Reimagining sexuality education: Xhosa secondary school teachers from township schools talk about Xhosa culture and sexuality education

Submitted in fulfilment for the degree

Doctoral Philosophiae in the Faculty of Education

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DECLARATION

I, Nomawonga Veronica Msutwana, student number 192432880, hereby declare that in accordance with Rule G4.6.3 that the work in this thesis is my own and has not been submitted for examination for any other degree at any other institution. I have duly acknowledged in the text the scholarly work of others. The views expressed in this thesis are my own and do not necessarily reflect those of the University\(^1\).

Nomawonga

.............................................

7 December 2018

\(^1\) This university changed its name from Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University to Nelson Mandela University on 20 July 2017.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late brother, Mpakamisi Msutwana, knowing that he would encourage me in doing the work that I do. You are dearly missed!
I hereby express my gratitude to the National Research Foundation (NRF) for their financial assistance. Opinions expressed and conclusions drawn are my own and are not necessarily attributable to the NRF.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research journey requires strenuous effort, which has made me appreciate the following persons who have in their own way contributed to me finally completing this study:

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- Mention must be made of the research assistant, dear Ms Vimbiso Okafor, who always willingly assisted me with the technical computer stuff.
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- My final gratitude is expressed to those men and women who kept me in check; there’s many of you that I cannot mention here.
ABSTRACT

The study sought to explore how a deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality could inform how Xhosa Life Orientation (LO), Life Sciences (LFSC) and Natural Sciences (NS) secondary school teachers could teach sexuality education to Xhosa adolescents. Teachers who teach sexuality education do not seem to succeed in equipping their adolescent learners with the necessary knowledge, values and skills for navigating safely through the development and expression of their sexuality. This is deemed important in South Africa where the HIV and AIDS epidemic is not yet fully under control and where gender-based violence remains a problem. The study took on a qualitative, participatory visual methodology within the interpretive and critical paradigms. It drew on Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) as a lens to frame the study and through which data was interpreted and analysed. Thus, the research study involved nine female Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS township secondary school teachers who were purposively selected. Data were generated through four methods, namely document analysis, drawing, photovoice and curriculum posters. The generated data were analysed using thematic analysis and yielded rich findings for the five sub-questions, thereby answering the main research question.

The Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ understandings of sexuality education in the respective Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) pointed to their recognition of the broad scope of sexuality education, their grasping the essence, but also their grappling with the concepts of sexuality education. The Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of learning about their own sexuality within their Xhosa culture showed how the teachers had learnt about sexuality through piecing the ‘puzzle’ together, learning through strict rules and fear, through their own mistakes and through shame. The Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of today’s adolescents learning about sexuality within their Xhosa culture, focused on the adolescents learning through the allure of sexuality, they learnt vicariously in different ecologies, through the prescriptions from school, religion and culture, and for many girls, through coerced sexual encounters. The Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ cultural
perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality influencing their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners revealed how the teachers were using the past as lens, but also how they were shifting towards a ‘new’ practice. Finally, the Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ views of meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners, brought them to focus on the crux of the matter in teaching sexuality education, to consider shifting their positionality and contextualising sexuality education in Xhosa culture. The participatory visual methodology seemed to have enabled them to rethink and reimagine teaching sexuality education to Xhosa adolescents in the South African context of HIV and AIDS.

The findings have implications for policy and practice in the South African education context. The Department of Basic Education could revisit curriculum development to include teachers’ voices, while Subject Advisors could organise workshops to keep the teachers abreast of innovative ways of teaching sexuality education today. The Department of Higher Education and Training and the Faculties of Education should revisit teacher ‘training’ and teacher professional development and consider a ‘starting with ourselves’ approach. In this way, teacher positionality and reflexivity could also enable a criticality of culture in the context of HIV and AIDS. The affected community could be lobbied in so that as a stakeholder it could contribute to what eventually is taught at their schools.

Informed by CHAT, I argue that the individual teacher who is often missing in the picture, the “I”, be at the centre of the activity system of teaching sexuality education. The “I” should be recognised and enabled to play her active role rightfully in the teaching of sexuality education. Participatory visual methodologies could facilitate such a process of teaching sexuality education, as they seem to ease the tensions that are associated with teaching sexuality issues. Xhosa sexuality education teachers could then take up their agency to teach Xhosa adolescent learners in their township secondary schools.

**Key Words:** adolescents, HIV and AIDS, sexuality education, township secondary schools, participatory visual methodology, Xhosa culture, Xhosa teachers
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CHAPTER 1
ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background

Schools are key centres for comprehensible, evidential, age-appropriate sexuality education (Francis, 2010; Goldman, 2012). School-based HIV prevention programmes are also well placed to reduce the prevalence of risky sexual behaviour, which continues to propagate the HIV epidemic (Kelly, 2002; Mannah, 2002; Mathews, Boon, Flisher & Schaalma, 2006; Ngwena, 2003). Given the positioning of schools, sexuality education has been put forward as a school intervention, offered in Life Orientation (LO) and is implied in reproductive health in Natural Sciences (NS) and Life Sciences (LFSC). However, in spite of sexuality education in South Africa, adolescent risky sexual behaviour seems not to be lessening (Baxen, Wood & Austin, 2011; HSRC, 2018). In trying to make meaning of this situation, a relook is called for, a “reimagined sexuality education that utilizes the contradictions and ambivalences of past and contemporary South Africa and that creatively looks ahead … towards interventions that might address the actual needs of the target group” (Moletsane, 2011, p. 205). Along the same line of thought, Africa is called upon to draw from her past, some of the ways she used to regulate sexuality ensuring the safety of all her members (Van Dyk, 2001). Moreover, the supposition of researchers like Barr (2008) and Anderson and Beutel (2007) where the latter says that “HIV and AIDS education might be more successful if tailored to specific racial or ethnic groups” (p.143), encourages the study. This is in line with the views of education reconceptualists, William Pinar, Max von Manen and Madeline Grumet, who hold that it is fundamental that the school curriculum is made personally relevant (Eisner, 1985). It is also believed that at school, formalised allowances for knowledge that is culturally relevant be made fundamental to sexuality education (UNESCO, 2009b; Wood, 2009a; Zuilkowski & Jukes, 2012).

Although the government of South Africa developed policies, which teachers have to implement to address HIV and AIDS and the related sexuality education, a challenge in both the policy and practice arenas also exists (Msutwana & De Lange, 2017). In
this situation, teachers struggle to implement the guidelines provided by the policy (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011). For example, the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (Department of Basic Education, 2011a,b,c,d,e,f) for Life Orientation (LO), Life Sciences (LFSC), Natural Sciences (NS) and Life Skills provide guidelines for teachers to teach sexuality and reproductive health, meanwhile literature indicates that teachers fail to put them into use (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011). Harley, Barasa, Bertram, Mattson and Pillay (2000) acknowledge the cultural and material constraints faced by real teachers in their classrooms in spite of a policy that clearly describes the work for the ideal teacher. The teaching of sexuality education in schools appears to be influenced by various coincidental and complicated issues. Studies report that teachers believe they can somehow teach it, as they know the content of sexuality education but are uncomfortable when they take on such work (Helleve, Flisher, Onya, Mukoma & Klepp, 2009; Macleod, 2016; McLaughlin, Swartz, Kiragu, Walli & Mohammed, 2012). However, Glover and Macleod (2016) note that the teacher’s years of teaching sexuality education, formal ‘training’, openness to sexuality and a ‘nurtured’ in-school policy; work on the teacher’s trust in herself in teaching sexuality education.

A challenge when teaching sexuality education, often attributed to culture, is that sex and sexuality is not seen as a matter to be addressed publicly (Francis, 2010; Thaver & Leao, 2012). In African cultures, in particular, there is a palpable silence over talking about sexual matters, yet it was managed with openness in the era before colonisation and Christianity in South Africa (Becker, 2007; Delius & Glaser, 2002; Moletsane, 2011). A couple of researchers on sexuality, like Moletsane (2014a) and Steyn and Van Zyl (2009), confirm a disturbing silence regarding talking about sexuality in African cultures. Oshi and Nakalema (2005) also note how cultural prohibition created barriers to discussing sexual issues with learners in Nigeria. This rather justifies why adults do not fully engage with their adolescents about sexual matters. The effect of this prohibition in many South African cultures renders both teachers and learners cautious and unwilling truly to engage on sexuality issues (DePalma & Francis, 2014). AVERT (2012) posits that some teachers are not willing to teach sexuality education. What causes this unwillingness? Do tensions creep up at the point when teachers have to present a sexuality education lesson? Mbananga’s (2004) study highlights these tensions in teaching reproductive health in township secondary schools. I am thus
interested in exploring further with Xhosa teachers how Xhosa culture, which is also my culture, influences how sexuality education is presented by Xhosa women teachers in township secondary schools.

Msilu and Gumbo (2016), in introducing their book, *Africanising the Curriculum: Indigenous Perspectives and Theories*, posit that “Whilst Africans cannot ignore the Western belief systems, Africans will be stronger if they start by describing their own environment, even for the formal ‘Western’ education” (p. iii). That is what is intended in this study; the women teachers will be enabled to reflect on their own learning about sexuality and explore in what ways their cultural perspectives influence their teaching practice. Fittingly, Sesanti (2016) argues that “…ancient Africans have historically placed a great value on women, and that for the African renaissance to be true, African women’s high status in society should be reclaimed” (p. 3). This study involves women only, and by engaging in this participatory research process, we might be able to claim back our power to influence the teaching of sexuality education. With this background in mind, I take up this study. This emic perspective is on par with Ahlberg’s (1994) notion that “[m]isconceptions arise if a situation is viewed outside its context because social issues are patterned differently in different social environments” (p. 226).

As Africa is undergoing a ‘sexual revolution’, she needs to be prepared for how it is impacting on and changing the sexual ‘infrastructure’, and rally voices (also those of teachers) that will articulate the nature of understanding best suited to it (Obono, 2010). Obono states that epidemics such as HIV and AIDS are examples of what can be reconstituted into something positive. Further, he eloquently argues, “… Africa is presented with choices, and the elements for its enactment of those choices are in the form of a shifting feast of options, a movable buffet, that enables it to assume not just sexual postures in practice but existential positions which may currently be denied it in life” (Obono, 2010, p. 8). African culture, i.e. “all those aspects of cultural ideology that are widely shared among Africans” (Tamale, 2008, p. 49) had an openness concerning sexuality before colonisation (Delius & Glaser, 2002). The colonisers viewed the openness as having enabled permissiveness (Caldwell, Caldwell & Quiggin, 1989) which had to be regulated and controlled. Delius and Glaser (2002) however, point out that there were regulation and control of how African people conducted themselves in terms of their sexuality within their own African culture. This
was done through initiation schools for both boys and girls, as well as many other structures, which regulated the sexuality of both growing young people and adults. Colonialism, with its introduction of Christianity, contributed to the disintegration and abandonment of such (Ahlberg, 1994; Delius & Glaser, 2002). To illustrate this point, Mbananga’s (2004) study reveals the effect of this disintegration and abandonment in Xhosa teachers’ “wearing masks” (p.153) when it comes to educating adolescent learners about sexuality. These Xhosa teachers take up a technical and flimsy approach when teaching sexuality education (see, for example, Macleod, 2016; Morrell, Epstein, Unterhalter, Bhana & Moletsane, 2009). Although the study looks at African culture focusing on Xhosa culture, my discussion is also undergirded by ‘township culture’ (as the study takes place in township schools in a city). Dickinson (2014) defines township culture as ideologies held and lived (practised) by a group of people coming from peri-urban areas of the town or city, a mixture of rural culture and those ‘borrowed’ from other city groupings.

While the teacher and the curriculum are key to the success of sexuality education, contextual factors, both within and outside the school are crucial. These factors, which are the absence of support from the principal, the low status of Life Orientation in which sexuality education is located, and lack of resources, according to Mukoma et al. (2009), can also impede the implementation of sexuality education. In spite of the cultural and contextual constraints, sexuality education remains positioned as central in addressing HIV and AIDS in the context of South Africa. In this regard, Wood (2009a) suggests, “[s]chools should rather tackle the problems and challenges of HIV and AIDS by taking a critical look at what they can do within their specific social context to improve the health of individuals in their schools…” (p. 83). Moreover, teachers need to identify issues that do not work well in achieving educational goals and rally to act against such by coming up with new ways of being. By virtue of their chosen profession, teachers should be able to facilitate these new ways of being and engage with learners about their sexuality and sexual behaviour (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011).

As Moletsane (2011) suggests, a reimagined sexuality education is needed, and I argue that there should not be young people dying without fully actualising their potentialities due in part to the ‘non-targeted’, impersonalised nor non-contextualised nature of the curriculum. To do this, it is necessary to begin exploring how teachers
teach sexuality education. I wonder what isiXhosa speaking secondary school teachers make of the sexuality content in LO, LFSC and NS CAPS? How do they also negotiate the assumed tensions between teaching sexuality education publicly given that in contemporary Xhosa culture, sexuality is seen as a private matter? In mixed classes of boys and girls, how do female Xhosa teachers engage with teaching sexuality education with boys, and male Xhosa teachers with girls? An entry point in enabling dialogue would be to focus on people’s local history, thereby activating meanings people have and bring with them when they teach (Ahlberg, 1994). This study is also motivated in part by the fact that there is a need to acknowledge indigenous perspectives and for emancipation from hearing only voices of the West (Chilisa, 2012; Tuhiwai-Smith, 2012), which is what might be happening in the designing of the curriculum. In fact, Sorcar (2015) shows that the ineffectiveness of HIV and AIDS teaching and learning material may be due to the failure of designing culturally appropriate materials and the need to reimagine approaches. Macleod (2016) sees the assumptions that teachers hold about sexualities and gender as worthy of being deeply reflected upon in the teaching of sexuality education in schools. And so in this study, I will explore Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers’ cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality in order to reimagine their teaching of sexuality education. Baxen and Breidlid (2009) indicate that “[a]lthough a number of studies describe South African cultural beliefs that have a bearing on sexual behaviour, they note that few studies investigate the intersection between either cultural context or cultural beliefs and intervention program efficacy” (p. 31). The argument above leads me to formulate the following statement of the problem.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The high adolescent HIV prevalence and high teenage pregnancy rates in black African communities in Port Elizabeth require intervention, also the intervention of teachers. Xhosa teachers teaching Life Orientation (sexuality education), Life Sciences and Natural Sciences (reproductive health) have to teach their learners, drawing on the relevant CAPS, exposing them to the relevant content and also doing this in a pedagogically sound way. This is intended to ensure that the learners understand their own sexuality, enabling them to make informed choices, thereby
ensuring their own safety as well as that of others, and reducing the prevalence of HIV and AIDS, unintended pregnancies, coerced sexual encounters, and so on. In fulfilling these intentions, teachers are often faced with challenges, yet their voices are often not accommodated nor heard (Baxen & Breidlid, 2004), the curricula are not necessarily culturally relevant (Wood & Rolleri, 2014), and there are limited sexuality education resources (Thaver & Leao, 2012), all of which seem to temper the success of their teaching. This problem statement leads me to formulate the following main research question and sub-questions.

1.3 Research Questions

How can a deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality inform how Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers could teach sexuality education?

- What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ reflections of their understandings of sexuality education in the LO, LFSC and NS Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements?
- What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of learning about their own sexuality within their Xhosa culture?
- What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of today’s adolescents learning about sexuality within their Xhosa culture?
- How do Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality influence their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners?
- What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ views of meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners?
1.4 Research Aims

The main research aim is to explore how a deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality informs how Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers teach sexuality education.

- To explore Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ reflections of their understandings of sexuality education in the LO, LFSC and NS Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements.
- To explore Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of learning about their own sexuality within their Xhosa culture.
- To explore Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of today’s adolescents learning about sexuality within their Xhosa culture.
- To discover how Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ Xhosa cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality influence their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners.
- To describe Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ views of meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners.

1.5 Situating myself as researcher

My teaching experience has made me concerned and critical of issues such as teenage pregnancies, the stigmatisation of HIV and AIDS, patriarchy and the related sexual abuse, and many other social ills that seem to hamper learners in actualising their potential. This has led me to pursue a postgraduate study in Educational Psychology in order to learn more about these issues; to equip myself and those in my sphere of influence in addressing them. Therefore, I began by studying the perspective of the learner on his or her environment (home, school and neighbourhood) in my master study, exploring what motivates and does not motivate the learner to achieve. In this doctoral study, I am working with teachers, essentially exploring how their Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality inform and could inform how they could teach sexuality education. Both these projects were (are) in the hope of enhancing teaching and learning in township schools; by motivating learners in underserved environments, and by ‘empowering’ Xhosa secondary school
teachers in their approach to sexuality education. I come from the same township background as many black South African Xhosa-speaking learners and teachers, and I am therefore knowledgeable about this context. Locating the study within Educational Psychology and focusing on sexuality education is valuable to me personally as an Xhosa woman and as a new teacher educator.

My study is informed by a participatory visual methodology, which positions me as the facilitator of methods used during the research, thereby allowing participants to be key co-producers of knowledge in the research. My interest in using the methodology stems from my exposure working as a research assistant with an expert in the use of the methodology and observing how involved the participants become in the process. In this regard, I have seen the interplay between the participants, researchers and the taking up of agency in the Girls leading change (NMMU, UKZN and McGill University partnership) (De Lange, Mitchell & Moletsane, 2015) and the Dialogic Engagement between local and university communities: Enabling agency towards active citizenship in the context of education (NMMU) (Cherrington, Scheckle, Khau, De Lange & Du Plessis, 2018) projects. Where it was difficult for participants to express ideas around sensitive issues, it seemed easier to engage the participants when using visual methodologies. Not only that, Ebersöhn, Ferreira and Mbongwe (2011) note that participants become beneficiaries and contributors to power in the research and this was important for the critical aspect of the research paradigm.

I acknowledge that I bring into the research some biases as I, like the participants, come from Xhosa culture and was born and raised in the townships of Port Elizabeth. I also taught for fifteen years in two township schools in the Nelson Mandela Metro. I was brought up in a divorced parenting situation where custody would be my father’s during school holidays, and so, my late brother and I would be sent to the rural areas during the holidays. There, we would observe the culture, and for me that was exciting. As I reflected on the emergence of the awareness of my own sexuality, I realised that it took shape when, as a child, I was instructed to ‘stay away from men, they are trouble’. I carried this into my late adolescent years and delayed intimate relations with boys.

My religion also reinforced the idea of waiting until the ‘right’ partner came along and then getting married. It has been and still is a work in progress for me to embrace
sexuality as a natural aspect of my being, as I had developed and held on to values of sexual preservation and sanctity. The realisation that most people fall short - I do too - encouraged in me a shift in perspective. At the same time, I have been socialised into understanding that men hold a relatively superior position with regard to power compared to women. This power is reflected in sexuality matters as well, for example, the subdued role that I have to assume as a woman in a relationship. This I am told when I come of age as a female adolescent or intonjane (which includes the 21st birthday party) or as a wife in my culture depending on the context one is in. I was also taught to respect the secrecy with which ulwaluko (male circumcision) is handled in my Xhosa culture (Vincent, 2008). I acknowledge how intergenerationality plays out in my culture, and more so presently at home. For example, I know that respect is non-negotiable - respect between a senior and a junior; that there is a certain way of speaking, and that there are off-limit matters that I should not ‘touch’ in the presence of the older generation. Reddy and Sanger (2012) call this kind of cultural respect and honour, veneration of the elderly. This is however interesting in my home as we are three generations of women living together; my mother, my daughter and myself. Tension usually surfaces from the way my daughter and I speak freely about things and how, on the other end, my mother expects us not to speak about it. My openness is not as pronounced as my daughter’s as I was raised and socialised in another era and the majority of times in not so nuclear a family environment. My daughter, having been born in the 21st Century and received the former Whites-only public school education, is quite articulate about everything, including sexuality matters.

As a single mother of an adolescent daughter, I am finding that I have to tackle the topic of sexuality with her. I have had to evaluate my own perspectives and ‘innuendos’ about sexuality. At a time when having experienced life and living in somewhat unintended ways, I had to adjust so that I could speak to my daughter about her sexuality. My daughter commented one day that the PhD that I was doing was scaring her because I now speak frankly about sexuality matters. I note that she sends conflicting messages about wanting to talk about sexuality and sometimes not wanting to. She would ‘bounce off’ stuff that she had heard from friends concerning her sexuality, for example about physical appearance, ‘crushes’ she has, and at other times she would not want me to speak to her about sexuality matters. I have also observed that already from the age of twelve, she was acquainted with many aspects
of sexuality and the tasks that lay ahead for adults in their lives. For example, one Saturday night whilst watching a classic movie about a woman with five daughters she blurted out saying; “This mother has a big task on her hands in that she has to teach five girls about puberty”. After unpacking what she meant, I concluded that discussing the topic of sexuality could be complex and not predictable when one is dealing with adolescents and that they have to direct its course if one really wants to ‘reach’ them.

Another bias is that I have taught Life Orientation in township secondary schools since its inception in the curriculum in 1999. I recollect that it was easier (for the learners and me) to attend to other aspects of the LO sexuality education curriculum and not to matters relating to explicit sex and dating. When I reflect I see that I put more attention on the biomedical elements and moralistic sexuality education. I have been a devoted Christian all my life, and the associated values have mainly directed how I approach matters relating to sexuality. As a woman teaching Life Orientation, I may have modelled the afore-mentioned cultural and religious prescripts, thus being complicit in the unsatisfactory outcomes of sexuality education or the perpetuation of factors that are instrumental to sexuality that is negative.

Although these biases may have had an effect on me pre-empting what the participants mean with their contributed data, my positioning made me understand the participants’ frame of reference better. My reflexivity, coupled with the bracketing sessions I held with my supervisor who is from another culture, were used to address these issues (Malterud, 2001). Critically, coming from a long history of racial inequality in South Africa and other African countries, I see my research endeavours as some form of redressing imbalances and enabling black and Xhosa people out of what I call ‘a complacent and defeatist mentality’. That kind of situation demonstrates a lack of conscious efforts that I appraise as a consequence of losing our identity as a people. This research can also be seen as part of decolonising and Africanising the curriculum (Msila & Gumbo, 2016) located within the field of Educational Psychology. Having situated myself in the study, I take up this research.
1.6 Geographical Context

The participants are Xhosa women teachers. Xhosa people of Xhosa culture are one of the Nguni ethnic groups of South Africa. Xhosa people are located mostly in the southeastern and southwestern tip of the country within the Eastern and Western Cape provinces (see Figure 1.1). All of them speak isiXhosa although there are slight dialectic variations in the language. Before colonisation in South Africa, this language was passed down through music (iingoma), story-telling (iintsomi) and oral poetry (imibongo). The language consists of ‘click’ sounds, which are the influence of the Xhosa people’s ‘intermarriage’ with the Khoikhoi and San people that they found in the Cape (South African History Online, n. d). Many political icons to mention a few like Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki come from this ethnic group. Xhosa people belong to many loosely organised, but distinct chiefdoms that have their origins in their Nguni ancestors. Generally, the group would take on the name of the chief under whom they had united and later would form a clan. There are many varieties of the isiXhosa language, the most distinct being isiMpondo. Other dialects include Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondomise, Rharhabe, Gcaleka, Xesibe, Bhaca, Cele, Hlubi, Ntlangwini, Ngqika, Mfengu. Unlike the Zulu and the Ndebele in the north, the position of the king as head of a lineage did not make him an absolute king. According to South African History Online (n.d.), Xhosa kings could not centralise their power as chiefs under them “were constantly preoccupied with strategies to maintain the loyalties of their followers” (n.p.).
Xhosa people have a sense of community embracing values that are characteristic of African culture, namely Ubuntu, patriotism, neighbourliness, respect and so on. Before industrialisation in South Africa, the Xhosas lived a rural lifestyle and were mainly cattle farmers. “They took great care of their cattle because they were a symbol of wealth, status, and respect. They also kept dogs, goats and later, horses, sheep, pigs and poultry. Their chief crops were millet, maize, kidney beans, pumpkins, and watermelons. By the eighteenth century, they were also growing tobacco and hemp” (South African History Online, n.d., n.p.). Cattle were used to determine bridewealth (*ilobola*) and were used as offerings to the ancestral spirits. Xhosa people from all the clans celebrate various but similar customs and traditions that mark rites of passage like hosting initiation schools (*ulwaluko* and *ukuthomba*), *imbeleko* (feeding of a goat’s leg to an infant to welcome him or her into the family clan), and others. In the 20th and 21st centuries, these customs have been adapted to suit Xhosa people’s lifestyle in the towns and cities. Strong ties with rural roots are nevertheless kept as this is seen in their migration into rural Eastern Cape mostly in the summer holidays. Due to land being lost during wars with White settlers and the legislation of the day, Xhosa people
became more and more poor, compelling them to move to the nearest urban areas to look for work (South African History Online, n.d.).

I focus on the movement of Xhosa people from Eastern Cape rural areas, where they performed mainly agricultural activities, to Port Elizabeth - since it is where this study is located and where the resultant consequences and dynamics of such a move is experienced. As a rising number of Xhosa workers moved to Port Elizabeth to seek employment, a number of so-called ‘locations’ like Bethelsdorp in 1803 and Korsten in 1853 began to be established on the outskirts of the White suburbs (South African History Online, n.d.). Later on, as a result of protests by white people within the municipality over a plague outbreak in the city, Xhosa people were relocated to Walmer and New Brighton townships in 1896 and 1902 respectively. As the population grew, KwaZakhele, Zwide and most recently, KwaMagxaki and Motherwell were also established on the city outskirts to accommodate the black labour force.

In the 1940s, at the onset of apartheid, many changes in the spatial distribution of all Black South Africans occurred, and the Xhosa communities living in PE were no exception. These changes included the separation of citizens into so-called ‘White’, ‘Bantu’, ‘Coloured’ and ‘Asian’ suburbs. The formation of ‘Bantustans’, Transkei and Ciskei in 1953 afforded no citizenship to some of the dwellers of Port Elizabeth. They were then forced to relocate to the ‘Bantustans’, and as there was poverty in these areas, it meant that the young men had to go work in the mines. Hence, one would find Xhosa people scattered all over the country, especially in those areas, which have mines. With the dawn of the new democratic government in 1994 in South Africa, came the abolishment of ‘Bantustans’ and people were free to live wherever they want. It is the case with Port Elizabeth; the labour market has brought in all kinds of people into the city. There is a conglomeration of people from other provinces of South Africa and all other countries of the world.

For the purposes of this research, Xhosa teachers refer to Xhosa women who reside in the Eastern Cape and teach Life Orientation, Life Sciences or Natural sciences in the black township secondary schools on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth.
1.7 The participants and the context

1.7.1 Secondary school teachers

Secondary school teachers teach at an educational institution that is sometimes referred to as a high school. Secondary schools offer Grades 8 to 12, part of the Senior Phase and all of the Further Education and Training (FET) Phase. The Senior Phase starts from Grades 7 to 9, and the FET Phase includes Grades 10, 11 and 12. The secondary school offers several subjects. Life Orientation is a compulsory subject no matter what path a learner has chosen for him or herself, whilst Life Sciences is an optional choice subject. Natural Sciences start in primary school and is continued in secondary school as far as Grade 9. In the past secondary school teachers used to be ‘trained’ in colleges of Education as well as universities but now they are professionally developed in universities in South Africa.

For the purposes of this research secondary school teachers refer to nine Xhosa Life Orientation, Life Sciences and Natural Sciences teachers teaching LO, LFSC and NS to Xhosa learners in Grades 8 to 12 in township schools.

1.7.2 Township schools

Township schools are those urban schools located in the areas formerly designated for black African and so-called Coloured people of South Africa. The townships were built on the outskirts of the city accommodating a city’s labour force.

In this study, township schools refer to those in the afore-mentioned peripheral black African areas of Port Elizabeth.

1.8 Sexuality Education in the context of HIV and AIDS

Mannah (2002) suggested that efforts for combating HIV and AIDS be made in the following areas: curriculum, teacher training, gender hierarchies and power relations. These areas will be touched on the sections of this study. In contextualising the
research problem in this chapter, I draw on the bodies of knowledge of sexuality, sexuality and Xhosa culture, sexuality education, sexuality and adolescent learners in school, and the context of HIV and AIDS (see Chapter 2).

1.8.1 Sexuality

Sexuality is seen as a normal, natural and healthy part of life (Beyers, 2013a) and which the WHO (2006) highlights as a “central aspect of being human throughout life” (p. 5). WHO (2006) provides a working definition of sexuality, in that it

...encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. Sexuality is experienced and expressed in thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviours, practices, roles and relationships. While sexuality can include all of these dimensions, not all of them are always experienced or expressed. Sexuality is influenced by the interaction of biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, legal, historical, religious and spiritual factors (p. 5).

Davidson (1987), earlier on, already alluded to the idea that sexuality is “an object distinct from the anatomical style of reasoning about diseases” (p. 23). As such, the emergence of sexuality as a phenomenon to explore has led to the establishment of a field in the social sciences, Sexuality Studies, which examines how social, historical, psychological, literary, legal, biological, and political contexts shape sexual practices, expressions, identities, and representations.

1.8.2 Sexuality and Xhosa culture

Culture also influences how sexuality is viewed, expressed and discussed, and I, therefore, explain culture, looking in particular at Xhosa culture in relation to sexuality.

Culture is broadly interpreted to mean the various ways that social business is conducted and mediated through language, symbols, rituals and traditions and influenced by issues such as race, ethnicity, religion, material base, and so forth. We are all cultural beings in the sense that we are influenced by an infinite
number of social forces that have shaped our mental outlook and perspectives on life (Tamale, 2008, p.49).

UNESCO (2009c) accordingly notes the following:

The rules that govern sexual behaviour differ widely across and within cultures. Certain behaviours are seen as acceptable and desirable while others are considered unacceptable. This does not mean that these behaviours do not occur, or that they should be excluded from discussion within the context of sexuality education (p. 2).

Each culture also has its own range of practices, some related to sexuality. For example, Xhosa culture is noted as being male dominant or patriarchal leading to women and girls taking up sexually subservient roles (Barr, 2008; Mehlomakhulu; 2008). Cain, Schensul and Mlobeli (2011) and Shefer and Foster (2009) speak of men holding powerful positions as far as their sexuality is concerned compared to women in Xhosa culture. Nevertheless, it becomes necessary to move away from the assumption that culture is an inflexible force that is difficult, if not impossible, to alter (Saethre & Stadler, 2009). Culture can be adapted to suit present-day demands without it necessarily losing its essence. Mugambe (2006) and Tamale (2008) argue that although culture is sometimes seen as a force of oppression, it can be a liberating dynamic force in African society. That implies moving away from dogmatic and rigid views of culture, creatively and critically discarding its oppressive aspects, and embracing the egalitarian ones (Tamale, 2008). It can be inferred that the silence that is experienced towards sexuality in Xhosa culture has been due to the onslaught of powerful voices (for example through colonisation), and that emancipation from such is necessary. Chilisa (2012) argues for a ‘context-sensitive’ stance to negotiating culturally relevant dispositions in that regard. Although speaking from a legal perspective, Albertyn (2009) also identifies a ‘context-sensitive’ approach to addressing inequality (such as patriarchy in Xhosa culture) which will give justice to the cause of scholars on the emancipation of the previously disadvantaged (in this case the sexuality of Xhosa women and girls). In the ensuing discussion in Chapter 2, I argue that African culture (of which Xhosa culture is part) relating to sexuality is not necessarily bad and that aspects of it could be preserved (Tamale, 2008). A study such
as this one acknowledges and explores Xhosa cultural perspectives that relate to sexuality, and as Tamale puts it will not be “shying away from being heard speaking out in support of culture” (p. 65), but in a critical way.

What is needed in addressing culture is a productive, reflective nostalgia. The word ‘nostalgia’ was coined by a Swiss student named Johannes Hofer in his medical dissertation in 1688 and comes from two Greek roots, nóstos (‘return home’) and álgos (‘longing’) (Boym, n.d.). This original meaning of nostalgia underwent some modification literally to mean, according to Strong-Wilson, Mitchell, Allnutt and Pithouse-Morgan (2013) and Boym (2001), longing for the past or that, which no longer exists. Identifiable are two types of nostalgia, one seen as negative and the other as positive; unproductive or restorative and productive or reflective nostalgia respectively (Boym, n.d.). Unproductive nostalgia wants things as they originally were in the past, tending to argue for absolutes with the hope of reclaiming what was lost. On the other hand, productive nostalgia is more critical in its longing for the past pointing to the reimagining of ‘things’.

One of the ways that this study engages the participants is to ask them to reflect on how they learnt - as Xhosa people - about sexuality when they grew up (the past), look at how it is learnt today (the present), and consciously determine how such ‘remembrance’ could inform the ‘what’ and ‘how’ they could approach sexuality education (the future). Svetlana Boym claims that longing and critical thinking are not opposed to one another. Thus, the study aligns itself with productive nostalgia, which narrates the relationship between past, present and future, awakening multiple planes of consciousness (Boym, 2001; Moletsane, 2011; Strong-Wilson et al., 2013).

1.8.3 Sexuality education

Sexuality education in South African schools is a feature of the Life Orientation curriculum, and it is not without controversy, as the debate as to whether it increases sexual activity or actually contributes to safer sexual behaviour continues. Reproductive health and HIV education are also part of the Life Sciences curriculum and emphasise the biomedical aspects without necessarily addressing the behavioural and preventive aspects (Francis & DePalma. 2014). Ngwena (2003)
posits that learners must be exposed to sexuality education as part of their ongoing life skills education in order to ensure their development and wellbeing. Learners are thus equipped with skills that would lead them to make informed choices regarding their sexuality and be safe in the context of HIV and AIDS.

Comprehensive sexuality education (UNESCO, 2009a) and abstinence sexuality education (Francis & DePalma, 2014) are two approaches which can be identified, with the former focusing on a holistic and non-judgemental approach to sexuality education, and the latter prescriptive in its approach.

The reality is that sexuality education does not hold much status within the secondary school structure in South Africa. For example, the weighting of the subject in which sexuality education is located - that is Life Orientation when compared to other subjects, is low (Department of Basic Education, 2011a,b) allowing for less contact time with the learners. Also, those teachers who have lower teaching loads in a school are allocated LO to teach, irrespective of whether they have the necessary qualifications or not. Women also tend to be allocated the teaching of sexuality education, whether it is in Life Orientation or Life Sciences. The dilemma of who is to teach sexuality education is noted by Mathews et al. (2006) who recommend that it requires a certain kind of teacher. Helleve et al. (2009) also propose that teachers have to be screened and selected. The kind of teacher needed is one who facilitates an open and safe environment for learners to contribute to their own learning about sexuality, who engages learners in activities guarding for passivity in his or her classroom, and who is comfortable with his or her own sexuality and understands how to meet learners at their own point of need. In her study with Xhosa people living with HIV in Port Elizabeth, Barr (2008) points out that in order for HIV transmission to decrease (which is a key reason for sexuality education), HIV and AIDS education should be contextualised in the culture of the people. Further, she recommends that HIV and AIDS education of Xhosa people should be done by Xhosa people. This is happening in most of the township schools, also in the schools of the study, but it does not seem to be having the desired effect. What could help the situation?
1.8.4 Sexuality and adolescent learners in school

The focus of this study is on Xhosa secondary school Life Orientation, Life Sciences and Natural Sciences teachers teaching sexuality education to Xhosa adolescent learners. These secondary school learners are adolescents in the transition from childhood to adulthood, and their sexuality is a significant area of their development during adolescence (UNFPA, 2013). Engaging adolescents in issues of sexuality is a tenuous situation, as some adolescents do not take it seriously (by giggling and whispering) or try to embarrass the teacher, especially an uncomfortable teacher, by asking awkward questions (AVERT, n.d.). Francis (2011) notes that adolescents want to engage with issues of sexuality based on their particular personal opinions or life experiences. Francis (2010) also points to sex being equally portrayed as both pleasurable and risky so that adolescents could choose to make informed decisions. Increased learning and understanding about sexuality is seen as crucial to adolescent’s well-being, healthy development, protection and future life chances, and that failing to engage adolescents about sexuality “leaves them vulnerable to coercion, abuse, exploitation, unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections, including HIV” (Goldman, 2012, p. 199).

In this contemporary age, it has become the responsibility of schools to teach about sexuality (see also Chapter 2), and it is interesting to note that Shilumani’s (2010) rural Shangaan adolescent participants, for example, preferred sexuality education programmes offered at school in place of the traditional initiation schools. Moreover, literature posits that adolescent learners choose their teachers over their parents or peers for discussing sexuality matters (McLaughlin et al., 2012; Zisser & Francis, 2006). I also note Zuilkowski and Jukes (2012) and Kelly (2002) here who concede that being enrolled and learning at school may lead to decisions of adolescents delaying premature sex because of the educational ambition that they want to pursue, reducing their risk of contracting HIV.
1.9 Theoretical framework

A theoretical framework is an "empirical or quasi-empirical theory of social and/or psychological processes, at a variety of levels (e.g. grand, mid-range and explanatory), that can be applied to the understanding of phenomena" (Anfara & Mertz, 2006, p. xxvii). In this study, I use Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), a name coined by Michael Cole in 1996 that incorporates culture, society, and history as dimensions into the mental functioning of humans (Roth & Lee, 2007), to frame the study together with meaning-making of the findings (see Chapter 3). It is the cultural and historical dimensions, in particular, that drew me to the theory. The theory was developed by A.N. Leont’ev and Aleksandr Luria, who were students of Lev Vygotsky (Roth & Lee, 2007). According to Yamagata-Lynch (2010b), “Vygotsky took an approach in psychology that recognized the essential relationship between an individual’s mental processes and that individual’s interaction with cultural, historical, and institutional settings” (p. 16) and through this work, he went against the popular movement of his time in psychology, which separated the organism from the environment. This provided the basis for CHAT as developed by his students, Leont’ev and Luria, and further developed by Engeström (O’Brien, Varga-Atkins, Umoquit, & Tso, 2012).

CHAT theory, according to Yamagata-Lynch (2010b), purports to enable the understanding of complex learning situations (such as teaching and learning of sexuality education) as activity systems and holds that there are six elements in an activity system, which interact together towards a goal or motive (object of an activity). The elements are the subject, which is individuals engaged in the activity, the mediating tool, which is the prior knowledge and resources that contribute to the subject’s action and experiences within the activity. The object, which is the goal or motive of engaging in an activity, is also part of the activity system. The activity system also comprises the division of labour, which is the roles and responsibilities of those in the activity. The fifth element of the activity system is the community, which is the stakeholders or social groups with which the subject identifies while engaging in the activity. Lastly, the rules that are official or unofficial regulations that can liberate or constrain the activity providing the subject with proper procedures and conduit ways
of relating with other community members make up the activity system. For this specific study, the complex learning situation I am trying to make meaning of is sexuality education - the activity system – as taught by Xhosa teachers to Xhosa learners.

I use CHAT to make meaning of how Xhosa secondary school LO, LFSC and NS teachers draw on a cultural understanding of sexuality and the CAPS to teach sexuality education to Xhosa learners. It enables the making of meaning of how Xhosa teachers could contribute to reimagined features of sexuality education.

1.10 Research design and methodology

I chose a qualitative design, framed within both the interpretive and critical paradigms, using a participatory visual methodology.

A qualitative research design is used in a study, which aims to understand reality and allows for an exploration of what really goes on in the participants' lifeworlds; it is concerned with understanding rather than explaining (Fouché & Schurink, 2011). A qualitative design is suited to the research problem I identified and enables me to explore the participants' lifeworlds using qualitative methods to generate data through words and pictures and to analyse data thematically, instead of data represented through numbers and analysed using inferential statistics (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006) (See also Chapter 4).

