCT).

Another topic that the students mentioned was that HIV/AIDS needs to be seen in relation to other things – not just as a topic that stands alone – it needs to be connected to the students’ “daily lives” – such as issues of sexuality, sexual identity and group pressure. This, several of the students felt, was very important so that the students don’t get “fatigued” with the subject. One student likened it to filling up a jug – “*it is only so much it will take*” (Female student, UCT).

Some described a more hands on ways of teaching about HIV/AIDS – like swapping gum, showing learners that while it is very difficult to swap gum with a whole class, but it is very easy to have unprotected sex with the same people. Others advocated bringing students either to places where they can see for themselves people who have HIV/AIDS – or by bringing people from the outside into the classrooms to talk about the disease. Others again see drama as a good way of teaching about HIV/AIDS – especially issues on how to treat people with HIV/AIDS (not medically but socially) – and as a way of overcoming the stigma of HIV/AIDS.

I think maybe getting in guest speakers, people living with AIDS and HIV. And interacting with them as well. And showing them there is no reason to fear people with HIV/AIDS because they are still people (Female student, UCT).

Some think that a good way of teaching HIV/AIDS is using some of the software packages available and doing it interactively.

In sum, the students at UCT seem to feel that HIV/AIDS is an important topic to teach. When describing the content and ways of approaching teaching – it seems to a large degree to mirror the contents of the HIV/AIDS education given at UCT – they focus on HIV/AIDS as a

societal problem, as well as being an issue that has implications on a scale larger than just the individual, as well as the fact that it is a problem that affects everyone in South Africa, and not just certain groups.

8.4.3 HIV/AIDS training at Cape Technicon (Cape Tech)

Cape Technicon provides bachelor degrees in Education. (B.Ed). As a visiting researcher I felt it had more of a “school feel” than the two other institutions. This is probably mainly because the students are educated in classes depending on the level and subject they aim to teach.

The students that I interviewed were selected mainly from classes taught by my contact at Cape Tech and they were either studying to teach the first three years of primary school or they were business and computer students aiming to teach in secondary schools. One of the interviewed students was recruited by some of the students I had already interviewed, when one of my interviewees didn't show up for her interview. He was training to teach at intermediate level.

Unfortunately, due to issues of timing the visit to Cape Tech, I was not able to observe any of the HIV/AIDS training, but I did get to sit in on a few other classes. It seemed to me that the classes that are taught are fairly small, though as was mentioned in one of my interviews, it is not really that the classes are small (she mentioned that there was supposed to be about 40 students in the class) but that only a minority of students turn up for classes (around 10-15 out

of 40). This statement was to a large degree confirmed by the staff that I spoke to in the teachers' lounge as well (on questions of why this is so I did not get a good answer).

At Cape Tech the HIV/AIDS training is fairly ad hoc with my contact as the main teacher. The classes taught by her do six months HIV/AIDS training as part of their basic education training. When asked if the students had had any training about HIV/AIDS the answers varied, with foundation phase students and intermediate students answering that they had not had any training whilst the students studying to teach in secondary school had had this training.

Cape Tech was the teacher training institution with the largest spread in students' backgrounds, from white students from a fairly sheltered upbringing in the Southern Suburbs, to black students from the townships of Cape Town or from the Transvaal area. The students' backgrounds seemed to affect the focus they put on HIV/AIDS. Whereas all the students talked about the importance of teaching about HIV/AIDS, there were large differences in the way they described the ways they understood the disease. Four of the students that I interviewed were very much practising Christians and they professed to wanting to teach abstinence as a way of stopping the HIV/AIDS epidemic. This was mainly out of a sense of morals, as described in the quote below:

S1: Well, I plan for myself to teach in a Christian school, so it's for me... it would be having strong morals and values... as a Christian you know I don't believe you should have sex before marriage, so I am probably going to be biased and like have that type of... but I wouldn't be biased because it would be a Christian school, so I would more hammer on the thing of.. not hammer on it .. more convey that having strong Christian values is good and it so...

I: So you would teach them to be abstinent?

S1: Ja

S2: when I, when I would teach... I personally would feel that to teach children about AIDS, I would rather teach them what to do to prevent it. Than what, than actually what AIDS is. This is very complicated. I personally, I understand that, but it is very complicated issues, I'd rather personally teach them preventative measures, that you don't touch blood or something else, that you have to wear gloves, that kind of thing. Because otherwise the children.. there are too many questions and you can't answer all of them.. then I think they have a special... some schools have a special sex ed. Course. (Female students, Cape Tech.)

One thing that I noted in my interviews with these students was that they continuously refer to HIV/AIDS as *Their* disease – something that does not affect them personally, but something they would teach, especially as they desire to teach in so-called under-privileged schools (as was also shown in the material quoted above from UCT).

At the other end of the spectrum there were students with first hand knowledge of the disease, from members of their family dying of AIDS as well as large parts of their community. They focus on sex as something that is fairly inevitable and something that for many happens at a very young age. Their outlook on HIV/AIDS is also that it is something that needs to be taught – but the focus should not just be on sex but also about taking responsibility for themselves and for the choices they make. This is exemplified by the following quote:

I: Uhm.. you are teaching secondary school, is it? And you are training to be a secondary school, high school teacher? Uhm what kind of subjects do you want to teach?

S: at the moment I am being trained to teach mathematics, and business economics and computers

I: do you think that HIV/AIDS will influence any of these subject, that it is relevant to you as a mathematics and computer, business teacher

S: as a teacher who should know I think that knowledge about HIV/AIDS is actually relevant for me as a teacher, because as a teacher I want.. I won't only talk maths, I

won't only talk business, I won't only talk computer, I mean I need to build relationships with my learners not like that relationships, but relationships with all my learners all girls and boys so that I can be supportive and give them hope and all that stuff as I refer to a subject called (life orientation).. has much to do with those things. But who knows in the future, I saw this very interesting... I was looking at a grade 10 textbook for mathematics and then the way it's kind of drafted in the OBE approach and then the way they have actually done it. They have actually put things AIDS, poverty and stuff like that into the curriculum so that like the during the process of which ah.. solving the mathematics problem you usually get exposed to things like HIV and AIDS to things like poverty to things like growth you know so it was very interesting, so if I go out of this technicon with full knowledge of HIV and AIDS and stuff like that that means it will be a plus for me to actually, I mean, to teach this subject, because I can see now this OBE now coming in to grade 10 to 12 they are actually bringing in the social problems the economic problems stuff like that

I: but uhm as a future teacher, do you think it is important to teach student about HIV/AIDS

S: definitely. There is a saying that says prevention is better than the cure, I believe that if people can be educated about these things like it is much better than actually trying to buy... I mean than to actually trying to spend a lot of money like finding a cure for AIDS and stuff like that. I think A lot of money should actually be spent on trying to educate our kids... trying to make them aware that there are these things and these things.. and then these things have certain consequences and stuff, like so and so you know so I believe that education like is.. I think is the most key to actually combating the spread of AIDS and stuff like that you know. So me in the future I believe in teaching these things about HIV and AIDS especially at their age and things like sex and stuff like that, because you find that they start to engage in a social life because at 14 (...) they should be aware when they actually go into the things they shouldn't be ruled by their hearts but they should be ruled by their minds because that is.. you know because the hear at 14 years old can just lead you astray you know it can lead you in the wrong direction , but give the right type of guidance in there so then it is, it is much better (Male student, Cape Tech.)

For the most part the answers to what the students would teach their learners about HIV/AIDS focus very much on technical things – like remembering to stay away from blood or to wear gloves, or how HIV is transmitted, and how to care for people with HIV/AIDS – not many focus on other more abstract skills, or putting HIV/AIDS into a social and cultural context, however this does vary with the students own experiences as well as social and cultural background.

8.4.4 HIV/AIDS training at The University of Western Cape

UWC pride themselves as a university where HIV/AIDS is, something that is highly visible as there are a lot of different HIV or AIDS posters displayed around the campus. As one student commented:

I think it is a topic generally. It is a general topic... It is everywhere. You go to Maths, you go to computer science, you go to statistics it is there, because of course it is affecting everyone, I would say. You can even go to the residences you will find posters everywhere, workshops are being advertised all over... (Male student, UWC)

The HIV/AIDS training at PGCE level is compulsory for all students and was at the time of this study comprised of three different parts. One part was a lecturer from Johannesburg, the second a three day course on counselling and the last was an internet module originally developed at the university of Stellenbosch. The HIV/AIDS module at the time of the study was given by external lecturers, but was organised by one of the teacher- training staff. Unfortunately at the time of my visit one of the main people behind this module was on study-leave in the United States.

One student summed up his experience with HIV/AIDS training like this:

S: Every subject you basically do; AIDS gets thrown into ie, it does not matter what, you get little bits of AIDS everywhere, and of course we did workshops, counselling workshops (...) we did the whole prevention and how you contract AIDS – you know- basic hands on stuff. We did that. AIDS in the whole cultural – set up, you know, the whole circumcision thing, for example, getting AIDS in the Bush.

I: The bush?

S: Yes you know the circumcision, some cultures circumcise and use the same knife, and blood gets passed on to somebody else. That whole thing.

I: was it useful? Did you find it useful?

S: a bit... a bit to much, a bit alarmist. I don't agree with some of the statements, like for example you can get AIDS via shaving your hair. (Male student, UWC)

When asked to describe the first part of the HIV/AIDS training another student answered:

S:(...) when I was introduced to this PGCE course what I can say is that, at first, it was more of a psychological thing of the education itself (...) Then we went for a one [day] workshop with another guy, I am not sure, he's from Jo'Burg, but he came to present how does the HIV.. How it is transferred from one person to another.

I: So, What would you say was the focus of this... Was it mainly just the medical thing, or was it the effects on more things than just how it is transferred?

S: What I would say is that the main focus of that is for us to know how that thing is being transmitted... So that we can also in our classes, as teachers, as this thing is really affecting most of [us], especially learners. Some learners are caught with situations whereby they have to take care of their siblings, so that was the essence. I think that the idea was to make us understand how this pandemic is being transferred from one person to another. (Male student, UWC)

Most of the students that I interviewed found the HIV/AIDS training interesting, though a bit “full on” or “in your face” or, as we see in the first answer a bit alarmist. Some of the students also seemed to find that some of the information for them did not ring true; like you can get AIDS from shaving your hair, so you should always bring your own blade to the barbers. Others found the information useful, as they were going to be teaching students in the future and they see the need to know the right information so that they don't go out and contribute to the confusion about what is right and what is wrong in terms of how to contract or not contract HIV.

The second part of the HIV/AIDS training at UWC consisted of a three day workshop on counselling students affected by or infected with HIV/ AIDS, such as techniques on how to

talk to learners in a difficult life situation without getting too emotionally involved, and how to get students in difficult situations to open up and confide in you as a teacher.

I still believe it was more practical, even that one, because we had to do counselling sessions, one- on-one, and during the class sessions, we were divided into groups and it was good it was (?) he even gave us some tips as to how to counsel students... to let people talk openly to you, how to do that and which questions you should ask in order for someone to continue talking, even if he is feeling the pain – you know – and what to do when that person is (...) If you are listening to someone and he is telling you some real sad thing, you end up feeling it and you will cry with her or something like that... but he gave us a lot of tips on how to handle things like that, you don't have to hold yourself, you just breathe in and relax, that kind of thing. It was a good experience (...). (Female student, UWC)

The last part of the HIV/AIDS training at UWC was an online course that was run from the University of Stellenbosch. It looks at knowledge about HIV/AIDS, misunderstandings about how it is being transferred, social and cultural myths, and to some extent how to teach about HIV/AIDS. The students I interviewed found this module to be very interesting, both in terms of what they learnt but also as a way of repeating and putting into context what they had learnt in the two previous modules. As one student said, the way the questions were formed was not such that you could answer either yes or no, it made you think and question your own beliefs.

8.4.5 Students views on teaching HIV/AIDS at the University of Western Cape

The students I spoke to at UWC all saw teaching about HIV/AIDS as important. Quite a few of them point to the fact that “young people” either don't know the facts about HIV/AIDS, don't care, or their knowledge is riddled with misunderstandings. They feel that the learners

need to get a better understanding of the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and be taught the correct facts.

One student described this scenario from his own teaching practice:

S: a typical example, people still think it is a “gay disease”, I am doing science but I had to observe a Life Orientation class, and basically this one kid got up and they were talking about men giving men the disease, or something to that effect and he got up and actually said men cannot give other men AIDS (...) you know myths that type of attitude also, for example (...) when it comes to sex, for example the woman might be on the pill and the guy hears that , just basically, his mind sort of freezes and he might not have a condom and he will think Ok, its ok if we...

I: So long as she does not get pregnant you don’t think about the AIDS thing.. the implications that might come

S: That is what I think young people think... not necessarily what I think... it is what they say. (Male student, UWC)

The same student went on to describe how he would teach these students and he feels that what needs to be done is to give the students a “reality check”. When asked how he would go about doing that, he answered, that he would use;

roleplays – and get community members into the class, who are actually living with the disease and who don’t mind speaking about it, I think that we could start to begin with to address the issues (...). (Male student, UWC).

Furthermore he went to say that as a biology teacher he would focus on being factual, to deliver to the students the “right” facts about HIV/AIDS and focus on safety, such as safe sex, but he realises that to make it interesting for the students it had to “*be connected to life in some way*” – and that it needed not to be separated form life, it had to be life oriented.

Other students also focus on teaching children about the cultural context of HIV/AIDS -in terms of circumcision (i.e. not to use the same blade/ spear when being circumcised) or on how to support other learners either affected by or infected with HIV/AIDS, on not to touch blood as that is where the virus is found. Some students also point to having to talk to the students about how to stand up for themselves and how group- pressure can lead them to make decisions about sex that they are not properly prepared for:

I will emphasise this thing of avoiding, like peer pressure, [it] is one of the things... an individual, you have to do what you feel is most important for you, and some learners do fall into this thing of sex, just to tell their peers (...) (Female student, UWC)

When asked how she would teach about this the student answered:

(...) the lecture will be there, (...) and dramatising, using audio-visual objects like videos. (...) videos of people who have been affected or infected, then they will sort of get some clear picture of what is happening because those things are real, what else will I use? They will have to work in groups, so that they can get the feeling of being supportive” (Female student, UWC).

All in all the students see HIV/AIDS education as something that is necessary, and something they would want to focus on when they themselves are going to be out there in the “ real-world” teaching. However on a final note, when asked directly if HIV/AIDS was something that affected their daily lives or whether they knew someone with HIV/AIDS the answer for the most part was no – they did not know of anyone with HIV or AIDS, but they did see it as a problem for South Africa as a whole.

8.5 Summary HIV/AIDS training

The different institutions all offer some form of HIV/AIDS training to the students and this training is part of the professional education classes that all the students are compelled to take part in. The content and focus of this education varies across the institutions - as HIV/AIDS education often was arranged on an ad-hoc basis. The content and focus then shifts from one institution to another based on who organised the education and what they saw as useful knowledge about HIV/AIDS. UCT had an approach more geared towards the social and cultural implications of HIV/AIDS – and a focus on sexuality and sexual identity. At Cape Tech the students seemed to focus on how HIV/AIDS is spread (the virus itself) as well as specific skills attached to the disease – like not to touch blood, and how to relate to people that have or are in some way affected by HIV/AIDS. At UWC the teaching focused on the basic facts about HIV/AIDS – like how it is spread, and how to teach these facts, as well as teaching the students on how to counsel students that have HIV/AIDS or are affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

There does however seem to be three main areas that inform and affect the students' views on teaching (content) and how to teach (didactics of teaching) about HIV/AIDS.

- 1) The students own cultural and social background
- 2) The students teaching practice
- 3) The teaching given to the students during their PGCE course

8.5.1 The students own social and cultural background

Some students are informed by their own cultural values or religious beliefs when they describe how they see that HIV/AIDS should be taught or what should be in their opinion the content and focus of the HIV/AIDS education –for example, focussing on sexual abstinence before marriage. Social background and the area the students come from also matters in the importance the students put on HIV/AIDS education – i.e. those students that have actual experience of HIV/AIDS as affecting their local community, family and friends stress the importance of a good sexual education – teaching learners about sexuality, sexual practices and giving the students a proper understanding of how and why HIV/AIDS spread.

8.5.2 Experience of HIV/AIDS in teaching practice

The students that have had teaching practice in areas where they either have had to teach about HIV/AIDS or have been in a classroom where HIV/AIDS has been the topic of the lessons, or students that have done their teaching practice in areas where most of the students are closely affected by HIV/AIDS – also seem to focus on the necessity of HIV/AIDS education, the information given to the students and what they experience as being good ways of conveying the message of HIV/AIDS.

8.5.3 Teaching given as part of the PGCE courses

The most important influence on the students' teaching – and that which to a large degree seems to influence the way the students themselves see HIV/AIDS (the nature of the disease, how it is spread, the social and cultural implications of HIV/AIDS and so forth) is the way the students themselves are taught during their PGCE course and especially the content of the specific HIV/AIDS courses given at the different institutions.

From the students' answers in the interviews (as well as the questionnaires) there seems to be a clear trend that when the students are asked how they would teach about HIV/AIDS and what they would emphasise in their own teaching, they answer according to how and what they themselves have been taught i.e. they emulate the educational form of the education given to them in teacher education. The taught curriculum thus seems to be very important in terms of the didactic approaches as well as the content and focus of the students' own teaching. For example, the students at UCT focussed more on teaching students about the implications of sexuality and teaching about HIV/AIDS in the context of sexuality, developing sexual identities, group pressure etc whereas the students at UWC focussed on the implications of teaching the learners the proper knowledge – making sure that the students knew the correct facts on how HIV spreads – and how to avoid being infected. They also focussed on issues of combating myths on how HIV/AIDS is spread, working against social stigmas etc. These students also focussed a lot on giving the affected students good counselling – much as a result of them having to take a course on counselling students with HIV/AIDS themselves.

8.5.4 Implications

In sum, what this implies is that the students – when teaching (or in this case are preparing to teach) about a sensitive issue such as HIV/AIDS - bring their own experiences, their own social backgrounds and cultural values as well as what and how they themselves are taught in the classroom. This has implications for the organisation of HIV/AIDS education at university level in general.

There is perhaps very little to be done about the students own social and cultural background and the values they carry, but organising their education in a manner that allows for experiences to be shared and for the students to understand the implications this actually has on other peoples lives seems to be of value, as well as opening the students' eyes to the realities that are out there. Teaching about abstinence is no good to the learners you are trying to reach if their life or social context is one where one where sexual intercourse without a condom is one of the few pleasures in life. If one sees the world from a vantage point of having “nothing left to lose” then you keep hold of what little pleasures you have. Girls being raped are not going to be in a position to tell the rapist – ‘sorry but I am going to abstain until marriage’ – or could ‘you wear a condom so that I won’t run the risk of being infected by HIV/AIDS?’ Teacher education students need to be aware of, and react to the life situation of their learners.