I am guided by the interpretivist-critical paradigm, which advances that knowledge is socially constructed. This is the lens by which I have explored and interpreted phenomena and invariably appraised literature. The nature of the research questions led me to this choice of paradigm; wanting to find out how teachers' Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality could inform how they teach sexuality education. I wanted to understand my participants’ life-worlds and also ‘empower’ them to relook and/or change their demeanours with regard to sexuality education. The interpretivist paradigm aims at gaining understanding with regard to the lived experiences and personal worlds of the participants (Taylor, 2013). The paradigm
assumes that multiple realities exist, and they are socially constructed. In understanding these realities context is critical. Its focus of interest is unique and specific, and the knowledge gained is in meanings relative to time, context, and culture and is value-bound (Myers, 2009). Mackenzie and Knipe (2006) see the interpretivist researcher as relying on the participants’ views of the situation being studied. That, according to Willis (2007), is what the world means to the person or group being studied. Applied to education, a deeper understanding is sought of the participants’ lived experiences in their realities which “involves a broader focus on the social, political, historical and economic forces shaping the pedagogies, curriculum policies and schooling system in which teachers are immersed” (Taylor & Medina, 2013, p. 5). It, therefore, will enable me to understand how Xhosa cultural perspectives (of the teachers themselves) influence the teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa secondary school learners.

Also, I draw on a critical paradigm which aims at not only understanding but also contributing (making a difference) to transform how things are (Taylor, 2013). Those without power are helped acquire it through the research process. In this way, the critical paradigm “contains an action agenda for reform that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researcher’s life” (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006, p. 196). The paradigm enables knowledge production in addressing the question: Whose particular needs are not being served (Taylor & Medina, 2013)? It is therefore ideologically oriented, reviewing commonly held values and assumptions, and striving for something better than the current (Willis, 2007). In this study the voices of Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers, marginalised when it comes to how sexuality education in the LO, LFSC and NS CAPS should be taught, will be drawn on to understand the problems, from their cultural perspectives, teaching sexuality education, but also to offer their solutions to the problems they identify. In this way, they could, through the research process, contribute to a reimagined sexuality education in secondary schools.

1.10.1 Participatory visual methodology

Participatory research, in line with the critical paradigm, aligns itself with a process of working with participants and not on them, reflecting and together taking action to
address an issue (Bergold & Thomas, 2012; Cornwall & Jewkes, 2010; Mitchell, De Lange & Moletsane, 2017). According to Sohng (1997), “[a]t its best, the process [of participatory research] can be a liberating, empowering and educative one, a collegial relationship that brings local communities into a policy debate, validating their knowledge” (p. 370). Thus, participatory research aspires to be a worthwhile exercise of effecting change through formally collaborating with the participants (Cargo & Mercer, 2008). So, a research study can be truly participatory if it is undergirded by values that are about as far as possible, earnestly and maximally involving participants in the research. As an Xhosa female and former secondary school Life Orientation teacher, and as an insider, it also means that I immerse myself in the topic with the participants.

In this study, I worked with Xhosa secondary school teachers through analysing the CAPS document, making drawings, doing photovoice and creating curriculum posters (also see section 4.2) towards a reimagined sexuality education. These sequential activities ensured that the participant teachers were maximally involved and were enabled to effect change in their spheres of influence. I noted that “the phenomenon [being studied] dictates the method including the type of participants” (Groenewald, 2004, p. 8). Thus, as the study looked at how a deeper understanding of cultural perspectives of Xhosa secondary school teachers on learning about sexuality informs how they teach sexuality education, meant working with LO, LFSC and NS teachers themselves, taking them through a variety of participatory data generation methods.

I identified the participants through purposive sampling (Strydom & Delport, 2011), using the following criteria for inclusion: LO, LFSC and NS teachers; male and female teachers; of Xhosa culture; teach LO Grade 8 to Grade 12; teach LFSC Grade 10 to 12; and teach NS Grade 8 and 9 and teach in a secondary school in a black Port Elizabeth township. My intention of having both male and female teachers in the study was not fulfilled. This could be indicative of the cultural gender dynamics that govern social relations, which might have elicited resistance from the Xhosa males. The participant group eventually was nine female teachers, as male teachers did not volunteer themselves.
### 1.10.2 Methods of data generation

Several methods of data generation (also see section 4.1) were used, such as document analysis, drawing, photovoice and making curriculum posters, generating data for each sub-question, as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Document analysis</td>
<td>What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ understandings of sexuality education in the LO, LFSC and NS Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Drawing                 | What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of learning about their own sexuality within their Xhosa culture?  
                          | What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of today’s adolescents learning about sexuality within their Xhosa culture? |
| Photovoice              | How do Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality influence their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners? |
| Curriculum posters      | What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ views of meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners? |

My motivation for using more than one data generation method is supported by Liamputtong (2011) who argues that diverse forms of methods are valuable since it may not be possible, or can be difficult, to capture the knowledge, attitudes and insights of participants by using a single method. Hence I used document analysis, drawing, photovoice and making of curriculum posters to enable a rich participatory process of data generation and analysis, and crystallisation of the findings. Similarly, Rossman and Rallis (2012) see a qualitative research project as taking place in the field, relying on multiple methods for gathering data, and calls on the researcher to be pragmatic, flexible, politically aware, and self-reflective.
1.10.3 Data analysis

Having generated the data, i.e. flipcharts of document analysis, two sets of drawings, a set of photovoice, and a set of curriculum posters, the discussions were captured through video and audio recordings and transcribed, complemented by my field notes. I used participatory analysis with the participants, with them analysing their own or group visual artefact, by explaining what their visual artefact means. This was the first layer of analysis in which I encouraged the participants to reflect and contribute to their own learning (Ferreira & Ebersöhn, 2011).

Thematic analysis was applied as a second layer of analysis of the data (Ayres, 2008; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Reissman-Kohler, 2008). I implemented open coding to do the analysis of all the generated data (Creswell, 2013) - which is a typical categorising strategy in qualitative research (Maxwell, 2013). This categorising is based on an inductive attempt to capture new insights. Codes were assigned to the transcribed data of the discussions or explanations of drawings, photographs and curriculum posters. “A code in qualitative inquiry is a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 3). From codes, categories were created, and from categories, themes could then be formulated. In line with Silverman (2011), the whole analysis process was aimed at answering the formulated research questions.

1.10.4 Trustworthiness

Quality standards that were adhered to are trustworthiness and authenticity. Rossman and Rallis (2012) believe that a study is trustworthy when the conduct of the study and its findings are “sufficiently believable” (p. 59). Trustworthiness looks at whether the researcher has rendered an account of the participants’ worldviews; in this instance, the Xhosa secondary teachers’ cultural perspectives on teaching sexuality education, as honestly and fully as possible. This truth-value is often acquired from exploring the participants’ lived experiences. The researcher does not define truth-value a priori; she relies on the participant him or herself (Krefting, 1991). For a qualitative study to be useful, then, readers must believe and trust its integrity. The criteria for
trustworthiness include credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability (De Vos, 2005) (See section 4.6.2).

According to Taylor and Medina (2013), the criterion of authenticity focus[es] on the ethics of the relationship established by the researcher with his/her participants and include: fairness (are the informants represented fairly?), educative (did the participants benefit by learning about their social world?), catalytic (did the participants benefit by identifying problems associated with their social world?) and tactical (did the research empower the participants to improve their social situation?) (p. 5) (See section 4.6.2.5).

1.11 Ethics

Working ethically is critical to any research and should be thoughtfully considered throughout the research process. Ethical clearance was sought from the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (See Appendix A). Permission from the Department of Basic Education in Port Elizabeth (See Appendix B) and from the identified school principals (See Appendix C) was sought and granted. Consent was gained from the teachers (See Appendix D) at the start of the research study. Throughout the research, I negotiated with the group of women teachers those things they felt comfortable sharing during the study and also for the thesis write-up. The principles of confidentiality, together with privacy were followed. From the onset, I explained the principle of voluntary participation and that a teacher would be respected if they no longer wished to be part of the study. This made them aware that they may exit the study any time they so wished. Working within a critical paradigm requires careful thinking about the principle of anonymity, as it is also about making the teachers’ voices heard in terms of sexuality education. As I worked with them, I helped them understand what they were consenting to or not consenting to being made public. I also kept the principle advocated by Mitchell (2011); that “of ‘doing least harm’ and ‘doing most good’” (p. 15).
Visual ethics was also carefully considered in that I did not use any visual data without the consent of those who created them or those who were depicted in them. This too required careful discussion and negotiation. All of this required consistent reflexivity on my part as a researcher (See also Chapter 4).

1.12 Delimitation of the study

The study is located in Educational Psychology and focuses on sexuality education, which is important in terms of adolescent sexuality development. It draws only on Xhosa Life Orientation, Life Sciences and Natural Sciences teachers teaching sexuality education and reproductive health respectively, in township secondary schools to explore how their Xhosa cultural perspectives inform how they teach sexuality education. The Life Orientation teachers were those from Grade 8 to 12, the Life Sciences teachers from Grade 10 to 12 and Natural Sciences teachers from Grades 8 and 9. The study was conducted in Port Elizabeth within the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Region.

1.13 Unfolding of the thesis

Chapter 1: Orientation to the study

The chapter outlined this research study, giving the rationale, establishing the gap in the literature, and explaining how the whole study is going to progress. As a point of departure, a number of contemporaneous and complex issues are discussed as influencing the teaching of sexuality education in South African schools.

Chapter 2: Literature review

Chapter 2 closely examines the writings and studies on sexuality including HIV and AIDS, culture and adolescent sexuality education, and teachers who teach sexuality education; appraising and reviewing this literature. The context and scope of the study are thus demarcated.
Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

As it is essential to draw on a theoretical or conceptual framework by which to understand, analyse and interpret the phenomenon being explored, CHAT was used. Within this system of analysis, the mediating elements at play in the teaching of sexuality education are explicated.

Chapter 4: Research design and methodology

Working in an interpretive as well as a critical paradigm with nine secondary school female teachers from four township schools in Port Elizabeth, this chapter explains how participatory visual methodology, generating data with them through drawing, photovoice and making curriculum posters, was used. This process of data generation was initiated by document analysis, which formed the basis for further data generation.

Chapter 5: Results of the study

The chapter provides the results as five distinct data sets, enabling the reader to see the link of the data to the research questions, but also the extent of the data generated.

Chapter 6: Findings and discussion

The findings that became evident as themes are discussed in this chapter in line with the formulated research questions. These are the teachers’ understandings of the CAPS, their reflections on their own learning about sexuality from their Xhosa cultural perspectives and that of the adolescents whom they teach today, how they see those perspectives influencing or not influencing their teaching practice and the content and pedagogies they see as best in teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners.
Chapter 7: Conclusions, implications and contribution of the study

The final chapter summarises the findings and provides related conclusions and the study’s implications. It then offers the theoretical and methodological contribution of the study. The chapter concludes with some limitations of the study, as well as the direction for further research, before wrapping up with a final conclusion.

1.14 Conclusion

This orientation to the study chapter provided an overview of what this research entails. Background of what motivated the study, and the identified a gap that although culture is attributed as one of the key constraints in teaching sexuality education, it has not been fully studied with Xhosa teachers in Xhosa township secondary schools, is pointed out. How I intend filling the gap through the research aims and questions was espoused. I gave an account of the participants and the context and a glimpse into literature. A brief exposition of the theoretical framework was offered next, and the research design and methodology were previewed. The next chapter gives accounts of the work of those who have travelled the journey before in the field of sexuality education, in an effort to contextualise the study in existing literature.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW - A THEORETICAL EXPOSITION OF SEXUALITY EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF HIV AND AIDS WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO XHOSA CULTURE

2.1 Introduction

South African teachers teach sexuality education in a country where the importance of the wellbeing of its youth is not fully realised by the leadership of the country. In 2015 Jacob Zuma, then president of South Africa, for example, made unfitting comments about pregnant school girls (Tucker, 2015), stating that girls who fall pregnant should have their babies taken away from them, and then be placed on an island until they were done with their studies. Neither he nor the Department of Education officials, in subsequent statements made any mention of the part that sexuality education could play in curbing unintended pregnancies in this instance. It is statements such as these, which flag the importance of sexuality education and highlight the need to explore how teachers go about engaging young people with issues of sexuality education in class.

It is usually the Life Orientation teachers who are tasked with teaching sexuality education, with some elements of reproduction covered in Natural Sciences and Life Sciences. In a qualitative study with the Free State province LO teachers, DePalma and Francis (2014) point out that sexuality education for teachers is “a particularly challenging aspect of the LO curriculum” and that the teachers “attributed this largely to the fact that in their culture, and/or the culture of their learners, sex was simply not talked about” (p. 553). I mention that being fully aware that sex is not the only aspect of sexuality education; sexuality education looks at other aspects such as relationships, sexual orientations, reproduction, gender identities and roles, and so on. To attend to the state of affairs as appraised by DePalma and Francis (2014), Mercer (1995) advises that links between teachers in schools and cultures be made in order to challenge assumptions about how teaching and learning about sexuality could be done. If it is challenging for teachers to teach learners sexuality matters, and refer to culture as the barrier preventing them from doing so, how could they approach
sexuality education? What is this ‘culture’ that prevents teachers from comfortably talking about a critical topic such as sexuality and how can it be drawn upon to inform sexuality education? A starting point is to explore the teachers’ own cultural perspectives that surround teaching and learning about sexuality. This also implies “address[ing] both the historically and culturally produced taboos and silences that surround talking about sex and sexuality and gender inequalities” (Wood, 2013, p. 54). Flowing from that would then be to reimagine teaching approaches and content that relate to sexuality education. Henceforth, this chapter first explains the context of HIV and AIDS and the adolescent, current discourses of sexuality, sexuality and culture focusing mainly on Xhosa culture, also turning to sexuality education, and finally to the significance of sexuality education for adolescents.

2.2 The context of HIV and AIDS and the adolescent

Sexuality and sexual behaviour are closely linked to the spread of HIV, hence, it is incumbent upon me to draw the context in which I see the teaching of sexuality education to be important. It will be amiss therefore not to paint the picture of HIV in South Africa, a country within the sub-Saharan region which is devastated by the large burden of the HIV and AIDS epidemic (Poku & Whiteside, 2017), and where adolescents find themselves under such circumstances.

2.2.1 The picture of HIV and AIDS in South Africa

Statistics indicate that South Africa is ravaged by HIV and AIDS and has the biggest burden of HIV infected people in the world. In total, 7.9 million South Africans in 2017 were living with the HIV (HSRC, 2018). In 2012, the HIV prevalence rate was 12.2% (Shisana et al., 2014) and had gone up to 12.6% in 2017 (TBfacts.org, n.d.). All provinces are affected with KwaZulu-Natal having the highest prevalence in adults at 27.0%, the Free State has a prevalence of 25%, followed by Mpumalanga at 22.8%, then the North West at 22.7%, Gauteng at 17.6%, Limpopo registering 17.2%, the Northern Cape at 13.9% and the province with the lowest prevalence rate is the Western Cape at 12.6%. The Eastern Cape has a prevalence rate of 22%, higher than the national average of 2017. The prevalence rate among Black Africans, which
include Xhosas, is 16.6% (HSRC, 2018). The other groups are also affected, with prevalence rates being much lower - still an issue of concern, with Coloured people at 3%, White people at 1.1% and Indian or Asian people at 0.8%. With these numbers telling the story, South Africans, particularly Black Africans, are deeply affected by HIV and AIDS. A worrisome situation with HIV and AIDS infection is that, according to the WHO (2016), in the age group 10-14yrs the infection rate of females is 3.9 per 100 000, and for males, HIV and AIDS do not feature as a cause of death. The girl, by being female, from an early age is the face of HIV in South Africa.

Funerals are a common occurrence every weekend in African townships in South Africa (Dickinson, 2014), pointing to the impact of HIV and AIDS on these communities. Bhana, Morrell, Epstein and Moletsane (2006) noted this state of affairs in their study of teacher care in diverse secondary schools in Durban that death and funerals as a result of AIDS complications characterise life in these townships. Dickinson (2014) acknowledges that there still is a tendency to blatantly deny being infected with the HI virus in these townships and that people often attribute illness related to HIV as being due to the ‘curse’ of some force beyond oneself. Izugbara (2011), Van Dyk (2001) and Walker, Reid and Cornell (2004) also note that traditional African beliefs tend to associate sexually related illnesses to some form of witchcraft. The beliefs that African people hold, their understanding of the virus, the stigma they attach to it is the fact that it is predominantly transmitted through sex, can be cited as justifications for this denial. In his book, A Different Kind of AIDS: Folk and Lay Theories in South African Townships, Dickinson (2014) shows how African people choose approaches of treatment which rely on traditional healers and new movement churches, trying to find a way back to health. That is an interesting state of dealing with the reality of HIV and AIDS, which calls for interrogation. Van Dyk (2001) and Wood (2013) also observe that traditional healers are still the alternative to Western medicine for many black Africans. Dickinson (2014), quite hauntingly, points out that even black African health workers such as nurses accept these alternative routes (instead of medical) of addressing HIV and AIDS. Given this situation, one can clearly see the potential contribution of sexuality education in ensuring the safety and wellbeing of learners in the township, but also how it might open up opportunities to dissuade these aforementioned dynamics.
While black African people are deeply affected and are turning to traditional healers, it is also clear that women are the face of HIV and AIDS (HSRC, 2018; Mannah, 2002; Shisana et al., 2014; Steinitz & Ashton, 2007; WHO, 2016; Wood, 2013). Various biological, social, cultural and economic factors can be attributed to women, in particular, being most at risk (Steinitz & Ashton, 2007). Careful scrutiny of the statistics does confirm that it is indeed black Africans, women and the poor that are hit most hard by the pandemic. In 2002, 56% of those living with the HI virus were women (Mannah, 2002). In 2012 females still showed a higher prevalence rate than males - 14.4% vs 9.9% (Shisana et al., 2014). “Among the poorest households with not enough money to meet basic necessities, females have significantly higher rates of HIV infection (17.5%) compared to males (11.8%), but in economically endowed households, there are no significant differences in HIV prevalence by sex (females 6.8% vs males 4.8%)” according to Shisana et al. (2014, p. 51).

HIV transmission in South Africa happens mostly in heterosexual relationships, and though various factors render women susceptible to HIV and AIDS (see also section 2.3.3), of note is Mannah’s (2002) argument that it is the low status of women generally, also in Africa, which is the central issue. Wood (2013) states that because of this low status of women, they are unable to dictate what happens during sex and even insist on marital fidelity. It is also phenomena like polygamy and the acceptance of men having multiple sexual partners (Delius & Glaser, 2004; Hunting, 2012; Stern & Buikema, 2013) which spread the virus and render women more susceptible to HIV infection (Wood, 2013). Phenomena such as intergenerationality and intersectionality (Hunting, 2012; Moolman, 2013) are catalysts of this picture of women being the face of the pandemic. Intergenerationality is seen in the way in which cultural practices of a male dominant society (for example, men seeking younger lovers or demanding unprotected sex), are part of South African young women’s lives. It speaks of “… the blurring of categories of youth and adult through circulations of sexuality; and the dislocation of desire from the predictable categories of identity” (Talburt, 2010, p. 53). Intersectionality as a consideration came about in response to various “… oppressions of race, class, and gender experienced by black women” (Moolman, 2013, p. 94). The issue of intersectionality is raised when one takes into account that being a woman; a poor black and uneducated woman deepens the vulnerability of women and girls to risk.
In South Africa, poverty can be identified as a factor in the spread of HIV (Shisana et al., 2014; Wood, 2013). Shisana et al. (2014) pointed out in their study that “[w]ith respect to socio-economic status, the results show that there is an inverse relationship between household economic status and HIV status, with members from lower household economic status having higher HIV prevalence” (p. 51). Poverty is responsible for young girls getting involved in transactional relationships with older men from whom they seek to gain materially as well as in status (Potgieter, Strebel, Shefer & Wagner, 2012; Shisana et al., 2014; Van Dyk, 2001; Wood, 2013), and that exposes them up to HIV infection. Poverty also drives black African people, mostly males - from rural areas to seek jobs in the cities where they often have other sexual partners besides those they left behind in the rural areas (Delius & Glaser, 2004; Van Dyk, 2001; Wood, 2013). This increases their probability of contracting the HI virus and contaminating the partners they left in the rural areas when they meet with them. Living in poverty also negatively affects one’s chances of leading a prolonged life after having contracted the virus in that one might not afford a healthy and balanced diet (Wood, 2013), as well as medication. The issue of antiretrovirals (ARVs) cannot be regarded as a challenge in South African urban areas as they have been made available free of charge at clinics for just over ten years (Lopez-Gonzalez, 2014). The stigma and acceptance of being infected, however, may act against the people from using these services.

Morrell et al. (2009) confirm that “not only is the South African HIV and AIDS epidemic profoundly gendered, classed and raced, but that young children inscribe themselves within particular gendered, raced and classed discourses with regard to sexuality and HIV” (p. 132). Adolescents in South Africa are exposed to the same ‘sociocultural forces’ as the rest of the adult population, and so the patterns eminent in the adult group regarding HIV prevalence are also found in them too. With this scenario in mind, I paint a picture of the context in which adolescents, also Xhosa adolescents, find themselves as they approach their first sexual encounter. The HIV prevalence rate among the 15 to 49-year-olds (which includes the age of the adolescents whom the teachers in my study teach) is 20.6% (HSRC, 2018); the prevalence rate remains a concern. The prevalence rate of HIV in black Africans, as mentioned earlier, stands at 16.6% in 2018 and is higher than those of the other race groups. These prevalence
rates are still relatively high calling for targeted intervention if the end of the epidemic is to be seen.

Schools are where these adolescents find themselves, and the onus is on the schools - and by implication its teachers - to assist containing and preventing HIV infection. It is of paramount importance to identify and embrace teachers as key resources in this kind of endeavour (Mitchell, De Lange, Moletsane, Stuart & Buthelezi, 2005). These authors argue that although health care workers and peer programming are the focus of intervention endeavours and can effectively contribute to HIV and AIDS education, “the issues are too complex and vast to leave out a large group of professionals [teachers] who work with young people every day …” (p. 258). Indeed, teachers are expected to be pastoral towards the adolescent learners they teach and be preventative agents where HIV is concerned (HEAIDS, 2010b). Teachers are in a powerful position where they can transform minds and contest prevailing norms (Wood, 2009c). However, the Education Labour Relations Council report (2005) also tells of high HIV and AIDS prevalence rates amongst teachers in South Africa, affecting the education sector, and negatively influencing teaching. In this regard Louw, Shisana, Peltzer and Zungu (2009) see HIV and AIDS as having “an impact on the quality of education because a significant percentage of educators are infected, therefore, they become ill and die prematurely” (p. 215). Isaacs (2005) stated that in the seven years prior to 2005 the percentage of teachers who had died of AIDS-related complications was on the increase from 7% to 17.7%. Shisana et al. (2005) corroborate these citing a rise in deaths of educators due to AIDS. Recently, the figures were standing at 13% HIV prevalence among educators in 2015, higher than the 12.7% of 2004 (Daily News, 2017). Just as the country carries a burden of HIV infection so do teachers themselves bear a burden of being infected, and if not, of being affected. Whether this would make a teacher more empathetic or apathetic towards learners who are affected and infected and how that very attitude might inform their teaching of sexuality education itself needs to be further explored.

The South African picture of HIV and AIDS is complex and is informed by sociocultural contexts. The dynamics can be hard to tackle, as they are part of the core of people’s identities. Moolman (2013) acknowledges this when she writes that “[s]ocial identities are complex practices that are shaped through social relations as well as social
institutions” (p. 94). It is within this context that teachers find themselves and in which they have to teach sexuality education to young people.

2.2.2 The adolescent, adolescent sexuality, sexuality education and HIV and AIDS

Adolescence is a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to the independence of adulthood and to interdependence as members of a community (UNFPA South Africa, 2013). Adolescence is often presented as “early (11-14 years), middle (14-17 years), and late adolescence (17-20 years)” (Thornton, Potocnik & Muller, 2009, p. 146) with age ranges fluid. During adolescence, there is accelerated growth with varied physical and hormonal changes (Gouws, Kruger, & Burger, 2008). Notable in terms of sexuality is the pituitary gland secreting growth and sex hormones, testosterone for boys and oestrogen for girls. Sexual characteristics emphasising the differences between adults and children, men and women become evident in this adolescent phase.

From a socio-emotional angle, Mathee and Muire (2007) view this period as marked by

… a strong need for independence but also … difficulty in becoming independent, learning through parents and media what it is like to be a man or woman, strong dependency on peer group opinions, masturbation, exploration of and experimentation with dating and petting, experimentation with behaving as sexual adult, possibility of birth control decisions and of becoming pregnant, and possibility of getting infected with STDs and HIV (p. 31).

It is necessary to consider puberty when discussing adolescence as its current earlier onset compared to what was previously observed in human development calls for attention (Dorn & Biro, 2011; Downing & Bellis, 2009) with regard the curriculum. It is possible that the sexuality education curriculum had been designed with a specific age in mind and a reframing is required. Dorn and Biro (2011) note that puberty initiates adolescence and describe it as “a process, not an event, that results from a complex series of coordinated neuroendocrine changes leading to internal and external
physical changes in primary and secondary sexual characteristics and eventual reproductive competence” (p. 181).

Downing and Bellis (2009) cite changes in family structure, improved healthcare reducing children getting sick, eating better and escalating childhood obesity as causing early puberty in developed countries. Ong, Ahmed and Dunger (2006) attest to increased childhood obesity as leading to the earlier onset and progression of puberty. Dorn and Biro (2011) note that the age of onset of puberty is also lowering in developing countries due to the availability of resources and changing social status. The same decline in age of menarche onset has been observed in black African people in urban South Africa, casting the reason on improved nutrition and continued socioeconomic transition (Jones, Griffiths, Norris, Pettifor & Cameron, 2009). It should be expected then that as the levels of poverty go down in part as a result of government aid, so will the age of commencement of puberty in South Africa. Jones et al. (2009) however, claim that developed countries have reached the plateau where puberty is reached at a very low age and that developing countries have yet to. This situation has implications for the educational needs of the adolescent learner, both in the developed and developing worlds.

According to Tolman, Davis and Bowman (2015), “adolescent sexuality is more generally circumscribed by a sexual double standard, such that boys are expected to be sexually demanding and out of control, while girls are to be gatekeepers whose desire for sex is minimal or relatively unimportant” (p. 4). Francis and Viljoen (2014), Morrell et al. (2009) and Shefer et al. (2008) speak of the same in the South African context where men and boys are generally more open, aggressive and suggestive about sexuality than women and girls who are censured. This poses challenges for both boys and girls where HIV infection is concerned in that boys would not necessarily take precautionary measures in their sexual pursuits, and some girls would have to succumb to such advances. This socialisation of young people possibly reflects the same dynamics of adults in their society (Morrell et al., 2009). Patriarchal values that are characteristic of South African society imply that girls would be defenceless to the ‘dominion’ of boys and men (Albertyn, 2009; Gqola, 2007; Msibi, 2009). At the same time, boys would live up to the expectation of being macho exerting power over the girls. Kiguwa (2004) is thus led to believe, for example, that practices like virginity
testing of adolescent girls (see section 2.4.1.2) puts “emphasis on women’s gender roles, [and that] men are effectively absolved from any sexual responsibility, not just with regard to curbing the spread of HIV and AIDS but also in widespread deviant sexual behaviour such as rape” (p. 300). As research shows a high HIV prevalence among 15 to 24-year-olds and a higher HIV prevalence of 11.4% in women or girls than 2.9% in men or boys in South Africa (Shisana et al., 2014), what that means for HIV prevention is concerning. These tendencies expose adolescents to contracting the virus, maintaining its prevalence in the adult years, which perpetuate a vicious cycle of an infected population.

Adolescents are also considered to be vulnerable to HIV infection because of the characteristic high-risk sexual behaviour they often display (Cloete, 2012; Clüver, Elkonin & Young, 2013; Petersen, Bhana & McKay, 2005; Visser, 2007). The risk is seen in the occurrence of sexual violence at school, the stable high levels of teenage pregnancies and although coming down a bit, high HIV infection rates amongst young people (Chabaya, Rembe, Wadesango & Mafanya, 2009; HSRC, 2018; Myers, 2014; Shisana et al., 2014). South African studies highlight that adolescents or young people indulge in unsafe sex, display risky sexual behaviour, debut their sexual activity early, and usually have concurrent partners (Wood & Jewkes, 2006). This state of affairs is exacerbated by the fact that adolescents do not always have the necessary communication and life skills for sexual relationships (UNESCO, 2009c) where they can negotiate condom use and take informed actions. Also, since they are at a developmental stage where their hormones are unstable, they might see themselves as immune (and invincible) to infection (Dilger, 2003; MacPhail, Pettifor & Rees, 2007). These authors thus suggest that sexuality education, which includes HIV and AIDS, should focus on the lives, identities and relationships of adolescents and not HIV and AIDS per se. By implication, the adolescents already know about the ‘biology’ of the virus, they need to be equipped in the socio-cultural aspects of dealing with it. To that effect, Helman (2007) maintains that any attempt to control the spread of HIV must take into account the complex social, cultural and economic environments in which young people find themselves and in which the epidemic exists.

The manner in which adolescent learners construct their sexuality is influenced by family, peer, organisational (like school), community and cultural contexts (see
MacPhail et al., 2007). Notwithstanding all these, considerable research indicates that adolescents are willing to engage with their teachers on sexuality matters (McLaughlin et al., 2012; Shilumani, 2010; Zisser & Francis, 2006). This has to be used to the advantage of the teachers in influencing these learners where sexuality education is concerned. Education is seen as an important protective factor (Mannah, 2002), leading to a later age of sexual debut and higher risk perception among adolescents, contributing to the prevention of HIV infection (Anderson, Beutel & Maughan-Brown, 2007). When adolescent learners have been equipped with life-skills, useful in the context in which they find themselves, it is assumed they might be able to take less risk and lower their susceptibility to infection with HIV.

The current debate in sexuality education centres on adolescents as active agents whose perspectives need to be taken into account (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2006; Dilger, 2003; Francis, 2010, 2011; Khoza, 2004; McLaughlin et al., 2012; Thaver & Leao, 2012). In the same vein, Hunting (2012) sees adolescents as knowers and knowledge producers, which is telling of how they need to be engaged regarding their sexuality and sexuality education. In their everyday lives, adolescents deal with relationships, enjoy them and sometimes confront problems and conflicts, but engage with sexuality issues based on their particular personal opinions or life experiences. To this end, Corngold (2012) proposes that efficient sexuality education promotes independence, which will lead to the learners’ critical and psycho-social development. It could be the kind of sexuality education they are interested in and one that they will engage with the teacher in a manner that is more meaningful than currently is the case. Currently, sexuality education bores adolescents leading to them not internalising what it teaches (Moult, 2013). In the teaching and learning situation of sexuality education, it becomes necessary then to take into consideration the adolescents’ own worldviews and draw on them. If not, the adolescents’ ability to learn and practise safer sex would be hampered (MacPhail et al., 2007). In this regard, it is important to heed what Petersen et al. (2005) highlight, that the adolescent stage is “a critical period for establishing normative sexual behaviour” (p. 1233). Intervention is thus necessary for this period of life. There is also further debate that talking about sexuality matters to adolescents sensitises them into thinking about it and maybe acting on these, which they might not have done if the topic was not discussed (Hayter, Piercy, Massey & Gregory, 2008; Moult, 2013). Robinson and Davies (2008) observe that this is a justification for
keeping sexuality as an ‘adult only’ area and one in which childhood innocence ought to be preserved. That is a concerning fact as adolescents are either contemplating or are experimenting with the sexual.

Brand (2013) brings another dimension into the discussion, that of the law in regulating the sexuality of adolescents. Brand argues that the South African Sexual Offences Act of 2007 hampers the chances for girls to develop sexual independence. There is no distinction made between unfavourable and welcomed sexual activity. She further notes that the Act illegalises consensual sexual activity in the twelve to sixteen age group. As sexuality is part of an adolescent’s healthy development (Beyers, 2013a), legislation such as that could be regarded as irrelevant (Brand, 2013). It is perhaps appraisals such as the afore-mentioned that have seen the Act being revoked (NISAA, 2015). As such, two children whose age difference is not more than two years whom both agree to engage in consensual sex cannot be prosecuted (Eyewitness News, 2013). Nevertheless, Sections 15 and 16 of the Act ensure that children are protected from adults who engage in sex with children in early and middle adolescence. It seems that the law has dealt with the pertinent issues of adolescent sexuality in a proactive way in that it could pre-empt that adolescents would shy away from asking for help regarding their sexuality if such legislation were endorsed.

Having looked at the adolescent, adolescent sexuality and sexuality education within the context of HIV and AIDS, it becomes necessary to look at sexuality, as it is core in the study of sexuality education.
2.3 Sexuality

Sexuality is “a fundamental aspect of human life: it has physical, psychological, spiritual, social, economic, political and cultural dimensions” (UNESCO, 2009c, p. 2). It should thus be seen as a central part of who people are, a natural and healthy part of living (Beyers, 2013a; Goldman, 2008; Khoza, 2004). However, “sexuality is a complex and integral aspect of life” (Helmich, 2009, p. 15). Earlier writers on sexuality like Foucault do not describe sexuality as a fixed and natural ‘thing’ though but as a set of effects generated in bodies, behaviours, and social relations by an intricate political ‘system’ (Halperin, 1989). According to Danaher, Schirato and Webb (2000), Foucault views these effects as involving an individual’s personal desires, fantasies and pleasures. Sexuality is overemphasised in that it is seen as the very core of being, at the same time it is also misjudged as a merely private matter (Padgug, 1979). It is thus tricky to define sexuality since one might erroneously overlook this ambiguity.

There has always been a fascination with sexuality in the developed world. Sara Baartman is a Khoi-khoi maiden who was taken from South Africa to Europe by her domestic employer at the beginning of the 19th century (Arnfred, 2004; South African History Online, n.d.). Instead of her domestic work, she was exhibited for money in entertainment shows because of her unusually large buttocks and skin complexion. Kelly (2013) states that the Victorian period tried to banish all overt signs of sex. At the same time, women were being punished for ‘impurity’ whilst men were celebrated for being full of sexual desires (Caplan, 1987). There is a view of the nineteenth and twentieth-century sexuality as moving from repression to sexual permissiveness (Caplan, 1987). In this period, sexuality had moved away from being regulated by the Church, and centred on reproduction, to becoming more secularised (Bozon, 2001; Davidson, 1987; Weeks, 2003). According to Kelly (2013), the twentieth century marked the beginnings of a sexuality liberation. This liberation has not yet been fully realised as the effect of the Church is still reminiscent in many societies. In these societies, sometimes concurrently, the influence of culture prohibits ‘free’ expression of sexuality.
Weeks (2003) acknowledges a freer approach towards sexuality in the developing world compared to the developed world. With reference to African sexuality, generalisations are often made because some sexual practices and ideology seem to be common among Africans although there is also tangible diversity (Helle-Valle, 2004). However, “… African communities recognised the power and centrality of sexuality in human experience …” (Delius & Glaser, 2002, p. 31). Weeks can be cited as one of the present day pioneers of theorising sexuality as he acknowledges sexuality as occurring beyond an individual’s inner drive but is also defined within culture (Weeks, 2003). Hence, sexuality was regulated in rites of passage schools that guided sexuality at critical stages of human development (Nyembezi, Funani, Sifunda, Ruiter, Van den Borne & Reddy, 2011). This has however changed as Africans became exposed to other cultures (see section 2.4.1.1). In South Africa, colonialism, Christianity and urbanisation have influenced black African people’s beliefs about sexuality, contributing to the loss of openness with which it was handled (Caldwell et al., 1989; Delius & Glaser, 2002; 2004; Dickinson, 2014; Mudhovozi, Ramarumo & Sodi, 2012). As a result, one will find that in African society today it is generally forbidden (and has thus become ‘culture’) for adults to speak openly about sexuality matters with children (Vincent, 2008; Wood, 2009b; 2009c). It is difficult to really trace early sexuality as it was experienced in the developing world perhaps due to illiteracy or what Dlamini (2006) attributes to lack of proper documentation.

In providing an exposition of sexuality, I discuss the interlocking aspects of sexuality development; the notion of childhood innocence and the expression of sexuality; gender, power and sexuality; and sexual orientation.

### 2.3.1 Sexuality development

The earlier statement by WHO (2006) (in section 1.8.1) that sexuality is an aspect throughout human life implies that sexuality development is not once off, it is ongoing and changes throughout the lifespan. There seem to be two key discourses when looking at sexuality development, one discourse saying that it develops through different phases, the other that sexuality is a social construction. Firstly, the discussion attends to sexuality development through phases or stages. Freudian writings trace sexual development and functioning from its manifestations in the adult back to its
initial beginnings soon after birth, not at puberty as it is generally believed (Freud, 1949/1963; 1986/2005; Person, 2005). Freud maintained that an innate drive, the libido, at each psychosexual stage steered sexual development. The first stage is the oral phase, from birth to one year, in which the child’s libidinal impulses are gratified through the mouth. The anal phase, from one to three years, is when the satisfaction of the libido is achieved in the toddler’s excretory function. Freud also ascribes a toddler’s aggression to the sexual drive. The third stage is the phallic phase, three to six years when the genitals are the focus, and the child seeks to understand sexual processes. It is at this stage that the Oedipus and Electra complexes are experienced.

Through these complexes, Freud argued that a child’s love for a parent of the opposite sex resembles the adult’s love for his or her sexual partner. The Oedipus complex is the boy’s erotic desire for sexual involvement with the mother, competing with the father for her attention. It eventually subsides as the child begins to fear the father experiencing what Freud called castration anxiety (Freud, 1949/1963). The Electra complex is a girl’s sense of competition with her mother for the affections of her father, which Freud maintained was more as a result of what he called penis envy (Cherry, n.d.). The sexuality development of early childhood reaches its peak as well as an eventual decline in this phallic stage. Next is the latent stage experienced in middle childhood, from six years to puberty, which is a period of calm with regard to libidinal or sexual development. The fifth stage is the genital phase and is reached at puberty and lasts throughout the rest of a person’s life as he or she finds sexual interest in others. It is characterised by the retention of the individual’s earlier sexual expressions, other libidinal impulses are included in sexual function, as fore-pleasure, and others are excluded and suppressed or are functional in the mind between the conscious and the unconscious (Cherry, n.d.; Freud, 1949/1963).

The psychosexual stage development theory has been discussed in this chapter to consider what is known about how sexuality develops and is by no means the ultimate. Freud has been drawn on here amidst a number of controversies and criticisms that can be levelled against his work and research. Firstly, Freud put forward his theory at a time in the nineteenth century when scientific studies on sex were focusing on masturbation, homosexuality and the queer (Person, 2005). That questions the credibility of his work when related to ‘normative’ sexuality. Also, Freud embraced
mainstream patriarchal attitudes toward manhood thereby endorsing sexism (Crane, 2009). He had an ingrained prejudice against women, which is termed “misogyny” (Crane, 2009, p. 514; Person, 2005, p. 1277) which may have influenced his writings. He was also not reliable in that he overlooked the authenticity of the molestation stories of his female patients leading to him to abandon previous patient observation research methods and adopting patriarchal theories of overruling the voices of others (Crane, 2009). An illustration of this is his Oedipus Complex theory, in which he analysed his own dreams, and then proposing that his analysis holds universal truth (Crane, 2009).