As one student from UCT put it when asked how this would pertain to his own teaching area of history:

(...) Something which struck me yesterday was the comment about the value of life and I think Jean mentioned that. We've seen those film-clips and someone mentioned that he said he would "be lucky to be alive at the age of 30" now that is true, even if you remove the whole HIV/AIDS question. Now that is the real question for me, because if young people don't see 'a future for themselves' then we should not be preaching to them about HIV/AIDS or whatever and condoms and all the rest of it its not going to have any effect(s). It will go through one ear and out the other, because they don't ... they don't have all these things to confront, and so I would want to contextualise the History lesson, I [would?] would want to contextualize HIV/AIDS in the context of other 'social problems', economic problems and political problems that poor people face (Male student, UCT).

While it is very important to know the correct facts about how HIV/AIDS is spread, actually looking at the factors that aid the spread of HIV/AIDS in South Africa is more important , i.e. teaching the students about the broader context of HIV/AIDS and the implications of sexuality, religion, cultural and social myths, social differences and poverty. HIV/AIDS is something that cannot just be taught as a week long concept, but something that is part of actually understanding the implications of teaching within a diverse society like South Africa.

South Africa is a country of vast differences but, even so, the students in this sample for the most part came from the "middle classes" and to a large extent shared and carried the social references of the middle classes, as we can see from the section about the students' schooling backgrounds. For the most part they lived in very safe worlds and are not often exposed to people that come from backgrounds not similar to their own. We have used the concept of the "middle class" here because it does span wider socio-economic factors than colour or race. To a certain extent the values of the middle classes are what these students represent, not necessarily just the values of the white or black South Africa.

There are however variations within the groups. At all institutions there are students that are closely affected by HIV/AIDS – both in terms of where they come from, or because of their

own sexual practices. It is however interesting to note that across the board the students referred to HIV/AIDS as *their* disease – i.e. someone else’s problem, not something that directly affected them but something they knew to be affecting some other part of the population.

8.6 Teaching methodologies

When asked about how they would teach about HIV/AIDS – i.e. the methods they would choose in teaching about HIV/AIDS the students focussed on using several different approaches – especially different ones than those that were used when they themselves were taught in school. Most of the students seem to agree that the “old ways” of teaching – using lectures and worksheets etc, don’t work in conveying the message properly. They can of course be used, but not as the only means to make the students understand the importance of this message.

Except for differences in the content of the HIV/AIDS training, which varied across the universities, the students all seemed to agree that methods such as discussions, group work, using video, either bringing in people from the outside to talk about HIV/AIDS – people infected with the HIV/AIDS virus – or bringing students to hospitals, AIDS hostels etc would be the best way to get the message across properly.

As one student from UCT put it:

No, I don't think chalk'n'talk works for this ... I think a lot of space needs to be provided for the learners to be able to talk themselves, and in one way they should be the teachers...and that they communicate their opinions and where they are at, and the teacher takes the lead from there, and just helps to guide the children along ... because they know best what is going on in their lives and what their environment is like ...

Umm ... small focus groups ... very well chosen and hopefully balanced where they all talk among themselves and have an opportunity to talk with the teacher ... definitely using de-briefing at the end ... allowing people ... the space they want to share if they want to, ... not making it compulsory ... trying to create a very safe environment ... using anonymous questionnaire boxes ... where they have questions they can put in and you will write the answers in a book, or something ... also, perhaps, using persona dolls in terms of breaking the stigma of HIV and maybe bringing-in or highlighting some of the... a child who is living with a parent what is HIV positive ... just try to make it more 'real' for the learners ... I would try to stay away from work-sheets and written activities and things like that ... obviously, a certain amount of that is needed and to be able to consolidate work and put it in a written format so that it is there if the child has to go back to that... and most of it will be through 'creative art' and what one lecturer calls it, sacred time, where you just put a whole bunch of crayons on the table or you go outside and you get leaves and flowers and things, sort of like that, and you give them a picture or an image to try to express and then you put music on and everyone is quiet and you just sit and work and think about it and use that as a means of expression ... (Female student, UCT).

This is in compliance with the methods advocated by the new outcomes based curriculum (2005) that was being introduced into South African schools at the time of this research (cf. chapter 2). For the most part the students seemed to think that OBE was a teaching methodology – that teaching the OBE way was by employing a more discursive and group work / project based methodology. The students all seem to be convinced of the need to use these different teaching strategies and it is what they are taught during their PGCE course.

One thing that was also mentioned across the board was that by using different teaching methods they would want to make the message real to the students – to make it part of the students lifeworld. But here the students run into a personal conflict, as they themselves do not really feel that this is real to them. As one student from UCT put it:

I still don't know how I am going to go about it, for me it's still a non issue. And I can't go over there and teach (...) to the children and not (?) myself.. then I would be a hypocrite.. I am not sure... I don't know. All I know is that I do want to make it more relevant to their lives. (Female student, UCT).

In this thesis with its focus on the concept of 'Education for Democracy' the focus has not been on how to make a recipe for teaching about HIV/AIDS or the specifics in how to teach about sensitive issues. The focus here has been on describing the skills necessary for individual participation in a democratic society. The focus therefore has been on how to teach about these issues in a way that teaches and uses these 'democratic skills' such as developing critical thinking, reflexivity and giving the individual a sense of agency – the sense that one's own actions have and carry a meaning, so that what you do ultimately influences not only yourself but the society that surrounds you, as well as a sense that your actions and thoughts and choices have an impact (see chapter 4). Earlier we coupled this with the concept of 'teacher professionalism' (see 4. 13) and we described this as both having knowledge about the subject one is teaching, but also, and in these circumstances more importantly, the ability to adapt the teaching to the students' needs. This means, as we discussed in chapter 4, being able to reflect on teaching at different levels, both in adapting teaching to the students when in class, but also being able to reflect on the teaching and the teaching content when outside of the classroom so that a teacher is in a better position to reflect back on the teaching given and how to adapt future teaching to suit the students cultural and social backgrounds as well as to the students skill and knowledge level.

However in order to convey skills such as those discussed in chapter 3 and above, there is the need for more 'democratic teaching methods', i.e. methods that allow for participation and for the development of understanding how to make reflexive choices about ones own behaviour.

The students all describe using methods that allow for participation, but that in itself is not enough to make them truly 'democratic'. The students in this sample have all grown up in a South Africa that focussed on the continuing repression of large social groups and a society desperate to uphold the social hierarchy. In such a society the school is vital factor in upholding this stratification, by not teaching students how to think for themselves and to think freely about the organisation of society i.e. to make them feel that this is the way it should be.

In a society that is built upon the notion that people are not the same, that there are biological and cultural reasons why some are seen as less valuable, teaching students and learners to think critically is damaging to the existing society. The students had all grown up with these notions of social organisation permeating their schooling, a schooling that put more weight on academic skills of repetition and skills measurable in tests than skills of social understanding and participation. It was therefore interesting when one student at UCT commented that the teaching in HIV/AIDS was very good, it had made them think, but she wished that there had been more teaching in specifically how to teach about HIV/AIDS to learners in schools. This is a problem that I felt was present not only at UCT but at the other institutions as well. The students did not seem to be able to go from a teaching strategy being used in a classroom in university, which had clearly influenced their thinking on teaching, to understanding how to put it into practice themselves. i.e. they did not seem to be able to use modelling which actually requires reflexive actions on a higher level (P2 or K2 level, See chapter 4.14). Being able to decentre and understand the mechanics of the teaching – i.e. using the strategies that the lecturers used and adapt it to their own practices. However they were able to recite how to use it if they had been told/ specifically shown how to use the basic concepts, but in terms of reflective actions this is still at a fairly basic level (P1 or K1 level).

8.7 Future orientation

In order to gain an understanding of the students' future plans I asked them two questions, one was why they chose to go into teaching and second what their plans for the future were. This was to both understand what the reasons were that they decided to go into teaching in the first place and secondly to see what the influences were on their choices for the future. It is important to note here that a severe problem in South Africa today is that of 'brain migration' where the educated people move to other countries (such as USA or England) in order to get a better salary and to get a better position than what they would be able to get in South Africa. Teaching degrees are also useful not only for teaching in schools but also for going into other business sectors such as the consultant industry. In the following we will look into the students' answers to these questions.

8.7.1 Why the students chose to go into teaching

The first question I asked is why the students chose to go into teaching. Some students answered that they went into teaching because they love kids or they have had some prior experience with teaching and have found this exciting or interesting. Quite a few of the students that were interviewed have taught in some kind of setting, either as church group leaders, as voluntaries, or as substitute teachers in order to gain life experience and figure out what they want to do in life, and some do it because "it runs in the family"

Why I chose to be a teacher? This thing goes in the family (laugh) My father was a teacher, my mother was a teacher, my elder sister is still a teacher because my mother and father have passed away. So, My father was so inspiring about this teaching thing, was always motivating and motivating us in the teaching thing because it is important because if you're a teacher then you have all the areas that people are doing outside (...)

Because I've been working in schools ... and I love children ... and I want to make a difference ... and ... umm ... I think it is just something inside of you that you cannot get away from and I started teaching at my church (...)

It's a hard question to answer ... because it's just something I really enjoy doing ... I taught swimming lessons during my Varsity holidays the long summer months – to raise funds to get through Varsity, so I could work for three months with children between the ages of 3 to 13, teaching them how to swim (...) and I really love doing that and I had so much fun and I was ... so ... what I loved was thinking and coming up with ways that could teach them? better, so that they could understand and then grasp what it is I was trying to teach them like concepts and helping to overcome their fears, watching their minds tick over ... and to see what appeals to some learners and not others, and what might work with one child and not work with another child ... and you know ... finding resistance and you know "How do I get around that, and what can I do?" ... what I can change ... and that kind of ... well, solving a bit of a problem ... I love doing it and it really intrigued me and to be able to see the progress and I think .. it was ... Yes, it was lovely ... So hopefully the same will work in a classroom situation with thirty in a classroom ... you know. (Female student, UWC).