Cherry (n. d) also levels a number of criticisms against Freud’s stage model of psychosexual development. Cherry (n.d.) and Person (2005) note that the model is based on case studies of adult recollections and not actual observations of children. Cherry (n.d.) also concurs with Crane (2009) claiming that it is based on male development with little mention of the females’ psychosexual development. The theory is difficult to test scientifically, for instance, the libido, which he centres it on, is hard to measure or draw exact causal links to its effect on behaviour (Cherry, n.d.). The length of time between an experience and its effect was too long to prove that it was indeed a childhood psychosexual experience that leads to adult behaviour (Cherry, n.d.). Lastly, sexuality is not simply a matter of biological or psychological ‘drives’, it is as much a product of culture as it is of nature (Weeks, 2003), and this model does not accommodate that. Considering what has been discussed, the Freudian perspective on sexuality cannot be relevant to the South African context of Xhosa people from the Eastern Cape as it was created in a different socio-historic time and context.

Perhaps more relevant to Xhosa people from township areas is the Island Sexual Health’s (n.d.) classification of sexuality development through stages from zero to sixty-five years and onwards. In making such a claim, I acknowledge that Xhosas are deeply rooted in their sociocultural prescripts. At the early childhood stage, zero to three years, the child learns about love and trust through touching and holding; gender identity develops where the child knows ‘I am a boy’ or ‘I am a girl’, explores own body and parents’ bodies, and so on. The stage is followed by late childhood sexuality, four to eight years, in which a child begins sex role learning, possibly masturbates and becomes modest about his or her own body. Next is early adolescent sexuality, nine
to eleven years, when puberty begins, the adolescent possibly masturbates, gets close to same-sex friends and possibly explores the body with others.

Adolescent sexuality, twelve to eighteen years, is next when one experiences pubertal changes, the beginning of menstruation and sperm production, pleasure in kissing and touching, greater awareness of being sexually attracted to others, possibility of sexual activity and pregnancy or impregnating and a strong need for independence. The stage that follows is young adult sexuality, nineteen to thirty years, in which sexual activity and mate selection are possible, decision-making about careers and family life, possibility of pregnancy, childbirth and sex safety, and that of ending a relationship. Adult sexuality covers three age groups; thirty-one to forty-five years, forty-six years to sixty-four years, and sixty-five years onward. The thirty-one to forty-five years stage is characterised by the possibility of a mate selection and maintaining of relationships, possibility of pregnancy and childbirth, which are accompanied by possible parenting responsibilities, possibility of grandparenting and ending a relationship. The forty-six years to sixty-four years stage is when menopause sets in, it is possible to grandparent and select a mate or possibly lose a partner through divorce and death. Lastly, the sixty-five years and onwards stage is one in which the body responds more slowly sexually, needs physical affection, possibly grand-parenting, possibility of other health issues affecting sexual activity and possible death of a partner or spouse (Island Sexual Health, n.d.).

Considering these classifications, it can be argued that not all the characteristics described at each stage definitely feature at the described stage; they can be experienced at an earlier or later stage than is stated. The discussed discourses leave a dissonance as to whether sexuality is an innate quality that manifests through developmental phases or is learnt as humans interact with their social and cultural environments. Does sexuality lie dormant from within and manifest at birth? Is it when a child begins to form meaningful relationships in his or her environment? Does sexuality develop when a sense of self kicks in at puberty? It would seem as though the developmental and social construction discourses work side by side in an individual’s life. Hogben and Byrne (1998) came to the same conclusion that a mixed model of the developmental phases with social elements makes more sense. In
teaching sexuality education, Xhosa teachers could, as they understand them, take into consideration the stages.

The other discourse views sexuality as a social construction and is captured by Weeks (2003) who argues that

> what we define as ‘sexuality’ is an historical construction, which brings together a host of different biological and mental possibilities, and cultural forms, gender identity, bodily differences, reproductive capacities, needs, desires, fantasies, erotic practices, institutions and values, which need not be linked together, and in other cultures have not been. All the constituent elements of sexuality have their source in either the body or the mind... But the capacities of the body and the psyche are given meaning only in social relations (p. 7).

Based on Weeks’ synopsis that sexuality is given meaning only in social relations, the discussion of this discourse drawing on various authors follows. From literature they reviewed, Hogben and Byrne (1998) concluded that one could not separate the development of sexuality from gender role development because certain behaviours are linked to identifying with one gender. These behaviours can change over time as the surrounding environment changes. The same viewpoint can be expressed from a slightly different angle, and that is that sexuality is constructed within social settings. Steyn and Van Zyl (2009) argue that it is shaped within social understandings of selfhood, how we make sense of our relations to others, and on how we fit into our cultural institutions, the laws, religious institutions, schools, social venues and above all, families (p. 4).

From this perspective, Steyn and Van Zyl (2009) observe that socio-cultural institutions (family, religious institutions, initiation schools, and so on) ‘persuade’ individuals into conforming, resisting or transforming, enabling or constraining sexuality influences. Within this same discourse, Fox and Alldred (2013) posit that sexual development is the progression of the accumulated sexuality constructions, which develop when one is a child, pubescent and an adolescent. These constructions are informed by the cultural, psychological and biological dimensions that produce features of masculinity and femininity. Of note for this study is the “[c]ulture-wide
sexuality-assemblages [that] establish the limits of what individual bodies can do, feel and desire, and shape the eroticism, sexual codes, customs and conduct of a society's members, as well as the categories of sexuality such as 'hetero', 'homo' …” (Fox & Alldred, 2013, p. 11). This socially constructed view of sexuality appears to be in symphony with the indigenous context of the Xhosas in South Africa.

One of the criticisms of the socially constructed view of sexuality development is that “a mixed biosocial model, with biological processes as the underlying element and social learning as relatively minor secondary elements, has more explanatory power and predictive value than a social learning model alone” (Hogben & Byrne, 1998, p. 69). In addition, models that focus on the social environment have been tainted in the pursuit of wanting to be politically relevant regarding sexuality and associated features (Fox & Alldred, 2013).

2.3.2 The notion of childhood innocence and the expression of sexuality

In many societies, sexuality is considered to be an area that is only for grown-ups and which children need to be protected from (Beyers, 2013a; Mitchell, Walsh & Larkin, 2004; Robinson & Davies, 2008). In this way children are seen as innocent, meaning that they are considered not to be sexually conscious or 'tuned'; they are not aware of sexuality matters and are naturally ignorant of such. Cloete (2012) and Hust, Brown and Ladin L’Engle (2008) question childhood innocence and pronounce that if there was any, it is lost through what children do and what they get exposed to in various ecologies. To support that claim further, Bhana and Epstein (2007) also contend that the young ones are not pristine or ignorant with regard to sexuality matters. South African children merely “… deploy discourses of innocence in peer groups and project adult concerns” (Bhana, 2007, p. 322), otherwise, most are quite aware of sexuality matters and pretend to be innocent in front of adults, living out expected societal norms. An example that childhood innocence is an unrealistic perception of adults is apparent in children’s sexual exploration and experimentation play (see section 2.4.3). Delius and Glaser (2002) and Wood (2013), referring to their work in townships, point out that African children often witness sexual acts due to the lack of privacy in overcrowded homes and yards. This is also true in other cultures as children observe fondling and sexual behaviour by adults in their living environments.
The notion of childhood innocence has to be challenged if society wants to guarantee the welfare of its children, enabling a comfortable and safe expression of their sexuality. Not understanding their sexuality from a young age leaves them vulnerable to abuse when they are considered naïve and innocent, and the subject of sexuality is left untouched. Mitchell et al. (2004) suggest that in HIV and AIDS education, for instance, constructions of childhood innocence should be replaced with constructions of children and adolescents as knowers. No longer should children be treated as ‘objects’ who lack knowledge and whose voices do not matter. This is seen as critical also in the context of gender and power inequalities.

2.3.3 Gender, power and sexuality

Mahler and Pessar (2001) posit that sexuality amongst other things is organised according to gender principles, power and privilege. Indeed, sexuality is set in a highly gendered world, and in spite of progressive laws for the equality of women, gender differences still give more power to men, globally, which they also use in relation to women (Weeks, 2003). Sexuality cannot be understood without looking into gender (UNESCO, 2009c), which refers to femininity and masculinity (Person, 2005), as well as transgender (De Lange, 2018). It would seem that the feminine and transgender is positioned as repressed with regard to power and privilege compared to the masculine gender in terms of sexuality.

Crawford (2006) also acknowledges “contemporary notions of natural male access to privilege, power and sex” (p. 418). Authority in the home, community and the state tend to be an exclusively male domain (Becker, 2007). Naturally, then, men will have more authority even in sexuality matters. In fact, Weeks (2003) further observes that “the patterns of female sexuality are inescapably a product of the historically rooted power of men to define and categorise what is necessary and desirable” (p. 36). For example, Attwood (2007) and Shefer and Foster (2009) maintain that since time immemorial women have been seen and controlled in terms of their sexual relations to men. Women are portrayed in sexualised ways, as Hatton and Trautner (2013) point out in their study of sexuality in the media. Male power and privilege are also displayed in cultures which practice polygamy (see also section 2.4.1.2), as well as in
homosexual relationships when the masculine partner does not meet as much opposition from society as does the feminine partner (see also section 2.3.4).

Male power and privilege are also demonstrated in adolescents in both the developed and developing world. Tolman et al. (2015) in a study in the USA note in their gender analysis of adolescent relationships that masculinity means exerting power over others and that femininity means being responsive to male advances and being caring. This analysis of adolescent heterosexual relationships shows “a persistent gender hierarchy [that] seems intransigent in the lives of all boys and girls despite periodic public sentiment and research recognising girls as sexual beings or boys as relational” (Tolman et al., 2015, p. 2). In a South African study too, “[d]ominant gender norms underlie the ways in which girls discussed these sexual relationships in relation to their lack of power and condom use” (Bhana & Anderson, 2013, p. 25). These gender dynamics impede girls from freely expressing themselves in sexual relationships.

In South African black African communities, male power and privilege date back to before colonialism and the advent of industrialisation (Delius & Glaser, 2002). In black African society, “… the stress on male power and authority over women, which had long been part of the processes of socialisation in the countryside, took on new and violent dimensions in a world turned upside down by conquest, colonisation, migrancy and industrialisation” (Delius & Glaser, 2002, p. 39).

Wood (2013) also observes that South Africa has been marked by a history of inequality - also between men and women - with patriarchy, poverty, myths about what women want from relationships, male power and privilege - as contributing to gender inequality in sexuality. One of the effects of this inequality between men and women, Harrison (2008) and Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga and Bradshaw (2002) contend, is that women are exposed to HIV infection (see also section 2.2.1). Another effect is that the subservient role of women - due to the legacy of patriarchy - still lingers in societies world over, also in South Africa (Albertyn, 2009; Crane, 2009; Crawford, 2006; Mahadev, 2014; Tolman et al., 2015). Albertyn (2009) notes that in South Africa there is a continued privilege for men and a restricted view of culture that is protected and hardly disputed. She maintains that this persistence has “enabled the (re-)emergence of patriarchal views of women, defined in terms of their reproductive and sexual roles,
and as objects to enhance the status of men, rather than human beings with equality and dignity” (p. 167). Similar observations are made by Shefer (2010) who notes amongst other factors that deep patriarchy in South Africa points to power inequality and the formation of cultural taboos on sexual intimacy. She claims that there is still a continued influence of gender on sexuality even in post-apartheid South Africa where men are still privileged. An example of this scenario is the blame usually placed on poor black women for the prevalence of HIV and AIDS (see also Hunting, 2012). Mulaudzi’s (2007) study on cultural beliefs of VhaVenda on the causes and transmission of sexually transmitted infections, with women being accused of the incidence of sexually transmitted infections including HIV, is another example. These examples depict women as victims of gender-based violence, and through the blame and accusations their integrity is violated, and they are discriminated against.

It is necessary to consider gender-based violence when discussing gender, power and sexuality with the related inequality between men and women (Reproductive Health Response in Crises Consortium, 2010). The Consortium views gender-based violence as any harmful act perpetrated against an individual’s will constituting a breach of the fundamental right to life, liberty, security, dignity, equality between men and women, non-discrimination and physical and mental integrity. Gender-based violence links to sexuality as Leach (2002) fittingly claims that it is usually associated with sex and is often in line with patriarchal tendencies. Hence, it is acknowledged that “the continued and widespread perpetration of intimate partner violence reflects the resilience of masculinist values which take root across all societies” (DeShong, 2015, pp. 85-86). Gqola (2007) claims that given the pervasiveness of violence lived through the ‘ideology of militarism’ (abuse by the most powerful in families or communities), in particular, gender-based violence, finds expression in, among other structures, culture and language in South Africa. The political struggle which the country’s black people were engaged in before 1994, Gqola observes, and the violence which was characteristic of those times has made South Africans lean towards violence in many situations, even gender-based violence. Women, especially, while legislatively empowered, often feel unsafe in their homes or in the streets. Masculinist values of men holding powerful positions in the home and society, in general, lend themselves to acts of violence, which tend to limit women’s actions and police the boundaries of gender and space (Shefer & Foster, 2009). It is gender-based violence to see men
holding these positions that put a guard on women, defining what they do, how they do it, and where they go.

According to Masehela and Pillay (2014), gender-based violence is more prevalent in rural and township areas of South Africa where gender inequalities in the community are more prominent than in other parts of the country. In these contexts, the experience of women is often that of being inferior, dependent and passive whilst men exert control in their relationships with women (Clüver et al., 2013). Shefer, Strebel and Foster (2000) say that “heterosexual sexuality is deeply implicated in the broader inequality between men and women and constitutes a primary site for violence against women” (p.11). The history of the dependence of females on their male counterparts in terms of providing for the family (Shefer et al., 2008) has rendered them vulnerable to the dominance by males, and thus gender-based violence. In an African community, this violence has been enhanced by practices like ilobola (bridewealth) for example, which has the potential of making men think they own women. A breeding ground for gender-based violence is consequently nurtured. Gender-based violence and gender inequalities remain persistent in South Africa (Shefer et al., 2008), and are a matter of concern. Given the risk of gender-based violence and subsequent HIV infection, the importance of sexuality education cannot be underestimated. However, the influence of gender or patriarchy and power relations on women and girls’ lives is not understood, hence, there has not been effective intervention by educational authorities (Adam & De Lange, 2018).

2.3.4 Sexual orientation

Sexual orientation, according to De Lange (2018), describes whom a human being is attracted to sexually. The different sexual orientations are heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual. Heterosexuality is seen as the only norm or preferred sexual orientation, and this is referred to as heteronormativity (Castree, Kitchin & Rogers, 2013). Heteronormativity illustrates the assumption that normal and natural expressions of sexuality in society are heterosexual in nature, positioning other forms of sexuality as deviant or queer. This categorisation of sexual behaviour as deviant began in the 18th and 19th centuries (Weeks, 2003). That has implications for those not subscribing to
heteronormativity in that they would find it challenging to negotiate their sexual orientation outside ‘traditional’ sexual roles. In effect, heteronormativity has governed the way homosexuality has been handled in society.

Homosexuality is a sexual orientation in which human beings are sexually attracted to partners of the same sex, and it includes lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI). At a functional level, homosexuality defines erogenous activities between people of the same gender (Weeks, 2003). It is not a recent phenomenon as Altman (1982) sees homosexuality rising as a social category already in the 18th and 19th centuries in Western Europe. In fact, Caplan (1987) and Weeks (2003) claim the word homosexual(ity) was invented in the 1860s contrary to the assumption that it is a contemporary matter. Crawford (2006) corroborates Altman and Weeks tracing homosexuality back to early modernity, a period before the 1800s. There is no certainty about the cause or origin of homosexuality, but Rind (2013) offers a consolidating view to claims that are made about this orientation, that homosexual orientation results from an innate, latent potential, which varies from one individual to the next, in interaction with experience and cultural inputs. This potential is argued to be inherited from primate ancestry and to be functional or neutral in character, rather than dysfunctional (p. 1662).

The LGBTI face stigma and discrimination but in spite of this most lead contented adult lives. This is noted by Saewyc (2011) in her study on adolescent sexual orientation in the USA that although many homosexual adolescents are stigmatised, amongst other things, they succeed in life as their heterosexual counterparts. In Africa too, the LGBTI face stigma (Van Zyl, 2011) and emotional blackmail as Kaggwa (2011) accounts of his experience as an intersex person. In South Africa, Mostert, Myburgh and Poggenpoel (2012) identify homophobia in the aggression of Grade 11 learners they worked within South African schools. The learners displayed ambivalent feelings towards homosexual learners in that they sometimes viewed homosexuality as acceptable and at other times not. Traced through history, homophobia as a tendency is essentially unAfrican (Epprecht, 2001; 2002; 2004; Gevisser & Cameron, 1995; Morgan & Wieringa, 2005; Murray & Roscoe, 1998).
Attempts have been made to dissuade individuals from their homosexual ways through ‘corrective rape’ or ‘curative rape’ in South Africa (Msibi, 2009). This kind of rape, although common to both males and females, according to Brown (2012), is largely due to “straight men wanting to ‘correct’ or ‘cure’ lesbian women of their ‘unnatural’ sexual orientation” (pp. 45-46). This once again brings to the fore gender inequality in South Africa in that these attacks are aimed more at women with men using their power. Homosexuality has also been associated with HIV risk and Peltzer (2014) in his study indicates that having had a homosexual experience somehow raises your chance of getting infected. Nonetheless, most developed countries have decriminalised homosexuality with the media depicting it in a more positive light (Anderson, 2013), and South Africa has followed suit (Van Zyl, 2011). To date, 79 countries in the world have criminalised homosexuality of which 34 countries are in Africa (“Erasing 76 Crimes”, 2015), further depicting the strong stance of Africa against it.

2.4 Sexuality and culture

As I have pointed out in Chapter one, culture also influences how sexuality is viewed, expressed and discussed. UNESCO (2009c) accordingly notes the following:

The rules that govern sexual behaviour differ widely across and within cultures. Certain behaviours are seen as acceptable and desirable while others are considered unacceptable. This does not mean that these behaviours do not occur, or that they should be excluded from discussion within the context of sexuality education (p. 2).

In studying African contexts, A-Magid (2011), Chiilisa (2012) and Tamale (2008) encourage a stance that truly recognises people’s culture and indigenous knowledge. I am aware and acknowledge that as an institution, culture is one that is difficult to challenge (DePalma & Francis, 2014). It, however, is not inflexible (bounded) nor should be looked at as what was and what should forever be (timeless) (Becker, 2007; DePalma & Francis, 2014; Mugambe, 2006; Saethre & Stadler, 2009). Worth noting is that in “appropriating culture as an authoritative discourse of what was, is and shall
ever be prohibited dialogic engagement of school with community culture” (DePalma & Francis, 2014, p. 558). Yet, a productive or reflective nostalgia that looks back at culture and embraces those elements that are ‘liberatory’ (Moletsane, 2011) is helpful. A limited and rigid view of culture stifles any possibility for change, hinders dialogue and reinforces patriarchy (Albertyn, 2009). It is with this in mind that I reflect on my Xhosa culture in relation to sexuality.

2.4.1 Sexuality in Xhosa culture

2.4.1.1 How sexuality is viewed

As culture exerts a profound influence on the behaviour of individuals, Saethre and Stadler (2009) observe that African cultures, in this instance Xhosa culture, could play both a positive and negative role in the context of the HIV and AIDS pandemic, when there is a clear understanding of how sexuality is viewed. It seems that sexuality in Xhosa culture is viewed as a private and taboo affair as I shall unpack in the upcoming paragraphs.

The missionaries who brought Christianity to South Africa and the subsequent urbanisation that followed, impacted upon the structures that governed sexuality in Xhosa communities (Delius & Glaser, 2002). It is often heard that it is ‘unAfrican’ that older people talk about sexuality matters to children (Vincent, 2008; Wood, 2009b), yet that had not been the case, as sexuality talk in African culture, occurred as necessary. Post colonisation, sexuality regulation is weakened and as a result, negative consequences of unregulated sexuality surface, with ‘illegitimate’ children being born, gang rapes occurring, and divorce becoming common as promiscuity rose (Delius & Glaser, 2002).

Xhosa culture is patriarchal with patriarchal values remaining strong in both rural and urban areas (Morrell et al., 2009). Male dominant power relations prevail (Wood, 2009b) and women and children play a subservient role (Barr, 2008; Shefer et al., 2008). An example of this is seen in how Xhosa people talk about sexual activity where the male sex organ is referred to in a powerful way (intsimbi - iron) and the female sex organ is positioned as satisfying the male, gentle (ikuku - cake), passive and virginal
(Cain, Schensul & Mlobeli, 2011). Schepers and Zway (2012) also acknowledge the sexuality of boys (males) as powerful and that of girls (females) as passive. That scenario is indicative of gender differences in sexuality. This positioning of women and children relates to how they are seen and invariably see themselves as sexual beings. Delius and Glaser (2004), testify to differences in sexuality when they illustrate through black African history that it had been accepted that men seek extramarital affairs. African marriage (including Xhosa) was (and perhaps still is) seen to “designate homes and responsibility for children rather than to contain all sexual activity” (Delius & Glaser, 2004, p. 110). In this sense, marriage was for building families and not necessarily for sexual intimacy. That is corroborated by Stern and Buikema (2013), who also found that African (including Xhosa) men’s sexuality is viewed as uncontrollable, devoid of intimacy and was superior to that of women. Certainly, this is a situation that needs to be disrupted in order to emancipate the African woman in the sexual sphere.

Looking at Xhosa sexuality, there is no mention or recognition of child sexuality. In the words of Tebele, Nel and Michaelides (2013) “… children were denied any sexuality even though they engaged in platonic games” (p. 323). This means that sexuality is an issue for grown-ups in spite of grown-ups knowing that Xhosa children play undize (hide-and-seek) which involves some sensual touching of private parts, ‘playing’ father and mother in their intimate roles, and so on. Xhosa children play undize where they explore their bodies and may have thigh or penetrative sex (Tebele et al., 2013). This form of play can be traced back to pre-colonial times in South African black African communities (Delius & Glaser, 2002), and this underscores the idea that Xhosa children too, were not sexually innocent. As for adolescent sexuality, there are some structures in place in Xhosa society like initiation schools (see section 2.4.1.2), however, Xhosa adolescents in this contemporary age are also influenced by many factors like ‘youth culture’ (see section 2.4). Adult sexuality is regulated within families, and as it has been mentioned before, it displays features such as silence and embarrassment towards sexuality matters, patriarchy or gender inequality (Barr, 2008; Jewkes & Morrell, 2012; Mehlomakhulu, 2008; Vincent, 2008; Wood, 2009b).

To conclude, it cannot be left out how black Africans view homosexuality. Homosexuality is ‘othered’ not only in religion as it is commonly understood but
important for this study, in African cultures as well. Religion has asserted its voice against homosexuality, positioning it as contrary to the way God meant things to be, with man and woman in their stereotypical sexual roles (Anderson, 2013; Barnecka, Karp & Lollike, 2005; Stephens, 2011). It, however, is not the only religion that has rallied against homosexuality. In African society today, there is little tolerance for homosexuality, deeming the orientation as ‘unAfrican’ (Brown, 2012; Finn & Ashley, 2014; Van Zyl, 2011). This status quo is contrary to what writers like Harris (2010) claim, that homosexuality was tolerated in pre-colonial Africa. It has become standard that to be African is for a man to be macho and powerful having unquestionable dominion over women, both positional and sexually. This is demonstrated in patriarchy, which is ‘lived’ in the established decision-making structures that are existent in African communities. For example, it is men who oversee the process of initiation for young men, and it is also men who mediate in the marriage negotiations including determining dowry payment for girls.

Anderson (2013) notes high levels of hostility towards homosexuality in Africa and the global South. Social media in South Africa has also highlighted this hostility towards homosexuality. Dlamini (2006) paints a picture of how homosexuality is perceived in black African communities in South Africa; “…as a form of adultery, a revolt against the divinely established order, and a source of darkness and disruption” (p. 131). In spite of this he points out that homosexuality has been a feature in African settings for a long time, so does Potgieter (2005) claim, contrary to the view that it has been adopted from Western cultures. He argues that it is the lack of drawing on well-informed sources about African societies before colonisation in South Africa that has led to its misrepresentation.

2.4.1.2 Cultural practices and sexuality

Each culture also has its own range of practices, some related to sexuality (Nyembezi et al., 2011), with some taken up in rites of passage schools. Much has been written about sub-Saharan African cultural values, customs and practices that seem to underlie the spread of risky sexual behaviour and HIV in communities (see, for example, Barr, 2008; Mbananga, 2004; Mugambe, 2006; Palitza, 2006; Saethre & Stadler, 2009; Ssali, 2006). These range from female submissiveness (Buckley &
Carter, 2005), entrenched convictions of male dominance (Barr, 2008; Mehlomakhulu, 2008; Wood, 2009b), high levels of sexual violence (Mahadev, 2014; Pitpitan, Kalichman, Eaton, Sikkema, Watt & Skinner, 2012), to social acceptance of the ‘sugar daddy’ phenomenon (Barr, 2008; Hunting, 2012; Kadar, 2014; Potgieter et al., 2012). Such values and practices have often been identified as unique features of the African setting (including Xhosa culture), which influence the high rates of HIV infection (Leclerc-Madlala, 2002). This is further supported by Mehlomakhulu’s (2008) study, which confirms that Xhosa men view themselves as entitled and privileged when dealing with women. They attributed their behaviour to cultural norms that justify their whole outlook and sexual behaviour.

There are cultural practices in Xhosa culture whose original intents are mostly to assist in the facilitation of sexuality development through the different stages that categorise human development. From adolescence, Xhosa girls and boys are taught about sexuality matters from the perspective of Xhosa culture in various ‘institutions’ or structures.

_Ukuhlolwa_

Female adolescents go through rites of passage, not that common today, which include initiation and virginity testing for young women. Both these are (were) ways of regulating the sexuality of Xhosa young females. Ukuhlolwa (virginity testing), for girls in the adolescent years, is meant for them to pride themselves in their Xhosa identity and to keep themselves pure and virginal (Swaartbooi-Xabadiya & Nduna, 2014). Ukuhlolwa and ascertaining that a girl was indeed a virgin secured a higher bridal price at marriage, which would bring status to the girl’s family. This practice of virginity testing is still performed by Xhosas in some rural parts of the Eastern Cape. In the olden days, the custom of ukuhlolwa was performed as a private act by an elderly woman (an aunt, grandmother or even a mother sometimes) who ‘inspected’ them to establish whether their hymen was intact and whether they still were virgins (Moletsane, 2011). Penalties were imposed upon a male who was seen to have had sexual intercourse with a girl, for example, the peers of the penetrated girl would chant songs at the home of the boy demanding that damages, such as a cow, be paid to the family of the girl. When a girl had been found to have a broken hymen, she would be
stripped of her clothing and be taken by an entourage of peers and married women to the male perpetrator's home. Provocative and ‘vulgar’ songs would be chanted at this destination demanding that a cow be paid for the transgression (B.G. Sofuthe, personal communication, April 11, 2015). This practice seems to position the girl as damaged ‘goods’ whose bodily harm could be absolved with the family being compensated with some livestock.

Kiguwa (2004) and Swaartbooi-Xabadiya and Nduna (2014) posit that there are conflicting views about the relevance and impact of this form of initiation in contemporary South Africa. The debates centre on whether this act violates the girls’ human rights or whether it actually prevents girls from engaging in sex and curbs HIV infection. Another danger of virginity testing is about its potential contribution to those girls declared virgins being targeted for sex by men in order to rid themselves of HIV (De Lange & Mitchell, 2015). It is known that some men in Africa believe that having sex with a virgin cures HIV, and this has caused many young girls (including babies) to fall victim to rape (Anonymous, 2002; Graham, 2008; Meel, 2003; Petersen et al., 2005; Wadesango, Rembe & Chabaya, 2011). Although this myth still lingers in South Africa, Izugbara (2011) traces it back to Europe in the 16th century where it was believed that having sex with younger prostitutes and virgins would cure STIs. Europe has evolved past that and it is time for Africa to drop 'diabolical' tendencies in light of the well-being of society. All the same, the custom of ukuhlolwa proceeds to another rite of passage known as ukuthomba in Xhosa culture.

**Ukuthomba**

Ukuthomba (female equivalent for male initiation) is another cultural practice related to sexuality as girls enter womanhood. The girl would be secluded and taught about her body and its changes, household duties, childbearing, and all things that pertain to her as a woman and future wife. Those girls who are courted would be pampered and given beauty treatments and tips (Jolobe, 1958). Through ukuthomba, the intonjane (young female initiate) is taught female sexuality so as to prepare her for marriage and motherhood (Bovana, 2010). The intonjane follows almost the same protocol as the umkhwetha (male circumcision initiate). She is made to conceal her face when going into the house that has been set aside for her. In it, she also eats
specially prepared food. At the end of her ‘confinement’ period, a ceremony of umgidi (some form of a ‘party’ celebrating the accomplishment of ukuthomba) is thrown on her behalf, the veil that covered her sleeping quarters is burnt, and admonishing speeches on sexuality are made. As it stands now, what used to be taught during this rite is no longer done; sexuality is left out (Xhosa people, 2013). It is merely seclusion, for one or two weeks, in one of the rural family houses where the initiate observes food restrictions. This ‘seclusion’ as it stands today is undertaken by a young woman’s family in order to correct things that might not be going well in the young lady’s life or to prevent any misfortune befalling her in her intended or current marriage.

_Ukuthwala_

Jacobs (2013), Reddy (2004) and Rice (2014) attest to ukuthwala (abduction for marriage), which is another practice used to promote customary marriages and increase the father’s wealth by abducting girls as young as thirteen, and ‘forcing’ them to marry husbands who are much older and who they do not even know in some cases. In time past, negotiations would ensue between the girl’s father and the would-be husband, and when the girl goes on an errand, she would be snatched. Mwambene and Sloth-Nielsen (2011) expand on this restricted view of ukuthwala and identify three forms of ukuthwala: one, when a girl is aware of the abduction (collusion), two, when the girl is unaware, and families agree on the union (suitability), and three, when the girl is forced against her will and without her parents’ consent (violation). In his novel _Elundini loThukela_, Jolobe (1958) reveals the forceful form of ukuthwala where there were beatings to persuade the girl to comply. Social media has made public the existence of this practice in Xhosa society, especially where there has been child abuse (Gasa, 2014; Narsee, 2015). The South African law does not recognise the marriage and prosecutes any man who does ukuthwala, especially where the girl is underage, even if a parent had consented to it (Farmitracker, 2014). An example of such law enforcement from the courts is the case of an Xhosa male, Mvumeleni Jezile, who, in 2014, was convicted for abduction, trafficking and raping a 14-year-old and sentenced to 22 years imprisonment (Farmitracker, 2014).

An alternative to ukuthwala in Xhosa culture existed through another tendency that was common at the turn to the middle of the twentieth century. When a boy became
interested in a girl, he did not directly approach her. As a suitor, he would approach a family member like an older sister or peer of an older age group who would act as his mouthpiece to that girl (Delius & Glaser, 2002). A love relationship would then begin between these teenagers whilst closely ‘protected’ or guarded in the community.

**Isihewula**

There was also the practice of isihewula, loosely translated as ‘damage control’ after a girl (some people say an adulterous wife too) had unprotected penetrative intercourse with a male. A reed would be inserted into the vagina to clear the womb of the sperm that may have been deposited during intercourse (B.G. Sofuthe, personal communication, April 11, 2015). This must have been painful as a reed is strong and hard, especially performed to remove an unwelcome ‘situation’. For this practice, I had to rely on oral recollections of Xhosa folks, as I could not find much reference to it in literature. It was a transgression in Xhosa culture for adolescents to have penetrative sex, as they were allowed to ‘do sex’ on the thighs and fondle until they were old enough to be betrothed in marriage (Delius & Glaser, 2002; Mkhwanazi, 2014). The one reference I could locate on isihewula is what Mndende (2007) recalls as its use in dealing with rape cases at the chief’s courts in Xhosa communities.

**Ulwaluko**

Ulwaluko (male initiation that involves circumcision) is a cultural practice of symbolically taking late adolescent boys - through an initiation - to manhood. Ulwaluko is still very much a part of modern-day Xhosa living, both in rural and urban areas. In Xhosa culture, boys in late adolescence and early adulthood are taken to initiation schools in preparation for manhood (Delius & Glaser, 2002; Nyembezi et al., 2011). At the initiation school of ulwaluko, the physical and mental preparation of the abakhwetha (boy initiates) is facilitated. They are circumcised with the foreskin of their penis cut and are directed on how to run a household, upholding the family name, and how to be a man of great stature in the community. This entails providing for the family and guarding the welfare of its members. Medical doctors have become involved in the circumcision practice, decreasing the chances of boys dying from the wounds or HIV infection as has often been reported in the media (Mahlathi, 2014). However,
Ncaca (2014) points to challenges in the initiation school such as substance abuse as boys get introduced to alcohol and dagga, the condoning of derogatory language especially with reference to women, and it has become a financial burden (expensive) on parents to take their boys through initiation (Ncaca, 2014).

*Isithembu*

Isithembu (polygamy) is a cultural practice in some indigenous South African cultures including Xhosa culture, with a man choosing more than one wife (Delius & Glaser, 2004). Isithembu used to be a privilege of kings and chiefs and the wealthy in Xhosa culture. In some cases, it can be explained in terms of a social tendency of ensuring that widows and orphans are secured within an established family structure. The first wife has a more prestigious position in this type of marriage, and her approval is sought by her husband for the addition of other spouses (Vena, 2010). The youngest (last) wife of the chief or king usually gave birth to the heir. If the heir is still a minor at the time of the death of the king or chief, an opportunity for the tribe to democratically elect a ruler in the interim becomes available. Vena’s (2010) writing shows that polygamy in contemporary South Africa has been taken on by men who leave the rural areas and then find employment and another wife in the city. The trend with marriages is that like in other racial groups; they often end in divorce. In South Africa, registered isithembu (polygamy) like in precolonial times is not a common phenomenon (Delius & Glaser, 2004; South African Law Commission, 1999). Moreover, Delius and Glaser (2004) cite general poverty linked with the shift from an agricultural livelihood to the modern and more urbanised lifestyle as acting against pervasive polygamy. This too seems to be changing as media has highlighted that these marriages have become fashion.

At this point, it is necessary to bring in other ‘practices’ related to sexuality that African people (including Xhosas) also engage in. We, Africans, do them in secret and they affect our understanding and the way we conduct relationships (intimate ones). It is crucial that I discuss them, as they are part of the African psyche and more importantly for this study, relate to sexuality. Izugbara (2011) fittingly groups these as expressions of sexuality and the supernatural. One example of such ‘practices’ or beliefs is the acknowledgement that at the bottom of the sea there lives a goddess or beautiful
princess who exchanges money and commodities for sex and sometimes blood (Izugbara, 2011). In Xhosa society it is believed that business owners draw on this ‘practice’, consulting ‘intermediaries’ (for example amagqirha, witch doctors) for access to the goddess. Common also, are tendencies to secure a marriage by consulting igqirha or ixhwele (a herbalist) which discourages the spouse from having extra-marital affairs and growing more deeply in love with the spouse. Xhosas do this by administering ikhubalo, a dangerous magical potion, to the spouse (Niehaus, 2002). It is alleged that various administrations of this potion would affect the lover and ‘keep’ him or her committed to the marriage. Another belief, widely spoken about, is that of thikoloshe, a hairy little supernatural being which visits people at night and has sex with them (Izugbara, 2011). Xhosas would be heard casting this thikoloshe out believing that it had been ‘sent’ by witches from what is believed to be their sexual congresses. With all that said, the next section explains the learning about sexuality in Xhosa culture.

2.4.2 Learning about sexuality in Xhosa culture

Culture provides the context for the primary socialisation of the child, determines appropriate male and female behaviour and values regarding sexuality (Ssali, 2006; UNESCO, 2009c). It also defines what is acceptable or not acceptable in such a specific context, thereby influencing behaviour including sexual behaviour (Moodley, 2014; UNESCO, 2009c). The behaviour of males and females is thus influenced by culture, in the home and in the community. Sexual behaviour is taught first at home where a child in Xhosa culture is exposed to different and gendered socialisation.

Xhosas were socialised into certain behaviours sexually through the different cultural practices. However, what I can highlight is that Xhosas alongside the cultural practices taught their children to observe certain sexual behaviours like limited sexual intercourse between boys and girls (Mahoney & Parle, 2004). They would stroke between the thighs and thrust tightly on one another and not penetrate the sexual organs. Nowadays, Western values seem to have influenced the sexual socialisation of Xhosa people, seeing technology and media dominating the scene in teaching South Africans including indigenous cultures this era’s sexuality norms (Bosch, 2011). There is bombardment from the media and young people particularly, are exposed to
sexualised images, especially those of women (Economou, 2012; Hatton & Trautner, 2013; Wood, 2013). Economou (2012) points to the fact that this situation has the potential of being harmful to adolescents who might reduce sexuality and sexual relationships to the exchange of material goods and the acquisition of status, as depicted in the media. This implies that exposure to media has the potential of condoning transactional relationships in the communities. However, it is believed, although challenged in recent literature, those transactional relationships derive from the practice of lobola, where there is normally an exchange of money or cows from the man for the young woman (Helle-Valle, 1999). This is the commodification of sex in the same way as an exchange of material goods for sex in transactional relationships.

Gender-based violence and abuse resulting from afore-mentioned gender differences in sexuality (refer to section 2.3.3) (Colvin, Human & Peacock, 2009; Mahadev, 2014) also feature in Xhosa communities. The patriarchy and inequality between the genders socialise men and women, boys and girls, into sexuality that is characteristic of these differences. Chabaya et al. (2009) posit that even school related gender-based violence occurs within the context of socio-cultural beliefs regarding male and female sexuality and their roles in Xhosa society. To paint the picture, Kaufman, Kaufman, Weiss, Delany-Morelure and Ross (2013), from their study among Xhosa male secondary school adolescents in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, point out that rape perpetration was prevalent. They found evidence that adolescent girls had been tricked or raped during their first sexual encounter. It would seem as though boys and girls have been socialised into being forceful and passive respectively. This is certainly the case as “… women more frequently found themselves at the receiving end of sexual violence (rape or attempted rape) or unwanted or coercive sexual advances and practices” (Shefer, 2010, p. 385). Varga and Makubalo (1996) learnt that young women discuss sexual violence and abuse matter of factly, indicating how violence and abuse have become normal in South Africa. Even recently, Schepers and Zway (2012) also point to the fact that violence has been normalised and to be expected even in youth relationships. For instance, Chabaya et al. (2009) found from their study that in Xhosa schools and community, boy sexual aggression and girl submissiveness are accepted norms.
2.4.3 Xhosa people performing sexuality in contemporary society

Regarding Xhosa people performing sexuality in South African contemporary society there generally prevails an air of silence between parents and children, rife engagement in sex before marriage and teenage pregnancy, and male and female accepted coercive sex as noted by Delius and Glaser (2002). Performing sexuality as Xhosa people have also been influenced by accessibility to media. Cloete’s (2012) statement supports this when she observes that in South Africa “today children and youngsters live in complex media-saturated environments impacted by television, digital video recorders, computers, the Internet, iPods, printed media, etc.” (p. 3). The way sexuality is portrayed in these media informs what South African people (Xhosas included) live out and perform in their spaces. The media has an impact on the sexuality of adolescents (Hust et al., 2008; UNESCO, 2009c) and the way sexuality is viewed and expressed. Sexualised images are portrayed, child pornography is circulated, child sexual molestation is revealed, and children are exposed to gender and sexual violence. As the world has become a global community, adolescents (including Xhosa youth) are more exposed to sexualised images in music videos, movies, magazines and television which come from even beyond their country’s borders (Escobar-Chaves, Tortolero, Markham, Low, Eitel & Thickstun, 2005) than any other age group. New media technologies (like the Internet and cell phones) have become part of young peoples’ sexual lives (Pascoe, 2011).