Others went into teaching after having worked for a few years, doing things they did not enjoy, and they see teaching as an option giving them either a chance to change their lives and as a way of working more in interaction with people:

S: I basically worked first before I came to university.

I: What were you doing?

S: Importing – Exporting and Sales Consultancy- retails - and a lot of things (laughs)

I: Anything, basically?

S: Anything basically, ja, the money was not good, so I decided I might as well come and study- so here I am. (Male student, UWC)

It is a long story but, I worked in an office, I did all the human resources, so whenever we got somebody new then I would have to teach them. It was a small office, It wasn't big. We were like 4 people or something, and then I trained all the new people that came in, and they always said, "oh, you are so good, you are so patient" and why aren't you a teacher, and then I actually like go and tell them I thought about it, and I spoke to my boyfriend at the time, and he said "well it suits your personality and you love working with kids cause I do, I love working with kids, and then I just thought about it and I decided, I should do this. So I wasn't happy with the work I was doing, I was, I wasn't motivated. (Female student, UCT)

That's quite complex, I have lived last year and the year before I lived in the U.K. and I had a two-year work visa and it was coming towards the end of my stay and I was thinking of what I was going to do and teaching just seemed to be such a good thing to do, for various reasons, I've had it at the back of my mind for a long, long time. Its quite funny, as when I was a student I was always dead against it. It was the last thing that I would do. Well, teaching, when all else failed and all other avenues were exhausted. I would become a teacher but that was because of just, because what was happening in Education at that time, I was at a High School in the mid-1990s, I started University in 1996 and at that time, Education was in a terrible state and morale was so low and there just seemed to be no future in this profession, and they were cutting down/getting rid of teachers basically, and teachers were being given severance packages, kind of, being kicked out of the profession and you did not feel that there was a positive future vibe.

It was very negative and so for many, many years I was against it, and then things started improving and that, sort of, coincided with events in my own life like not having a job and know knowing really what to do and I did before I went to the UK, there was a long period of time when I did not work and I was unemployed and I was kind of, floundering basically, and ... so ... I saw teaching as, something that was focussed and if you need direction, that is a good thing and I also like doing the job itself ... I think its ... I like the freedom, the kind of ... you are very much left to get on with your own things, when you are a teacher, you don't have people standing over you and you are accountable, obviously, you have Department Heads, a Principal, you have Governing Bodies, so you are accountable to them ... but in your own day-to-day work, you decide what you are going to do. You decide what approaches, methods you are going to use in the class and its very empowering in a way ... I like that I like the whole intellectual aspect as well ... its quite stimulating ... I mean, you are an intellectual basically, and many people do not see this, don't act on it and lots of non-thinking teachers, but the scope is there to continue your own intellectual development and read and discuss and.. so that I like, and also well I come from a teaching background. my parents were not teachers, but I do come from a teaching background, my grandparents were teachers and I have grown up around teachers in a way that is kind of historical almost a 'destiny' in a way, sounds odd ... but I like the whole 'shaping' the ability to influence/shape younger people, by the way they think teaching them how to think because thinking is not what South Africans do very well, I'm afraid because of our history and just ... well, so ... (Male student, UCT)

Nearly all of the students answered that they want to make a difference, that the kids needs teachers that understands who they are – a typical quote is “Kids need someone to be on their level”. However, not all the students fell into teaching as their first option, but they came to their teacher-training course either because they had missed out on other studies, had started other studies and not enjoyed them.

In the beginning I wanted to be. When I came to this technicon I wanted to be an engineer, because I because in High school I did maths and science, but unfortunately because I didn't apply in time, so I just like came.. it was... I didn't have.. the course that I actually wanted to go to was to full so they couldn't take me in to it.. so then I went home the first day, I went to Peninsula technicon and UWC and then I couldn't find these places that I wanted try I couldn't qualify for UCT, and then I went home, and then I talked to my mothers friend and then like I said and I think education is the only course available at Cape Tech, and I can get into Cape Tech chemical engineering and stuff like that, but then I mean I am not into those things, and then I had to look at my character.

And then when I said to my mothers friend I was not sure about this education, and then she said to me but why don't you take education, and then I thought.. in the mean time when I was sleeping, I just thought to myself me a teacher? And then I just thought of all the negative things that had happened in High School at the moment because I wouldn't be a primary school teacher because I think I am to young for that, you know, so ok.. and then I thought of all those disadvantages, and then my mind sort of changed and I thought of like me as a person and the character that I am and the qualities that I actually have, and then I said to myself ooh, let me think about this, and then I just thought, and then everything started changed and then I started thinking of like giving back to the nation, especially giving back what the nation has given to me and then I thought of myself and the (?) and the conveyor of knowledge and I though of myself being like, helping all those people who are actually in need, I thought about all those things, and then I said to myself, ooh it is not about, it is not about money, it is not about anything, because I don't wana sit in front of the computer all day and do and just press the key. I don't wana sit where there are a lot of chemicals, I don't wana sit with a lot of machines and stuff like that, I wana work with the people I wana empower the people.. so all of those things together they actually came my mind and then they influenced me to be a teacher. And now that I am here, I actually am here I am loving each and every second of it, you know, so now I want to go back there, I want to empower those learners, I want to help those learners no matter which environment they come from, I want to be able to adjust them and influence those situations where like so that I can actually help them by being the best teacher that I can be. (Male student, Cape Tech.)

8.7.2 Plans for the future

I actually thought I wanted to teach... and then of course I had to do practice teaching and the reality hit. So now I think 5 years at the most. 5 years to get the PhD, then lecturing. (Male student, UWC).

Quite a few of the students that I met and that I interviewed during my fieldwork in South Africa commented that they did not think they would be working as teachers for very long after they had finished their degree. Some had, as the quote above shows, met a reality they were not prepared for, others wanted to use their knowledge to go into, for example, business.

As mentioned above South Africa has a problem with brain migration – that the well-educated people see greener pastures, in for example, the United States or in UK, where they are able to get jobs with a much larger salary than they would as new teachers in South Africa. However, all of the students that mention moving abroad to get jobs mention that they would only be staying for a couple of years, in order to earn enough money to be able to afford a better house, a better standard of life when they come back to South Africa.

So I wanna go and teach in those schools, I wanna be, I wanna convey each and every knowledge, thing that I have actually learnt, I want to convey, I want to actually give to those children to those poor children in those poor townships. Even though the money, the money isn't that much, I have actually the thought of going maybe to Europe, or maybe to America, maybe for 2-3 years has actually crossed my mind so that then I can actually work there and then I can come back, but even if I would do that, I would never stay more than 5 years, in all because I actually wanna come back here, if I can stay maybe 3 years I think I will have enough money maybe to actually buy myself a small house and a small car, so that meanwhile I will be working in South Africa because I'll have the best means and I can do what I want to do which is teach.. so basically I want to teach her in South Africa, and I want to teach in townships. (Female student, Cape Tech.)

Some also just want to go for the possibility of experiencing something different, a different part of the world – and a teaching degree will make this possible for them.

I don't know.. I am not quite sure I would like to go overseas to America when I finish for a year... I know the children there are very different, but then I will hopefully come back and teach in a... any school.. it doesn't really faze me what school I teach at, as long as I get to teach (...) (Female student, Cape Tech.)

Many of the students that want to stay at home want to teach in some way in disadvantaged areas. Some because they come from such areas and want to give back to the communities they come/came from, some because they have religious beliefs that lead them to want to teach disadvantaged children and some because they went to disadvantaged schools during their teacher training practice (TP) and saw the need for skilled and good teachers there. All of the students that responded that they in some way wanted to work in disadvantaged areas said this because they “wanted to make a difference”.

I would want to teach in any school within so-called disadvantaged areas to uplift them and tell the children 'you see, I came from the same area... so you can be something in life...' be a role model to them and say we are all from the same area so I can become something... That's what I will do for the children. (Female student, Cape Tech.)

8.7.3 Summary students' future orientation

In sum the students came into the teacher-training programme with different aims, and they leave teacher training with different aims. Some wanted to be teachers because they have a

love of teaching, some because prior experience made them curious and gave them a passion for teaching – the joy of imparting knowledge and seeing their learners grow, some came into teaching because they had prior work experiences they did not enjoy and wanted to do something that gave them more meaning in life. Others “fell into it” more by chance.

When asked what they wanted to do after teacher training, some wanted to go abroad to gain money and experience in contexts they saw as less difficult. Others wanted to gain experience in “good” schools in South Africa, and some wanted to use their teacher training for other purposes than teaching, because they saw that being a teacher is demanding, or they had met a reality that they were not prepared for, and, in South Africa, the wages are too low to be able to afford the lifestyle some of them wanted. Quite a few of the students answered at the time of the interviews, that they wanted to teach in so-called disadvantaged schools. Some because they had a religious calling where they felt it was their duty to care for people with less resources than what they had had during their own schooling, and some wanted to work in these schools because they saw that there was a dire need for qualified teachers in these areas and schools. However, where the students ended up and what their lives as teachers turned out to be, was not part of this study.

8.8 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at the students answers to the interview questions. The questions in the interviews were targeted at gaining a broader understanding both of the students’ experiences in teacher training, and especially in the field of HIV/AIDS education,

but we also aimed at gaining an understanding of the students' past schooling experiences and what they foresaw to be their futures. What we found surprising was that there was in total little difference in the students' descriptions of their own lives and their past schooling experiences. For the most part this probably stems from the fact that the students we interviewed were a) the ones who volunteered and b) the study was conducted at post-graduate university level (in the case of the PGCE students). The sample in this study then, even though the students came from different cultural backgrounds, more often from the middle classes. They had gone to fairly good schools, and they for the most part shared the values of the middle classes (there were obviously exceptions – but they were a minority).

However, there was very little difference in the students descriptions of their past teaching experience. The difference there was did not stem from the students coming from different social or cultural backgrounds, but from their age. The students that had gone to school more recently had, to a certain degree, experienced more participatory teaching and a democratic school than the older students in the interviews had. When it comes to specific HIV/AIDS training, most of the students reported the same, that if this topic had been part of their schooling, it had been factual and worksheet based.

The students all reported having had HIV/AIDS teaching as part of their teacher-training course. The content and approach varied across the institutions, but the students that were interviewed all seemed to feel that they had gained knowledge and insight from the teaching that they had not had from before. The students across the institutions all agreed that this was not a topic to be dealt with the way they themselves had experienced it, but that it was a topic which needed to be dealt with in a more participatory and discursive manner (see chapter 4),

and that the focus needed to be on both learning the specific facts about HIV/AIDS but also on learning about the wider ramifications of the disease, its implication on society in general (as discussed in chapter 1). They also stressed individual factors such as teaching about sexuality, group pressure and teaching the individuals to take care of themselves as important parts of what they would teach their future students.

In the following chapter we will look at the two main themes stemming from the findings of this study: the implication the teacher training has on the students' development of their own teacher professionalism (for a further discussion on teacher professionalism see chapter 4), and the implications for this study on teaching sensitive issues (chapter 4). We will put this in the context of the main theoretical tenets of this thesis, namely education for democracy and education in a changing society (chapter 3 and 4).

9.0 Teaching sensitive issues and Teacher professionalism in the context of educational change and teaching HIV/AIDS and sensitive issues

In the analysis chapters (chapter 7 and 8) we have heard the students' answers about their past schooling experience, their present experiences in teacher-training and about how they view their future. This was done in order to map the influences on the students' developing teacher roles. We wanted to understand the students' own schooling and cultural backgrounds in order to see if this had affected their views on how to teach and especially if it has affected their views on how to teach about HIV/AIDS. Here we will consider the implications of the findings for teachers' professional identity. We will also discuss the implication these findings have for the students' views on teaching sensitive and controversial issues (see introduction and chapter 4), and how the new educational framework in South Africa of Education for Democracy and the introduction of OBE (Objectives Based Education) (see chapter 2) have put demands on changes in teaching methods and dealing with these issues in the classrooms, and how this again have had implications for teacher-training.

9.1 Teacher professionalism and the development of a professional identity within changing educational paradigms

Stephens recounts in his book on "Culture in Education and Development" (2007: chapter 7), a study he took part in where they looked into teacher training students' identity formation. He describes how this process is both dependent on contextual variables such as student

backgrounds (where they come from, what their experiences of schooling was like) as well as the experiences the students have at university and in teacher training as well as during their teaching practice. Stephens writes:

For student teachers growing up in South Africa we are, therefore, looking to understand the relationship between a personal self, shaped by socio cultural forces (such as family, childhood and school experiences) and the nascent professional identity to be developed by the university or teachers college. Within the existing school system where student teachers serve a teaching practicum, the new South African school is itself undergoing a fundamental reconceptualisation of its identity and the role in a new democracy. The student teachers are exposed to another range of possibilities with which to interact during the process of developing a conception of their roles and identities as professional teachers (Stephens, 2001:154-155).

Stephens here shows how the contextual variables as described above influence student teachers' development of a professional identity. He explains, as we have tried to in this analysis, how teacher-training students in South Africa are currently faced with a massive challenge. On the one side, their experiences of schooling, for the most part, and especially in the case of HIV/AIDS education, has tended towards rote learning, spoon feeding with very little focus on developing participatory, social and democratic ideals as these were seen as dangerous to the segregating and racist structures of the apartheid social formation. On the other side they are met with the challenges of the new South African school and curricula that demands of the students that they use democratic methods and teach learners skills that they themselves were not taught, or that was not fostered or encouraged in society at the time they went to school.

Stephens goes on to write:

(...) The professional environment in South Africa into which student teachers will initially enter on teaching practice and later on as newly qualified teachers is equally shaped by difficult and volatile forces. The rapid expansion and restructuring of the formal educational system since the establishment of the ANC government has necessitated a demand for better-qualified teachers who will be able to impart knowledge and skills very different from those acquired by current student teachers in their own days at school. But the professional environment of college and school is one constrained by lack of physical resources and funding, recognition that curricula are out of step with what trainees and young pupils need to learn and the uncertainties brought about by rapid change at almost every level of the system. Nevertheless, the teacher education institution is charged with the responsibility of developing teachers who will be ambassadors for the policy imperatives of a new democratic order. The picture that emerges is of a changing teacher force working in and under very new and difficult circumstances. The South African teachers of the future, now entering the university department of education, bring with them cultural and personal 'baggage' that will both promote and hinder the development of the nation's schools (Stephens, 2007:156).

We saw two main factors in the description of the students' backgrounds and their recounts of their schooling backgrounds. 1) There were large differences between the richer white schools and the poor black schools, as characterised by the description of one of the students' schools in Eastern Cape. A school where the basics are missing such as chairs, tables and schoolbooks is naturally at a disadvantage in relation to well resourced schools. However, 2) most of the students that were interviewed were from "good" schools, that is former model C schools or similar. This probably has most to do with the grades the students need to achieve to get into university and then on to teacher training. Even so, there was little difference in the way the students described their schooling experiences. It was, as described above, mostly characterised by repetitive learning of facts and factual skills, using methods such as worksheets to be filled in and general teacher centred teaching. However, when they get into teacher training they are met by the new ways of teaching – teaching the "OBE way" as one student called it. They are faced with teaching as something that is radically different from how they themselves were taught.

When asked how they would teach about HIV/AIDS (which is, as we have argued above, one of the subjects where the “new” methods has to be used) they all recount that they would like to teach it in a participatory way or a different way, otherwise they, as they themselves describe, won’t succeed. The students thus see the need for change and most feel that they have been taught to teach within these changing educational paradigms, yet not all of them feel properly prepared. They would like to learn more; more correct facts and more ways of teaching to prepare them for what lies ahead,

(...) Newly qualified teachers will therefore be required to ‘fit’ into an image of the teacher far removed from that of the old regime. The new ‘Norms and standards for Educators’ (DOE, 1997) also presents a vision in which teacher education institutions are to concern themselves not only with the preparation of teachers who will service the formal schooling system, but also with the training sector. Implicit in this policy is the symbolic intention to see the ‘educator’ as one who will be and agent of human resource development in the country.

Young teacher trainers, therefore, walk a tightrope in both developing a personal teacher identity which sits comfortably with their own sense of self and in maintaining a balance between satisfying the requirements of state and society and in providing the source and impetus for change. In this balancing act, the novice teachers is being asked to serve the role of critic of the former and existing educational system and, in doing so, to serve as a commentator on the actions of the very mentor teachers which are orienting them to their new professional careers (Stephens, 2007:157).

The teacher training institution thus have two mandates, - one, to educate the teachers of the future and two, teaching the students the skills necessary for teaching within the context of the “new” South African schooling system – a system which still very much bears the inheritance of the “old” South Africa. The student teachers thus have to develop both a ‘new’ didactic competency – that is using teaching methods that were not used when they were in school, as well as learning to critique the old ways in a reflective manner so as to understand the fallacies of the old system in order to understand the necessity of and reasons for the development of the “new” educational concept. On the other hand they need to be taught and

understand the social mechanisms that underpinned the old system so as to understand the social and cultural changes necessary in order to build a new education that will have an impact on the construction of the new democratic South Africa.

9.2 Teaching about HIV/AIDS in relation to social change and changing educational paradigms

Into this picture of social transformation enters the dilemma of HIV/AIDS. It is perhaps the one topic that portrays the necessity for educational change in South Africa the best.

HIV/AIDS was a subject that was not taught during apartheid and was a disease there was little focus on during the early years of its spreading in South Africa (as well as the rest of the world). Not giving this disease its due attention has resulted to it becoming a pandemic that poses a threat to the construction of the new democratic South Africa, mainly because it is killing the people needed for this construction (as the ones that are killed are generally of the middle generation - the ones who are supposed to drive the country and its economy forwards (see chapter 1)).

As we saw from both the answers to the questionnaire and the interviews, many students answered that they had had some form of HIV/AIDS training when in school themselves. Those that had not were most probably too old in the sense that they went to school during the apartheid regime where HIV/AIDS was not a big issue. However, the fact that HIV/AIDS was overlooked for so many years (partly because of the massive demands on the new government, partly because of its personal and sensitive nature, and partly because of the

denialism and resistance seen by the Mbeki administration), and therefore allowed to grow, has turned it into a ‘monster’ (as some students referred to the pandemic). That is, something that we know is there but cannot know the ramifications of. It also allowed the social myths, stigma and cultural interpretations to fester and grow, becoming more than just a bio-medical disease but also a social and cultural phenomenon. Tackling this phenomenon in schools in a way that is only oriented towards preventing contamination (i.e. focussing on how it is spread and how to protect oneself) therefore is not enough. The new educational paradigm that education for democracy offers, as described in the South African curriculum, is therefore the only way in which to handle the ‘monster’ in schools – by understanding the social and cultural differences and the basis for the interpretations and dealing with things such as sexuality and gendered violence, theories of domination etc, as well as understanding the right facts about how it is spread, thereby making the ‘monster’ into something which isn’t as scary and which through personal actions can be dealt with.