Across many cultures worldwide, many adults find it a challenge acknowledging adolescents as sexual beings. The automatic result of this has been to want to control adolescent sexuality (Mudhovozi et al., 2012). In today’s Xhosa society, adolescent sexuality has seen a shift from being deliberately attended to traditionally, to its neglect or flimsy address (Delius & Glaser, 2002; Wood, 2013), while young people look to their peers for such guidance. Schools and community institutions have taken up the task of guiding sexuality matters (refer to section 2.2). This can be ascribed to the diminished role that parents play in educating their children about sexuality matters, and the fact that there is a general culture of silence regarding sexuality matters.

Another feature of Xhosa adolescent sexuality today is teenage pregnancies in townships which Mkhwanazi (2014) claims is “… in part, attempts to adhere to an
African way of doing things that resulted in many girls becoming pregnant” (p. 108). She argues that trying to uphold the ideals of ukuhlonipha (respect, mainly for older people) and Ubuntu has led to the prevalence of these pregnancies in the townships as they hamper children from talking about sexuality matters openly to adults. Moreover, Morrell et al. (2009) further appraise a situation in townships where gender hierarchies associated with possessing numerous girlfriends and excessive expression of masculinity (hyper-heterosexual) exists. For example, in their study Morrell, et al. (2009) observed that secondary school boys openly flirted with girls commenting on the size of the girls’ breasts, skirt length or their need to be admired by sitting with legs open wide. Adolescent sexuality is attended to in schools as part of sex and sexuality education, but it does not seem to be able to serve its purpose as evidenced in adolescents’ high HIV and AIDS prevalence rates, high teenage pregnancies and dropout rates, and high-risk sexual behaviour.

Concerning adult sexuality, I discuss phenomena that are characteristic of Xhosa society. Much as it was accepted that men would have extramarital affairs (Delius & Glaser, 2004), nowadays both men and women string along oomakhwapheni (side-partners) which are hidden from the main partner and from others as well (Mah & Maughan-Brown, 2013; Stern & Buikema, 2013). Budlender, Chobokoane and Simelane (2004) claim in their article, Marriage patterns in South Africa; Methodological and substantive issues, that there were more reported cohabitation trends among Africans and Coloureds compared to Indians and Whites. So, ukuhlalisana (cohabitation) is another feature of contemporary adult sexuality in many African (including Xhosa) communities. Transactional relationships as in ‘sugar daddies’ and ‘sugar mommies’, tend to characterise Xhosa society (Potgieter et al., 2012; Tebele et al., 2013). Wood (2013) learns that “women perceive themselves to be freed and empowered by transactional sex ... these young girls are addressing gender inequality by using sex to make themselves more economically powerful” (p. 55). It is understood that the men benefit in more or less the same way as women in these relationships. In sugar daddy relationships, men gain status and power from the community by being seen with younger, trendy girls, and women experience material gain and improved status by being with men who have resources. Women in sugar mommy relationships gain the power that they would not normally experience whilst the boys gain financial rewards from the pampering they receive.
Social class also influences adult sexuality in Xhosa culture in that women who come from the lower socioeconomic class tend to be dependent upon their men for sexual expression (Shefer et al., 2008). They would subscribe more to the traditional and submissive sexual behaviours. It would seem that the majority of Xhosa women with improved economic standing would be generally more independent and active in their sexual demeanours, fully exploring their sexuality. I sum up that Xhosa people performing sexuality in contemporary society is largely characteristic of media impact and divorce from their authentic culture.

2.5 Sexuality education

This body of knowledge, sexuality education, has a long history but has risen to prominence in South Africa in the wake of the HIV and AIDS epidemic. Globally, sexuality education was called upon in the Cairo agenda to promote the well-being of the adolescent (Haberland & Rogow, 2015). Sexuality education is regarded as “an essential instrument in the armamentarium against HIV and AIDS” (Ngwena, 2003, p. 186). Similarly, UNESCO (2009c) presents a global call for education as prevention in that some young people are living with HIV or are more prone to HIV infection than others. UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, is a body that has as its mission “to contribute to the building of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information” (UNESCO, 2009d, p. 3). Africa and gender equality are two global priorities that UNESCO focuses on and takes the attainment of quality education for all and lifelong learning as some of its overarching objectives.

Two positions within sexuality education, namely abstinence-only and comprehensive sexuality education (Francis & DePalma, 2014), are taken. Sections 2.6.5 and 2.10 of the National policy on HIV/AIDS espouse both positions on sexuality education (Government Gazette, 1999). Abstinence-only sexuality education takes a moralistic stance where the focus is on the prohibition of sexual engagement until marriage. In a way, its sexuality education curriculum is risk-avoiding or risk-eliminating (Kirby,
2008). Abstinence-only sexuality programmes are restrictive, not allowing learners to access information on contraception and sexual health relating to puberty and reproduction (Francis & DePalma, 2014). Abstinence-only sexuality education goes along with heteronormativity in that it excludes those whose sexual lives are seen as out of the norm and queer. This is put more plainly by Fields and Hirschman (2007) who point out that this type of sexuality education “ties legitimacy and belonging to normative sexual and gender expressions and identities” (p. 5). Abstinence-only sexuality education “is troubling not only because of its ineffectiveness in helping young people to delay sexual activity and prevent STIs and pregnancies, but also because of its insistence on heterosexuality as a necessary condition for people becoming and remaining legitimate and valued members of their communities” (Fields & Hirschman, 2007, p. 5). Kirby (2008) also points to abstinence-only education as focused on ensuring the delay of sexual debut in adolescents, which is one of the noble intentions of such sexuality education.

Comprehensive sexuality education is an “age-appropriate, culturally relevant approach to teaching about sex and relationships by providing scientifically accurate, realistic and non-judgmental information” (UNESCO, 2009a, in UNESCO, 2015, p. 7).

UNESCO (2009c) describes comprehensive sexuality education as a curriculum-based process of teaching and learning about the cognitive, emotional, physical and social aspects of sexuality: it aims to equip children and young people with knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that will empower them to: realise their health, well-being and dignity; develop respectful social and sexual relationships; consider how their choices affect their own well-being and that of others; and, understand and ensure the protection of their rights throughout their lives (p.16).

It includes learning about relationships, making informed choices, preventative sexual measures like condom use and contraceptives, prevailing sexual tendencies, and so on. Chandra-Mouli, Lane and Wong (2015) suggest that in comprehensive sexuality education substantial effort needs to be made on rendering coordinated and complementary approaches. This is because its implementation requirements tend to
be vast and thus often unmet. Comprehensive sexuality education has been proven to increase adolescent sexual reproductive health, attitudes and behaviours (Chandra-Mouli, 2015). Without access to comprehensive sexuality education, adolescents and mostly females, are rendered as susceptible to disconcerting sexuality issues (UNFPA, 2010). In comprehensive sexuality education, the curriculum does not only condone abstinence but also offers options for those who become sexually active by encouraging condom and contraceptive use (Kirby, 2008). Comprehensive sexuality education is criticised for confusing young people by sending mixed messages about sexual behaviour, but its proponents argue that it is realistic and effective (Kirby, 2008). The South African Department of Education Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) of Life Orientation seem to have been designed with comprehensive sexuality education in mind (DBE, 2011a; DBE, 2011b; DBE, 2011c). Francis and DePalma (2014) however, observe that in South African schools, sexuality education is more focused on abstinence-only and less focused on the comprehensive even though topics like safe sex have been included in the curriculum. Given this context of sexuality education, both positions of satisfying morality (abstinence-only) and reality (comprehensive) can be made to work together to regulate the sexuality of adolescents in schools (Lesko, 2010). However, my position leans more towards comprehensive sexuality education as it does not only contribute to delaying sexual debut but provides safe options for those who choose to be sexually active (Kirby, 2008), and it covers a wide range of aspects that are central to sexuality.

In South Africa, sexuality education (including sex education) is taken up in a class where teachers expose learners to the Life Orientation, Natural Sciences and Life Sciences curriculum, as set out in the CAPS. Sexuality education is not without controversy due to the debate that lingers as to whether it increases sexual activity or actually contributes to safer sexual behaviour. Sexuality education has evolved from the biomedical approach since it was first implemented to the critical social aspects in the recent past and now the debate is on attending to cultural aspects (Moletsane, 2014b). It, however, seems that generally teachers are still stuck on the biomedical aspects of the curriculum, overlooking sexuality and the gendered sociocultural context in which adolescents live (see for example Hunting, 2012; Moletsane, 2014b). For things to change in sexuality education, Wood (2009a) suggests that teachers need to expose their own worldviews and challenge those in a conducive climate.
Teachers can begin this by being self-reflexive (Van Laren, Mudaly, Pithouse-Morgan & Singh, 2013) and finding innovative teaching strategies whilst at the same time modelling it to others around them. This can happen when teachers who are at the forefront of teaching sexuality education choose to take it upon and from within themselves to teach adolescent learners.

Baxen and Breidlid (2004) suspect that the lack of cultural appropriateness of many sexuality education programmes has contributed to the failure thereof. In support of a contextualised, culturally relevant sexuality education, I note A-Magid (2011) in line with a host of authors who also call for integrating indigenous knowledge in the curriculum since knowledge production should be grounded in its local context. Teaching sexuality is seen by Helleve et al. (2009) as culturally challenging and that the concern about cultural conflict is valid and real in the lives of teachers. These authors believe that it is difficult to adapt or confront a cultural conflict between what they have to teach and what they themselves believe. Through exposure to writings by Caldwell et al. (1989) and Delius and Glaser (2002; 2004), I have learnt that African realities as they stand today are somehow a derivative of colonialism and Christianity. When teachers make reference to cultural taboos, it is not a true reflection of African cultures; it is merely an obscured view of cultural prescripts that have recently developed. The gender inequalities and the taboo of talking about sexuality issues in ‘contemporary’ Xhosa culture can be barriers which hamper sexuality and HIV education (Wood, 2009b).

The discussed views on sexuality and the education thereof put the Xhosa ethnic group at risk of HIV infection in almost the same way as other black Africans of South Africa. In dealing with sexuality and HIV risk, close attention must be paid to creating culturally sensitive programmes that take into consideration the nature of culture (Anderson & Beutel, 2007; Nkwi & Bernard, 2012). This means that cultural understanding should be what undergirds the teaching of sexuality education. Baxen and Breidlid (2009), Baxen, et al. (2011), Casale and Hanass-Hancock (2011) and Wood (2009c) also advise that sociocultural considerations be made when planning sexuality education interventions. The same understanding is suggested in the field of psychology where a study on young black Xhosa adolescents led the authors to claim that sexual health interventions have to be locally appropriate, culturally and
contextually sensitive (Clüver et al., 2013). In the same vein Helleve, et al. (2009) and Thaver and Leao (2012) note local cultural appropriateness for an effective sexuality education programme.

There needs, therefore, to be a deeper tracing of the African experience and culture regarding sexuality and work with that. It is then that we can speak of an African culture as pointed out earlier. Anderson and Beutel (2007) see sexuality education as being favourable and effective if it were “tailored to specific racial or ethnic groups” (p.143), in line with what Barr (2008) concludes from her research, that Xhosa people should teach Xhosa youth about HIV and AIDS. Through this approach, one can infer that the teachings might ‘reach’ the people (in this case the adolescent) more deeply, and in a relevant manner. In realising that, there is also a need to consider adolescent learners themselves regarding their sexuality in the context of HIV and AIDS in this contemporary age. Along with Lesko (2001) and Steyn and Van Zyl (2009), I too wish to dispute the unsettling notion that adolescents are to be considered sexually explosive and thus need to be controlled. Adolescents can be regarded as co-creators of knowledge concerning their sexuality (Francis, 2010) as this would make the content interesting with the added advantage that they would own it. Moreover, adolescents can come up with creative and relevant ways of tackling sexuality matters. However, adult guidance cannot be overlooked since knowledge of something, for example, the use of condoms does not necessarily translate to safe sexual practices or behavioural change (Karnell, Cupp, Zimmerman, Fiest-Price & Bennie, 2006; Tulgi, 2012). This is where the role of teachers comes in as facilitators of such learning.

UNESCO (2009c) sums up that

effective sexuality education can provide young people with age-appropriate, culturally relevant and scientifically accurate information. It includes structured opportunities for young people to explore their attitudes and values, and to practise the decision-making and other life skills they will need to be able to make informed choices about their sexual lives (p. 2).
2.5.1 Who teaches sexuality education?

Various people teach sexuality education in varying contexts or institutions. Rightly so, teaching sexuality education in this context of HIV and AIDS should be everybody’s business, because by its nature it calls for partnerships, but the argument here is who best can teach it. In the case of male initiation, what this ritual means for sexuality education is of concern in that it seems to remove the responsibility from the formal schoolteacher who instead of engaging with the boys on sexuality, relies on what is taught at the initiation schools (Helleve et al., 2009). Could the initiation school be perpetuating the long-held stereotypes about male and female sexuality or is universally authenticated sexuality education being taught? The two schools, the initiation and formal school, could complement one another and not rely on one only to take the responsibility of attending to the sexuality of boys.

In the dilemma of who is to teach sexuality education, Mathews et al. (2006) posit that it has to be a certain kind of teacher who does. Although it has been noted that peer education, youth institutions and once-off programmes are not effective (Chandra-Mouli et al., 2015), the discussion in this section deals with the teacher, peer educators and lastly health workers. “The socially constituted nature of sexuality as ‘private’, ‘sensitive’ and ‘dangerous’ demands a teacher who is comfortable with a highly controversial subject as well as their own sexual identity” (Allen, 2009, p. 33). UNESCO (2009c) cites the following qualities that a sexuality education teacher must have; “an interest in teaching the curriculum; personal comfort discussing sexuality; ability to communicate with students; and skill in the use of participatory learning methodologies” (p. 23). The National policy for HIV/AIDS in section 2.10.2 advocates for the selection of life-skills and HIV/AIDS teachers who are role models and feel at ease with the content (Government Gazette, 1999). Helleve et al. (2009) propagate that teachers have to be screened and selected, describing the kind of teacher needed as being one who facilitates an open and safe environment for learners to contribute to their own learning about sexuality. This includes ensuring that the learners are protected from one another’s interjections during lessons. The teacher should be the one who engages learners in activities guarding for passivity in his or her classroom. This teacher has to be comfortable with his or her own sexuality and understand how to meet learners at their own point of need. In addition, the teacher needs to take a
deeply reflexive approach (HEAIDS, 2010a, b) in which she becomes aware of her own influence in teaching sexuality education (see section 7.3.1). It goes then that when teachers have a deeper understanding of themselves and the influence they have, conducive teaching and learning atmosphere will surface.

Teachers should bring in all stakeholders such as parents and communities for the welfare of adolescents, and provide accurate and comprehensive sexuality education (UNESCO, 2009c). That is not necessarily the case (Francis & DePalma, 2014) as Francis (2011) notes that LO teachers in most South African schools are drawn from various subjects and therefore lack the necessary knowledge to teach sexuality education. For example, teachers who have lower teaching loads are allocated Life Orientation to teach, irrespective of whether they have the necessary qualifications or not. Women, in spite of them also being inadequately equipped tend to be allocated the teaching of sexuality education and reproductive health education, whether it is Life Orientation or Life Sciences (Motalingoane-Khau, 2010). Drawing from my own experience, it also seems like the same has been the case in some township schools of the Nelson Mandela Metropole.

Peer educators and experts like health workers can also be drawn on to teach sexuality education. Swartz et al. (2012) describe peer educators as those persons who are enlisted from the target group, and who are used to work with the peers in order to change unacceptable and deviant social norms. Peers are placed in the role of the educator to facilitate change, with the advantage that learners identify more with someone their own age. It looks like peer educators are meeting what could be lacking in normal classrooms, the interaction of learners with those at their same emotional level who would also understand their frame of reference. Visser (2007) maintains that through peer education sexual activity of secondary school learners can be delayed. It can be postponed due to the influence that positive role modelling of these peers has on one another. But Mukoma et al. (2009) caution that peer education is not highly successful in Life Orientation classes where dialogue among adolescents themselves is minimal as where the teacher does most of the talking. This suggests that peer education should be accommodated at times outside formal tuition. Another drawback of peer education is that peer educators require substantial training and monitoring.
when interacting with their target group (Mdletshe & Nduna, 2013; Visser, 2007). This training might not be catered for in the budget of school districts.

Sexuality education could also be taught by health workers like nurses who can either be brought to the school or be stationed at a school - like it is the case in the United Kingdom - to explain certain aspects of the sexuality education curriculum (Westwood & Mulan, 2006). Nurses or school nurses can present their factual and specialist knowledge to the learners. Although this is a focus on the biomedical aspects of sexuality, it can be valuable in making the relevant topic under discussion more ‘real’ and factual. From a primary school context in the UK, Hayter et al. (2008) highlight the valuable contribution school nurses make to sexuality education because they are regarded as ‘an outsider’ providing specialist knowledge within an environment conducive to discussing sensitive issues. On the one hand, one cannot help but wonder what sort of rapport with the learners, the ‘stranger’ will create in the classroom. Or on the other hand, it might be that the specialist nurse will be welcomed with enthusiasm because he or she is different from the teacher. Nonetheless, the presence of a nurse in the school setting might itself be beneficial and contribute to the well-being of children and address the problem of neglecting sexuality education at school (Wainwright, Thomas & Jones, 2000). These authors state further that nurses can demonstrate the qualities, motivation and interests with which nursing is traditionally associated, of empathy, compassion, and nurturance and uncritical acceptance without the conflicting roles of assessment and discipline that teachers must balance with their role. The nurses’ competency to teach sexuality education is however questionable according to Westwood and Mulan (2006) as they claim that in the United Kingdom there is not enough knowledge to acceptably teach about STIs and contraception that is urgently needed. In South Africa, although De Lange, Mitchell and Stuart (2011) note that health workers usually do not feel confident to engage with young people, they maintain that health workers often know more about reproductive health including HIV and AIDS than teachers.

These are all sensible role-players for the teaching of sexuality education who can work together to complement what is supposedly done in class by the teacher.
2.5.2 Where should sexuality education be taught?

There are a few discourses on whether sexuality education should be taught at school, in the family, at ‘church’ (representing any form of religion), or some community institution. The discussion will begin with the school as a setting where sexuality education is formally taught.

South African schools are often manned by ill-equipped teachers (Francis, 2013) with inadequate resources (De Lange et al., 2011), but they have been identified as logical sites for sexuality education (Goldman, 2008, 2012). The school is a critical setting for the stopping of the scourge of HIV and AIDS (as part of sexuality education) as it offers the opportunity of accessing many adolescents, and has existing infrastructural systems (Kelly, 2002; Moutl, 2013; Mukoma et al., 2009; UNESCO, 2009c). In endorsing school as a site, Francis (2010) and Jordaan (2014) note that every child passes through the schooling system further demonstrating that by implication schools provide access to readily available youngsters. School is lauded for providing the adolescent learner with a conducive atmosphere for receiving comprehensive sexuality education (Daria & Campbell, 2004). School-based interventions can also reduce the prevalence of sexual risk behaviour (Mathews et al., 2006). For example, Hallman (2007) points out that at school, sexual violence is an issue that has to be attended to because of its reported prevalence in South African schools. This is important because most adolescents have their first sexual encounter while they are enrolled at school (Francis, 2010; UNESCO, 2009c). Researchers advise that schools should teach about sexuality and the teachers should be able to speak about sex (Bhana & Epstein, 2007).

The family is another proposed setting for sexuality education where parents themselves guide their children given that sexuality education deals with private and sensitive issues. Section 9.4 of the National policy on HIV/AIDS calls for making parents sexuality educators (Government Gazette, 1999). Proponents of this discourse believe that it is parents who are children’s primary educators and so should form an important avenue for sexuality education (Pluhar & Kuriloff, 2004; Tsakani, Davhana-Maselesele & Obi, 2011). It is families who are critical in influencing children’s and adolescents' attitudes, decision-making and engagement in sexual
activity (Namisi et al., 2008; Shtarkshall, Santelli & Hirsch, 2007; Soon et al., 2013; Tulgi, 2012). The advantage with the family is that parents’ communication about sexuality can take place informally during other activities such as watching television or cooking or driving (Pluhar & Kuriloff, 2004). In this way, the tension, which usually surfaces when dealing with this ‘sensitive’ topic of sexuality, could be reduced. It is also of benefit to the parents, as Izugbara (2007) observes, in that family sexuality communications afford parents a genuine space to manage and engage with their children’s sexuality. In a study conducted in the United Kingdom with adolescents on whom they preferred should teach them about sexuality (Shtarkshall et al., 2007), parents were cited as the preferred choice after schools, while black African adolescents in Soweto, a township in South Africa, expressed their wish to communicate with their parents regarding sexuality issues (Soon et al., 2013).

Sexuality education can and is also taught at religious institutions where moral values are instilled upon the congregants. Proponents of this discourse hold that for example, the church as an institution, is not immune to societal changes and interacts with, and is in turn shaped by the surrounding context (Eriksson, Lindmark, Axemo, Haddad & Ahlberg, 2010). The context that surrounds religious institutions in South Africa is a community ravaged by HIV infections, gender-based violence, unintended teenage pregnancies, high secondary school dropout rates, substance abuse, and so on. It is therefore fitting that these institutions teach about sexuality if they are to be relevant in this age. Dickinson (2014) and Schmid (2005) point to the influential role that Christian churches (the religion that most Xhosa people ascribe to) play in shaping the attitudes of their members around sexuality. This same powerful influence on the lives of church members is recognised by Eriksson, Lindmark, Haddad and Axemo (2014). Examples of this are when the ‘church’ influences young people to delay sexual debut, promotes a lower likelihood of voluntary sexual activity and discourages infidelity between married couples. However, the ‘church’ is popularly known to deal with sexuality only when it speaks out against homosexuality and abortion issues (Stephens, 2011). This need not be the case though; religious institutions ought to attend to all aspects of sexuality and not punitively deal with issues that they are opposed to. Haddad (2005) calls for these institutions to recognise that they need to ‘build’ the community, more so given the scourge of HIV and AIDS. Since many African people in townships are affiliated to a ‘church’, religious institutions can play a
significant role in the equipping of adolescents with decision-making skills regarding their sexuality. It should however not focus only on the moral aspects of sexuality; it should address the needs of young people. An example of an initiative that deals with sexuality in the ‘church’ is the Anglican Church diocese of Cape Town’s Fikelela peer education programme, which was launched in January 2006 (Burchardt, 2013).

Cultural institutions such as initiation schools for African youths including Xhosa young people are also seen as places where sexuality education could be taught. The so-called experts or teachers at these institutions are entrusted with imparting indigenous sexual knowledge to their initiates. The acquired wisdom and the culturally relevant life experiences of the teachers at these schools can assist in imparting life-skills to the initiates. With the African Renaissance being a popular concept in democratic South Africa; should the traditional African ways of handling sexuality be revived? On the other hand; is the reality of HIV and AIDS a threat to the work of these traditional institutions?

Non-governmental institutions such as loveLife use media like billboards, magazines, pamphlets, radio and television to educate about sexuality and its role on adolescents should not be overlooked. loveLife is the largest youth health programme in South Africa which was established in 1999 and “uses a comprehensive approach to HIV prevention which combines a highly visible awareness and education campaign with adolescent-friendly services in public clinics and countrywide outreach and support programmes for young people” (Peltzer & Chirinda, 2013, p.77). Peltzer and Chirinda in their study with young people from KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Gauteng and the Eastern Cape found that loveLife had influenced the young people’s personal development and increased prosocial and safer behaviour regarding HIV. This is indicative of the role institutions like these can play in the lives of adolescents since they perceive it positively.

As the above discussion has shown, all these settings are significant and therefore should ideally work collaboratively and also complement each other in teaching sexuality education to adolescents. In the next sections, I discuss what is taught and how to teach sexuality education.
2.5.3 What is taught in sexuality education?

Sexuality education is focused on teaching a wide range of life and decision-making skills including HIV and AIDS. To be precise, UNESCO (2009c) affirms that sexuality education “prioritises the acquisition and/or reinforcement of values such as reciprocity, equality, responsibility and respect, which are prerequisites for healthy and safer sexual and social relationships” (p. 4). With the possibility that being sexually active can have undesirable and negative outcomes (UNESCO, 2009c), Beyers (2013b) posits that the aim of sexuality education is to “effect social change” (p. 3) and curb such outcomes. Thus, sexuality education is offered in the Life Orientation curriculum and is geared at equipping young people so that they can meet the demands of growing up and acquire necessary life skills. Sexuality education is sometimes confused with sex education, which is part of sexuality education dealing with the biomedical aspects or reproduction also included in the Life Sciences curriculum (Francis & DePalma, 2014).

Francis and DePalma (2014) argue that “the content of sexuality education needs to span the whole spectrum of discourses, from disease [risk] to desire [pleasure]” (p. 91). What is therefore needed at school is the portrayal of sex in a way that balances the scales, risk and pleasure (Francis, 2010). Adolescents can then make informed choices leading to constructive decisions. It is essential that programmes, which will delay sexual debut and the reduction in the number of concurrent sexual partners outside of stable unions, ensuring safe sex and informed decision-making, be brought in (Nkwi & Bernard, 2012).

Before looking at what the present curriculum contains, it is necessary to take a step back to look at the origins of the current curriculum policy statements in South Africa. After the apartheid education system of Christian and National Education, Outcomes Based Education (OBE) came into being in the new South African democracy. Curriculum 2005 (C2005) which was expected to be fully implemented in all Grades by the year 2005 drew on an OBE philosophy introduced in 1998. With the critique of C2005, the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) kicked in in the year 2004. The RNCS was later improved into the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) in 2007 due to observations of its flawed implementation (Ramrathan, 2015). Before the
RNCS, sexuality education was not compulsory in the curriculum, but aspects of it were included in Biology (now called Life Sciences) and were taught as a matter of fact content (C. Jordaan, personal communication, May 5, 2015). In 2012 came the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) as a new curriculum including Life Orientation from Grade R to 12. The CAPS is still NCS but an adaptation to what teachers teach and not how they must do the teaching (Du Plessis, 2013). This CAPS curriculum is presented in a content form and not outcomes format with the former learning areas going back to being called subjects. Teachers at school teach subjects to their learners, which had been previously referred to as learning areas. In South Africa, teachers currently draw from the CAPS in teaching sexuality education (DBE, 2011a; DBE, 2011b; DBE, 2011c; DBE, 2011d; DBE, 2011e, DBE, 2011f). The CAPS is a standardised curriculum catering for learners from a wide range of contexts and backgrounds.

**Life Skills:** In primary school sexuality education is taught in the subject called Life Skills both in the Foundation and Intermediate Phases (DBE, 2011e; DBE, 2011f). Life Skills is concerned with the social, personal, intellectual, emotional and physical development of learners and with the way in which these are integrated (DBE, 2011e). It consists of four study areas; Beginning Knowledge (Foundation Phase only), Creative Arts, Physical Education and Personal and Social Well-being, with sexuality education being covered in the Personal and Social Well-being area. In the Foundation Phase, Life Skills is taught 6 hours per week in which only one hour is devoted to Personal and Social Well-being. In Grade R, it addresses family relationships, and in Grade 1, family relationships are further looked into, including body safety, for example, never touching another person’s blood. Friendships and community-wide interactions are dealt with in Grade 2, and feelings, body safety including sexual abuse, and family and community life are addressed in Grade 3.

Instructional time is 4 hours per week in the Intermediate Phase, and 1.5 hours is allocated to Personal and Social Well-being. In the Intermediate Phase, Personal and Social Well-being contains Development of self, Health and environmental responsibility and Social responsibility. Grade 4 addresses respect for one’s own and other’s bodies, understanding a range of emotions, HIV and AIDS education (the basic facts), cultures and moral lessons. Positive self-concept formation, relationships with
peers, older people and strangers, HIV and AIDS education (dealing with stigma), child abuse, and issues of age and gender are covered in Grade 5.

In Grade 6, body image, peer pressure, HIV and AIDS education (myths and realities), cultural rites of passage, and gender stereotyping, sexism and abuse, is taken up.

*Life Orientation:* In the General Education and Training (GET) band, in Grade 7, sexuality education is taught in Life Orientation (LO) which is part of the Senior Phase subjects offered in secondary school. Life Orientation addresses the skills, knowledge and values about the personal, social, intellectual, emotional and physical development of learners, and the way in which these are interrelated (DBE, 2011a). Sexuality education is covered under Development of the self in society and Social and environmental responsibility topics. The Grade 7 curriculum includes self-image, peer pressure, changes in boys and girls (the physical and the emotional), communicable diseases, informed, responsible decision-making about health and safety, and child abuse.

In the GET band at secondary school, Grade 8 and 9 Life Orientation CAPS include sexuality education, which is located mainly under the topic Development of the self in society and scantily under Social and environmental responsibility (DBE, 2011a). In Grade 8, the concept of sexuality is covered wherein understanding one’s sexuality is dealt with, and personal feelings, community norms, cultural values and social pressures that influence sexuality are also looked into. Under Constitutional rights and responsibilities, respect for others’ rights deals with people, other illnesses and diseases, this includes those infected and affected by HIV and AIDS. Relationships or friendships are in this Grade 8 curriculum. In this part, relationships at home, school and in the community are dealt with. Appropriate ways to initiate and sustain a relationship are covered. Problem-solving and communication skills, which deal with appropriate behaviour in a relationship and appropriate ways to end a relationship respectively, are included. Lastly, another Social and environmental responsibility section addresses health and safety issues related to violence. Common acts of violence at home, school and in the community are looked at, covering the impact of violence on individual and community health and safety. Problem-solving skills for managing conflict as alternatives to violence are shared, and learners are informed of
ways to protect themselves and others from acts of violence including where to find help.

In the Grade 9 LO curriculum, sexuality is located under the topic Development of the self in a society where sexual behaviour and sexual health are covered (DBE, 2011a). Factors that influence personal behaviour such as the media, the social and the economics are looked into. Unhealthy sexual behaviour and unwanted results thereof, namely teenage pregnancy, STIs, HIV and AIDS, low self-image and emotional scars are included. Abstinence and change of behaviour as appropriate responses to influences on personal behaviour are also looked at.

In the Further Education and Training (FET) band, the Grade 10 LO sexuality curriculum is located under Development of the self in society (DBE, 2011b). It covers power, power relations and gender roles, the nature and responsibility of life roles, changes towards adulthood, and decision-making regarding sexuality. These are located in the Development of the self in society topic. Definitions of concepts such as power, power relations, masculinity, femininity and gender are given. Within this subheading, differences between a man and a woman are covered, and included are reproduction and roles in the community, stereotypical views of gender roles and responsibilities and gender differences in participation in physical activities. Also, the influence of gender inequality on relationships and general well-being are covered, looking into sexual abuse, teenage pregnancy, violence, and STIs including HIV and AIDS. Different life roles like child, student, and adult, role in family, partner, mother, father, grandparent, breadwinner, employee, employer, leader and follower are covered. In these roles, the evolving nature and responsibilities inherent in each are looked into including how these roles change and effect relationships, how to handle each role effectively, and what the influence of society and culture is. Changes associated with development towards adulthood, that is from adolescence to adulthood, are included. Under this section, physical changes like hormonal, increased growth rates, bodily proportions, secondary sex/gender characteristics, primary changes in the body (menstruation, ovulation and seed formation) and skin problems are covered. Emotional changes are also looked into, covering maturing personality, depth and control of emotions, feelings of insecurity, changing needs, interests, feelings, beliefs, values and sexual interest. Relationships within the family, interaction
with social groups, the need for acceptance by and dependence on the peer group are also included as social changes. The curriculum also covers the importance of communication and making friends as coping with change. It also covers values and strategies of making responsible decisions regarding sexuality and lifestyle choices in optimising personal potential. This section looks at sexual intercourse and teenage pregnancy, sexual abuse and rape. Also, values such as respect for self and others, abstinence, self-control, right to privacy, right to protect oneself, right to say ‘NO’ and taking responsibility for own actions are looked at. Skills such as self-awareness, critical thinking, decision-making, problem-solving, assertiveness, negotiations, communication, refusal, goal-setting and information gathering relating to sexuality and lifestyle choices are also covered. The curriculum also includes where to find help regarding sexuality and lifestyle choices.

In Grade 11, the LO sexuality curriculum is also located under the topic Development of the self in society (DBE, 2011b). Within the subheading plan and achieve life goals, various life skills are covered. An example of such is important life goals and prioritising, which include family, marriage, parenting and relationships. Relationships and their influence on well-being are covered, looking into different types of relationships with different people or groups, and its changing nature. This subheading includes relationships that contribute to or are detrimental to well-being, highlighting rights and responsibilities in relationships, social and cultural views that influence and sometimes affect relationships, qualities sought in different relationships, and individuality in relationships. Also, the impact of the media on values and beliefs about relationships is covered. Another addition is healthy and balanced lifestyle choices in which factors that influence positively and negatively lifestyle choices are looked at. Risky behaviour and situations are also looked into, where personal safety, sexual behaviour, risk of pregnancy, STIs, HIV and AIDS and peer pressure are included. In sexuality education, in Grade 11 the impact of unsafe practices on self and others is looked into, from physical, emotional, spiritual, social, economic, political and environmental perspectives. Individual responsibility for making informed decisions and choices is also in this curriculum. Gender roles and their effects on health and well-being are covered from self, family to society. Under this subheading unequal power relations, power inequality, power balance and power struggle between genders including the abuse of power towards an individual (physical abuse), in family
(incest), cultural (different mourning periods for males and females), social (domestic violence and sexual violence/rape) and work settings (sexual harassment) is included. Also, the negative effects of gender roles on health and well-being are covered. The last topic the section looks at is addressing unequal power relations and power inequality between genders.

Sexuality education in Grade 12 is located in the Development of the self in society topic (DBE, 2011b). It covers life skills required to adapt to change as part of ongoing healthy lifestyle choices. Included are initiating, building and sustaining positive relationships, emphasising the importance of effective communication; understanding others, communicating feelings, beliefs and attitudes. Adapting to growth and change, positive and negative aspects thereof, are also covered. Insights regarding the life cycle and related traditional practices are also in the Grade 12 curriculum. It also extends to lifestyle diseases as a result of poverty and gender imbalances, sexually transmitted infections including HIV and AIDS and unsafe sexual behaviour. Their prevention and control are also part of this curriculum.

**Life Sciences:** Sexuality education in the form of reproductive health is only covered in one Grade in the Life Sciences (LFSC) CAPS. Grade 12 LFSC CAPS curriculum includes sex education, and human reproduction (DBE, 2011c). The structure of the male and female reproductive systems is taught; puberty, gametogenesis (process by which cells form a newborn), the menstrual cycle, fertilisation, gestation and the role of the placenta are also included.

**Natural Sciences:** Human reproduction, which is part of sexuality education, is covered in the Senior Phase Natural Sciences (NS) CAPS. In Grade 7, sexual reproduction is taught under the following topics; sexual reproduction in angiosperms and human reproduction. The Grade 9 syllabus covers human reproduction; purpose and puberty, reproductive organs and stages of reproduction.

The above overview of the sexuality education-related content of the three CAPS documents show a rich and varied scope and if taught or facilitated efficiently by the teachers, could make a big contribution in the lives of the learners. However, the CAPS for LO, LFSC and NS is the work of curriculum planners, with little or no input from
teachers and learners. Learners may aspire to be taught sexuality education that speaks to their daily encounters but are not called upon to contribute to or comment on the curriculum. In this study, the focus is on teachers, who too are often overlooked and rarely drawn on to be part of planning sexuality education which includes HIV and AIDS (Mitchell et al., 2005). Baxen and Breidlid (2004) duly observed: “…teachers as agents who act within conflicting discursive spaces are absent from the debate” (p. 17). This could be disempowering to the teachers who have to implement the curriculum, as what they reckon to be relevant and workable in the teaching of sexuality might not be included. The situation could also be the reason why teachers reportedly neglect this aspect of the curriculum (Francis, 2011). A national project with teacher educators and teachers in South Africa, in exploring the teaching of sexuality education in the context of the HIV and AIDS epidemic (HEAIDS, 2010a), suggests the importance of teacher educators and teachers taking a ‘starting with ourselves’ approach, thereby looking at their own positioning and how it influences their teaching of sexuality education (HEAIDS, 2010a).

2.5.4 How is sexuality education taught?

What is observed as happening in schools is a chalk and talk scenario with the teaching being teacher-centred when it comes to sexuality education in the curricula. This is a strong reliance on didactic teaching methods (MacPhail & Pettifor, 2007), also reading from prescribed textbooks, which go against the participatory methods that Beyers (2013b), Francis (2011), HEAIDS (2010b), UNESCO (2009c) and UNFPA (2010) advocate for. This might mean going through the content of sexuality education in a superficial manner without deeply engaging with it. Mbananga (2004), in this regard, refers to Xhosa teachers as ‘wearing masks’ when they teach sexuality education, which Mthatyana and Vincent (2015) attribute to being uncomfortable and embarrassed to talk about sexuality matters. As a result, Mbananga (2004) says there is a sense that teaching about reproductive health at school is a ‘drama’ and that teachers are on stage. This implies a detachment from the content, with learners watching the teachers as they ‘perform’ (present) their own interpretations of the curriculum. This means that teachers tend to teach their own ‘realities’ and whatever else they find acceptable to learners (Beyers, 2013b). HEAIDS (2010a) gives an
example of how teachers can use reflexive diaries in order to unmask themselves, being in the right position for teaching HIV and AIDS education.

Literature suggests that sexuality education should be taught in a participatory and learner-centred manner (Francis, 2011; UNESCO, 2009c). Beyers (2013b) acknowledges that participatory approaches offer noteworthy means of enabling dialogue. An advantage with participatory methods is that they have “the potential to change sexuality education into a positive experience for all those involved” (Beyers, 2013b, p.11). In a participatory manner, sexuality education is facilitated by group-work exercises or discussions, role-plays, case studies, brainstorming, creative activities like drawing and photo taking, and bringing in a role model to class (De Lange & Stuart, 2012). McCaffree and Matlack (2001) add journal writing and videos to the list, whilst Etkin (2013) endorses narrative communication through autobiographical and role model stories. Ideally and overwhelmingly pronounced in recent literature (Francis, 2011), learners should be allowed to bring in their own knowledge and experiences of engaging with the subject of sexuality.

There are hurdles in the teaching and learning of sexuality education in South Africa though. Teachers’ cultural and personal constraints, lack of exposure to participatory methodologies, and inadequate resources affect how it is taught in schools. In order to address the hurdles in teaching sexuality education and meet the diverse needs of schools, Thaver and Leao (2012) advise that “the government must re-evaluate its national policy and take into account the problems with regards to content, training, socioeconomic differences and community involvement” (p. 90). That sounds palatable given that it also suggests that each school district may adapt the professional development of teachers to meet the needs of the community they teach in.

Youth culture, as is evident in contemporary South Africa, also calls for innovative approaches to the teaching of sexuality (Cloete, 2012; Wood, 2013). When reference is made to youth culture in this study, it depicts what adolescents follow from trends in media as well as their adeptness with mobile technology. Adolescents are attuned to cell phones, computers and music, and these media, for example, Facebook, need to be utilised in the teaching of the sexuality education curriculum. The use of these
technologies will be fully reaching adolescents as these are already at their disposal. Gouws et al. (2008) affirm that “Facebook can and has proven to be an effective tool for reaching out to future generations, and a difference can be made since it transcends space and creates a platform that did not previously exist” (p. 237). Given that in South Africa there is little allocated time for Life Orientation at school, the teacher can complement her work by using Facebook for covering aspects of a sexuality education lesson.