When describing how they were taught about HIV/AIDS in schools, the students’ responses point to the fact that it was dealt with fairly summarily: use a condom or abstain as well as the general facts about spreading seemed to be the main focus of the teachings. This is very much in line with research into HIV/AIDS education more generally, where the findings are that either it is a topic that is not dealt with or it is a topic that is dealt with as a bio-medical phenomenon as part of sexual education (cf. Eaton, Flisher & Aarø, 2003 and chapter 1). It is not contextualised into a larger picture of the factors as mentioned above. However in teacher training the students all meet HIV/AIDS education in a new way. At UCT (The University of Cape Town) the main focus of the training is not solely on the bio-medical facts, which is a good thing, as the students all seemed to feel that this was not important, they already knew

these facts, what inspired them was the fact that it was placed into a context whereby 1) they were allowed to participate and in some ways steer the education by making choices in what was taught and 2) it was not concerned with just the bio-medical facts but it was ‘made real’ to them by introducing such themes as sexuality/ sexual identity, group pressure etc – thereby contextualising it in a way that placed it in the realm of their own everyday lives (their lifeworld). At UWC (the University of Western Cape) the training was both centred on facts – and the students all were concerned with relaying the correct facts about HIV/AIDS – by looking at such things as how it is spread, but also looking at issues such as the social stigma connected to HIV/AIDS. They were also concerned about how to meet students with HIV/AIDS, meeting them in a way that opened up dialogue and provided a method of counselling them about how to live with HIV/AIDS or with family that had HIV/AIDS. These are all knowledges that are important when teaching about HIV/AIDS which is outside of the realm of the education the students themselves have been given in school and these are issues that to a large degree demand a contextualised understanding of both how to teach (didactic competency) and the knowledge they are to impart (reflexive competency), thus putting demands on the students construction of themselves as professional teachers teaching within a context of social and educational change.

How does this influence the way they see themselves in the future? All the students seemed to feel that teaching the “OBE way” was a step in the right direction. They did not seem to feel that how they themselves had been taught had been either inspiring or “good” (you just filled in your worksheet...). They seemed to feel that the new ways of “OBE” teaching would offer a better scope for their future learners’ learning, thus the way they reported that they themselves would like to teach about HIV/AIDS emulated the ways in which it had been done

in university. UCT students focussed on the social and cultural implications of the disease, the UWC students on student counselling and teaching the correct facts, and the students at Cape Tech focussed on both the social implications as well as teaching smaller children skills such as not to touch blood and to be nice to people and be their friend even if they had got HIV (this focus is mainly because they were themselves training to teach very young children, and this knowledge then is to adapt to the development and knowledge level of their learners).

If a young teacher in training is shaped by contextual forces, it is also important to consider the dynamic, future-oriented nature of his or her developing role identity. As a product of an iniquitous and qualitatively poor schooling system, these student teachers are entrusted with the responsibility of realising the ideals of an educational policy that attempts to reverse the disadvantage and pave a new path for the future generations of South Africans (Stephens, 2007:156).

As for their future orientation, their choices reflected the general population. Teachers salaries in South Africa today are not high and many of the students seemed to feel that in order to provide for a family in the future, they would move abroad for a few years to save up enough money for the basics of life – such as a small house and a small car. Others saw their teacher training as a vehicle into something else, like going into business, but where teaching was a good fallback if the plans did not succeed. Many of the students recounted wanting to work in so-called disadvantaged schools – but that was in a few years time, in the future, first they would apply for a position at a “good” school where they could learn properly how to teach in an environment where there was an opportunity and room for them to try out the ‘new’ knowledge and didactics that they had learnt during their teacher training course.

9.3 Teaching sensitive issues, diversity and education for democracy

As we have discussed earlier in this thesis, social changes often bring sensitive issues to the surface, which in turn need to be dealt with in the education system.

As we could see from both the questionnaire and interview data, and as described above, the students see teaching about HIV/AIDS and other sensitive issues as important. This because they are beginning to realise the impact the HIV/AIDS pandemic is having on the South African society, and because this is something that is demanded of them by the new curriculum.

This thesis set out to discuss the need for more participatory, inclusive and what we have earlier described as democratic teaching methods in teaching sensitive issues. This is, as argued in chapter 4, because these issues are, by their nature of being seen as sensitive or controversial within a society, also seen as challenging to teach about. Challenging, as we discussed in chapter 4, because they often to go to the root of social and cultural differences in a society, and entail for the teachers that they have deal with social and cultural diversity in the classroom without alienating and offending learners – and because, if taught in the right way they both challenge and demand viewpoints and stances from both learners and teachers.

Education for democracy is in itself a political construct. It signals, as we discussed in chapter 4, the non- neutrality of knowledge. By focussing on knowledge not as a limited and unbiased entity, but looking at using education as consciousness raising (cf. Freire, 1996) and focussing on the teaching of skills (of which specific knowledge is one part, ‘life-skills’ another) (See chapter 4), education for democracy opens up for diversity and difference in the classroom.

The focus of education for democracy thus becomes using the strengths and weaknesses, the controversies and differences, in building a community of learners where the focus is on mutual development of understanding, i.e. discursive knowledge.

This is congruent with the values reflected in the new South African revised curriculum 2005. In the 'Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy' (Department of Education, 2001) the need for democratic values in education is highlighted.

Education is the key because it empowers us to exercise our democratic rights, and shape our destiny by giving us the tools to participate in public life, to think critically and to act responsibly (Department of Education, 2001:13).

Now, as we saw in the discussion above, the students all seem to feel that the new ways of teaching which are prescribed by both Curriculum 2005 and the Revised curriculum, provide them with an educational framework and tools they can use in teaching about sensitive and controversial issues, especially in HIV/AIDS education which was the main focus of this study.

The question that is ultimately raised is how to deal with diversity in the classroom? Learning about controversy and how to handle controversial and sensitive situations should be one of the main foci of contemporary schooling, and thereby it also needs, as we discussed above, to be a specific part of teacher training.

9.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, there is a lot of work being done in teaching teacher-training students in HIV/AIDS and related matters. However, what this research has shown is that what students need is both enough factual knowledge and also knowledge about the social and cultural contexts of this disease to make this topic "real" to their own future students, as well as learning how to find this information in order to relay it to their students. Therefore, in teaching about HIV/AIDS to teacher training students, there needs to be an emphasis both on factual knowledge about HIV/AIDS and where to find the right knowledge, as well as on teaching students knowledge that takes into consideration both the cultural differences that HIV/AIDS education is faced with as well as considering the implications that this teaching has on the identity development of their future learners. HIV/AIDS education in teacher training thus needs to focus not only on developing specific (factual) knowledge but also on developing skills needed to handle living in a complex and changing world, with social, cultural and individual differences and differences in views on sexuality and sexual behaviour.

10.0 Summary and Recommendation

In this chapter we will first summarise what has been written in this thesis so far. We will then discuss the implications this has on the necessity of teaching sensitive issues in teacher training.

10.1 Summary of the theoretical perspective and research findings

In the introduction to this thesis we described the three main tenets of this research:

- a) *Discuss changes in the social formation, specifically how these changes affect the way knowledge is produced and dispersed, and how this changes the focus of education.*
- b) *Discuss and describe teaching sensitive issues within a framework of education for democracy – focussing specifically on teachers’ didactic competency and on teacher professionalism*
- c) *To study the methods used in transmitting knowledge about HIV/AIDS, and whether this is done in a way that puts the disease into the social, cultural and political context of South Africa today.*

In order to discuss these main tenets of the thesis we firstly outlined a theory for what needs to happen in education in a changing society. We looked at changes in the social formation – in this case illustrated from the theoretical viewpoint of the modernist and postmodernist

theories on social organisation. We then discussed how these changes influence the individuals' orientation-to-meaning. We built on the assumption that in the transition to the postmodernist "network" society, knowledge and meaning have become more subjective and dependent on the contexts or "networks" (Castells, 1996) the individual exist within. These contexts have in a sense become broader in the network society i.e. a wider variety in contexts gives a broader scope for the individuals' construction of an identity and sense of self. The social boundaries have become less visible – yet still tangible and present – but now more defined in terms of what Bourdieu (1984) calls an individual's Habitus.

Through this process of social development the concept and conception of democracy has changed – going from being seen as a social organisation that allows for political participation through the open participation of the populace in elections, to being about how certain values underpins and supports the social fundament – as the basis for how people relate to each other in a society. The most important of these values, in this context, are respect of other peoples' differences (social and cultural), the possibility for participation. This process we have described as going from a representative to a participatory democracy (cf. Carr and Hartnett, 1996).

We then looked at how the social changes affect changes in education. Where the modernist form of teaching was concerned with upholding societal order and therefore became about disciplining through authoritarianism, the post-modern schooling happens in a context of social change where learning becomes an individual project of orientation to meaning (Castells, 1997; Dahlberg, 1985) and where knowledge is not seen as stagnant but as discursive and contextual. The educational form (Haavelsrud, 2009) in post-modern education

becomes one which needs to be based on the democratic ideals of participation and mutual respect of differences (as described in chapter 4).

These changes in the educational paradigm then affect the way we see the development of teacher competences, in the sense that teacher training should not just be concerned with teaching their students how to instruct their learners in subject oriented facts but also be concerned with how best to adapt teaching methodologies that allow for individual reflection and participation – what we in this thesis have referred to as the teachers didactic competency (chapter 4 and 9). In addition to teaching specific didactic competencies we have discussed how the teacher- training programmes need to allow for their students to develop their teacher professionalism, their role or identity as a professional actors teaching within a context of social change. We then went on to discuss how this entails that the teacher-training students develop a reflexive and communicative competency as well as a didactic competency. The reflexive and communicative competency in this context is about understanding the contextual nature of knowledge and meaning and understanding the necessity of allowing for differences in the classroom, as well as focussing on the teachers' ability to adapt both the content and the methodologies to suit the learners in the classroom as well as the subject matter they are teaching (cf. Schön, 1991, and chapter 4).

Furthermore went on to discuss how the students in the study related to teaching about HIV/AIDS and sensitive issues in general, and how and if they had been influenced by their own schooling in developing their roles as teachers teaching on and within the context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa.

We learnt that whilst there was at the time of the study no official guidelines in teaching about HIV/AIDS related issues to teacher- training students, the institutions we visited all provided some form of training in these subjects. The methods and contents of this training varied with the resources and viewpoints of the lecturers at the faculty of education that were either put in charge or had found out that there was a need for such an education (the ad-hoc approach).

When asked, the students themselves reported that they at the onset of the HIV/AIDS courses had not necessarily been favourably inclined towards being taught about this subject. They often seemed to feel that this is a topic that is spoken of so much in South Africa today that they suffered from what they called “AIDS fatigue”. Quite a few of the students reported thinking “oh no, not again” when they saw that they would be having a course specifically about teaching HIV/AIDS.

However as the courses progressed the students reported feeling that the way the courses were organised gave them tools that they would be able to work with when tackling these issues in the future. The reason they gave for this is that the courses offered something more than just serving them the facts they already knew. It gave them insight into the larger contexts of HIV/AIDS, contexts they themselves often did not know enough about, offering them skills and content they could use in their own teaching. For the students at UCT the teaching also gave the students a possibility to reflect on their own actions and viewpoints as it challenged their own thoughts and opinions. Many of the students there reported feeling that this in reality was something that did not concern them, that did not affect their everyday lives, but they also reported that the teaching had made them think and reconsider their own views and

actions (the same is to a certain degree true for the other institutions as well, but this was made very clear in the interviews, chats and observations made at UCT).

What the students reported having learnt, through their own experiences from these lessons, is that a topic such as HIV/AIDS (and other sensitive issues) needs to be dealt with in a manner that allows for student/learner participation and dialogue. For real learning to happen (i.e. learning that changes behaviours) the education given thus needs to challenge the students and make them think about their actions and the basis for their own stances in these issues. It should, however, be noted though that the students are not necessarily lying when they are referring to their willingness to use participatory and democratic teaching methods. They may just be falling in line with the official rhetoric and, as I have pointed to earlier (see chapter 8), not really have a thorough understanding of what this in fact means in practice (i.e. the need for critical reflection and what we have referred to as "teacher professionalism), meaning that the students are, in fact, just paying "lip-service" to what they believe is expected of them which is "teaching the OBE way". However it was outside of the realms of this study to find out whether the intentions that the students described in their interviews and questionnaire answers were in fact followed when they met the reality of teaching outside the teacher training institutions.

With regards to how their own schooling has affected them, for the most part they all seem to feel that the "new" approaches to education (i.e. the approaches described in curriculum 2005 etc. cf. Chapter 4) give better potential for learning than the pedagogic approaches used on themselves when they were in school (what they described as spoon feeding, rote learning etc.).

10.2 Summary of research design and limitations

As we described in chapter 5 this research was performed within a hermeneutical – critical postmodernist approach to research. As opposed to other research traditions, this way of viewing research emphasises the subjectivity of the author. In this research therefore we have, in the development of the research design, emphasised our assumptions that we would, due to the different nature and history of the researched institutions, find a variety of responses in how the students had been taught about HIV/AIDS in school, how they had been taught in teacher- training, and how this again could have influenced the way they constructed themselves as teachers teaching about, and within, a context of HIV/AIDS. Therefore the research design initially was designed as a case study approach.

However, as we discovered from the pilot study that was performed (see chapter 6), it would not be possible to performed the intended structured observations. There were also not at the time a clear policy governing HIV/AIDS education in teacher training, and the result was the ad hoc nature of the HIV/AIDS education given (see chapter 6 for a discussion of the limitations to this research). Thus we decided to perform a mixed methods design using interviews and a questionnaire survey. Unstructured interviews and observations were used to form an understanding of the background and context of the study.

When little variance in the responses between case studies was found in the analysis of the data and with the experiences of HIV/AIDS education and the students' background and social and cultural references being, as discussed in chapter 7, very much the same, we moved in the analysis of the data to a thematic analytical approach instead of analysis of the differences within the three cases. The exploration of differences in the cases was thus only

used in the analysis of differing content and practices in the three institutions' approaches to teaching about HIV/AIDS and related subjects.

There were several limitations to this study due to the restraints on this research, such as issues of time spent in South Africa, as described in chapter 6. The research involved three separate visits to South Africa, getting to know the students and the institutions better. If the situation had allowed for staying longer at each institution, getting more in-depth knowledge and being able to perform more observations at Cape Tech, and UWC as well as at UCT, it could have resulted in getting a wider range of answers and impressions of the field of HIV/AIDS training in teacher training in South Africa. As such, it could probably have provided a more in-depth understanding of the third tenet of this research, namely understanding the methods and content used in transmitting knowledge to the teacher training students.

10.3 Recommendations

In this thesis we have not discussed the specific nature of teaching methods that allow for discussion and participation. There is a plethora of works that describe different methodologies and approaches to teaching about HIV/AIDS and sensitive and controversial issues generally (cf. Claire and Holden, 2007; introduction; Chapter 4). However, in the future it could be interesting to carry out further research on how these methods and approaches marry with the framework of 'education for democracy' that we have discussed in this thesis.

We have, however, tried to highlight why we feel that using an educational framework as described in the chapter on education for democracy (Chapter 4) is important and necessary when teaching teacher training students about sensitive and controversial issues and why we feel that it is important for teacher- training institutions (not only in South Africa) to emphasise training their students how to handle teaching about issues of a contentious and sensitive nature.

What we learnt from this study is that for teaching to be useful in the sense that it gives the learners a sense of meaning and inspire reflection two things are important

- 1) The subject needs to be dealt with through discourse and challenging of opinions and viewpoints
- 2) The teacher needs to know not only the facts about what they are teaching (In the case of HIV/AIDS knowledge about spreading, protection etc as well as the context that it is places within, the social and cultural nature of the disease) but the teacher also needs the skills to be the facilitator that allows for the students to develop their understanding of these issues, and develop their ability to abstract knowledge and put this knowledge to use in their everyday lives

We also learnt that in the end, teaching about sensitive issues is about teaching teacher training students how to deal with a classroom situation which is getting increasingly diverse. This entails that there needs to be a shift in the focus of teacher training programmes towards not only teaching subject related facts and methods, but also teaching their future teachers

how to handle teaching in a classroom which is growing increasingly multi cultural and diverse, and handle a body of knowledge which is increasingly discursive and up for personal interpretation.

In the introduction to this thesis we started with the assumption that;

In order for learners (pupils in schools) to learn about sensitive issues, in this case HIV/AIDS, teachers are needed who are themselves properly taught in order to understand the nature of and ways of teaching these topics. This is the responsibility of the teacher training institutions (introduction: 5).

At the end of this thesis and research this assumption still seems to hold sway. For teacher-training in South Africa this means that HIV/AIDS training in particular and sensitive and controversial issues in general, needs a more unified approach both, as mentioned above, in terms of a) teaching content, b) teaching methods and practices.

In this research the focus and content of the HIV/AIDS teaching varied across the institutions, this again influenced the students' own descriptions of how they would go about teaching about HIV/AIDS (and sensitive and controversial issues). Making the teaching content more unified in teacher- training will then influence the content taught in schools and hopefully then improve the knowledge in these subjects in schools. This content needs to include not only correct factual knowledge about HIV/AIDS, but also knowledge about the wider context of the disease such as poverty and the apartheid legacy, social and cultural differences, as well as focus on the individual level of sexuality in general – handling peer pressure and tolerance of and understanding of different expressions of sexuality. This is in line with the findings in a recent report on HIV/AIDS education in teacher training in South Africa (HEAIDS, 2010).

In terms of teaching methods, this thesis has focussed on the development of skills. We have discussed skills in terms of higher order skills such as critical thinking and reflexivity, both of which are demanded by the current South African curriculum but also something which we in this thesis have described as necessary for changing actions and behaviour and understanding the ramifications of one's actions and behaviours. This is especially important in the field of HIV/AIDS training where specific actions – such as wearing a condom during sex or abstaining from sex – are needed in order for the individual to stay healthy. On the level of society, understanding the mechanisms and ramifications of poverty, cultural beliefs and myths and of a masculinised culture (as described in chapter 1) are important. As such the development of these skills in teacher training students is also important and needs to be focussed on in teacher training as well – only if the teachers themselves have these skills and know how to develop them can they be taught to and developed in the learners in schools.

This is in line with the findings in a recent report on international citizenship and civic education (ICCS, 2010).

Student learning in the area of civic and citizenship education is influenced by how it is taught and its purposes as well as by students' direct experience of school. Scholars often claim that democratic principles at schools foster the learning of democratic principles in general. The extent to which classrooms are "open" (receptive) to discussions in the classroom is a factor that may have an important influence on learning in this area (ICCS, 2010: 72).