The teaching of sexuality education calls for the teacher to get out of the ‘comfort’ zone and be innovative. The focus needs to be on how to maximise learner participation, which could be achieved through the integration of interactive technologies and participatory methodologies. Therefore, the teacher’s role is redefined from that of instructor to facilitator. In addition, good sexuality education is not gender-specific but gender-inclusive (Francis & Viljoen, 2014); Could a possibility of separate classes for boys and girls dealing with respective sexuality issues in Xhosa secondary schools be explored or would that undermine the idea of inclusivity and mutual understanding in classrooms?

2.5.5 How is the climate at school regarding sexuality education?

The school climate is seen in the value that the Department of Basic Education places on sexuality education, be it in Life Orientation, sex education in Life Sciences or reproductive health in Natural Sciences. It is also seen in the role that the principal plays in valuing sexuality education. It can be observed in the way in which teachers teach sexuality education, whether they teach it and whether learners are engaging with it. Before qualifying these assertions, critical questions surface when one looks into the school climate. Is there mere compliance with the policy on sexuality education (which includes HIV and AIDS education) or are teachers taking it up with urgency and agency? Does the considerable degree of autonomy allowed in implementing the policy, according to Mutereko and Chitakunye (2014), give school management and teachers leeway not to implement policy optimally? I quote Moletsane (2014b) who contends that indeed
in spite of some laudable policy initiatives by the Ministry of Education, some of the policies themselves, and the interpretation and implementation thereof at school level, have done little to advance gender equality in schools and particularly to address unintended pregnancies and other sexual and reproductive health issues as barriers to girls’ education in South Africa (p.13).

This statement positions how sexuality education, specifically girls’ sexuality education, stands at school, which is possibly indicative of what happens with the rest of the curriculum. Policy has had no marked impact on lowering adolescent risky sexual behaviour and its outcomes. Mbananga’s (2004) study on reproductive health information in Mthatha high schools of the Eastern Cape Province reports that teachers saw school policies as demanding. The teachers’ cultural standings were confronted when the policies addressed school learners about sexuality and STDs. Teachers tend to be guarded when attending to sexuality education, not wanting to ‘transgress’ parameters set between adults and children, as well as between school and community ‘culture’ (Morrell et al., 2009).

Substantial research on sexuality education announces a silence about it at school (see examples, DePalma & Francis, 2014; Masinga, 2013; Mathews et al., 2006; Mbananga, 2004; Morrell, 2003; Motalingoane-Khau, 2010; Mukoma et al., 2009; Peltzer & Pengpid, 2006; UNESCO, 2009c). Often this is operationalised by the teachers’ approach of merely giving the do’s and don’ts in their lessons mostly from a moralistic stance. This is problematic given the requirements of the curriculum on sexuality education and the fact that young people need to be equipped with the skills necessary for making informed choices. Notable are tensions between teacher and curricula values (Francis, 2011). I have alluded to it earlier on that teachers attribute their brushing over sexuality matters to limitations from their cultural and personal domains, and so the picture being painted is that of constrained teachers with regard to teaching sexuality at school. It would also seem that learners are not engaged in sexuality education lessons as they ‘watch’ teachers ‘perform’ from a superficial level. This might result in sexuality education being of little value to learners in the schooling system.
Sexuality education does not seem to hold much status within the secondary school structure in South Africa. The reality is that the weighting of the subject in which sexuality education is located, that is Life Orientation when compared to other subjects, is low (DBE, 2011a; DBE, 2011b; Moletsane, 2014b). In the GET and FET bands it is allocated two hours compared to four and a half hours per week given to the languages and Mathematics, and four hours for the remaining subjects. The little time granted LO allows for less meaningful contact with the adolescent learners and has a ripple effect of it being treated with little prestige. Another factor that contributes to the status of LO is that it is not externally assessed in Grade 12 (Moletsane, 2014b), leading to principals and teachers not prioritising it in teaching. This is happening whilst the running of the school is impacted by infected or affected learners who form part of the school (Bhana et al., 2006; Khanare, 2015). Another issue with HIV and AIDS at schools is that schools are required to keep a record of infected and affected learners (Marneweck, Bialobrzeska, Mhlanga & Mphisa, 2008), implying that the confidentiality with which the virus should be treated could be compromised. Thus, a question stands whether the HIV and AIDS policy is being effectively implemented in schools? I think not; there is conflict within its guidelines. This poses a challenge for teachers in negotiating themselves around the HIV and AIDS context within schools.

From the preceding discussion, it would seem that a conducive school climate is one in which sexuality education teaching is valued and takes a prominent place. In fact, UNESCO (2009c) claims that sexuality education is the duty of everyone at school, not only realised through teaching but also evident in the rules of the school all the way to practices within the school, starting from the principal recognising the central role sexuality education has on the overall well-being of the learners. This should be seen in the visibility of sexuality education for example, in the display of relevant health education posters on the school premises, and the supply of condoms in accessible places. Furthermore, the incorporation of other programmes that promote sexuality education, a sound peer education programme if possible, and presentations by healthcare personnel, positive role models, celebrities from the learners’ communities and others during assembly, could create a kind of school where learners and teachers can discuss sexuality matters.
2.6 The significance of teaching sexuality education to adolescents

Adolescents are the enactors of a ‘youth culture’ which denotes a subculture in a society that is different from that of adults (Cloete, 2012). Adolescents grow up in a constantly changing society that experiences the onslaught of technology (interactive media), single parenting or foster homes, HIV infections, drugs and unemployment (Gouws et al., 2008). Under these circumstances, it has become necessary to expose adolescents to Life Orientation (which includes sexuality education) as a school subject. I quote, “… children and young people have a specific need for the information and skills provided through sexuality education that makes a difference to their life chances” (UNESCO, 2009c, p. 7). They are however not victims, but as referred to in section 2.2.2, they want to be actively engaged in their learning sexuality education. Importantly, adolescents should be kept enrolled in school and learning as that might lead to delaying immediate sexual indulgence in exchange for a long-term educational goal (Zuilkowski & Jukes, 2012). It can be said that “not having a sense of future can lead to high-risk sexual behaviour” (Peltzer & Chirinda, 2013, p. 81) and that has to be avoided.

To demonstrate the need of sexuality education for adolescents, it is worth noting Shilumani (2010) who in her study with Shangaan youth from a strong rural background observed that the majority of the youth felt Life Skills or Life Orientation educational programmes gave them better information on sexuality, and they preferred it to the information provided in traditional initiation schools. That speaks to the significance of sexuality education for black African adolescents in South Africa, and for this study, for Xhosa adolescents. Finally, increased learning and understanding about sexuality is seen as crucial to adolescents’ well-being, healthy development, protection and future life chances, and failing to teach adolescents about sexuality leaves them vulnerable to coercion, abuse, exploitation, unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections, including HIV (Goldman, 2012; UNESCO, 2009c).
In this chapter, I offered a theoretical perspective on teaching sexuality education, drawing attention to the need to teach sexuality education in the context of HIV and AIDS to adolescents. I referred to HIV and AIDS, adolescent sexuality, Xhosa culture in relation to sexuality education, and formal sexuality education taught in school. Each element (HIV and AIDS, adolescents, sexuality, culture, sexuality education) was carefully studied and positioned within the scope of this study. Reference was made to the developed world, Africa and to Xhosa community. One of the key things I established from literature was that indigenous culture, which includes Xhosa culture, had been quite open about sexuality in precolonial times, and that the claim that culture does not allow adults to talk about sexuality matters to children needs to be interrogated. It is with this in mind that I explore how Xhosa teachers speak to Xhosa learners about sexuality and how they might, in the context of their culture, reimagine how they might teach sexuality education in school. In the next chapter, I explain the theoretical framework, Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), which frames the study and is used to make meaning of the findings.
CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK - CULTURAL-HISTORICAL ACTIVITY THEORY (CHAT)

3.1 Introduction

The theory, originally known as Activity Theory, was developed by Russians Leont’ev and Luria who were Lev Vygotsky’s students in the 1920s (Roth & Lee, 2007). Leont’ev and Luria built their Activity Theory primarily on the Vygotskian learning theory, which advances that human beings act on and react to mediating objects in an environment towards achieving an outcome. The theory, therefore “denies that consciousness or mental or psychic states can be viewed as ontologically distinct from the material conditions and forces in society. Instead, these material conditions serve to determine social conditions and, ultimately, individual psychological functioning” (Van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004, p. 432). It is interchangeably referred to as activity systems (Williams, 2008) since activity is seen to be central to human behaviour (Van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004). However, activity is context-laden (historically and socially) and is mediated (see section 3.2).

3.2 The development of the theory

Cultural-Historical Activity Theory evolved through three generations of theory development. The first generation theory was created by Vygotsky, who tried to show the complicated development process that human beings navigate and respond to in their environment when attempting mutual activities with others (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010b). Figure 3.1 shows that subject R uses a mediating artefact or tool X in order to attain the desired object S. The focus during this stage of the development of the theory was therefore on object-orientated action, mediated by cultural tools and artefacts (instruments) (Van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004). Vygotsky explained human consciousness development through the interaction of mediating tools and social others in an environment resulting in subjects finding new meaning, the object. He emphasised mediation in its outward and social forms (the external factors which are
considered in guiding action), thereby overshadowing the psychological and internal aspects of the individual (O’Brien et al., 2012).

Figure 3.1: 1st generation CHAT (from Nussbaumer, 2012, p. 38)

The 2nd generation theory was spearheaded by Leont’ev and Luria who identified their work as activity theory, introducing analysis for looking at the interplay between the individual and the environment. Thus, widening the scope of Vygotsky’s mediated action through the analysis which recognises activity between various social others and objects in the environment. They maintained “a strong focus on the cultural and historical dimensions of mediation as well as the developmental aspects of human processes” (O’Brien et al., 2012, p. 254). With their theory, the individual and the environment were not treated as isolated entities (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010b). According to Nussbaumer (2012), 2nd generation theory includes subject, artefacts (tools or instruments), objects, rules, community, a division of labour and outcome (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: 2nd generation CHAT (from Nussbaumer, 2012, p. 39)
The 3rd generation theory led by Engeström extended what Leont'ev and Luria had already developed, introducing activity systems analysis. This analysis is used to delineate the mutually inclusive interaction between social other(s) and the environment, and how they affect one another (Van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004). He expanded CHAT to include networking systems with the shared object, tensions and contradictions (See Figure 3.3). Contradictions and tensions arise in each element of the activity system becoming the driving force of learning, propelling transformation, which is the attainment of the activity’s object or outcome (Van Vlaenderen & Neves, 2004). Summarised by O’Brien et al. (2012), “Engeström further developed this model by highlighting the ways in which the activity of the subject, in working towards its intended goal, or object, creates meaning for the actors involved as they work upon and change their field of activity” (p. 255).

![Figure 3.3: 3rd generation CHAT (from Nussbaumer, 2012, p. 40)](image)

The third generation theory is adopted in this study, as it fits due to the five principles (“Cultural-historical activity theory explained”, n.d., lines 95-99) that it is comprised of:

1. **The activity system as a primary unit of analysis**: the basic third-generation model includes at a minimum, two interacting activity systems.
2. **Multi-voicedness**: an activity system is always a community of multiple points of views, traditions and interests.
3. Historicity: activity systems take shape and are transformed over long stretches of time. Potentials and problems can only be understood against the background of their own histories.

4. The central role of contradictions as sources of change and development.

5. Activity Systems' possibility for expansive transformation (cycles of qualitative transformation): when object and motive are reconceptualised, a radically wider horizon opens up.

3.3 Cultural-Historical Activity Theory

CHAT is “a cross-disciplinary framework for studying how humans purposefully transform natural and social reality, including themselves, as an ongoing culturally and historically situated, materially and socially mediated process” (Roth, Radford & LaCroix, 2012, n.p.). The mediated process is cyclical in that changes in a complex learning, or social situation are driven by tension generating contradictions that arise within this activity system, providing premises for learning and development, and possibly the transformation of the situation (O’Brien et al., 2012; Williams, 2008). CHAT is viewed as activity systems analysis where the researcher often takes a participatory and interventionist role in the participants’ activity to help participants experience change (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010a).

In an activity system, there are multiple participants in multiple roles because the system comprises of a community, also including the division of labour, and multiple points of view derived from differing histories, cultures and interests (Feldman & Weiss, 2010; Williams, 2008). These aspects point to the theory being a cultural and historical activity systems theory. Williams (2008) states that this theory is extensively used in teaching, knowledge management, and innovation research. Similarly, O’Brien et al. (2012) observe it as being used in Educational Psychology and practical pedagogy. It recognises the importance of social aspects of learning (Nussbaumer, 2012). Nussbaumer points out that as a guiding framework, CHAT allows for a questioning of the structural determinants of prevailing practices in education. In this regard, Roth and Lee (2007) claim that “learning occurs whenever a novel practice, artefact, tool or division of labor at the level of the individual or group within an activity...
system constitutes a new possibility for others (as resource, a form of action to be emulated) leading to an increase in generalized action possibilities and therefore to collective (organizational, societal, cultural) learning” (p. 205).

Further, CHAT holds that whatever people experience, cannot be understood independent of the culture within which it occurs (Roth et al., 2012). Researchers using CHAT attempt to identify the cultural conditions that give rise to an activity (Edwards, 2011). Analyses focus on individuals as thinkers and actors, their relationship with others, and the purposes, values and knowledge to be found in the practices in the institutions or systems they inhabit. Because of the importance placed on culture, a CHAT analysis calls attention to the system (for example a school or community) as the historical carrier of culture, while recognising the need to capture the multi-voiced engagement of actors in the system as they work on it and change it. While culture is often reproduced, it can also be transformed as individuals actively respond to society as they receive it (Nasir & Hand, 2006). This perspective, Nasir and Hand believe, introduces the critical role of agency in the production of culture and points to the potential of schools as sites for such transformation. Teachers can offer learners the tools upon which they can draw to be successful, without reproaching their home cultures. CHAT has much potential for teachers too (Roth & Lee, 2007), as it is about development and learning, encompassing the system as a whole and various actors and communities that constitute it. Because everyone contributes to productive activity, participants or subjects not only contribute to the ultimate reproduction of society but also increase action possibilities for themselves.

The theory identifies the zone of proximal development (ZPD), which is to be understood in this study as the critical space in a person’s present understanding, and where through proximal interactions or mediation the person can be helped to construct a new level of understanding. From a CHAT perspective, the ZPD is a conceptual tool for understanding the complexities involved in human activity while individuals engage in meaning-making processes (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010a). Simply put, it is what one is capable of doing with the assistance of competent others, and which is determined by the distance between one’s actual developmental level and one’s level of potential in problem-solving (Mkhize, 2004). Activities carried out through CHAT are to be understood within the ZPD.
CHAT theory purports to aid the understanding of complex learning situations and holds that there are six elements in activity systems that interact together towards a goal or motive (object of an activity) (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010b). The elements of the activity system are the subject, which is the individuals engaged in the activity. Then the mediating tool, which is the prior knowledge and resources that contribute to the subject's action experiences within the activity. Another element is the rules that are formal or informal regulations, norms and values that can liberate or constrain the activity providing the subject guidance on correct procedures and acceptable interactions to take with other community members. The community, which is the stakeholders or social groups with which the subject identifies while participating in the activity, is the fourth element. Then follows the division of labour, which is the roles and responsibilities of those in the activity; and lastly the object, which is the goal or motive of engaging in an activity that is transformed into an outcome, the desired effect of the activity.

In this study, teachers are engaged in an activity system which takes them from their present understanding (of the CAPS and own Xhosa cultural perspectives), mediated by elements (curriculum, rules, role-players, culture, and so on) to a new or deeper level of understanding (reimagined sexuality education). The ZPD fosters the intersection of teachers' and learners' cultural, discursive and knowledge resources, offering opportunities for shared learning (Roth & Lee, 2007). Through this, CHAT seeks not only to explain learning but also to influence qualitative changes in praxis, which is the way teachers teach sexuality education.

3.4 The use of CHAT in the field of Education

In this section, I show several studies, which have successfully used CHAT as a theoretical framework, in the field of education.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Research Question/ Objective</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Methodology and methods</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>Gudyanga, E</td>
<td>Female teachers teaching sexuality education in the HIV and AIDS curriculum in Zimbabwean urban secondary schools</td>
<td>How can Guidance and Counselling teachers be enabled to teach sexuality education within the HIV and AIDS education curriculum suitable for Zimbabwe secondary school context?</td>
<td>Eight female teachers who came from eight different urban secondary schools in the Midlands province, Zimbabwe.</td>
<td>Qualitative, participatory visual Drawing Focus group discussions</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Feldman, A &amp; Weiss, T</td>
<td>Teachers implementing imaging and imagery for classroom learning</td>
<td>Are there changes in teachers’ identities when they have been engaged in Collaborative Action Research?</td>
<td>28 teachers in K-12 schools</td>
<td>Collaborative Action Research Ethnographic methods Participant observation Interviews Document analysis</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Mukeredzi, TG</td>
<td>Exploring professional development experiences of the professionally unqualified practising teachers in rural secondary schools</td>
<td>How do the professionally unqualified practising teachers engage in professional development practices in rural secondary schools?</td>
<td>Twelve unqualified practising teachers who are enrolled on initial Postgraduate Teacher Education and Professional Development programmes</td>
<td>Qualitative design Document reviews Face-to-face Interviews Photo elicitation</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Yamagata-Lynch, LC</td>
<td>Using Activity Theory to evaluate and improve k-12 school and university partnerships</td>
<td>How does the new evaluation and planning tool based on activity systems analysis affect partnership meeting outcomes and develop new</td>
<td>Teachers from K-12 schools in rural Indiana</td>
<td>Qualitative design Focus group meetings/discussions</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.1: Studies that have used CHAT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Roth, WM &amp; Lee, YJ</td>
<td>Vygotsky's neglected legacy: Cultural-Historical Activity Theory</td>
<td>Qualitative design</td>
<td>Subject teachers and Grade students</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>An analysis of educational practices</td>
<td>Activity systems analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Barab, SA; Barnet, GM; Yamagata-Lynch, LC; Squire, K &amp; Keating, T</td>
<td>Using Activity Theory to understand the systemic tensions characterising a technology-rich introductory astronomy course</td>
<td>Mixed method design</td>
<td>33 undergraduate students</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How can activity systems analysis be used to describe student group interactions while they are building a 3D virtual model of the solar system in a university introductory astronomy course?</td>
<td>Pre- and post-interviews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

The collection of studies points to the utility of CHAT in educational settings. Although in the majority of studies it is used within a qualitative design, one study shows that it can be used with mixed methods. CHAT is also compatible with various methodologies.

3.5 Critique of Cultural-Historical Activity Theory

No theory is without criticism and CHAT has some levelled against it too. There seem to be several interpretations of CHAT, which could mean that researchers might be using it in opposing ways (O’Brien et al., 2012). These authors also posit that CHAT, in this contemporary age, lacks a political critique of the contradictions within it. Wheelahan (2004) notes that CHAT “… does not adequately theorise the individual, seeing the individual as society’s gift” (p. 259). She says that the individual cannot be limited to only social processes as there are inner ‘conversations’ and reflexivity in
each individual in the activity system, which should not be ignored. In spite of these criticisms, CHAT is of value given its widespread application in research.

3.6 How CHAT will be used in this study

Given that, CHAT offers “... bridges between imagined, simulated and real situations that require personal engagement with ... artefacts (including other human beings) that follow the logic of an anticipated or designed future model of the activity” (Engeström, 2007, p. 37), the theory bode well for my study. Williams (2008) states that the point of departure for a researcher is a social situation with a defined purpose, i.e. the object and this object is affected by a range of elements, as explained earlier, with mediating tools being the most influential. O’Brien et al. (2012) concur, the subject does not act directly towards the object, and the action is mediated by some tool(s) and is not culturally neutral. For this specific study, the complex learning situation or social situation I am trying to make meaning of is sexuality education taught to Xhosa learners by Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers. Xhosa cultural perspectives that inform how these township secondary school teachers teach sexuality education are explored. This being that “a situation’s current features and dynamics can only be understood by exploring the impacts of past features and dynamics” (Williams, 2008, p. 858).

As illustrated in Figure 3.4, the subject is Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers from township secondary schools in Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape. The mediating tool is the CAPS, the teachers’ teaching pedagogies and their cultural viewpoints. The object is sexuality education or reimagined sexuality education depending on how the research study pans out. The rules are Xhosa cultural norms from the community and school norms including the code of conduct for teachers. The community is the Department of Basic Education, parents of the learners, as well as learners themselves. The division of labour is the role-players, the Department of Education as policy developer and curriculum developer, the teachers as policy implementers and facilitators.
With CHAT, it is understood that "schooling occurs as teachers and learners negotiate complex social interactions, interactions often informed by differing sets of norms and conventions" (Nasir & Hand, 2006, p. 452). These, however, are not static and can change to ensure the achievement of the object, in this instance a reimagined sexuality education. It also seems that CHAT fits in with a critical paradigm (see section 4.3.2), the paradigm suited to the research question of my study. O'Brien et al. (2012) also argue that this theory is compatible with the participatory visual methodology. The theory "can [also] provide a framework for processes of data analysis and interpretation that can enhance validity checking and correctives to researcher bias" (O'Brien et al., 2012, p. 265).

I, therefore, use CHAT to make meaning of how Xhosa secondary school teachers could draw on their cultural perspectives on sexuality and their understandings of the CAPS, in that these might inform how to teach sexuality education to Xhosa learners.
3.7 Conclusion

I have explained the CHAT theory, amongst other things how it evolved and the conceptual elements it consists of. I then tabulated some studies that used CHAT and also offered some criticisms, before I explained how I apply it in my study. CHAT will be revisited in the final chapter (Chapter 7). In the next chapter, I explain the research design and methodology, which maps out how I went about conducting the research.
CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I presented the theoretical framework used to frame the study and make meaning of the findings. In this chapter, I present the research design and methodology, which was briefly outlined in Chapter 1. I begin the chapter by presenting the research questions formulated for this study. I elaborate on the choice and suitability of the research design, methodology and methods for data generation. I then discuss data analysis procedures and present steps undertaken to ensure trustworthiness. Lastly, the ethical considerations of the study conclude the chapter. The study was conducted in Port Elizabeth with nine Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers from four township schools. Table 4.1 outlines the journey of the research study, from proposal defence to conclusions.
Table 4.1: The unfolding of the thesis

<table>
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Phenomenon under study (Xhosa cultural perspectives’ influence on sexuality education)

Proposal Defence (Educational Psychology discipline and methodological experts’ input on research plan)

Literature Review (Context of study and detailed description the phenomenon)

Theoretical Framework (CHAT - to understand the phenomenon and interpret the findings)

Ethical considerations and fieldwork (General and visual ethics)
4.2 Research Questions

How can a deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality inform how Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers could teach sexuality education?

- What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ reflections of their understandings of sexuality education in the LO, LFSC and NS Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements?
- What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of learning about their own sexuality within their Xhosa culture?
- What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of today’s adolescents learning about sexuality within their Xhosa culture?
- How do Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality influence their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners?
- What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ views of meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners?

4.3 Research Design

Research design from a qualitative point of view refers to “the entire process of research from conceptualizing a problem, to writing the narrative” (Creswell, 1998, p. 2). It is thus, a plan for conducting a research study. This research design includes the chosen approach, selected paradigm and adopted methodology. As pointed out in Chapter 1, a qualitative approach, drawing on an interpretive-critical paradigm, and using participatory visual methodology was chosen to explore how a deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality informs how Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers could teach sexuality education.
4.3.1 A qualitative approach

A qualitative approach concerns itself with understanding and exploring reality rather than explaining and controlling it (Fouché & Schurink, 2011). It is subjective as it seeks an insider perspective, constructing the participant's meaning of his or her life world (Creswell, 2013). The approach accommodates the use of multiple data generation methods adding rigour, richness and depth to a study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). According to Creswell (2013), the qualitative approach

begins with assumptions and the use of interpretive or theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems [thereby] addressing the meaning individuals or groups [participants] ascribe to a social or human problem. The final written report or presentation includes the voices of the participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the literature or a call for a change (p. 44).

Research conducted qualitatively records a process that flows from theoretical suppositions, to an explanatory lens, and to the techniques drawn in investigating social or human phenomena (Creswell, 2013). I adopted this qualitative approach because, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2008), human and social sciences need to be disciplines and zones for critical conversations about community, gender, race, democracy, freedom, and globalisation. Cultural perspectives of the Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS women teachers are explored and their influence on teaching sexuality critically appraised, and views on meaningful teaching of sexuality education presented.

4.3.2 An interpretive-critical paradigm

The nature of the research questions requires that I use an interpretive as well as a critical paradigm since this study sought to explore and understand Xhosa cultural perspectives of LO, LFSC and NS township schoolteachers regarding sexuality, aiming at them rethinking and ultimately reimagining their teaching of sexuality education. An interpretive-critical paradigm is thus used in this study.
The interpretive inquiry is said to have emerged more than 100 years ago in trying to differentiate between human sciences research and natural sciences research (Taylor, 2014). Anthropologists contributed to its emergence, and it was only in the late 1970s that interpretive research entered the educational research arena (Taylor & Medina, 2013). Interpretivism is a worldview, which researchers draw on when seeking to understand the lifeworlds of participants by exploring their personal experiences (Creswell, 2013). That is, seeking to understand a particular context (Willis, 2007). The participants’ views of the phenomenon under investigation are drawn on, and the ‘knowledge’ produced cannot be taken to be universally true. Bhattacherjee (2012) views interpretive research as

based on the assumption that social reality is not singular or objective, but is rather shaped by human experiences and social contexts (ontology), and is, therefore, best studied within its socio-historic context by reconciling the subjective interpretations of its various participants (epistemology) (p. 103).

The ontological assumption of interpretivism is that there are multiple realities as seen through the many participant views or perspectives (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Mack, 2010; Willis, 2007). The paradigm takes on an emic approach to research by looking at phenomena through the eyes of the members of a culture, giving an ‘insider’ view, which lessens the distance between researcher and participant (Willis, 2007). These perspectives are reported as themes (using the actual words of participants) in the findings. Generalisations are cautioned due to the fact that multiple realities and interpretations feature in this paradigm (Mack, 2010). The epistemology of the interpretivist paradigm is “inter-subjective knowledge construction, learning to ‘stand in the participant’s shoes’, ‘look through their eyes’ and ‘feel their pleasure or pain’” (Taylor & Medina, 2013, p. 4). Knowledge is gained inductively by not making preconceptions, and at most times it is aimed at creating a theory (Mack, 2010). Denzin and Lincoln (2008) and Willis (2007) maintain that interpretivism yields subjective and practical knowledge. The axiological assumption of the interpretive paradigm is that the study is based on values of integrity where participants are respected (Mack, 2010), and researcher biases are made known.
In summary, an interpretivist paradigm acknowledges that there are various realities that are socially constructed (Willis, 2007). By this, the subjective points of views of participants and the meanings they ascribe to their interaction with their worlds are taken into consideration. Creswell (2013) posits that questions posed to participants are open-ended, allowing the participants to describe the phenomenon as they see it. The methodological assumption of interpretivism is naturalistic (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008), enabling a study of phenomena and settings from the participants' natural world. This paradigm allows for “…rich local understandings of the life-world experiences of teachers and students, and of the cultures of classrooms, schools and communities they serve” (Taylor & Medina, 2013, p. 4). However, interpretivism is criticised because of its non-generalisability and subjective nature, but that is debatable (Mack, 2010). It is debatable because an ‘audit trail’ of a specific qualitative research study in the interpretive paradigm shows other researchers steps that were undertaken to reach the findings and the other researchers can, therefore, determine whether the findings are generalisable to their own work.

In educational research, it is not enough merely to understand people’s life worlds, but also to do something about that which is unjust. It is necessary that researchers and marginalised people with whom they do research, together lobby for social justice and fairness, challenging unjust social phenomena (Mack, 2010). A critical paradigm adopts and takes up further what the interpretive sought to understand by giving the opportunity to participants to embark on some form of action, change and making a difference, thereby creating agency. This kind of transformative inquiry came into educational research through the field of curriculum studies in the 1970s and 1980s (Taylor, 2014). Criticalism seeks to expose ‘oppressive’ or dominating relationships in society and is based on neo-Marxism, postmodernism and feminism as the analysis of data is through these ideologies (Mack, 2010; Willis, 2007). Gage (1989) sees this engagement as challenging the underlying econo-political principles of the teaching practice. With this, schools should not continue to perpetuate inequalities that subtly ‘oppress’ people or encourage the dominion by those in power. Thus, the paradigm interrogates and critiques that which is taken for granted (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007).
Criticalism is founded upon Jürgen Habermas’s Critical theory whose goal is for the attainment of a “form of life free from unnecessary domination in all its forms” (McCarthy, 1978, p. 273). The ontological assumption of the critical paradigm is that reality is material and external to the human mind (Willis, 2007). The paradigm posits that social reality is socially constructed through society, media and institutions (Mack, 2010). The epistemology or the acquisition of knowledge is subjective, is based on ideology and values (Willis, 2007). Mack (2010) appraises power as a producer of knowledge, and this knowledge is also an expression of power and not truth. Methodologically, data is used to enlighten and emancipate. The axiological assumptions of the critical paradigm are fairness and justice, but the paradigm also brings researcher bias. However, researcher reflexivity and bracketing exercises can minimise this.

A key issue that Creswell (2013) highlights about the critical paradigm is that participants could be freed from limitations posed by power dynamics in education. Cohen et al. (2007) summarise the critical element of the paradigm as centring on “… the curriculum [a]s a form of cultural politics in which participants in (rather than recipients of) curricula question the cultural and dominatory messages contained in curricula and replace them with a ‘language of possibility’ and empowering, often community-related curricula” (p. 32). The paradigm is also not without criticism in that it can be seen as elitist (Mack, 2010), assuming that the researcher is ‘emancipated’ and that he or she can transform society. Furthermore, it is not clear whether when people gain critical consciousness and are emancipated, they will not continue to nurture inequalities within their sphere of influence and society.

4.3.3 A participatory visual methodology

Participatory research focuses mostly on “knowledge for action” (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995, p. 1667). It seeks to bring change or transformation to a situation. People, through participatory methodologies, become agents instead of objects of research, which means that they get to comprehend their own situation better (Wright & Nelson, 1995). A participatory methodology is differentiated from conventional research as its strength lies in the research process. At a basic level, the methodology offers an alternative to a prescriptive, ‘top-down’ model of research where research participants
are involved within clear limits set out for them, instead of a bottom-up approach (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Richards, 2011) in which they influence the research process. In this way, the conventional power relations, which are characteristic of research, are dislocated (Mitchell, 2015).

Participatory visual methodologies are a component of participatory research. O’Brien, et al. (2012) note of visual methodologies

… ‘vision’ is not a single thing; it is layered with meaning that is personal, social and historical and in ways that we are often barely conscious. …visual techniques are used in the research process to elicit insight from research participants in the form of spoken [or written] testimony. This non-visual data then provide the empirical material for subsequent analysis. Visual artefacts can naturally be used as data in their own right (p. 252).

Black, Davies, Iskander and Chambers (2018) claim that participatory visual methodologies “describe an array of facilitated processes that support participants to produce their own images or dramatisations” (p. 22) The unparalleled significance of imaging and visual technologies in present-day society cannot be emphasised more (De Lange et al., 2007). According to Buckingham (2009) and Hunting (2012), participants are encouraged to express themselves freely and deliberately with limited influence from the researcher. Manay (2010) puts it nicely acknowledging that “the value of self-directed visual data production is that images, thus ideas, are created without the influence of the researcher, which can be advantageous when the researcher is an insider who aspires to ‘make the familiar strange’” (p.107). This visual method of generating data made the “familiar strange in such a way that it lay beyond my repertoire of preconceived understandings of place and space” (Manay 2010, p. 96). The visual can further be used to initiate dialogues beyond the research study situation (Hunting, 2012; Mitchell, 2015) by facilitating engagement and reflection, whilst steering a sense of agency (De Lange et al., 2015). Another positive element about this methodology is that Punch (2002) observes it as fun, generating useful and relevant data in the process. De Lange et al. (2007) suggest rich possibilities for visual methodologies since they can be used with children through to adults. However, Cornwall and Jewkes (1995) claim that sceptic participants, a disinterest in taking part
in the research, and the enthusiasm of the participants that might wear off as research continues, can hamper the process of visual methodology. It is also a challenge to convince some scholars that visual methodology is rigorous (and transformative); to recognise it as a mode of inquiry, a mode of representation, and a mode of dissemination in researching with participants; as well as viewing it as a mode that enables research that is deeply engaging (for participants and researchers) and which lends itself to reflexivity (De Lange et al., 2015, p. 152).

Given my own positioning, using the visual became favourable since I was addressing a topic that is seen as sensitive; sexuality (Mitchell, 2015). Using a participatory visual methodology could enable participants to express things that they might find difficult to put in words. It is apparent from the preceding discussion that the participatory visual methodology process seeks to enable change (Creswell, 2013). As I sought to engage Xhosa teachers in participatory visual methods, that engagement could lead them to reflect on their work as Xhosa teachers teaching sexuality education and experience some kind of transformation as they reimagine teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners. Mitchell, Theron, Stuart, Smith and Campbell (2011) note that a participatory visual methodology is often used as a critical approach to research and intervention in education - to explore social phenomena and also to come up with thought-through solutions to such issues. Black et al. (2018) also see participatory visual methodologies as facilitating some kind of change.

4.4 Research Setting

The study is set in the Eastern Cape, one of South Africa’s nine provinces, in the city of Port Elizabeth. It was conducted with teachers from four township secondary schools, which are not in close proximity to one another. One school is in Motherwell township, one is in Zwide, and two are in New Brighton. There were 1285 learners and 40 teachers, counting management as well, at the school in Motherwell in 2016, all Xhosa-speaking. The school offers the following subjects; in the Senior Phase, they offer isiXhosa Home Language, English First Additional Language, Mathematics,
Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Life Orientation, Arts and Culture, Economic and Management Sciences and Technology. In the FET Phase, they offer isiXhosa Home Language, English First Additional Language, Mathematics, Mathematical Literacy, Life Orientation, Life Sciences, Physical Science, Business Studies, Economics, Accounting, Geography, History, Tourism and Consumer Studies. The socioeconomic conditions of the learners at this school are relatively poor as the majority comes from the Reconstruction and Development Programme housing sections of the community. The school boasts with a history of academic excellence, and so holds a prestigious position in the community.

The school in Zwide township had 1502 learners and 52 teachers including all management staff, 41 isiXhosa speaking teachers, 3 Coloured teachers, 7 White teachers and 1 African foreigner teacher in 2016. Subjects offered at this school in the Senior Phase are IsiXhosa Home Language, English First Additional Language, Mathematics, Technology, Arts and Culture, Economics and Management Sciences, Life Orientation, Natural Sciences and Social Sciences. In the FET Phase, the school offers IsiXhosa Home Language, English First Additional Language, Mathematics, Mathematical Literacy, Life Orientation, Tourism, Physical Science, Life Sciences, Consumer Studies, Economics, Business Studies, Accounting, Technical drawing, Mechanical Technology, Electricity and Technical Mathematics. The socioeconomic conditions of the learners at this school are poor, drawn from the township and surrounding RDP housing sections. The school boasts with a comprehensive curriculum.

The school in New Brighton township had 1240 learners and 47 teachers, all Xhosa-speaking in 2016. The school offers IsiXhosa Home Language, English First Additional Language, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Life Orientation, Arts and Culture, Economic and Management Sciences and Technology. In the FET Phase, they offer IsiXhosa Home Language, English First Additional Language, Mathematics, Mathematical Literacy, Life Orientation, Life Sciences, Physical Science, Business Studies, Economics, Accounting, Geography, History, Tourism and Consumer Studies. The socioeconomic conditions of learners at the school were dire. The school is known for choir music and had well-known activists having schooled there. The second school in New Brighton township had 967 learners and 46 teachers in 2016.
Forty-four staff was Xhosa speaking, and two were White. The school offers isiXhosa Home Language, English First Additional Language, Mathematics, Technology, Arts and Culture, Economics and Management Sciences, Life Orientation, Natural Sciences and Social Sciences. In the FET Phase, the school offers IsiXhosa Home Language, English First Additional Language, Mathematics, Mathematical Literacy, Life Orientation, Tourism, Physical Science, Life Sciences, Consumer Studies, Economics, Business Studies, Accounting, Technical drawing, Mechanical Technology, Electricity and Technical Mathematics. The socioeconomic conditions of learners at this school were poor, mostly coming from nearby shacks and RDP housing areas. The school is known for its successful rugby and netball teams.

Participants were purposively selected in that the choice was motivated by the aims of this study and what I, as researcher, wanted to achieve and know (Palys, 2008). Thus, the participants were nine female Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers from Port Elizabeth township secondary schools who responded to my invitation to participate in the research study when I visited the schools. Inclusion criteria were: LO, LFSC and NS teachers; male and female teachers; of Xhosa culture; teach LO Grade 8 to Grade 12; teach LFSC Grade 10 to 12, and teach NS Grade 8 and 9, and teach in a secondary school in a black Port Elizabeth township. Space was created for participants from these schools to unify their shared experiences (Ebersöhn, Ferreira & Mbongwe, 2011).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Years of experience</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cikky</td>
<td>Life Orientation</td>
<td>STD &amp; BEd Hons</td>
<td>27yrs</td>
<td>51yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikelelwa</td>
<td>Life Sciences</td>
<td>B Paed</td>
<td>16yrs</td>
<td>44yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nlwazi</td>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>BSc &amp; HDE</td>
<td>23yrs</td>
<td>47yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaphama</td>
<td>Life Sciences</td>
<td>STD &amp; BEd Hons</td>
<td>26yrs</td>
<td>50yrs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khuthala</td>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>BSc &amp; PGCE</td>
<td>15yrs</td>
<td>41yrs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khethiwe</td>
<td>Life Orientation</td>
<td>BA &amp; HDE</td>
<td>17yrs</td>
<td>44yrs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ntombemsulwa</td>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>N.Dip</td>
<td>8yrs</td>
<td>45yrs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ntandokazi</td>
<td>Life Orientation</td>
<td>BA &amp; HDE</td>
<td>17yrs</td>
<td>45yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gcobisa</td>
<td>Life Sciences</td>
<td>STD &amp; BEd Hons</td>
<td>28yrs</td>
<td>51yrs</td>
</tr>
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Table 4.2: Biographical data of the participants

4.5 Research Methods

Mack (2010) states that the researcher’s “… ontological assumptions inform [her] epistemological assumptions which inform [her] methodology and these all give rise to [the] methods employed to collect data” (n.p.). The methods for generating the data were motivated by the participatory visual methodology chosen for this study.

Phase 1 involved the exploration of the Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ understandings of sexuality education in their respective CAPS by means of document analysis. Phase 2 and 3 explored, through drawing, the participating teachers’ own Xhosa cultural perspectives on their learning about sexuality, as well as that of the adolescents they teach. Phase 4 explored, through photovoice, the participating teachers’ practice of teaching sexuality education, while in phase 5, the participating teachers created curriculum posters in order to lobby for a reimagined sexuality education for Xhosa learners in township schools of Port Elizabeth.
Cohen et al. (2007) suggest that as a researcher one should follow appropriate procedures, apply rigour, and maintain the integrity and autonomy of the research. This I did having consulted literature to acquaint myself on how to conduct research. I therefore maximally used the discussed methods to answer each of the secondary research questions. In spite of coming from the same culture as the participants and being a former Life Orientation teacher, I could let the data speak for itself. The methodology assisted me as it allowed for greater researcher visibility; transparency of intentions, and reflexivity (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Mack, 2010). I explain each of the methods and the process of using it.