The recommendations from this thesis thus also seem to be true for teaching sensitive and controversial issues in other countries as well. If they are to be taught in schools, the teachers teaching them need to be prepared to handle teaching about such issues. In all countries there

will be issues which will be seen as of a sensitive and controversial nature and which need to be taught about and handled in schools if the schooling system are to 1) prepare their learners for living in a contemporary and changing society and 2) be democratic. On the whole what this entails is the need for a discussion (at national level) at both the school level and at the state/policy level of what knowledge is important in today's society? Is it the ability to reproduce content, or are there other skills and knowledges that are of more importance in contemporary schooling?

In all, the recommendation that stem from this thesis is that for education to be democratic there needs to be a focus on tackling sensitive and controversial issues. These issues will arise in contemporary society, as they often arise due to the increased diversity in the society, schools and classrooms. These issues, then, needs to be handled in a discursive and participatory manner based on dialogue – the focus needs to be on developing skills such as critical thinking and reflexivity as well as on learning concrete facts and knowledges. If this is to be achieved in schools, the teacher training institutions needs to facilitate for their students to learn and develop these skills themselves in addition to increasing their understanding of the subject contents.

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Webpages/ resurces:

www.aids.org.za

www.saga.org.za

www.nqf.org.za

www.lommelegen.no

Appendix 1

Questionnaire about Teacher training and HIV/AIDS

This questionnaire seeks to gain information about the best ways to educate teacher trainer students about HIV/AIDS and how best to prepare teacher-trainer students for teaching about HIV/AIDS and sensitive issues in general in the classroom.

This questionnaire is divided into 5 parts:

- Background
- Teacher-training students' knowledge about HIV/AIDS
- Training in HIV/AIDS issues
- Preparedness to teach HIV/AIDS
- Teaching sensitive issues in general

This questionnaire is **anonymous**, and your answers to these questions will remain completely **confidential**.

This questionnaire forms part of the researcher's PhD (from the University of Birmingham, England) that concerns how to teach teacher-training students about HIV/AIDS and sensitive issues in general, and about the students' preparedness to teach about HIV/AIDS in the classroom.

If you have any queries please ask.

Thank you for your cooperation

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Background

1. Gender. *Please tick one box*

Female

Male

2. Age. *Please tick one box*

20 – 25

26 – 30

31 – 35

over 35

3. program of study

B.ed

PGCE

Masters of education

4. Social and cultural background * *Please tick one box:*

White

Indian

Coloured

Black

Other, please elaborate:

*The researcher realises that these categories are racial categories used under the Apartheid regime, and that they have racist undertones. These categories, however, are still in use in South Africa, and pertaining to the nature of the subject of this questionnaire, we find that these categories are useful due to their social and cultural connotations.

Knowledge about HIV/AIDS

5. Please rate how likely you think it is that the following behaviours/acts will lead to a person contracting HIV?

	Very likely	likely	unlikely	very unlikely
a) Kissing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Unprotected sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Sex using a condom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Sex using hormonal contraception	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Social contact, i.e. hugging, shaking hands	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Oral sex	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Blood transfusions with infected blood	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Sharing needles for drug injection	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Mother to child infection	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Of the above, what do you think are the 3 most common ways of contacting HIV/AIDS?

Please rank from one till three.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

7a. Do you personally know someone that has HIV or AIDS or has died from the disease?

Yes No

If yes, *please tick appropriate box(es)*

- Family (close family i.e. parents and siblings)
- Distant family
- Close friends
- Acquaintances

7b If yes, then how many people do you know that has HIV or AIDS or that has died from the disease? *Please give an estimate*

Training in HIV/AIDS issues

8a Have you been taught about HIV/AIDS during your teacher training – course?

Yes

No

8b If **no**, why do you think not? *Please elaborate.*

8c If **Yes**, *Please elaborate* as to what you felt was the focus and content of this education?
(e.g. focused on medical aspect of the disease, social and cultural implications etc)

8b if **yes**, please also give an estimate of how many hours have been spent on HIV related education?

8c. If **Yes**, please also describe the teaching methods used to teach you about HIV/AIDS?

Please tick appropriate box(es).

Lectures

Discussions

Group work

Self study

Role-play

Others, please specify:

9a. Were you taught about HIV/AIDS while still in school (primary and secondary)? *Please tick appropriate box(es)*

Primary:	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
Secondary:	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>

10b if **yes**, *please describe* the teaching methods and content used to teach you about HIV/AIDS in school:

Primary school:

Teaching methods:

Content:

Secondary school:

Teaching methods:

Content:

13. If you were asked to teach about HIV/AIDS what would be your reaction? *Please explain:*

14. Do you feel that your teacher-training course has provided you with sufficient knowledge about HIV/AIDS? *Please elaborate*

1. As a disease?

Yes No Please explain your answer:

2. How to prevent spreading of the disease?

Yes No Please explain your answer:

3. Socio-cultural impacts of HIV/AIDS?

Yes No Please explain your answer:

Preparedness to teach about HIV/AIDS and sensitive issues in general

15. How do you feel that teachers should teach about HIV/AIDS in the classroom?

16. *Please describe* how you would approach teaching about HIV/AIDS to students who either have HIV or AIDS themselves or who are affected by the disease e.g. by close family members or friends having the disease?

17a. Do you think that there are any obstacles to teaching about HIV/AIDS?

Yes No

17b. If yes, What do you think these obstacles are? *Please elaborate*

18. Teaching about sensitive and controversial issues such as religion, culture, sex and sexuality can be a major challenge. In what ways has your teacher training education prepared you to teach such issues in the classroom?

19. Please elaborate if you have any other comments on these issues?

Thank you for your participation

Appendix 2

Interview guide

Background

Teacher training (what the student has learnt at uni. / college)

Future

Background:

Personal background

School background

Questions:

Where you are from?

Can you tell me something about your family background?

Can you describe your school for me?

What kind of school was it?

What do you feel was the main focus of the teaching given at the school? (please give examples)

Do you think that HIV/Aids is an issue for you personally? Does it affect you in any way?

Were you given any teaching about HIV/AIDS in school?

If no, why do you think not?

If yes, can you describe the teaching to me?

What would you say was the focus of the teaching? What was the content of the teaching? (please give examples)

How were you taught? Using what kind of methods? (please give examples)

What is your opinion of the teaching you were given at school?

Teacher Training:

Which subjects do you aim to teach?

Do you think teaching about HIV/AIDS is relevant to your subject?

If yes, please explain why you think so

If no, please explain why you don't think HIV/AIDS would be relevant to your subject?

Do you as a future teacher think it is important that students are taught about HIV/AIDS and the context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa today?

Have you had any training about HIV/AIDS in uni. About HIV/AIDS and the context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa (please give examples)?

What do you feel was the focus of this teaching?

What were the methods used? (please give examples)

Did you feel that it was useful for you as a future teacher, if yes why?

If no, why not?

If you were asked to teach about HIV/AIDS what would be your reaction?

Have you had any experience of teaching about HIV/AIDS when you were doing TP?

How do you think HIV/AIDS should be taught?

Could you describe what you think are important topics when teaching about HIV/AIDS? Or in the context of HIV/AIDS?

How/ what methods do you think should be used in teaching about HIV/AIDS?

How do you feel about teaching HIV/AIDS positive students or students that have experienced HIV/AIDS within their family or close group of friends?

Future:

What are your future plans as a teacher?

Why did you choose to become a teacher?

Appendix 3

The level of knowledge among the students was tested by a summary index in which one point was added for each correct or almost correct response (zero points awarded for a wrong or a non-response – see below). (42.3%) of the students had correct or near-correct replies to all items, and 36.8% had 9.8% had 5 or less correct responses.

The range for our index was 2-8, with a mean of 7.1 and a standard deviation of 1.2. (88.3%) had responded to all 8 items while 3.1% had not responded to 4 or 5 of the items, which was the maximum of non-response for any student. “No response”, i.e. a failure to respond to a given item, was added to our knowledge index as an “incorrect” response by default, meaning that a fair proportion (about 30%) of the variance in our index is due to non-response.

Using our knowledge index as the dependent variable we ran a number of regression analyses with dummy variables as independents (corresponding to one-way analyses of variance in the univariate case). Significance was tested (using a p-value of less than .05 as our criterion) for each variable as a whole (e.g. institution, background, gender). In addition differences between subgroups within a variable which contained more than two categories (e.g. the variables “programme” or “institution”) were tested for significance, using the same criterion.

Appendix 4

Results

Students at institution 2 (University of Cape Town) showed slightly, but not significantly, better knowledge than students at institution 3 ($p=.078$). A significant univariate association was found for the variable “background” ($F=3.8$; $p=.012$), which was due to significantly poorer knowledge among students with background 4 (Black) than among students with backgrounds 1 (white) and 3 (Coloured) ($p=.001$ and $p=.022$, respectively).

The variable age showed a significant relationship to knowledge ($p=.011$), with less knowledge among students above 31 years of age.

On average students who reported having received HIV/Aids training at secondary school scored 0.5 points (i.e. about half a standard deviation) higher on our knowledge index than those who did not report having received HIV/Aids training at secondary school.

This difference is highly significant ($p=.002$). When controlling statistically for having received HIV/Aids training at secondary school, the variable “background” (i.e. students social and cultural background) was no longer significantly related to knowledge, although there was still a barely significant ($p=.049$) difference in mean scores between students with background 4 (Black) and background 1 (White) (in favour of students with background 1).

When in addition the age composition of the students was taken into account (i.e. when entering age as a further independent variable in the regression analysis), there were no longer significant differences according to background, indicating that the “raw” observed differences in knowledge found between student groups as defined by “background” could be attributed to the age composition and secondary education received among these groups. Similarly, what small differences in knowledge that emerged between institutions vanished completely when age composition of students and the nature of their secondary education were controlled for statistically.

There were no significant differences in knowledge between the genders or between programme groups.