4.5.1 Data generation methods

4.5.1.1 Document analysis

The qualitative research method, document analysis, is one in which printed or electronic documents are reviewed and evaluated (Bowen, 2009) and “requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 16). Document analysis in research provides background and context, raises additional questions to be asked and is a means to track change and development (Bowen, 2009). At the final analysis, document analysis creates data that are structured and systematic (Labuschagne, 2003). Bowen (2009) notes that “[t]he analytic procedure entails findings, selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesising data contained in documents” (p. 28).

Advantages outweigh the disadvantages in document analysis. Owen (2013) states that document analysis gathers facts and that aligns with Bowen’s (2009) assertions that you as the researcher being there does not interfere with what is being studied. Bowen further highlights other positives about document analysis which are; it is less time-consuming and thus efficient, is cost-effective, the availability of documents brings the method within reach, and the coverage of documents is broad.

I chose to use document analysis because I wanted to establish the context upon which the study was going to be based on what was in the LO, LFSC and NS curriculum on sexuality. According to Rapley (2007), you as the analyst of a document
focus on the issues a document raises, how these issues are structured and organised, and the understanding thereof. The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements of the Senior and FET Phases of Life Orientation, that of the FET Phase of Life Sciences and the Senior Phase of Natural Sciences were analysed in a participatory way with the participants to gain an understanding of sexuality education in these documents. The document analysis of these CAPS with the LO, LFSC and NS teachers served as background and context for this study and enabled the exploration of what the participating teachers’ understandings of sexuality education in the LO, LFSC and NS Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements were (See 4.2.1 for the data generation process).

4.5.1.2 Drawing

Drawing as a method refers to participants making an illustration or graphic representation and then explaining the meaning rooted in it (Mitchell et al., 2011). Fascinating is that “the drawer’s context (both present and past) colours what is drawn, how it is drawn, and what the drawing represents” (Mitchell et al., 2011, p. 19-20). Researchers see drawing as simple and cost-effective, thus can be done by anyone (De Lange, Mitchell & Stuart, 2011), and is in line with the critical paradigm. Mitchell et al. (2011) posit that drawings aid in retrieving subtle and nuanced aspects that people would ordinarily be unable to talk about. Although drawing is commended for its effectiveness with children, these authors believe that the use of drawings is also appropriate for adults. Furthermore, drawing aids participants, young and old, to reflect on their own life-worlds and to share complex but nuanced messages (Beyers, 2012). Drawing promotes active engagement and does not require high-tech equipment; it is executed with ease in that all that is needed is a pencil (or pen) and paper (Mitchell et al., 2011). Notwithstanding these benefits of drawing, the method can render the participants insecure about making a drawing, fearing that it might not measure up aesthetically. The widespread use of drawing with children can undermine the potential effectiveness of the method with adults.

Malindi and Theron (2011) speak of a “renewed interest in the use of drawings since traditional methods often fail to elicit the socially silenced voices …” (p. 106). This points to the compatibility of drawing with the critical paradigm and the participatory
visual methodology discussed in sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3. That is the reason why I chose drawing as one of the data generation methods. Participant teachers made drawings depicting their own Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality as well as that of adolescents or youth of today. Mitchell et al. (2011) note that drawings have been effectively used in the field of Psychology with both adults and children. Through this process of visual conceptualisation and the discussion of the images in the context of their production, participants are given an expressive channel to voice their inner stories as well as an active and empowering role in the research (Literate, 2013).

### 4.5.1.3 Photovoice

Photovoice is drawn from Paulo Freire’s (1970) scholarship on education for critical consciousness. Wang (2005) developed photovoice as a method in 1995 in her project with Chinese women labourers who worked the land to get them to depict their poor working conditions and to get policymakers to do something about it. Photovoice is “a participatory action research method combining photography and group work to give people an opportunity to record and reflect on their lives” (Lal, Jarus & Suto, 2012, p.181). According to Berg (2008), the technique of photovoice involves participants using cameras to take photographs of issues affecting their particular lives. Suffla, Kaminer and Bawa (2012) give a wholesome exposition of photovoice when they say that

> [i]n terms of photovoice, participants whose voices may be otherwise marginalised through processes of social and political disempowerment, including children and adolescents, women, and historically oppressed or economically impoverished communities, represent their experiences of their social world through photographs that they take and select (p. 518).

Several researchers have since used photovoice in various contexts. Olivier, Wood and De Lange (2009) state that photovoice is useful “to encourage active participation from teachers, learners and community members in identifying issues and ways of dealing with them” (p. 13). The photographs provide evidence and support a democratic and participatory way of bringing about change (Olivier et al., 2009). Photovoice demonstrates the constructedness, reflexivity and collectivity of
knowledge production and heightens the engagement of the participants, creating contexts that make the participants aware of their agency to bring about change (De Lange, 2008; Pithouse & Mitchell, 2007). Photo-narratives can be constructed in groups, creating accompanying narratives, which involve “reflecting on how a series of events become connected” (Campbell, 2010, n.p.).

Photo-narratives are used to tell a story by presenting photographs around a topic and describing them. Participants reflect on and present their ‘case’ through photo-narratives (De Lange, Mitchell, Moletsane, Stuart & Buthelezi, 2006). After the photographs have been taken, the researcher and participants come together to talk about the meaning of their photographs. The narratives “are an interpretation of the actual story or experience, therefore treating a narration as an actively creative enterprise both highlights and acknowledges a version of self, reality and experience that is produced through the telling” (Woodley-Baker, 2009, p. 28). There are some benefits to using photo-narratives; taking photographs of choice is non-intrusive to the participant, facilitates a highly participatory approach to data generation and allows participants to serve as “expert guides” (Langa, 2008).

One of the most compelling attributes of photovoice is that it “provides a means for an investigator to gain perceptual access to the world from the viewpoints of individuals who have not traditionally held control over the means of imagining the world” (Berg, 2008, p. 937). Photovoice work can be exhibited so that socially engaged themes can serve as a visual resource in policy-making (Emme, 2008). Like in the study by Taylor, De Lange, Dlamini, Nyawo and Sathiparsad (2007), I also chose photovoice as a data generation method seeing that it is a non-threatening way of introducing sensitive issues and is said to be enjoyable to teacher participants. It provided space for the participants to reflect and to make their voices heard (Hunting, 2012). On the downside, using this method means ethical issues need to be closely considered (Mitchell, 2015).
4.5.1.4 Curriculum posters

Posters are colourful and attractive media, which stimulate interest in a topic by illustrating a concept and giving guidance on the use of its contents (Osa & Musser, 2004). Although speaking from the perspective of HIV and AIDS awareness information, Gobind and Ukpere (2014) state that posters draw on popular culture and express people’s living habits. Not only those, but posters are also eye-catching and informative, and serve as effective tools for raising awareness of an issue. That is because posters enable the imparting of a clear take-home message (Miller, 2007). Another positive about posters is their ability to create a lasting impression on its audience (Keely, 2004). In spite of these, “poster messages are not necessarily effective in changing [people’s] behaviour and lifestyles” (Gobind & Ukpere, 2014, p. 742).

Curriculum posters, as the name depicts, are posters made up of photos and drawings and with a minimum of words, to crystallise a clear message, in this instance on the content and pedagogies of a particular learning subject. I chose to use the making curriculum posters since they can capture participant viewpoints in a manner that is interactive and would allow the participants to consolidate their generated data. This would have an effect of mirroring exactly what their engagement during the research was and possibly create a sense of agency on their part. Also, presenting a poster facilitates explaining that which is of the essence and what the solutions are (Miller, 2007). In order for the teachers to describe a reimagined sexuality education in Xhosa secondary schools, the teachers created curriculum posters by reflecting on their understanding of the CAPS, their drawings, photovoice and discussions on Xhosa cultural perspectives including their teaching practice. In that way, they were depicting a deeper or new understanding of the teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners and also enabling themselves to be agents of curriculum change.
4.5.2 Data generation process

Figure 4.1: Data generation process

Data generation sessions were held as weekend retreats working on the Friday and the Saturday, and on Sunday (see Appendix E). The sessions held on Fridays were five hours long, and the sessions on Saturdays were eight hours long. Three such weekend retreats were held with the participants. There was prolonged engagement with the participants, and I also called them together for member checking. At the time of member checking, we looked more closely at their explanations of the curriculum posters to ensure that I understood the meaning the participants made of them.

4.5.2.1 Phase 1: Document analysis

Having met the nine participant teachers as a group for the first time, groups of three teachers were each given copies of either Life Orientation, Life Sciences or Natural Sciences CAPS, depending on what they were teaching. Together they studied the LO, LFSC and NS CAPS, starting from Grade 8 and progressing to Grade 12 where applicable, and identified topics which pertained to sexuality. They then identified and discussed what they (participant teachers) thought was important to teach, what they
found easier to teach, and what they saw as not so easy to teach. The first prompt was:

“In your subject groups select topics from each CAPS document per Grade that cover sexuality. Write the topics on the flipcharts provided.”

The participants wrote the topics one after the other from Grade 8 to Grade 12 as applicable per subject. Once the participants were done with the identification of sexuality topics, I then asked them to identify and discuss those topics they thought were important to teach, easier to teach and not so easy to teach. I used the following prompt:

“Identify topics that you think are important to teach from those topics you have put up and place self-adhesive gold dots next to them. Also, identify topics that you find easy to teach and place self-adhesive green dots next to them. Lastly, place self-adhesive pink dots on those topics you find not so easy to teach.”

The nature of the retreat allowed these teacher participants to engage thoroughly with the task at hand. It took three hours for the teachers to complete the participatory document analysis (see Appendix E). The session ended with each teacher reflecting in writing on what their understanding of the CAPS with regard to sexuality education was, and together with the participants, I made a summary on the flipcharts. I photographed all eleven flipcharts, labelled them document analysis and saved them in a folder on my laptop. The participatory document analysis session was video-recorded and stored for transcribing and further analysis. Thus, the participants did a participatory document analysis, and I did another layer of analysis at the end of data collection.

The overall impression of phase 1 by the participants is that they were surprised at the overlaps between the three subjects analysed. They were at times discovering from the CAPS what it was that they should be teaching.
4.5.2.2 Phase 2: Drawing (Self)

At the next session, participants were invited to individually make drawings of their Xhosa cultural perspectives of their own learning about sexuality. When the teacher participants were invited to draw, I told them that they should not concentrate on creating perfect drawings but on the content thereof (Mitchell et al., 2011). I was trying to avoid a situation where the teachers feel they will not be able to really draw. Participants were provided with a choice of paper and pens. They were given 20 minutes to make the drawing, giving them time to process the prompt and visualise their responses. The teachers were asked to reflect, draw, show and tell about their drawings using the following prompt:

“Draw how you learnt about your sexuality when you were growing up. The quality of your picture is not important. Write a caption on your drawing.”

Each of the nine participants got a chance to explain to the whole group what their drawing meant to convey. Thus, the teachers ‘told’ of their drawings, they also discussed one another’s drawings and offered a rich and varied discussion of how they learnt about sexuality. I made some field notes, which captured some of the ideas that I picked up from the ‘telling’ of the drawings. The teachers wanted to create impressive drawings although it had been explained to them that they should freely draw and that there was no wrong kind of drawing. The whole session was video-recorded for the purpose of transcription and analysis later. I collected all nine drawings, scanned them and labelled them ‘Drawing self’, and saved them and kept the hard copies in my office. I did not ask the participants if they wanted to keep the drawings, but in retrospect, I realise that I should have.

Participants felt that phase 2 was taking them back to a time they had almost forgotten about. They really enjoyed telling about their drawings, and it was an eye-opening exercise in that they could make meaning of their growing up ‘discourses’.
4.5.2.3 Phase 3: Drawing (Adolescents)

The next session with the participant teachers also required them to draw. They drew how they saw their adolescent learners learning about sexuality following this prompt:

“Draw how you see Xhosa adolescents of today learning about sexuality. Remember once again that the focus is not on how the drawing looks but should represent your view. Put a caption to your drawing.”

Participants were again given 20 minutes to make the drawing and for writing the caption. The same procedure as with the initial drawings was followed. The ‘telling’ of the drawing was followed by the discussion of each other’s drawings, also noticing the commonalities in their explanations of their drawings. I noted these down and took the nine drawings for scanning, labelled and saved them as ‘Drawing Adolescents’. The session on adolescent drawings was video-recorded for transcription and analysis later.

After phase 3, participants felt that the media overwhelmingly plays an important role in how today’s adolescents learn about sexuality. They felt like it was playing a negative role in the socialisation of adolescents in terms of sexuality.

4.5.2.4 Phase 4: Photovoice

The participatory document analysis and the making of drawings provided the necessary lead-in for the context of the photovoice work. During this session, the participant teachers, in self-selected groups of three, used digital cameras to take photographs of how they teach sexuality education. They had to respond to the following prompt:

“Take 12 photographs of how you see yourself teaching sexuality education as an Xhosa teacher to your Xhosa secondary school learners. Write captions for the photographs to tell your story.”
I started by showing the participants examples of photovoice so that they can have an idea of what is expected of them. Ethics regarding the handling of the visual were explained, for example, that they should take care with including (preferably not) faces in the pictures, and so on. A trial session on how to take, print and present photographs was slotted in with them responding to a prompt: ‘Take photographs of what makes you feel safe and not so safe at school’. They did the whole drill of presenting their photographs as part of the practice round.

Once I was satisfied that the participant teachers understood the process, they were given the prompt to take photographs of how they taught sexuality education to their learners. The participants in their groups first planned the photographs they wanted to take, then set off to ‘stage’ and take their photographs. They had an hour and a half to do so (see Appendix E). When they were not a hundred percent satisfied with a picture, they had an opportunity to re-take that particular picture. They then printed their own photographs by connecting their digital cameras to the photo printers I had set up for each group. Then in their groups (not organised by subject), they worked to make photo-narratives using the pictures they took. For this part of the work, they had an additional two hours in which to do this. They selected photographs they wished to talk to and pasted them on poster paper in a way to tell a story. They wrote their narratives and gave the poster a title. All three members of the group took turns describing and explaining their photographs. By doing this, the women teachers were authors of their own narratives (Langa, 2008), which seemed to empower them. Knowledge was co-constructed and reconstructed as the participant teachers actively interpreted and narrated their images, as did Olivier et al.’s participants (2009). This was followed by a further discussion, which took another thirty minutes. I then took a picture of the three posters, labelled and saved it as ‘Photovoice’. The explanation of the photographs by each member was video-recorded for transcribing and analysis.

Having completed phase 4, participants generally embraced the participatory method of photovoice and thought of how it could be used, especially on sensitive sexuality issues, in their own teaching practice.
4.5.2.5 Phase 5: Curriculum posters

Coming from phase 4, I wanted the teachers to explore their agency (Suffla et al., 2012) by identifying actions that could potentially be taken to address the teaching of sexuality education, focusing on the content of the curriculum and its pedagogies. This final stage thus required the teachers in subject groups to create what I termed curriculum posters, depicting meaningful views of teaching sexuality education by Xhosa teachers to Xhosa learners. They were working with the following prompt:

“Reflect on the research process bearing in mind what you have learnt during the research journey and create curriculum posters depicting meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners.”

The teachers needed to take into consideration who the primary audience (is it the DBE or other teachers, etc.) was. They concluded that their audience is other teachers. In their curriculum posters, they could include a photograph, drawing, slogans, and so on. De Lange et al. (2015) sketch six steps that may be followed in creating such posters. The participants first went back to the issue for which they had to find a solution, discussed how to present the issue and its solution in a poster. They then planned and created the first draft and presented it to the whole group. Next, they welcomed feedback given to them and refined the poster in light of feedback given. The final step was to present the revised poster to the whole group. As each group presented its poster(s), it was video-recorded for later transcription and analysis. Four posters in total, two of which came from the LO group, one from Natural Sciences and one from Life Sciences were photographed, labelled ‘Curriculum Posters’ and saved in a folder.

After phase 5, the women teachers reflected that they appreciated their Xhosa culture and that it should, together with participatory methodologies, inform sexuality education in their township schools.
4.5.2.6 Field notes

Keeping field notes is an important part of doing research, as not only can one capture what happens in the process of doing research, but also what thoughts and insights come to mind, what interesting themes begin to emerge, and what tensions are at play. Thompson (2014) offers an interesting glimpse into the making of field notes. I kept field notes as often as I could by writing in a journal, of which I offer a sample here:

At the beginning of the study, my first visit to the four schools was marked by agitation wondering if teachers would be interested in being part of it. I was pleased with the response of a few female teachers but did not understand why the males did not volunteer themselves for the study. When I started with data generation, I realised that it takes much commitment from the participants to engage fully. I had a special group of ladies who were willing to take up the work and show up every time. For that, I am grateful and feel very honoured. When we started with document analysis, I could see that the teachers were not familiar with the CAPS, but they engaged with it as expected. What gave this away was what they were commenting amongst themselves as they were analysing the CAPS saying, ‘Is this in the syllabus too, I wasn’t aware!’; ‘There is much that is overlooked, and these CAPS are showing me’. As the teachers were working in their subject groups, I had an idea that there should be some ‘cross-pollination’ next time they worked in groups. I wanted them to be exposed to the other and get a full picture of sexuality education.

In our second session, I noted that the participants were initially uncertain about having to draw. Once they got to it, they made concise drawings that captured their messages including their explanations. The women teachers were so free when they spoke about their drawings; they enjoyed talking about themselves. I also noted that their drawings of how today’s adolescents learnt about sexuality were not as elaborate as those about themselves. I picked up that the participant teachers spoke fondly about their Xhosa culture and on many occasions, they longed for things to be as they once used to be. Minor critique came from one or two participants. We also had to address the issue of how a girl dressed up in short or revealing clothes invites harassment and rape. It was
a tense moment because the participants were quite moralistic. In the end, it was understood by everyone that nothing warrants rape.

Having to take own photographs and print them themselves was very exciting for the women teachers. Sitting in my hotel room later that day, I thought the session went well because the teachers also spoke about using the same method with their learners. As I reflected further on the session, I also thought that the teachers portrayed themselves and their teaching practice in a positive light. I had anticipated seeing some struggle with the kind of content that they teach. I then dismissed the thought by taking that the group of participants were a special brand of teachers. With curriculum posters, I could see that the newspapers and magazines I had brought to the hotel limited the teachers. Perhaps, if they were coming from their homes, they would have brought what would have been relevant for them to use for their posters. Nonetheless, they also took pictures of what it was that would make for meaningful teaching of sexuality education.

Research is an iterative process, embarking on this study, I found myself having to go back to previous sections of the study and constantly update the information. I find that I have to keep at it because if I stay too long away from the study, then I lose the flow. The data generation phase is the most fascinating part of the research journey.

4.6 Data Analysis

The emphasis in qualitative analysis is “sense-making or understanding a phenomenon, rather than predicting or explaining” (Bhattacherjee, 2012, p. 113). Data analysis can be done manually and electronically using a software programme; I opted for doing it manually because I wanted to immerse myself in the data and actively engage with the process of analysis. The participants did the first layer of analysis when they presented their understandings of the CAPS in document analysis, and what they wrote as captions and explained during drawing, photovoice and curriculum posters. This participatory analysis was recorded and transcribed for a second layer of analysis. After I had consolidated all the data from the various data generation methods, I used thematic analysis, “a process of analysing text and image data which
involves organizing the data, conducting a preliminary read-through of the database, coding and organizing themes, representing the data, [and] forming an interpretation of them” (Creswell, 2013, p. 179).

4.6.1 Thematic analysis

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is defined as “… a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 79). Thematic analysis can be applied to stories or narratives that develop in group discussions and those found in written documents (Reissman-Kohler, 2008). Thus, thematic analysis was fitting in this study, as there was a ‘telling’ of the stories around the participant drawings, photographs taken during photovoice, the analysis of the CAPS documents, and the curriculum posters. Thematic analysis has thus been chosen in this study because of its usefulness in working within participatory research methodology where participants are co-researchers and co-producers of knowledge (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

What happens during thematic analysis is that the data set is described in rich detail. Loosely put, Ayres (2008) states that “the product of a thematic analysis is a description of patterns and the overarching design that unites them” (p. 867). It is studying and coding a data set to find a series of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It, however, is not a linear process as when one analyses one moves back and forth within the entire data set. Steps from Braun and Clarke (2006, pp. 87-93) that I followed in conducting thematic analysis are outlined as:

Step 1 involved familiarising myself with my data through immersion in the depth and breadth of the content. This was done by taking notes and marking ideas for coding. I also checked the transcripts against the original recordings for accuracy.

Step 2 was the production of initial codes from the data. Here I ensured that all actual data extracts were coded. This coding was done by writing notes on the texts. I coded for as many potential themes as possible without losing context,
coding individual extracts of data in as many different themes as they fitted into. I also kept account of data which departed from the dominant story in the analysis. (See Appendix F for an example of a transcript and initial codes).

Step 3 involved searching for themes by sorting the different codes identified across the data set into categories. Next, I collated all the relevant coded data extracts within the identified categories. I combined the categories to form themes. I then discarded the codes that did not seem to fit into the main themes. (See Appendix G for an example of themes and categories).

Step 4 involved the refining of the themes from step 3 by considering the validity of individual themes in relation to the data set. I considered whether the thematic map ‘accurately’ reflected the meaning evident in the data set as a whole. The exercise established coherence and told the overall story about the data.

Step 5 defined and further refined the themes through conducting and writing a detailed analysis of the ‘story’ that each theme told as it fitted into the broader overall ‘story’ in relation to the research questions. A hierarchy of meaning within the data at this stage was demonstrated by categories. I ended this step by giving theme names that were concise, punchy, and immediately gave the reader a sense of what the theme was about.

Lastly, step 6 produced the write-up by telling the complex story of the data in a way that convinces the reader of the merit and trustworthiness of the analysis. Examples of data extracts demonstrate the prevalence of the theme and serve as sufficient evidence to support the themes. This write-up is concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive and interesting, making an argument in relation to the research questions (See discussion of findings in Chapter 6).

4.6.2 Trustworthiness

The quality standards to be adhered to in this qualitative study are trustworthiness and authenticity. Rossman and Rallis (2012) posit that a study is trustworthy when the conduct of the study and its findings are “sufficiently believable” (p. 59).
Trustworthiness looks at whether the researcher has rendered an account of the participants’ world-views, perspectives and experiences as honestly and fully as possible. For a qualitative study to be useful, then, readers must believe and trust in its integrity. The criteria for trustworthiness were identified by Guba (1981) and included credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; De Vos, 2005; Shenton, 2004), and authenticity (James, 2008).

4.6.2.1 Credibility

Credibility establishes the congruency of research findings with reality, reality being what the participants had actually said about their experiences (Shenton, 2004). This criterion ensures that a true picture of the phenomenon that was investigated is provided. I ensured trustworthiness by giving a thick description of the studied phenomenon with its context enabling the reader to assess how far the defined themes truly embraced the actual situations. I also used research methods that are well recognised in participatory research, as they were appropriate for the concepts being studied. In order to make sure the study was credible, prolonged engagement with the participants was also undertaken including a rigorous literature review. Previous research was examined to frame the findings and conclusions reached. Credibility was also enhanced through using multiple methods of data generation (document analysis, drawing, photovoice and curriculum posters) to build a complex picture of the LO, LFSC and NS teachers’ deeper understandings of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality. Attention was also drawn to the discrepancies within the findings. I also took the findings back to the participants for verification and member checking. Debriefing sessions were also frequently held with the supervisor to recognise my own biases and preferences thereby widening my vision as a researcher and to see possible alternative approaches. As an emerging researcher, I was part of the education faculty’s doctoral community, which was a platform for peers to review my work, which enabled me to refine the methods, develop a greater explanation of the research design and strengthen my arguments in light of the comments made during these sessions. Impressions of each data collection session are given in trying to understand how effective each method was. This is referred to as field journaling or ‘reflective commentary’ (Krefting, 1991; Shenton, 2004). Another factor that increased the credibility of this study is that I worked under
the supervision of an experienced researcher whose background and qualifications can only build trust in the research (Krefting, 1991; Rossman & Rallis, 2012; Schurink, Fouchè & De Vos, 2011; Shenton, 2004).

4.6.2.2 Transferability

Transferability is an indication that “the results of a research study can be transferred to other contexts or situations beyond the scope of the study context” (Jensen, 2008, p. 886). In other words, the criterion establishes whether the study’s findings are applicable to other situations (De Vos, 2005; Shenton, 2004). Transferability is the alternative to external validity in quantitative research (De Vos, 2005). Background data and a detailed description of the phenomenon in question are provided to establish the context of study to allow comparisons to be made (Shenton, 2004). In fact, this criterion requires the researcher to demonstrate how, in terms of the contextual data, the study locations compare with other environments. Jensen (2008) suggests that as a researcher one should pay attention to how closely the participants are linked to the context being studied (relevant members of the community being studied) and the contextual boundaries of the findings (research questions appropriately answered). This establishes the ‘generalisability’ of the study (Shenton, 2004). A strategy, which was used to ensure transferability of this study, is writing a thick description of the context, research design, purposive sampling of participants, limitations and delimitation of the study (Jensen, 2008; Krefting, 1991). I have also made clear the theoretical framework (CHAT) that I used in making meaning of the findings in the preceding chapter.

4.6.2.3 Dependability

Guba (1981) views the dependability criterion as relating to the consistency of findings. Dependability establishes if the study was to be repeated, in the same context, with the same methods and with the same participants, whether similar results would be obtained (Shenton, 2004). In this sense, Shenton notes that a research design may be viewed as a “prototype model” (p. 71) and when others build on it, they are guaranteed to reach the same findings and conclusions. This criterion could be achieved as processes, small and trivial, within the study were reported in detail.
‘Overlapping methods’ (Shenton, 2004) such as drawing and photovoice, which more or less require the same engagement from participants (draw/photo and caption), were employed. Dependability strategies used include a dependability audit (when another researcher can clearly follow the decision trail used by the investigator in the study), dense description of research methods, peer examination (at the proposal defence where discipline and methodological experts checked the research plan), and a code-recode procedure (done after coding a segment of data) (Krefting, 1991).

4.6.2.4 Confirmability

Confirmability “ensures as far as possible that the research study findings are the result of the experience and ideas of the participants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher” (Shenton, 2004, p. 72). In other words, it is the extent to which I as a researcher admit to my own dispositions. Confirmability strategies include a confirmability audit (which follows at the end of this paragraph) and reflexivity through which the researcher is aware of his or her influence on the data (Krefting, 1991). I came into this research with an insider view of the issue under study, as I had been an experienced Life Orientation teacher. I had taught in Port Elizabeth, and Uitenhage township secondary schools and come from Xhosa culture. That gave me some level of understanding of where the participant teachers’ perspectives and inputs stemmed from. I decided to use participatory visual methods as they suited tapping into the type of information the phenomenon under investigation called for and the agency I wanted to enable through the research process. Culture and sexuality can be sensitive phenomena to study. Yeh and Inman (2007) suggest that one explains key biases up front and how one will deal with them. Positioning myself, as a researcher in Chapter 1 attends to confirmability. Also, I kept in check my own biases through bracketing sessions (Silverman, 2011) with my promoter as well as by asking the participants to reflect on the research experience as the research process progressed. The confirmability audit (Krefting, 1991) or ‘audit trail’ (Shenton, 2004) describes the decisions and procedures made to chart the path of the research systematically.
4.6.2.5 Authenticity

James (2008) states that authenticity asks whether research has been worthwhile, establishing if it will be of some benefit to society. It is about asking what difference it makes to members of the culture or community being researched. It is about fairness in representing the ‘voice’ of the participants who are responsible for the cultural reproduction of the research inquiry and outcome. Participants’ viewpoints are reported in this study in a way that respects their integrity. Authenticity is also ontological; by taking part in the study, participants acquire a raised level of awareness regarding the social context in which they find themselves and in which they explored their Xhosa cultural perspectives. Educative authenticity refers to the research broadening the participants’ perspectives. Without imposing my own views as the researcher, the participants explored their understandings of the curriculum, reviewed their teaching practices regarding sexuality and mirrored them against ‘universally’ held notions. Authenticity is also catalytic, stimulating participants to some form of action. Lastly, authenticity is tactical, as the research intended to empower the participants to act and improve their situation, as is seen in the research process culminating in the creation of curriculum posters. The research study provides the foundation for further postdoctoral work with the participants engaging in dialogue with the subject advisers and curriculum planners, using the curriculum posters they generated.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

I realise that ethics is important, as it is central to quality research (Miller, 2018). Before embarking on the fieldwork, I sought ethical clearance from the Nelson Mandela University Ethics Board, which scrutinised the research plan and granted permission to undertake the study (See Appendix A). The Department of Basic Education and respective school principals were also approached and informed of the intentions with the research study and gave permission to approach the teachers (See Appendix B and Appendix C). The participant teachers were provided with appropriate information about the research study before they could give written informed consent (Ogden, 2008b) (See Appendix D). Although I took an approach of doing least harm and most
good (Mitchell, 2011) I also arranged psychological support services of the university to be available for the participants who may need them as a result of any possible risk that might be posed by participating in the study. Risk refers to the “chance or probability that harm or injury may occur either in the course of the research or as a consequence of the research” (Ogden, 2008a, p. 796). Harm might occur emotionally due to talking about HIV and AIDS, and cultural issues relating to sexuality given its sensitive nature (Ogden, 2008b). None of the participants requested psychological support; it seemed as though the debriefing after each data generation session was sufficient.

I employed the following skills; being watchful of non-verbal language as participants interacted with one another in discussions during each data generation phase, not pushing the participants to respond when silences occurred during probing, and applying a philosophy of an equal researcher-participant relationship which characterises participatory research (Low, 2008). Efforts were made not to breach confidentiality, invade privacy and damage the teachers' reputation, as a copy of the findings will be shared with their respective schools. Pseudonyms were used in the report and comfort was ensured by protecting participants from one another’s ‘intrusions’.

When I was outlining the research study process, I communicated with the participants how their photographs and drawings would be used in the study. With regards to visual ethics, I negotiated and re-negotiated with the participants which photographs were to be used in the thesis (Miller, 2018). They were more than happy for me to use all the photos they had taken. I was proactive in the photovoice phase of data generation and spent time engaging them about visual ethics, drawing on Mitchell's (2011) work on how to use photovoice in ways that were ethically safe and sound. They had therefore taken the photographs in ways so that they were unrecognisable yet portraying the message they wanted to put across. The mock practice round that they had before actually taking the photographs for their posters aided in this process. The benefits of the research for the participants and to scientific knowledge and society can be said to have outweighed any possible harm or risks to the participants (Miller, 2018) in this study. Trust was built with the participants as they were treated with integrity,
respecting their culture and values. This was in line with Miller’s (2018) assertion that care and beneficence should guide one’s work with the participants.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the design and methodology of this research study, which is qualitative and participatory. In it, I outlined how the data was generated by describing the methods and processes enabling other researchers to understand what I had done. Open coding and thematic analysis were explained and were complemented by appendices. I also described how I ensured trustworthiness through following the criteria developed by Guba. Ethical considerations were teased out and were supported by evidence that appears as appendices at the end of this thesis. In the next chapter, I present the data generated with the participants.
CHAPTER 5
RESULTS OF THE STUDY

5.1 Introduction

As alluded to in the preceding chapter on research design and methodology, the data generation process involved engaging participants in generating data using four data methods. The main research question was formulated:

How can a deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality inform how Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers could teach sexuality education?

The data generated from the five sub-questions were rich, and the visual nature thereof requires me to present a chapter with the results, in particular, the visual artefacts that were produced, enabling the reader to see the data sets as a whole and understand what the research process with the participants yielded. The following chapter then provides the analysis and findings.

5.2 The Results

5.2.1 Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ understandings of sexuality education in the LO, LFSC and NS Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements

Document analysis (see 4.1.1 and 4.2.1) was used to explore the first sub-question: What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ understandings of sexuality education in the LO, LFSC and NS Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements?

The participatory document analysis of the CAPS documents for LO, LFSC and NS was delimited to teachers finding topics that cover sexuality education, and then which of those they felt were important to teach (the gold self-adhesive dots); easier to teach
(the green self-adhesive dots), and not so easy to teach (the pink self-adhesive dots).

I offer an example of a flip chart of each subject, which shows the content of the discussion and their appraisal of the topics (See Figure 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3, and Appendix H). I then provide a tabulated summary of the results on the flipcharts (See Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3).

The process ended with the participants reflecting on how they experienced the participatory document analysis and giving their understandings of sexuality education in the different CAPS (See Figure 5.4, 5.5, and Appendix I).

5.2.1.1 Life Orientation

![Figure 5.1: An example of a flipchart of the participants’ LO work](image)

GR. 8. LO CAPS

SEXUALITY

Understanding One’s sexuality

personal feelings that impact on sexuality

Sexual behaviour and sexual health

DIFFERENT DISABILITIES
CHI/HIV/AIDS

INFECTED & AFFECTED

RELATIONSHIPS & FRIENDSHIP

Concept of self

Respect for others’ opinions

Influence of cultural norms and values on individual behavior, attitudes and choices

Assessment of behavior

UNWANTED RESULTS OF UNHEALTHY SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

Teen Pregnancy etc.

social pressure that impacts on sexuality

in with other illnesses & diseases; different disabilities & AIDS (infected & affected)

Gr8
The LO teachers identified the following topics as important to teach, easy to teach and not so easy to teach (See Table 5.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Topics seen as important to teach in Life Orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Abstinence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The concept of self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social pressure that impacts on sexuality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Personal lifestyle choices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sexual behaviour and sexual health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Life roles: nature and responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Important life goals and prioritising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Life skills required to adapt to change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lifestyle diseases as a result of poverty and gender imbalances</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Topics identified as easy to teach in Life Orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Relationships and friendship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Respect for others’ opinions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Change of behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sexual behaviour and sexual health</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abstinence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unwanted results of unhealthy sexual behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social pressure that impacts on sexuality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Respecting differences in terms of culture, religion and gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assisting those affected and infected by HIV and AIDS and other terminal illnesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goal-setting skills in terms of personal lifestyle choices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sexual behaviour and sexual health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Differences between men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Influence of gender inequality on relationships and general well-being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sexual abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teenage pregnancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STIs including HIV and AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contemporary social issues that impact negatively on local and global communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Changes associated with development towards adulthood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coping with change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Values and strategies to make responsible decisions regarding sexuality and lifestyle choices to optimise personal potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Important life goals and prioritising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationships and their influence on wellbeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The impact of the media on values and beliefs about relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Healthy and balanced life choices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive role models</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

136
Lifestyle diseases as a result of poverty and gender imbalances
Contributing factors to ill-health such as unsafe sexual behaviour

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Not so easy to teach topics in Life Orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The concept of self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Different disabilities and HIV and AIDS (infected and affected)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Understanding one’s sexuality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Constitutional rights and responsibilities with regard to how to apply them in one’s daily life (example given was in case of abortion and having to preserve life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Types of discriminating behaviour including campaigns that address such discrimination, and gender, race, stereotyping and sporting codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Risky behaviour and situations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Intervention strategies to ill-health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life skills required to adapt to change as part of ongoing lifestyle choices.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Life Orientation topics

5.2.1.2 Natural Science

![Image of a flipchart of the participants' NS work](image)

Figure 5.2: An example of a flipchart of the participants’ NS work
The NS teachers, too, identified topics, which were important to teach, easy to teach and not so easy to teach (See Table 5.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Topics identified as important in Natural Sciences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The main components of the reproductive system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The purpose of human reproduction and puberty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All the stages of human reproduction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Topics identified as easy to teach in Natural Sciences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The stages of pregnancy in humans (gestation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How pregnancy can be prevented by using contraceptives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Not so easy to teach topics in Natural Sciences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The main purpose of reproduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Puberty as the stage in the human life cycle when organs mature for reproduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary sexual characteristics caused by testosterone and oestrogen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male and female reproductive organs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: Natural Science topics

5.2.1.3 Life Sciences

Figure 5.3: An example of a flipchart of the participants’ LFSC work
The LFSC teachers, too, identified topics, which were important to teach, easy to teach and not so easy to teach (See Table 5.3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Topics seen as important in Life Sciences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Human reproductive systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Main changes in puberty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gametogenesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Menstrual cycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fertilisation and the development of zygote to blastocyst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gestation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The role of the placenta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sex chromosomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gonads</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Topics identified as easy to teach in Life Sciences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Genetics and Inheritance: Mutations, paternity testing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sex chromosomes, sex-linked alleles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oestrogen and progesterone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Not so easy to teach topics in Life Sciences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Erectile dysfunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The menstrual cycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sex-linked diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The endocrine system (naming the hormone testosterone)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Life Sciences topics

After the exercise, eight (one had an emergency and left the session early) of the nine teachers reflected on the participatory document analysis and what they had gained from it. I include two reflections (See Figures 5.4, 5.5).
Figure 5.4: Sikelelwa’s reflection on understanding sexuality education
In summary, one of the teachers stated that now that they have looked at the CAPS, she has found that the topic of sexuality education is broader than she had thought before. She mentioned that it includes health issues, sexual behaviour, the influence of cultural norms and values on individual behaviour, attitudes and choices, and so on. She also said that she was previously not aware that lifestyle was included in sexuality education. She acknowledged that she did not know that there was a relationship between Life Orientation and Life Sciences regarding sexuality education. She suggested that these subject teachers work as a team in order to achieve the goal of teaching sexuality education successfully. She concluded by saying that her teaching will be different in future because now she knows that she must not only focus on reproductive organs, hormones and pregnancy, but also look at all other areas that she had learnt about.
Another teacher reflected that she noted that she (they) did not know what sexuality was and thus not teaching what they should. She suggested that that could be the reason why there was a high rate of pregnancy and HIV and AIDS. Just as in the first reflection, she acknowledged a need for teaching LO, NS and LFSC in a complementary way so that learners can be fully exposed to all relevant and related issues of sexuality education. Overall, these two reflections were generally the sentiments echoed by the rest of the participant teachers (See also Appendix I).

5.2.2 Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of learning about their own sexuality within their Xhosa culture

Having set the context for the research by using participatory document analyses of the three CAPS documents, the participants were ready for the next phase of the research. They used drawing (see 4.1.2 and 4.2.2) to explore the second sub-question: What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of learning about their own sexuality within their Xhosa culture?

In answering the question, participants responded to this prompt:

“Draw how you learnt about your sexuality when you were growing up. The quality of your picture is not important. Write a brief explanation of your drawing.”

Nine drawings were generated. I first present each participant’s drawing with its caption, followed by a transcription of their own verbal explanation of their drawing.
Cikky, an experienced teacher who teaches Life Orientation, made the following drawing:

![Cikky's drawing](image)

Figure 5.6: Cikky’s drawing of her own learning about sexuality

This is how Cikky explained her drawing:

*In this picture there is me, there’s home, there’s community, there’s school. And then, what I’ve learnt from home, what I was taught at home: there was not much information that I would get. I was just told when I started menstruating; ‘You see now... because you are menstruating, should you have a boyfriend, you are going to fall pregnant.’ That’s the only thing I was told. So I did not, I was not told what actually would make you fall pregnant if you have a boyfriend. And then I got some info from the friends in my community. Friends and peers. But the information I got is also not true when I come to think of it. I can relate to one thing I can remember, there was a friend of ours who apparently started menstruating before us. So at that time we knew nothing about menstruation, we were playing and we just saw that ‘Oh shame there is some blood’*
and I’m sure she also did not know what was happening. And then we gossiped and said ‘Woo, that one has got a boyfriend’. I don’t know where we took that from because we had not yet menstruated and be told that should you get a boyfriend you are going to fall pregnant. And then at school, the bigger girls that were with us in class, they would talk about stuff, in class and in break. And they would say ‘Share you story your story, don’t just listen to us, what’s happening in your own life, don’t just listen and say anything’. And from that information also, I know that some of the stuff that was shared was not correct. So there is some correct stuff that I’ve learnt. But there was also a lot of gaps from the information that I got. It was my aunt who played the role of being a mother to me because my mother passed on when I was only 8 years old. So then I was brought up by my aunt as a mother. So she was the one who showed me ‘You see, what will happen, when you get pregnant, I will not take care of your child because I am taking care of you. So please guard against being pregnant because I am only responsible for you, not your child that you might bring home’. So I was so afraid to get pregnant in a very big way. I was really afraid because I thought; ‘What will happen to the child’. As a result, I got children when I was very old. My first child, I think I was about going to my 30s I think. Because she told me; ‘The only time you have a child is when you get married’. And then in marriage I did not get pregnant immediately you see. So that’s my story.

Phaphama, an experienced Life Sciences teacher, made the following drawing:

![Figure 5.7: Phaphama's drawing of her own learning about sexuality](image)

Figure 5.7: Phaphama’s drawing of her own learning about sexuality
Phaphama explained her drawing as follows:

In my drawing it’s about me and this boyfriend of mine, this is the bioscope, my friends with their boyfriends and then it’s me standing there not being held by anyone feeling like being hugged but this boyfriend of mine expected me to say yes I love you, but those words couldn’t come out of my mouth I couldn’t say them, I was shy but inside I had the feeling so this one, he came with the chocolate and then gave me. It’s me here, this is my boyfriend, these are my friends who sat with their boyfriends *pointing at drawings* then we are in a bioscope, the bioscope used to be full on Saturdays and then there were no chairs and the other it was a boyfriend and a girlfriend holding each other and I felt like I also want to be hugged and that one was standing just next to me not even holding my hand the thing that I felt like it should be happening to me too. (Laughs)… Ooh I think our stories are similar. I grew up with my parents, my mother and my father. My mother was very strict. My father was so sweet. And then when I was doing standard 8, that is grade 10. That’s when we had friends. My friends were more matured than me. Actually they were a little bit older by one year, one or two years; and they already had boyfriends when we were doing grade 10. And then they already menstruated, and I was like ‘When is this coming to me?’ At home I was never taught anything about menstruation. As I said my mother was very strict and she didn’t take any nonsense. So I heard everything about sexuality from my friends. And my friends started to menstruate, both of them. I was the last to menstruate. Then they had boyfriends. Heee… there was this boyfriend that was proposing me, and I was like ‘Yhoo! I love this boy also.’ And then we used to go to Rio bioscope in New Brighton. And this guy started pressurising, and I was like… inside I say yes! but I don’t say it out loud. I just wanted him to do what the other boys are doing to the other girls, but I hadn’t said yes, he was waiting for me to say yes. And it was so difficult to say ‘Yes I love you too.’ Then… ey my goodness I was like; ‘Can’t he understand I’m in this thing? I also want to be kissed, I also want to be touched.’ And then it was so so so oh no….. And then at school, another education or information we heard from teachers. The teachers told us that there was a teacher by the name of Mr Z. He used to tell us that ‘You girls must know that you are like an orange. You see the orange….. You don’t open an orange and cut it, you squeeze the orange, and you take that juice, if you have boyfriends you will be like that orange. Once that juice is taken out of that orange, nobody wants that orange’. So at the end of the day I told myself that, no ways
I can’t be like that orange and be thrown away and not be wanted by anyone. So we had those fears of not being those oranges and be squeezed.

Sikelelwa, a Life Sciences teacher, made the following drawing:

Figure 5.8: Sikelelwa’s drawing of her own learning about sexuality

Sikelelwa gave the following explanation on how she learnt about sexuality growing up:

I grew up in a family where my father was working in Johannesburg and I stayed with my mother at home and my father used to come back during the easters and December, so I saw him twice a year. My mother was very strict it was even difficult to go and play with other children so I was always at home if it’s not home it’s church, if it’s not church I am in town with her. So she took me to a boarding school and I think that’s where I got a lot of information from my Consumer Studies teacher. She used to tell us about how to behave as a girl and decision making and she introduced us into this menstruation stuff, to me school was better than home, home it was like a prison I mean because, I think my mother was not in a good relationship but she never
shared anything I only knew this year that my sister was raped when she was 4 I knew that she was taken to Cape Town, since my grandmother didn’t have children so she decided to take one of her children but it was not so she was trying to hide what happened. So at school, since she was this strong woman at home there is one boy and 4 girls and my brother used to tell us, he would hit us if he can see us whether we are walking or talking with a boy so the fear played a role in avoiding me to have a boyfriend until grade 11 and unfortunately the principal that was in a boarding school knew my mother so I know if I can do something here and my mother finds out I am dead. So at grade 11 I had this boyfriend but it was difficult because he was at home and we used to meet, there is a fence between us he is on the other side, I am on the other side and whilst he is talking I am looking around for my brother, so it was not easy and then I said “let me stop this” I am not free, it’s a torture and then I told myself that when I am doing the first year then life will begin I am going to have a boyfriend I am going to enjoy life, I am going to have sex but unfortunately I got saved. Fortunately! I got saved and then when I was reading the bible there is a verse 1 Corinthians 6:12 which says “use your body for God’s Glory” and then there is that one that says “no sex before marriage” and I think church played a big role in my life and there are those sessions for girls ministry whereby we talk as girls and the visions that we have how many children that we want to have, you want to keep your virginity and you just have a picture when you get married, how is it going to be sleeping for the first time and you will be amazed that when I met my husband I never knew him, we never met but I think his cousin used to attend SCO functions and she was interested in me and she told her brother and her brother was praying for a life partner and she told him, there is this woman at school I think you can click because she is like you. So the girl came to me in my dormitory and said she wants to see me because there is this brother in PE he wants to see me, and I said who is this brother? And she said it’s Thembi. Thembi who? I don’t know Thembi and we set a date but I was like, I wonder what is this about. He came and told me that ‘I don’t want any relationship with you I don’t want to sleep with you, I don’t want you to be my girlfriend I just want to marry you’, and I was shocked because how is it going to happen but inside me I was also praying for a life partner, I knew that there are many boys out there but there is one husband so I prayed that ‘oh Lord, guide me so that when the other boys are coming I can easily identify my husband’, and I don’t want to lie more than three came before him and there was no connection and this one as he was talking something
was ticking inside me, my heartbeat, I just knew that this is the man, and I said ‘Yoh! Give me time’ he said ‘I don’t have much time I have been waiting for Miss Right’. At home I said I am going to town because my mother was very strict and we talked.

Gcobisa, an experienced Life Sciences teacher, made the following drawing:

![Gcobisa's drawing](image)

Figure 5.9: Gcobisa’s drawing of her own learning about sexuality

The explanation given by Gcobisa for her drawing was as follows:

*In our community there were many girls that go out as friends but I remember when now we were not allowed to go out like go to films and everything that we would sit in the yard behind the closed gates and I remember those that were passing by in a space (we call it a square), we would say it’s a gap, so everybody would laugh at us and say ‘hey, they are dogs of the yard’ because we were smart, wearing jeans nicely but we were not allowed to go out and at that time it was a frustration to us because the other children were going up and down and now we were told here we cannot go out but at that time and even when a friend wants to come at your house it was not allowed because when a friend would come she would be asked ‘did you clean at your home? And what about whatever the chores that you were supposed to do, aren’t you supposed to do this and that at home?’ And they would feel intimidated and go*
even in the room we were not supposed to sit on the beds are going to sag, the mattresses are going to sag, and things like that and that time we couldn’t understand until one day, one of my cousins that was looking after my sister’s child whilst we were at school because she was not going to school, you know at that time my father would buy us panties we would be given money to buy panties for going to church, we would have panties for schools and for church. There were three of us each one having a pack of that, so we were at school on this day and our cousin’s friend came and whilst she was bathing in a basin so she was boasting with the new pack of panties as she put it on, and whilst she went out to throw the water her friend stole those panties, the new ones and then she took them home. And now when she came back, we said she must bring the panties she had stolen and she said she knows nothing about that and the stepmother said ‘didn’t I tell you not to bring friends? I’m sure there was a friend in the room I told you before never bring friends in the house’. And then she thought there was a friend in the room, she went to her home she saw them hanging on the line but the friend was not there and when she asked they said she brought them and said, because she stayed KwaNobuhle whilst we were at KwaLanga, so she said no it’s the panties that were bought by her parents. And it’s only then that we realized that okay this is why the friends must not come into our room, you see that’s how we learnt things.
Nolwazi, a Natural Sciences teacher, made the following drawing:

Figure 5.10: Nolwazi’s drawing of her own learning about sexuality

Nolwazi made the following explanation of her drawing:

My knowledge of sexuality me being socialized, my mom was there telling me about chores, girls do this, girls must wash dishes, girls do not laugh out loud they must not be heard they must be seen. And nothing more at home and then fortunately I went to the Roman Catholic school and religion kicked in and values of abstinence and what not were taught to us and I was fortunately in a boarding school, we stayed there
although we normally played around, you know you had a crush on this one and on that one, we’d just pick ‘this one is mine’ it just ended there, so I came back home, there was also a role play in the playground you know, when you’re playing house ‘I’m the mom, and you are the dad’ so you two are the couple play, so school was where I actually add the correct things, I don’t remember anything in high school, that school ended at standard 7, grade 9. When I went to high school I don’t remember anything, and I fell pregnant at 18, I guess the gap there has a role to play so yeah it’s about it. I think it was just looking at older couple you know, you are 12 you are 13 and you’re looking at this 16s and 17 years old who go out together and you always want to peep, you want to see what they do, nothing told nothing formal you are just observing and making your own inferences and understandings from what you see., so there was nothing formal about relationship and how we should relate to men and except that mom would always say, if you sleep you will fall pregnant.

Ntandokazi, a Life Orientation teacher, made the following drawing:

![Figure 5.11: Ntandokazi’s drawing of her own learning about sexuality](image)

Ntandokazi explained her drawing as follows:
I heard about sexual education from my peers and my friends even menstruation from my friends and my peers. My parents, they were very strict they did not speak anything about that, in so much I drew about it’s me, my friends and the streets that’s where I heard from the street and then after that I heard at the school from the teacher and then at the church there were speakers but after my friends had influenced me already in a wrong way. But I am totally opposite, I am more open I have my last daughter she is 11 years old, I have already told her about menstruation and everything even at school they know the Life Orientation teacher who is open, I am more open I am talking about everything, private parts, HIV, even how to use a condom I show them the pictures from Google and everything, I am more open.

Khuthala, a Natural Sciences teacher, made the following drawing:

Figure 5.12: Khuthala’s drawing of her own learning about sexuality
Khuthala explained her drawing as follows:

A lot has been happening in my life, firstly I grew up with my grandfather, my mother was not there, my mother would get a child and leave it with her father and go for a year and come back pregnant again, leave a child to her father she did that 3 times and unfortunately we grew up without a mother only with a grandfather, then I’d say sometimes it was a blessing in disguise to grow up in that particular family because I was a strong person I’d end up experiencing things on my own there was not mother who was telling me to ‘expect this, when you are doing this you will get that’, all that I found out myself that it is wrong to do this it is right to do that, the things that we grew up was going to church, our life was going to church, go to school go to house, we were not allowed to play after 6 pm I think one of the guys mentioned that, there was a yard in my grandfather’s house, very beautiful flowers, my grandfather and grandmother they had given the best yard in the area and it was very neat, imagine we are not allowed to play in that yard because there are people who are going to come and inspect it now, I grew up in that particular family. At church it was fortunate for me to go to a Bible Church of Christ I think many of us would know, there boys are boys and girls are girls even the older people, a woman was not allowed to preach and at church, man seated on the other side and women on that side, and at my home also my grandfather was doing everything, my grandmother was not supposed to go and work she must stay at home make household chores that’s all, her job. My grandfather would go and work, go buy groceries and everything but grandmother would cook and only wash the dishes. Even how the boys and girls dress, when I came to Vista University in 1992 I didn’t have pants I was wearing dresses, when I grew up there was a saying that the girls only wear dresses or the skirts, then I had a challenge when I went to university and fortunately for me I wasn’t in a flat I was staying at home because at that time I didn’t know about boyfriends I didn’t experience anything until I was in tertiary. In my first year, unfortunately, my grandfather passed away the day before I went to my exams, the day before matric exams at that time I had to write my exams the next day fortunately for me I passed all my subjects failed only Maths because I didn’t have a chance, I didn’t have friends and with Maths you have to go and practice. When I got to university I saw that girls are wearing pants, I bought myself jeans like anything I was wearing a jean and takkies, because I didn’t know that kind of clothing, a jean and takkie, my grandfather never bought that for me, I was wearing
a jean and takkies every day because it was new for me to wear that I was so comfortable, you know. As a result, since I didn't grow up with my parents I was a strong woman, I have one son, I am a mother and a father to that son but together with that one we were talking about sexuality, I had a problem because I didn't know, my grandfather passed away before I started my university therefore in my upbringing there was not both parents, like this was going to teach me this and this one is going to teach me that. That I don't know whether it's a generation whatever, I am stuck with my son I know nothing about how boys react to masturbation whatever, with how the boys behave when they are growing up because remember in my olden days whereby boys are boys and girls are girls you know nothing about how the boys must handle their growing up. Then I said let me take my son to a college, the boys' school, because I know nothing about how, when he reaches a certain stage, how am I going to react how am I going to tell my son, don't do this don't do that, then I said okay here at home I will be a mother I know I can be a mother but there's this gap of a father figure that I cannot teach him, I can teach some things that I know but there are people like teachers who can also teach and bridge that gap that I cannot teach at home, I speak about everything with my son but there is that gap, there are things that I won't know exactly that's why I told myself, let me take you for that education, that sexual education, in respect of that one let me take it to the teachers then he is at boarding school they'll take care of that part, I will do my part then the teachers will do the other part. Our parents taught us to respect. There comes a situation whereby most of us in my age group, I would mention, grew up without knowing our fathers. I grew up without knowing my father because it was a shameful thing to get pregnant while you are not married. It would not be talked about in the family, and when you ask your mother who your father is, she won't tell you, she will go into the grave without telling you. It will be a secret in the family. I got to know my father when I was thirty-two years old.
Ntombemsulwa, a Natural Sciences teacher, made the following drawing:

![Image of Ntombemsulwa's drawing](image)

Figure 5.13: Ntombemsulwa’s drawing of her own learning about sexuality

Ntombemsulwa gave the following explanation for her drawing:

*I am one of those girls that didn’t know anything about menstruation in those years, the 80s. I’m one of those girls that didn’t know anything. So nobody taught me about sex at home. And then I think because we talked with other friends maybe. So I think the first time, I was in Transkei, 1980s I was 10 year then. So the other children, they were younger than us. They were sleeping together. So we were amazed and we knew that that thing is wrong when they sleep together. So I didn’t know that this is a*
sexuality thing, they are not supposed to do as they are. We just were just saying; ‘Iyhuhyhu they will be beaten’, and again we could not tell the adult. You know in those days, those things you could not talk about them during those times. So, and then in 1983 in Alice Mavuso, we were talking about the other lady that got pregnant and we were so amazed that she was a little girl, a teenage girl gets pregnant. It was amazing then. Not like these days now people are used to those things. So I don’t remember, maybe as I am growing then talking with friends at school, then we talk about these things and I listened, knowing nothing about boys. And the other girls were saying, ‘Ntombemsulwa you must say something’ and I would say; ‘I don’t have a boyfriend. But I was so inquisitive and would say; ‘Haa! why are you doing this and this and this?’, and they would answer me. I was learning from them while I was still young, so no one taught me about sex, you know… ‘You must be careful!’. Because I didn’t grow up with my mom. I grew with my mother’s friend in Transkei, then moved to my father’s wife, to my uncle. So was moving up and down.

Khethiwe, a Life Orientation teacher, made the following drawing:

![Khethiwe’s drawing of her own learning about sexuality](image)

Figure 5.14: Khethiwe’s drawing of her own learning about sexuality
I grew up in a very small family a very individualistic not by will but by the circumstances, my mother was a domestic worker where my mother is I am there (I was a purse), nothing more just as my colleagues have said, nothing much was said about sex, I learnt about sexuality when I first developed feelings, emotions and I remember on this one Friday I met Polo, I grew up in Limpopo and Polo proposed to me and I said yes, the chemistry was so strong it was 30 minutes of hugging and kissing just so tight but thanks God that nothing happened. I have been a child, I grew up as I have said, with a free spirit, when I got at home there was nothing that I could really hide, what you see is what you get. If you ask me the truth I tell you as it is, I don’t lie about anything. So I said ‘Mommy guess what, I have a boyfriend’, and she went like ‘Mhmm? What did you say to me?’ ‘He said he loved me so I said yes’. She said on Monday you go back and tell the boyfriend of yours that you renounce what you have said to him. And I said; ‘But mommy there is no particular reason?’ She said I should just tell him I’ve heard that he’s been sleeping with all the girls around the village, and I was not one of the girls. So on that Monday when I went back to school I dropped Polo. Polo was still excited to see his girlfriend I said; ‘No bhuti, we can’t’, and he said ‘Huh? What?’ I toughened up and said; ‘No, I heard that there are so many girls around and you have made so many girls pregnant’. Polo was so shocked and thought what happened to this one, so that was it I broke up with him and I would say more on sexuality level, the influence was through the media. I remember at my mother’s work while I am sitting with my mother’s boss, watching night rider and knight rider would say this particular lady and a film there would be a romantic part and when they are kissing you go like this, so it is not so much of an influence from outside because I grew up in a more westernized society. I would go to school and when I leave school going back no friends, it’s just work if I am not in the plantation, if I am not at the shop helping out, if I am not busy trimming roses that’s how I grew up. My mother kept me as busy as possible, so work to me was, I started working at an early age. And then I met this guy I think I was probably 19, it was my first time to have sex I would like to say this that being girl meeting someone you don’t need them with the intention to have sex, you just don’t know what is going to happen when they invite you over, you go over to their place as a friend as a girlfriend not knowing that they are gonna say you can come into my room, and from there they say (kaloku)… then
you move from one corner of the bed to the other trying to avoid this up until it happens and you realize only later but that was not my will, and I never said yes. And also the menstruation part, we would laugh about it, because when I was 13 years old I got my menstruation and I ran after my mother when she was going to work then I said ‘Mommy I’m bleeding’, and she said ‘go quickly, go fetch a bucket’ and I went to fetch the bucket, and she said ‘get some water’, and she took the bucket full of water poured on my head and she said ‘I hope you don’t look back, and I don’t understand until today what was this mean all about? I really don’t understand what it symbolizes with all my life [laughs].

5.2.3 Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of today’s adolescents learning about sexuality within their Xhosa culture

Having considered their own learning about their sexuality, the way teachers view today’s adolescents learning about sexuality within their Xhosa culture was explored through drawing (see also 4.1.2 and 4.2.3) in response to the third sub-question: What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of today’s adolescents learning about sexuality within their Xhosa culture?

The prompt that they were given was:

“Draw how you see Xhosa adolescents of today learning about sexuality. Remember once again that the focus is not on how the drawing looks but should represent your view. Put a caption to your drawing.”

Nine drawings were generated by the women participants. I present the drawings followed by their explanation of their drawings.
Cikky made the following drawing:

![Cikky's drawing](image)

Figure 5.15: Cikky’s drawing of how today’s adolescents learn about sexuality

Cikky’s explanation of today’s adolescents learning about sexuality:

*I see today’s adolescents – both boys and girls - learning about sexuality from the community where cultural beliefs are transferred. It is however through media that most learning about sexuality takes place. I can quote technology devices such as cell phones, computers and television as influencing our youth. Social media and the internet teach these young people sexuality matters. I also see young people learning from pornographic magazines as well. Today’s adolescents also learn from their peers. Lastly, the LO classes offered at school are invaluable spaces where youth also learn about sexuality.*
Khethiwe made the following drawing:

![Khethiwe's drawing](image)

Figure 5.16: Khethiwe’s drawing of how today’s adolescents learn about sexuality

Khethiwe explained her drawing as follows:

*I have realized that the youth of today model sexuality from friends through peer pressure, environmental factors and social factors also contribute a lot to that. I have drawn houses, a lot of them and people, it’s just over crowded and over populated. Can I just talk about social factors, the violence that is happening around them for instance in 2013 I had a grade nine learner that was repeating grade nine and every time in the middle of the year like in June she gets sick and she goes back home and doesn’t come back. All to find out that when I had to drop her off taking her home one day I had a chat with her mother and the mother said no I am actually married to a very violent person, this person is a thug so he smokes mandrax and*
when he is done then he wants to sleep with me right in front of the children while children are watching, it’s nothing to him to do that to me before the children.

Khuthala made the following drawing:

![Figure 5.17: Khuthala’s drawing of how today’s adolescents learn about sexuality](image)

Khuthala explained her drawing as follows:

*I wrote television, the internet and schools. I think at school there are two ways whereby the learners are being taught about their sexuality; positively like in their learning area life orientation, also from their peers at schools, cell phones, drug abuse because when they become drunk then they will experience sexuality and when they being drunk they will be aggressive, being over stimulated and feel they do want to have sex when they are drunk and are under the influence of drugs. In television there are some movies sometimes they are educational, most of the films are not educational at all.*
Gcobisa made the following drawing:

![Gcobisa's drawing](image)

Figure 5.18: Gcobisa’s drawing of how today’s adolescents learn about sexuality

Gcobisa gave the following explanation for her drawing on adolescents:

*Today’s adolescents learn about sexuality through watching certain soap opera shows on television. I also see them learning from other media like cell phones and the internet. I agree with other participants that adolescents learn from and with peers, these kids copy one another. I also want to note the role that schools play in teaching about sexuality. It helps that schools are offering subjects like Life Sciences and Life Orientation. I want to also acknowledge the role that is played by the church in teaching about sexuality. I, however, note*
with disrepute the fact that sugar daddies prey on girls when it comes to sexuality. Finally, being in environments where there is alcohol and drug abuse exposes adolescents to aspects of sexuality too.

Nolwazi made the following drawing:

![Figure 5.19: Nolwazi's drawing of how today's adolescents learn about sexuality](image)

Nolwazi explained her drawing as follows:

*I see today’s adolescents learning about sexuality through experiences that may not be positive such as child abuse. Just like what the others have said, they learn from media like television, magazines and the Internet. There are certain Xhosa cultural rituals in which adolescents learn about their sexuality, where a boy or a girl has come of age they get taught certain things. Another source of learning for the adolescents is their peers and friends. Because friends are important at this stage of their life, they*
teach one another many things. As you can see my drawing, I also feel that adolescents learn through observations they make from the family and community at large.

Ntandokazi made the following drawing:

Figure 5.20: Ntandokazi’s drawing of how today’s adolescents learn about sexuality

Ntandokazi’s explanation of her drawing on how adolescents learn about sexuality:

Let us say for example, adolescents hear news of rape from television and radio, they become aware and learn about sexuality. Children are naughty, they play with pornographic magazines and learn about sexuality. They also learn from the Internet which they google from their cell phones. Adolescents also learn from friends and through experimentation; learning from doing it. But I cannot take this away from some parents, they make the effort to teach their young ones about sexuality matters.
Sikelelwa made the following drawing:

Figure 5.21: Sikelelwa's drawing of how today’s adolescents learn about sexuality

Sikelelwa gave the following explanation for the drawing:

Today’s adolescents learn about sexuality from media such as television where they watch pornography. Not only there, adolescents get a lot of sexuality information from their peers at school and in the community. I also see adolescents learning about sexuality from their cell phones which they watch porn without their parents’ knowledge. Another place where adolescents learn about sexuality is school; on the backyards and also in offices of teachers that take advantage of girls. Also, another place where adolescents learn about sexuality, is at church where pastors relieve themselves of stress by sleeping with the adolescents. I am a pastor’s wife I know this. I want to emphasise that adolescents learn a great deal about sexuality from friends and the community.
Ntombemsulwa made the following drawing:

![Drawing of today's adolescents learning about sexuality](image)

Figure 5.22: Ntombemsulwa’s drawing of how today’s adolescents learn about sexuality

Ntombemsulwa’s explanation of her drawing on today’s adolescents:

These children learn a lot about sexuality from television films and DVDs satisfying their curiosity with these. You sometimes see them carrying magazines in which they view pictures of naked people and learn some aspects of sexuality. I can also mention both negative and positive things regarding sexuality at school; behind classes at school a lot of fooling around occurs, but also in a positive way certain school subjects teach about sexuality.
Phaphama made the following drawing:

In this drawing of mine, I have a cell phone, a television set, a laptop, drugs, magazines, alcohol, and parents abusing alcohol. I will try to talk about each one. Today’s adolescents learn about sexuality through the Internet which they access on their cell phones and laptops. They also watch soap opera shows on television and learn from them. Unfortunately with technology being so accessible nowadays, they also watch pornography on computers. By using drugs and alcohol, adolescents expose themselves to certain aspects of sexuality because they become vulnerable.
Adolescents also learn about sexuality from magazines. Another way that they learn about sexuality is through observing parents who abuse alcohol and perform sexual acts in front of them.

5.2.4 Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers' perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality and how that influences their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners

Photovoice (see 4.1.3 and 4.2.4) was used to respond to the fourth sub-question: How do Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers' cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality influence their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners?

The prompt that was given to the teacher participants is as follows:

“Take photographs of how you see yourself teaching sexuality education as an Xhosa teacher to your Xhosa secondary school learners. Write a caption for each photograph.”

The photos they took portrayed how their perspectives influence their practice. Here I represent the three photo-narratives, followed by a transcription of their explanation.
Nolwazi, Ntombemsulwa and Sikelelwa made the following photo-narrative:

Figure 5.24: Photo-narrative - Xhosa culture and Sexuality Education through photovoice

Nolwazi, Ntombemsulwa and Sikelelwa explained their photo-narrative as follows:

Nolwazi: Here we have, in my approach of the Natural Sciences syllabus, we deal with issues such as pregnancy, surrogate mothers, abstinence, the use of contraceptives, and so on. So I normally have a debating session where you want them to talk because culture, Xhosa culture, they don’t want to express themselves, their opinions and their feelings. They don’t even do that at home with responsible people, now you want them to express their feelings, you are opening up that avenue where they can talk. My teaching is motivated by the fact that I know this is not happening and so facilitating an avenue where they can do this and talk. This picture is about role-play where you can have a role-play kind of situation where you have two girl learners together moving away from one girl learner that dresses up like a boy. You can teach about choice,
respecting others and their sexual orientation bringing in human rights, not discriminate. Under CAPS, you talk about hormonal changes, oestrogen and testosterone levels explaining sexual orientation. Our culture in this instance is primarily not accepting of homosexual orientations but we’ve grown to learn to accept that this person has got a right to expose themselves in whatever manner they choose. Here we have got this man (I have his face covered), he is threatening and fighting with his wife, they have infertility problems in their marriage. You know with us if a couple experiences infertility problems then the blame is placed on the wife. It’s on that topic where you deal with conditions associated with reproduction in humans where you outline to them that it’s not only the female that can be infertile, the male can too. With regards to culture, it treats it as if it is always the female that is on the wrong there. When you get to this one, I want to say, these are kids, little ones younger than ten years of age. They have not yet reached puberty, they play together as boys and girls, culture allows that. But once secondary sexual characteristics come into play, I made an example of menstruation, we said on our last session once you start menstruating your parents tell you all sort of things – you are not allowed to play with boys, this and that. Then you see on this picture boys playing by themselves. They are separated from girls because also with secondary sexual characteristics of puberty comes emotions as well. In your lesson you try to explain what happens to them, once playing together and now during puberty stage (that is 10-15 years) the changes that occur.

Ntombemsulwa: This photo shows we are teaching the children how to dress. So, they (you) must dress and hide your body, ne? Private parts must not be seen by guys (other people) as we are Xhosa people, right? We must respect our bodies. Here the second one, it teaches the girls not to allow the boys to touch them on the bums and girls must not be used to that, being touched by the boys. The third one, if you are taking a bath in your family home, do not be naked in front of the females if you are a guy or in front of guys if you are a girl. That avoids uncles from touching their nieces. Keep privacy!

Sikelelwa: Why I wanted to chip in it is because in our culture we used to wear short skirts but rape was not as rife as it is today. Nowadays it’s a risk to expose our body parts as we know that the problem of a man is in the eye. In our school environment
we find out that these girls when they get to grade 10 they cut their tunics to make them short and tight fitting. I think that there is something happening in the mind, you can't just do that. So, telling them to cover their bodies and respect themselves will make them safe against rape and sexual abuse. Coming to this picture, due to the carelessness of handling our bodies we end up with different types of diseases, sexually transmitted diseases and at the end we sometimes get pregnant. So another way of teaching sexuality we (I) teach them about condoms as a way of preventing or limiting the number of people who are infected. And another thing is that when I’m teaching about teenage pregnancy, I expose the consequences of it because sometimes they have to leave school before time, and sometimes they have to miss classes because they have to take care of their babies. So, when I teach about abstinence I bring consequences first.

Gcobisa, Ntandokazi and Khuthala made the following photo-narrative:

Figure 5.25: Photo-narrative - Xhosa culture influence in Sexuality teaching
Gcobisa, Ntandokazi and Khuthala explained their photo-narrative as follows:

Gcobisa: It’s a pleasure to stand here and speak something about our culture, Xhosa culture, and its influence on sexuality and our teaching. Here we have what girls used to wear, exposing their breasts and wearing short skirts. To us we felt like the people used to respect each other hence the dressing up the way they did. People would go to cultural events and no one had the right to touch each other. In all that exposure we didn’t hear of rapes because they were respecting each other. But when we look nowadays, there is much disrespect although everyone has a right to choose what to wear and to say no. When you don’t like something you need to express yourself and tell people that you don’t like it. In this photo we say that people are forced to dress like this, covered up because of what is happening. When we look at menstruation in our growing up as children we understood that our parents, even though they were not learned they knew something because when we got menstruation, they will always tell us you must stay away from boys, you must not be around boys. They knew that when there is ovulation, and the egg comes out, there is a possibility that you will get pregnant. We speak about condoms here, that people must condomise. Reality now is that there are many teachers out there, a parent would teach a thing and outside there the peers will tell something else. They would also get involved in drugs as per influence of peers. Drugs these days don’t even come as drugs, they come in the form of muffins (they call them dagga muffins), sweets and just soup. So if you look at our culture we were not supposed to just go about and eat anywhere, and that was really taught in our homes. That helped us, but now there are things that are sold even at schools and nobody checks what the hawkers come and sell. Also, through random searching we see that the knives are there in our schools. In our culture knives were respected, they were used slaughter cows but they were always placed in a separate place not for everybody to carry them around. Now everything is done because I think there has been a loss of respect on what we were taught growing up. At school as we teach, we do remind the children about abstinence, that it is good. There are learners that are still virgins and one grade 11 learner told me so but also expressed some sadness at how the others try to isolate her. Getting involved in sex can lead to pregnancy as you see in this picture. Teenage pregnancy can be problematic because the boyfriend might not be working too. So bringing a child to an environment that is not conducive can be detrimental. In most cases these pregnancies are brought about
by alcohol and drug abuse. We were thinking that we need to give the learners a chance to say something themselves on teen pregnancies and alcohol and drugs. Some of these learners are really smart, they know something about these. In our culture there is that thing called Ubuntu as you can see in this picture, families would get together and advise on matters. Here, the word of God, if we can bring back the culture of Religious Education in our schools. We believe that the word of God has the final say; when spoken it never comes back void. Teachers need to encourage the word of God in their classes even though Religious Education is not back. And here, children need to know that they can respect their space, when they won’t other people overstep their boundaries. That has caused them to be lax. If you do respect your space, you will be able to respect other people’s spaces.

Ntandokazi: Let me add that in the olden days there were no condoms, and so now we have to add this in our teaching. There used to be things like virginity testing which protected them from getting STIs, now they have to know about condoms because that is not happening anymore. We have to show them how to use a condom, demonstrate it in front of them. In my teaching my culture influences me in that it is really difficult for me to do this demonstration.

Khuthala: One of the things that we must make sure is that in our lessons we need to start with ethics, what is right and what is wrong. In our syllabus of what to teach we must always think of what the ethics are for you as a Xhosa person.
Khethiwe, Cikky and Phaphama made the following photo-narrative:

Figure 5.26: Photo-narrative - Changing the mindset of our learners

Khethiwe, Cikky and Phaphama explained their photo-narrative as follows:

Khethiwe: The first picture is the picture of condoms lying around, simply emphasizing the importance of teaching learners to use condoms, especially those who are sexually active if they cannot abstain. I would like to say that culturally, as you have already touched on it Ntandokazi’s group and Gcobisa, it [condoms] was not there in the olden days it’s an advancement in technology that we invented these so that people can be safe from HIV. Culturally what was encouraged was that young girls must abstain from sex because the value of a woman lies in lobola and when the day comes when you are getting married, they will ask ‘Is she a virgin?’ or ‘Does she have kids?’ and that will sort of determine your value as a woman. That is what was reinforced and as a result you kept yourself pure because you did not want to be embarrassed. I believe that there is a certain amount of lobola that is cut if they discover that you are coming
to this husband you’ve got little ones or even if it’s one. Still on this one on condoms, we’ve been introduced to them as this generation because we don’t have choice, whether we like it or we don’t like it we must face it that people are sexually active out there. Learners are sexually active and there is nothing we can do except to guide them that if you are doing this do it this way so that you will be safe at the end of the day. To be safe from HIV and STDs. In the second picture we are talking about the effect of alcohol and drugs. As learners they could be exposed to danger, they could be raped. We are also teaching them that there is nothing for mahala, if you receive something you are gonna have to give something back. It works that way, it’s not just Ubuntu especially with men it’s not just Ubuntu you must know that you will pay one way or another. We believe that if we teach them the dangers of substance abuse they will know that when they come across friends that are so influential they will be able to make a sound decision as ‘No, this is not for me it could be good for you but not for me’. So, they will not be easily influenced. Culturally, long time ago this was not an issue, it was never an issue because children were not exposed to alcohol. I’ve heard stories that even if there was a cultural ceremony only an old man would go into a bottle store and be able to buy alcohol, no child was allowed into a bottle store. In a way that has helped us back then and I wish that could be applied even now. Then the third picture, here we are trying to teach learners that it is important to respect girls whether this is your girlfriend she is not your wife. When you look at her don’t look at her and think you have got the right to sleep with her because she has admitted her feelings for you. Love is not sex, those are two different things. We are also encouraging gentlemanship, boys and young men should behave towards women. Lastly I would love to say that this lesson is also encouraging teaching young men that the only time they will have sex with a young lady is when they wait until they give themselves in marriage. Abstinence for boys and girls is important.

Cikky: In our topic we said we are trying to change the mindsets of our learners. If you take a look at our chart, we are referring to issues that are taking part these days not things that happened long time ago because of how technology has improved. For instance in the first picture we are seeing a group of boys and girls they are watching something from the internet. So here the learners are watching a pornographic video, we know what dangers that can lead to. Meanwhile when learners, when everybody understood and practised self-respect this is not something one would easily do. That
can lead to them experimenting with sex, that is what is happening now. We are trying to tell them that yes we understand that you know what you know because they are getting teachings from their peers that are misleading. For instance here we get these two, it’s a boy and a girl, they are sharing numbers there, so with this one it’s a true story that we are referring to here. The learners shared numbers, the purpose was to share school stuff but with time the boy started to make some other advances and then one day the boy asked her to take a pic of her private parts. The girl became reluctant then the boy decided to send his to the girl and then the girl with time softened and sent pictures too. The girl was eventually blackmailed by the boy saying if she does not allow him to have sex with her he is going to post the pictures to other people. You can see now that this is not what they are supposed to do as teenagers, they are supposed to stay pure and abstain. We teach them they need to abstain because it’s the best thing you can do for yourself. Abstinence goes with self-respect. We teach them respect yourself, be able to abstain, don’t conform to peer pressure, and please be assertive as much as possible. Culturally we were taught assertiveness, the parent would tell you if you say No! a No! is a No! but then we did not see it as assertiveness but we just knew that we are taught if you say No! then No! is a No! You were told which things not say Yes to. Unlike the girl that was made to conform and allow the boy to have sex with her because she was afraid that her picture would be circulated around. This type of bullying affects our kids too much. We try to say boys respect, girls respect, if we respected each other and met each other half way, life would be much easier. If for instance, a girl got pregnant and was friends with your daughter you wouldn’t want that girl with your child because you would be thinking she is more advanced. That is what used to happen in the olden days too. If you continue to listen to the rules of your home, it’s the best thing for you, your parents will tell you that you need to handle yourself well because as a woman you will get married one day and you need to be pure. I did not grow up with boys unfortunately but I know that in some homes even with boys the issue of self-respect has been instilled but then it depends on how people would interpret it. I would say that the rules of the house would not be totally different for boys and girls. And then lastly there is this picture of a girl who is almost throwing up because she had these ‘spiked’ muffins, spiked with dagga. Unawarely she had eaten that. We teach them to be cautious as one group mentioned before, parents will tell you don’t go around eating anything. This girl would have missed this if she was cautious enough. We know life has changed a lot and kids these
days are very advanced. Who knew that you can bake muffins and put some dagga in them? We are trying to teach them to change their mindsets saying this is what you know now let’s go to the unknown. The unknown is that which their parents were taught growing up but missed to tell their kids.

Phaphama: This is the last part of changing the mindsets of our learners. We know that our learners like to party, they mix with the boys, boys have their own agenda they can do whatever they like to do. Here in this picture whilst the girls enjoy the party leaving their drinks unattended, boys quickly put some drugs in their drinks so that they can gang rape them. So in the classroom situation we are teaching these learners to be more cautious so that they don’t find themselves in a situation where they wake up in a bed with someone they don’t know. So, we teach them that they must be alert all the time and not be victims to boys who always have an agenda. The second picture… we’ve got a teacher and there are the girls showing their thighs in their short uniforms. Actually what is this? This is a picture of a young handsome teacher fresh from varsity and these girls it’s them who are trying to entice this teacher so that they can get into a relationship with this teacher. These are the things that are happening in our schools these days. If you try to tell those girls they will tell you that what we want is money, we want to do our hair, we want to do all the things. But at the end of the day they are going to be victims. As Sikelelwana has said the girls are sent to the staffroom and they roll up their skirts to attract the opposite sex, it’s similar to that one. We teach these girls that in our culture girls are expected to succumb (be submissive) and allow the male to approach the female, not the opposite. But we know that they will say it’s their time now those things were done in the olden days, you’ve got a right to go and ask for love. We are still submissive as women, we try to tell the girls they do not have to go out of their way and propose love, especially a teacher. A teacher is like a parent, you cannot go out there chasing their love. In the last picture it’s a girl, not Phaphama, busy with a man in a public place showing no respect showing no value of the people that are in this space. In our classrooms these are the things that the kids we teach get up to, they do not show any respect; they go hand in hand, they kiss each other, they do whatever they want to do but in our classrooms we teach both these boys and girls to have norms and values, they must respect and know how to behave in a public environment. In the olden days we used to hide when you are going
with a boyfriend and emphasise self-respect. We remind our learners not to want to act White.

5.2.5 Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ views of meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners

Curriculum posters (see 4.1.4 and 4.2.5) were used to generate data to, in conjunction with the other research sub-questions, answer the main research question: What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ views of meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners?

With this last method in the data generation process, the participants responded to the following prompt:

“Reflect on the research process bearing in mind what you have learnt during the journey and create curriculum posters depicting your views of meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners.”

I first provide the four curriculum posters followed by a summary of their explanations.
The group of Nolwazi, Khuthala and Ntombemswulwa asked Nolwazi to explain their poster:

**Nolwazi:** *This poster is a final poster out of the research project that we were involved in, eh… with regard to teaching of sexuality and high schools as a section of the curriculum. Now, after the exercise it has given thought to us or it gives us something to think about as educators that our responsibility is not only to talk about the content, as much as the content is important we also need to be conscious of the fact that when we teach this subject a lot of our culture comes into play. How we were brought up, how we skip other sections of the content because it doesn’t feel comfortable to teach*
them. Now after being involved in this research I’ve learnt that communication becomes a vital part of it. When we do this section of the curriculum, the slogan ‘Taking back the power’ leads us to say we need to communicate, we need to communicate both with leaners and with their parents. Maybe as educators it’s not only our responsibility to teach the learners but to also go beyond and take parents through what we have to teach so that at home when the child goes back and asks they can have something to say around the content. We are aware that culture has its limitations on how we teach the section, but we need to go beyond that as teachers; we need to call a spade a spade, we need to encourage communication, communication with elders in the community, anyone the child is comfortable speaking with, not only the parents. We need to encourage identity, gender identity, the children must be aware of themselves, of their bodies and if they want to ask something around those issues there must be somebody they can relate to. Teachers play an important role in this area because they spend a lot of time with the children at school. Therefore, we have a great impact on how they behave later with regards to their sexual choices and even their sexual orientations. What we find is that parents, and some of us teachers, tend to talk about the negatives with regard to sexuality; you are going to be infected, you are going to get HIV, you are going to get pregnant. That is not always the case, there are some positives to it that we do not talk to our kids about for instance important issues that happen to them such as one having a crush on somebody, that’s positive, it’s a positive feeling that they have, we need to talk about those so that the kid knows that it’s normal, they learn how to manage them so that they know they do not have to act on them. Communication really has to be the driver of the whole system of taking back the power. We need not be quiet as educators, and as I have already said we need to engage parents when we do this, even if it’s not such a formal thing, we need to speak out. Children need to be aware of their bodies, they need to be aware of the choices they make and the consequences thereof. We can play a vital and positive role with regards to that.”
Cikky, Khethiwe and Ntandokazi’s explanation of their two posters (figures 28 & 29) is as follows:

Cikky: *Our poster here is titled ‘Our Roots… Our Pride’. So where does this title come from? As a group we thought in the olden days things used to be done in a totally...*
different manner. There were different ways that were used to instil values, respect and all the other things in the kids when they were brought up. We first thought of the different gender roles; there we were thinking about the parents specifically the women, will be teaching the young ones about being responsible women. Here we have a picture of Intonjane, it is a cultural activity that is done whereby the young women or girls are kind of taken aside and are taught how to handle themselves as women and tomorrow’s mothers, and all the different roles that they need to play. They are also taught to have a sense of pride of themselves; they need to be proud of their bodies understanding that men cannot do as they please with their bodies. For instance if a young man goes up the thighs of a young woman during fondling, the family of that young man will be forced to pay a penalty giving a cow to the girl’s family. So they were taught to act responsibly. Men are also taught about their different cultures and how to act responsibly, understanding the consequences of acting irresponsibly; whilst girls went to Intonjane, the males are taken to initiation schools where they would be taught everything about manhood, how to handle themselves, and how to respect the opposite gender. This was done in order for them to understand what the outcome of abstinence was. Because they were taught not to touch each other, here is a marriage, what you can see there is a woman whose face is covered by a bead-like veil to show that this woman has not been touched she is pure, she has listened to the teachings during the Intonjane training. She is now reaping the fruits of abstinence because she is getting married whilst she is still pure. This also shows that the male has respected the woman and the viewpoint of not getting sexual before marriage. So we think as our group that our pride is in our roots because if we can go back there we think our young ones would be able to handle themselves until they are ready for adulthood and not enter into activities that are going to bring about problems. Both the families will be proud of the female if she enters marriage without children or being sexually active.

So, we thought in order to go back we thought this needs ‘Winds of Change’. We thought as Life Orientation teachers we see assertiveness, self-concept and self-confidence. We all know about assertiveness that if you say ‘No!’ you mean ‘No!’, you state your point calmly and clearly, the other person would understand. This kind of links with abstinence on the other poster because we support that the young person should remain pure. Here we are saying they will be ready to connect body, mind and
soul if they had waited until they got married. That would also help their self-concept and self-confidence. Because if they both know they are pure they will be able discover their sexual pleasure and that will lead to them accepting one another and being self-confident.

Figure 5.30: Curriculum poster, Wathint’abafazi! Wathint’imbokotho! (You strike a woman! You strike a rock!)

Phaphama and Sikelelwa explained their poster this way:

Phaphama: In our poster we’ve got a picture which is showing that in the olden days men thought women should be discriminated in terms of what happens with ulwaluko or circumcision. We see here on the poster the females who are in power because nowadays women become part of initiation schools committees ensuring proper and safer circumcision. The whole community becomes aware of what’s important when
their boys are about to go to initiation schools. I also have got a picture here which is showing the men, they are together, and they are making sure that no one is hearing what they are saying, they have got their secrets. That is why we wrote secrets of men. There were no go areas when it came to some aspects of ulwaluko. This had an effect on the boys we teach in class as female teachers; they would shy away when us female teachers try to teach the male reproductive system. When your mind is muddled up your heart feels turbulent. We expect the boys to keep their minds limber to brace themselves for things as they are today. We say gone are those days when it was thought that the females’ place is in the kitchen. Today we see black females in power, for example there are now many female doctors and politicians, and this says to us ‘Wathint’abafazi wathint’imbokotho’

Sikelelwa: “We are also saying in this picture that sexuality education must be taught by both male and female teachers and there must be no stuff that is supposed to be taught by males only as the male learners expect. As you can see in this picture that man is not expecting to hear anything from a female person concerning sexuality. All in all we are saying that the community is in the hands of both males and females.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the data sets of the Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school women teachers’ rich perspectives on learning about sexuality as well as the teaching of sexuality education. It complements the previous chapter in which I also explained the research process and reveals the richness of the data generated for analysis. In the next chapter, I provide a discussion of the findings in line with the five sub-questions that answer the main research question. In discussing the themes, I use existing literature to re-contextualise the findings, also drawing on CHAT, the theory that frames the study.
CHAPTER 6
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the findings from the five phases of data generation, in response to the main research question: How can a deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality inform how Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers could teach sexuality education? I offer the findings of each sub-question separately, drawing on the verbatim quotations or excerpts of the participants’ written reflections, flipcharts and posters, followed by a discussion that re-contextualises the findings in existing literature. Although themes are used to present the story line, they are not meant to position the multiple realities of the women teachers as a homogenous whole. The nine women teachers brought forth differences and similarities in character and in interpretation of their lives as female Xhosa teachers. Their engagement showed nuances of how teacher identities are shaped individually and collectively. The women teachers were I end the chapter with a conclusion, which introduces the next chapter.

6.2 Findings

The five sub-questions yielded themes (see Table 6.1) which are drawn from the analysis of the data sets of that particular phase of data collection. The themes are informed by categories that were inductively derived from the generated data.

<p>| Sub-questions                                                                 | What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ understandings of sexuality education in the LO, LFSC and NS Curriculum | What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of learning about their | What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of today’s adolescents | How do Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality | What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ views of meaningful teaching of sexuality |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Document analysis</th>
<th>Drawing</th>
<th>Drawing</th>
<th>Photovoice</th>
<th>Curriculum posters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Teachers recognise the broad scope of sexuality education</td>
<td>Learning through piecing the ‘puzzle’ together</td>
<td>The allure of sexuality</td>
<td>Using the past as a lens</td>
<td>Focusing on the crux of the matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Teachers grasp the essence of sexuality education</td>
<td>Learning through strict rules and fear</td>
<td>Vicarious learning</td>
<td>Shifting towards a ‘new’ practice</td>
<td>Shifting teacher positionality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Grappling with the concepts of sexuality education</td>
<td>Learning the hard way</td>
<td>Prescriptions from school, religion and culture</td>
<td></td>
<td>Contextualising sexuality education in Xhosa culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td></td>
<td>Learning through shame</td>
<td>Adolescents learn about sexuality through coerced sexual encounters</td>
<td></td>
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Table 6.1: Sub-questions, data generation and themes

### 6.2.1 Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ understandings of sexuality education in the respective CAPS

The women teachers' participatory document analysis, and their reflections thereafter, in response to the question, *What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ understandings of sexuality education in the LO, LFSC and NS Curriculum?*
and Assessment Policy Statements? produced three themes. The three themes are 1) Teachers recognise the broad scope of sexuality education, 2) Teachers grasp the essence of sexuality education and 3) Grappling with the concepts of sexuality education. What follows in the next section is the discussion of these themes as informed by the categories and supported by relevant excerpts of the participants’ written reflections (these are offered without any language editing) and flipcharts.

6.2.1.1 Theme one: Teachers recognise the broad scope of sexuality education

The women teachers pointed to the breadth of sexuality education and that the three school subjects were complementary to each other. I noted that it was the first time that they had had a close look at the CAPS, as they were surprised, to some extent, by what they contained. Two categories developed, and they were, 1) Broadening their understanding, and 2) The complementarity of subjects.

Category: Broadening their understanding

Looking into the CAPS as a mediating tool for sexuality education led the women teachers to acknowledge that sexuality education spans a broad range of topics, some that they did not readily think of. They could also appraise certain topics as important in the teaching of sexuality education. The following excerpts serve as evidence to support these statements:

... sexual[ity] education is broader than I thought, ....

... now, sexuality education should cover everything and broaden the knowledge, ...

It involves lots of things, it also involves genetics, reproduction, puberty, there is lots of things that is unpacked.

At face value, sexuality education would seem like a straightforward component of the aforementioned subjects. It however encompasses a wide scope and thus calls for careful consideration and caution to be taken to ensure that teachers do not feel
overwhelmed. What does seem to help is a teacher’s commitment to teaching sexuality education.

They identified topics from the three subjects, which they felt were important to teach, also portraying the extensiveness of what sexuality education entails. Most of the topics were focused on the sexual sphere: abstinence and the human reproductive system, all the stages of human reproduction, sexual behaviour and sexual health, main changes during puberty, the purpose of human reproduction and puberty, fertilisation and the development of zygote to blastocyst and the role of placenta, gametogenesis, sex chromosomes and gonads. The other topics were around personal well-being: personal lifestyle choices, the concept of self and social pressure that impacts on sexuality, the menstrual cycle including gestation. More topics that were noted as important included life roles: nature of life roles and responsibilities, important life goals and prioritising, life skills required to adapt to change and lifestyle diseases as a result of poverty and gender imbalances.

The women teachers did not only look at the CAPS and broaden their understanding, but they also realised that the three subjects they were analysing were complementary to each other.

**Category: The complementarity of subjects**

Having seen the bigger picture with the participatory document analysis they did, the women teachers began to appreciate the connectedness of the three subjects. They realised that they needed to talk to each other about their teaching. The following quotations serve as evidence to support these statements:

*I did not know that there is a relationship between LO and Life Sciences concerning sexual education.*

*I found out that there is the integration between the 3 subjects with regard to sexuality education (LO, NS & LFSC)*

*That means we can combine that as integration to the sex[uality] education, ....*
This realisation of the complementarity of the three subjects revealed that there could be more consultation and sharing amongst teachers. What is learnt from the experiences of one teacher could be useful to other teachers also teaching sexuality education. This could help with the consolidation of knowledge. The women teachers also showed signs of comprehending what the essence of sexuality education is about.

6.2.1.2 Theme two: Teachers grasp the essence of sexuality education

Overall, the women teachers seemed to grasp the essence of sexuality education from the CAPS as seen in their reflections of what they understand sexuality education to be. They pointed out certain topics that they found easy to teach, facilitating learning. Three categories emerged, and they were 1) Compelled to face their own reality, 2) Urgency in enacting sexuality education, and 3) Contextualising sexuality education within the life-worlds of the learners.

Category: Compelled to face their own reality

When confronted with what they had to teach, these teachers indicated that they would have to be alert to their own and learners’ levels of comfort with what they are teaching. Some felt that they should teach what they were taught themselves, which was largely from a moralistic standpoint to abstain. The following excerpts serve as evidence to support these statements:

... mentioning the female or male reproductive parts.

... the learners feeling comfortable.

... should teach these children like us, abstinence...

Facing the reality that it might not be comfortable to talk about the reproductive parts, the women teachers reverted to wanting to teach abstinence. The concern of discomfort is legitimate, but some of these teachers’ observations point to the need
for intervention regarding handling the situation. Nonetheless, some of these teachers demonstrated an agentic demeanour towards teaching sexuality education.

**Category: Urgency in enacting sexuality education**

The women teachers proposed teaching with a new enthusiasm given that they had looked at the CAPS. They spoke of an active role that sexuality education teachers have to play, and in doing that made it clear that they felt that sexuality education was a serious matter. The following excerpts serve as evidence to support these statements:

---

... new additions to what I have to teach.

... to give our children all the information they need rather than to be told by peers what it is.

... aware of the seriousness of sexuality education.

---

The women teachers understood that there are certain topics that they had been omitting in their teaching and that they had to include them. Not only that, they acknowledged that they, as teachers, play a pivotal role in teaching adolescents about sexuality. They also grasped how crucial sexuality education is in the schools of South Africa.

The topics that they found relatively easy to teach, indicate that the women teachers might be au fait with some aspects of the sexuality education curriculum. This was demonstrated by the extent of the topics they felt were easy to teach, and which they attributed to their experience in teaching. These were relationships and friendships, influence of gender inequality on relationships and general well-being. Respect for others’ opinions including respecting differences in terms of culture, religion and gender were also found easy to teach. Change of behaviour and coping with change and changes associated with development towards adulthood was also deemed easy to teach. The teachers also found goal-setting skills in terms of personal lifestyle choices and important life goals and prioritising and social pressure that impact sexuality easy to teach. Other topics were the stages of pregnancy in humans
(gestation), how pregnancy can be prevented by using contraceptives, assisting those affected and infected by HIV and AIDS and also other terminal illnesses, sexual behaviour and sexual health, abstinence, unwanted results of unhealthy sexual behaviour, genetics and inheritance: mutations, paternity testing, sex chromosomes, sex-linked alleles and oestrogen and progesterone. They also identified differences between men and women, sexual abuse, violence, contemporary social issues that impact negatively on local and global communities as relatively easy to teach. Other topics were life roles, values and strategies to make responsible decisions regarding sexuality and lifestyle choices to optimise personal potential. The impact of the media on values and beliefs about relationships, healthy and balanced life choices, positive role models, lifestyle diseases as a result of poverty and gender imbalances and contributing factors to ill-health such as unsafe sexual behaviour, were also found to be easy to teach.

While they were celebratory about many topics of sexuality education, some of the women teachers felt that it was necessary to situate their teaching within the life-worlds of the learners.

**Category: Contextualising sexuality within the life-worlds of the learners**

The women teachers realised that they have to connect what is taught at a school with that which is taught in the family, church, community and culture to teach sexuality education effectively. This meant finding points, which intersect with their learners’ life-worlds. The following excerpt serves as evidence to support these statements:

*I have to look into all other areas that I have learnt about in this session LO topic, family, church, school, community, culture, school …*

In contextualising sexuality education within the adolescents’ life-worlds, these teachers recognise one of the widely accepted pillars of comprehensive sexuality education. Learning is enhanced when there is a meaningful connection between what is taught in class and what learners experience daily in their diverse contexts. However, some of the women teachers fell short of grasping some concepts of the sexuality education curriculum.
6.2.1.3 Theme three: Grappling with the concepts of sexuality education

In spite of coming to realise the breadth of sexuality education and acknowledging the urgency of teaching it to their adolescent learners, some of the women teachers were unclear about the meaning of the concept of sexuality education and grappled with it. Some of them did not seem to know that sex is not sexuality, that sexual orientation is not sex or sexuality, and that sexuality education is more than merely teaching about sex. They also identified topics they were grappling with when teaching of sexuality education. The following excerpts serve as evidence to support these statements:

*It turns up that I was not exactly knowing the whole of it. And we were not teaching it as we supposed to teach, not half of it….*

*Sexuality education is educating learners about their sexual orientation*

*I think sexuality education is to give information to our children about sex life.*

*It’s about the way the teachers teach the learners about sex or human reproduction.*

As the excerpts indicate, some of the women teachers were unclear about the concept of sexuality education and related concepts. This surely could influence the accuracy of what learners are taught in schools and would hamper the attainment of the curriculum objectives.

Such lack of clarity could also be linked to the women teachers’ grappling with some of the content of the curriculum that they are supposed to teach, mostly because of the awkwardness caused by their Xhosa culture and giggles of the learners when teaching such topics. They pointed out that it was not so easy to teach the concept of self, understanding one’s sexuality, the menstrual cycle and the main purpose of reproduction. This is interesting because in the preceding section they found related
topics easy to teach. Nonetheless, different disabilities and HIV and AIDS (infected and affected), puberty as the stage in the human life cycle when organs mature for reproduction, secondary sexual characteristics caused by testosterone and oestrogen, and male and female reproductive organs were also identified as a bit difficult to teach to today’s adolescents. Other topics were constitutional rights and responsibilities with regard to how to apply them in one’s daily life (example given was the case of abortion and having to preserve life), types of discriminating behaviour including campaigns that address such discrimination, and gender, race, stereotyping and sporting codes (for example the case of athlete, Caster Semenya). Intervention strategies to ill-health, risky behaviour and situations, life skills required to adapt to change as part of ongoing lifestyle choices, erectile dysfunction, sex-linked diseases, and the endocrine system (naming the hormone testosterone) were also some of the topics these teachers pointed out that they grapple with. The women teachers reported experiencing discomfort in teaching these topics, not necessarily that they lacked knowledge thereof.

Discussion

In the next paragraphs, I discuss each theme and write on what literature argues on that particular aspect. The women teachers’ participatory document analysis of the three CAPS required them to look closely at the topics covered in sexuality education. The exercise broadened their understanding of sexuality education and reinforced the idea of complementarity between LO, LFSC and NS. Certainly, comprehensive sexuality education is acknowledged as being broad and complex like the women teachers had observed, concurring with Helmich (2009) and Runhare, Mudau and Mutshaeni (2016). Comprehensive sexuality education has been proven to increase adolescent sexual reproductive health, attitudes and behaviours (Chandra-Mouli, 2015). To this end, Gouws (2015) argues that teachers should understand the CAPS documents as an important tool for teaching at school. Teachers need to have access to the CAPS documents and not rely solely on the prescribed textbooks in order to get a full picture of what it is they should be teaching. Moreover, Runhare et al. (2016) recommend that sexuality education should feature in many school subjects, which gives credence to the recognition that the three subjects studied in this research are complementary. Teachers teaching sexuality education in these subjects could share
and support one another. They could act as collective knowledge resources for one another thereby improving collaboration and collegiality among staff. This collaboration would quell the notion of teachers working in silos without necessarily speaking to one another’s work.

At the same time, teachers are often faced with confronting their own sexuality when teaching sexuality education (Helleve, Flisher, Onya, Mükoma & Klepp, 2011). With the discomfort that surrounds sexuality, teachers are drawn into their own comfort zones, with a tendency of turning to the moralistic (Francis, 2013; Hunting, 2012; Moletsane, 2014b; Shefer & Macleod, 2015). This is when “[m]any teachers are still inclined to teach abstinence, continue to use fear-based messages and have difficulty letting go of traditional cultural beliefs regarding sexuality as immoral and taboo …” (Vanwesenbeeck, Westeneng, De Boer, Reinders & Van Zorge, 2016, p. 478). That is valid, as in reality, many South African teachers tend to draw from their own life stories and learning when teaching sexuality education (Helleve et al., 2011). In spite of that, the women teachers indicated that they were acting with notable urgency and agency in their classrooms. They were being vocal in terms of what is needed in their teaching and what role they should be playing. Moreover, by also pointing out that they should connect with family and the community, these teachers were corroborating with Auerbach (2009), who notes that such a move is responsive to culture and brings about collaboration. This working in unison of these ecologies further ensures complementarity to the benefit of the Xhosa adolescent learner.

There were instances where some women teachers were not clear about some of the concepts they were teaching, as some confused sexuality education with sex or mere reproduction. It is a fact that teachers do not have a glossary of sexuality education concepts and so could be attributing their own meaning to these when teaching. It has been noted before that teachers grapple with the sexuality education curriculum (Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016), citing their own cultural norms, personal values and attitudes as being contradictory to the objectives of the curriculum (Helleve et al., 2011), without pointing out that they might have gaps in their own knowledge. Further, it is unsurprising that the women teachers would grapple with the curriculum, as South African teachers have not been adequately ‘trained’ to teach sexuality education (Francis, 2010; 2013). Some teachers are drawn from other subjects depending on
the weight of their workloads (Moletsane, 2014b). It goes then without saying that most of what is eventually taught by such teachers is a personal interpretation of the curriculum, and not learned content knowledge.

6.2.2 Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers' perspectives of learning about their own sexuality within their Xhosa culture

Four themes were developed from the drawing data in response to the question: What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers' perspectives of learning about their own sexuality within their Xhosa culture? The themes were 1) Learning about sexuality by piecing the ‘puzzle’ together, 2) Learning through strict rules and fear, 3) Learning the hard way, and 4) Learning through shame. In the next section, I present each theme, supported by their respective categories and relevant excerpts and direct quotations from the participants to support the theme.

6.2.2.1 Theme one: Learning about sexuality by piecing the ‘puzzle’ together

The Xhosa women felt they were not provided with either appropriate or sufficient guidance while growing up where sexuality was concerned in spite of gaining knowledge from different avenues. It seemed that they had to piece the puzzle together on their own about sex and about expressing sexuality. In such a situation, the learning might have been incomplete or incorrect. Five categories emerged, and they were 1) Limited talk about sexuality at home, 2) Learning in the friend-zone, 3) Sexuality at school, 4) Church played a pivotal role in teaching about sexuality, and 5) Influence of public media.

Category: Limited talk about sexuality at home

Although some of the Xhosa women indicated that they had some talk at home, it was limited to selected aspects of sexuality, largely menstruation, and then in a very

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2 The findings of this theme were published as the following article: Msutwana, N., & De Lange, N. (2017). “Squeezed oranges?”: Xhosa secondary school female teachers in township schools remember their learning about sexuality to reimagine their teaching sexuality education. *Journal of Education*, 69, 211-236.
superficial way, leaving the relationship between menstruation and pregnancy unattended to.

In this picture there is me, there’s home, there’s community, there’s school. And then, what I’ve learnt from home, what I was taught at home: there was not much information that I would get. I was just told when I started menstruating; ‘You see now... because you are menstruating, should you have a boyfriend, you are going to fall pregnant.’ That’s the only thing I was told.

It could be that their parents were embarrassed talking about this taboo subject or had no capacity of playing a role in the sexuality education of their children because they too were not privileged to have had access to such knowledge when they were growing up. Some of the Xhosa women were not raised by their parents, as the parent or parents were either working in a big city far away, deceased or had deliberately walked out on the family. So the substitute parent, relative or guardian, in the absence of a parent, might have offered bits of sexuality-related information or not.

I grew up in a family where my father was working in Johannesburg and I stayed with my mother at home and my father used to come back during the Easters and December, so I saw him twice a year.

I grew up with my grandfather, my mother was not there....

I grew with my mother’s friend in Transkei, then moved to my father’s wife, to my uncle. So was moving up and down.

It seems that the women implied that had they grown up in a stable family environment and had they lived with their parents the parents might have played a more substantive role in their children’s sexuality education. However, in the absence of such, the young women turned to their friends for information on sexuality.
Category: Learning in the friend-zone

Like any adolescent girl, these Xhosa women also wanted to hang out with their friends, but they were Xhosa and growing up in an Xhosa community meant that they had lots of chores to do or had to stay inside the yard. They, however, had enough time with friends at school where they talked about things adolescents are curious about, also about sex and sexuality. The women teachers learnt about sexuality from the stories of their friends, some of the learned information was correct, some inaccurate and altogether left some gaps.

And then at school, the bigger girls that were with us in class, they would talk about stuff, in class and in break. And they would say ‘Share you story your story, don’t just listen to us, what’s happening in your own life, don’t just listen and say anything’. And from that information also I know that some of the stuff that was shared was not correct. So there is some correct stuff that I’ve learnt. But there was also a lot of gaps from the information that I got.

In our community there were many girls that go out as friends but I remember when now we were not allowed to go out like go to films and everything, that we would sit in the yard behind the closed gates....

Adolescents were, and still are, bound to share information with other adolescent learners as they are in the company of one another all day long at school. In such situations, due to peer pressure and the pursuit of status, they share stories to project a certain image about themselves to their peers. Therefore, adolescents learn from one another on sexuality matters.

Category: Sexuality at school

Not all the Xhosa women learnt about sexuality in school, as sexuality was not in the curriculum when they were growing up, but some of their teachers took it upon themselves to guide the girls where sexuality was concerned. Because of that, some of them preferred school to home:
So she took me to a boarding school and I think that’s where I got a lot of information from my Consumer Studies teacher. She used to tell us about how to behave as a girl and decision making and she introduced us into this menstruation stuff, to me school was better than home, home it was like a prison.

In time past, some Guidance and Home Economics subject teachers informally attended to sexuality matters with their learners. These teachers made an impression on the learners, sometimes playing the role of a substitute parent, as is the case of this particular participant. The piecemeal knowledge seemed to leave the women teachers, when they were adolescents, unequipped to express their sexuality in a relationship, and so did not know how to deal with conflicting feelings towards boys and did not know that such feelings were normal.

... but this boyfriend of mine expected me to say ‘yes I love you’, but those words couldn’t come out of my mouth, I couldn’t say them, I was shy but inside....

The teaching about sexuality lacked intimate details as it focused only on some biological aspects. It seems that Xhosa adolescents growing up in the time of the participants were ill-equipped to relate to the opposite sex, as they seemed unable to express their feelings or negotiate themselves in a relationship. It is not only teachers who attended to their sexuality in some way, but the church also influenced these women teachers’ sexuality when they were growing up.

**Category: Church played a pivotal role in teaching about sexuality**

The Christian church played a big role in the lives of these Xhosa women when growing up, and in one instance, they pointed out how space was provided for girls - within the church structures - to talk about sexuality and about being a woman according to Christian prescripts. In the church, they also saw that women and girls and men and boys sat separately, as if to support the idea of the difference between the sexes, but also to keep them apart. In some instances, the church prescribed how adolescents (and others) should behave.
I think church played a big role in my life and there are those sessions for girls’ ministry whereby we talk as girls and the visions that we have, how many children that we want to have, you want to keep your virginity and you just have a picture when you get married, how is it going to be sleeping for the first time....

At church it was fortunate for me to go to a Bible Church of Christ. I think many of us would know, there boys are boys and girls are girls even the older people, a woman was not allowed to preach and at church, men seated on the other side and women on that side....

In the time when these Xhosa women teachers were growing up, the church was a strong feature in the community, and it was almost in all cases compulsory for all households to attend church. Therefore, it goes without saying that the teachings of the church would make an impact on how young women would have expressed their sexuality. Another piece of learning for these teachers happened through the medium of television.

**Category: Influence of public media**

There was also learning about sexuality from the media, mainly television, when these women were growing up. One teacher referred to watching a television programme where the male character was kissing a woman, and although she learnt from it, she pointed out that that was Westernised knowledge. Her statement could imply that there was an African (or Xhosa) way of enacting sexuality.

I would say more on sexuality level, the influence was through the media. I remember at my mother’s work while I was sitting with my mother’s boss watching Night Rider and in it this particular lady in the film, there would be a romantic part and when they are kissing you go like this [covering her eyes], so it is not so much of an influence from outside because I grew up in a more Westernized society.
With the introduction to media in the form of television in some homes, this generation of women teachers was exposed to the performance of sexuality in other cultures and had to make meaning thereof in terms of their own Xhosa culture. Without anyone to mediate what was seen on television, the young women had to make their own meaning of the differences between the tacit knowledge from their community and what they saw on television. At the same time, things were not made easy as they were dealing with strict parents and fear-evoking teachers.

6.2.2.2 Theme two: Learning through strict rules and fear

The Xhosa women teachers talked about how their upbringing was characterised by prescriptive and restrictive rules, in the home and at school. An Xhosa home, run and conducted according to strict rules, gained prestige in the community. In some homes, there was a real fear of being a burden to the family in case of being impregnated. Fear was also instilled at school by some teachers in an effort to discourage early sexual activity. Two categories emerged, and they are, 1) Strict parenting, and 2) Teachers and parents instilled fear:

Category: Strict parenting

The strictness of the Xhosa mothers was seen in what they permitted the children to do and not to do. The children were also not allowed to play with other children, especially outside the yard.

My mother was very strict it was even difficult to go and play with other children so I was always at home, if it’s not home it’s church, if it’s not church I am in town with her.

I grew up with my parents, my mother and my father. My mother was very strict. My father was so sweet…. As I said my mother was very strict and she didn’t take any nonsense.

In our community there were many girls that go out as friends but I remember when now we were not allowed to go out, like go to films and everything, that
we would sit in the yard behind the closed gates and I remember those that were passing by in a space, we call it a square, we would say it's a gap, so everybody would laugh at us and say 'hey, they are dogs of the yard'....

Some of the women teachers were thus not afforded the opportunity to mix with peers as such was not permitted. Thus, in the Xhosa home, there was a restriction on movement for the growing children put in place by parents, which, in some cases, caused the children’s humiliation. The parental strictness could have further blocked the necessary communication between the parent and adolescent, hampering guiding the growing adolescent’s sexuality. Strictness and restrictions do not bode well for adolescents if they do not understand why the measures are in place, and if the measures are used to instil fear.

Category: Teachers and parents instilled fear

Sometimes it was an instruction that evoked the fear in the growing adolescent. In an Xhosa home, there was little dialogue and the common thing to do was to be commanding when dealing with sexuality matters.

Should you have a boyfriend, you are going to fall pregnant.

At other times, the fear was so real that it affected the rest of the woman’s life, influencing the choices and decisions she had to make. Being brought up in a guardian’s home also meant that the adolescent had to think twice about things that would affect the dynamics in the household, guarding against putting herself on a wrong footing.

It was my aunt who played the role of being a mother to me because my mother passed on when I was only 8 years old. So then I was brought up by my aunt as a mother. So she was the one who showed me ‘You see what will happen when you get pregnant, I will not take care of your child because I am taking care of you. So I was so afraid to get pregnant in a very big way. I was really afraid because I thought ‘What will happen to the child’. As a result, I got
children when I was very old. My first child, I think I was about going to my 30s, I think.

A male teacher, trying to talk about sexuality, used the analogy of a “squeezed orange”, which managed to evoke fear in the adolescent girls. The teacher explained that once squeezed, the orange becomes useless, so a girl having sex with a boy loses her value.

And then at school, another education or information we heard from teachers. The teachers told us… there was a teacher by the name of Mr Z. He used to tell us that ‘You girls must know that you are like an orange. You see the orange…. You don’t open an orange and cut it, you squeeze the orange, and you take that juice, if you have boyfriends you will be like that orange. Once that juice is taken out of that orange, nobody wants that orange’. So at the end of the day I told myself that, no ways, I can’t be like that orange and be thrown away and not be wanted by anyone. So we had those fears of not being those oranges and be squeezed.”

It is a worrying analogy in that besides negatively focusing only on the girl; it takes away the idea of pleasure in the sexual act between consenting individuals. It also erroneously made the girls believe that if a girl lost her virginity, she was of no value to anyone. These scare tactics did not work for the women teachers in that they still misunderstood sexuality issues. Some invariably learnt the hard way from their mistakes.

6.2.2.3 Theme three: Learning the hard way

Some of the Xhosa women teachers learnt about sexuality from a vulnerable position and being coerced into having sex. They were not enabled to be proactive with regards to expressing their sexuality and having sex, as they learnt to be submissive and passive in accepting what was coming their way. This is often still expected of women in contemporary Xhosa culture. One of the women teachers recalled when she was with a boyfriend and was forced to have sex with him:
I learnt about sexuality when I first developed feelings, emotions and I remember on this one Friday I met Polo, there was a time I grew up in Limpopo and Polo proposed to me and I said yes, the chemistry was so strong it was 30 minutes of hugging and kissing just so tight, but thank God that nothing happened.

And then I met this guy, I think I was probably 19, it was my first time to have sex. I would like to say this that being a girl meeting someone you don’t meet them with the intention to have sex, you just don’t know what is going to happen when they invite you over, you go over to their place as a friend as a girlfriend not knowing that they are gonna say you can come into my room, and from there they say, Kaloku [come on now]... then you move from one corner of the bed to the other trying to avoid this up until it happens and you realize only later but that was not my will, and I never said yes.

A young woman having sex when she did not plan to have sex could possibly also be attributed to being ill-equipped to handle herself sexually as discussed in preceding sections. Such a sexual encounter is a hard lesson for many young women, one that they carry with them for the rest of their lives. In addition, if the result of an act as that of having sex is negative, the whole sexual encounter is looked at through a lens of shame.

6.2.2.4 Theme four: Learning through shame

When these Xhosa women teachers were adolescents and deviated from the strict cultural rules regarding sexuality and sex, they would be treated with contempt. For example, a girl who was impregnated was stripped of her dignity, and she would not even be given an opportunity to explain how the situation of her pregnancy came about. Her pregnancy would then be hidden, and she would be compelled to present her child as that of her parents; sometimes not even allowed to tell the child who the biological father or even the biological mother, is. Everyone in the Xhosa community was expected to report youths engaging in sex as it was seen as unacceptable and shameful. Teen pregnancy brought great shame to an Xhosa girl as well as her family, as intimacy and sex were treated as something very private. Sex was referred to as
izinto ezimdaka (something that is dirty and obscene) which is an indication that sex was not viewed positively nor embraced.

In our culture, I have to tell you, sex is 'izinto ezimdaka’ translated in English as ‘something that is very dirty’ and that is what we call it in our culture, and we were raised to call it like that because we take it from our parents even if the small boy sees the others doing sex they will run and say ‘mother, those two are doing something dirty’; sex is referred to as something that is dirty.

Our parents taught us to respect. There comes a situation whereby most of us in my age group, I would mention, grew up without knowing our fathers. I grew up without knowing my father because it was a shameful thing to get pregnant while you were not married. It would not be talked about in the family, and when you ask your mother who your father is, she won’t tell you, she will go into the grave without telling you. It will be a secret in the family. I got to know my father when I was thirty-two years old.

The shame that characterised intimacy and teen pregnancy taught the Xhosa girls to be embarrassed by such. This makes it difficult to attend to issues that surround intimacy and teen pregnancy. The situation keeps these subjects taboo thereby perpetuating false assumptions in that regard.

Discussion

In the next paragraphs, I discuss each theme and write on what literature argues on that particular aspect. In South Africa, colonialism, Christianity and urbanisation have all influenced black African people’s beliefs about sexuality, contributing to their not talking about it and losing the openness with which it used to be handled (Delius & Glaser, 2002; 2004; Dickinson, 2014; Khau, 2009; Mudhovozi et al., 2012). It is thus not strange to discover that there was limited talk about sexuality in the lives of these Xhosa women, with contemporary (Xhosa) culture still making it difficult to talk about such matters (Delius & Glaser, 2002; Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015; Wood, 2009b; 2009c). Furthermore, the concept of intergenerationality can also be used to explain this limited talk (Hunting, 2012; Mkhwanazi, 2010; Moolman, 2013). In the Xhosa
culture, the difference in age between an adolescent and an adult places a restriction on what could be said between the adult and the child who needs to be taught about sexuality. This is noted by Bastien, Kajula and Muhwezi (2011) and Jearey-Graham and Macleod (2015) who point out that communication about sexuality from parents is often in the form of negative and vague warnings, and it is usually mothers who take up the task. Other researchers also claim that communication with adolescents about sexuality is lacking (Francis, 2010; Khau, 2009; Sani, Abraham, Denford, & Mathews, 2018). With regard to the Xhosa women participants learning from friends, they too were at an age where they pulled away from their parents and gravitated towards peers, but according to Mkhwanazi (2010), they are likely to get some incorrect information regarding sexuality in the process. They might even be exposed to improper high-risk sexual behaviour (Cloete, 2012; Clüver, Elkonin & Young, 2013). Although sexuality education was not part of the school curriculum when the women teachers grew up, some teachers took it upon themselves to ‘instruct’ it, even though in an informal way. Sexuality education only came into South African schools with the RNCS (Revised National Curriculum Statement) (Ramrathan, 2015). Those teachers who saw the importance of it and who were comfortable with sharing their knowledge with the adolescents did so in the past. Clearly, this is a skill required when teaching formal sexuality education today, but only if teachers are comfortable with this highly controversial subject as well as their own sexual identity (Allen, 2009; UNESCO, 2009b).

Patriarchy, positioning men and boys in a superior position to girls, influenced (and still influences) the behaviour of both Xhosa boys and girls where girls would be expected to act submissively (Chabaya et al., 2009) as was the case with some of these participants. This explains why the participant felt awkward and unable to express her wishes not to have sex when with her boyfriend. It might have been different had they learnt about sexuality from home and school since initiation schools for women had disintegrated by then (Delius & Glaser, 2002). Initiation schools had begun falling away because black Africans began embracing city life (Delius & Glaser, 2002) and found it difficult to hold on to their traditions. There was no direct substitute for the job done at the initiation schools; hence, it was up to the home to figure out how to address sexuality. The seeming dissipation of the communal spirit in Xhosa
communities could be attributed to this gap and the need to learn bits of information here and there.

In many societies, sexuality was and still is considered to be an area that is only for adults and which children need to be kept away from (Beyers, 2013; Robinson & Davies, 2008). This could be a reason why parents tended to be strict and instilled fear in their children regarding sexuality matters. Parents and teachers alike took an admonishing and moralistic stance when addressing sexuality matters (Macleod, 2016; Morrell et al., 2009). The high value placed on respect also seemed to compel the adolescent women participants rather accept the humiliation and the directives and restrictions from parents than dare to be disrespectful to the adults. This is called *ukuhlomifha* (respect for older people) in isiXhosa and isiZulu (Mkhwanazi, 2014). This adherence to the ideals of *ukuhlomifha* is alleged to be one of the culprits behind girls falling pregnant in townships (Mkhwanazi, 2014). Moreover, caregiver-child relationships are instrumental in facilitating how the child thinks about life and in this instance, sex and sexuality, even into adulthood. Hence, it is often said in Xhosa culture, that how a child turns out is a product of how he or she was raised by the parents or caregivers. Instead of dealing with the sexuality of their children, parents avoid the issue by being strict, and in their incapacity themselves evoke fear on them.

Adolescents tend to put themselves in vulnerable situations probably because of an ‘invincibility’ fable, with adolescents believing he or she is untouchable and that bad things cannot happen to them, and so increase their risk-taking behaviour. Xhosa adolescents are no different; they venture out without necessarily equipping themselves for what might happen. Unfortunately, they are forced to learn from their experiences the hard way. Kaufman et al. (2013) and Shefer (2010) note that in most cases women (and girls) are at the receiving end of sexual violence in the form of unwanted or coerced sex. It, therefore, is not surprising that a participating teacher found herself in such a position too when an adolescent. All too often, unintended consequences are suffered in this whole situation.

Traditional beliefs from Xhosa culture and religion promote that girls wait for marriage to engage in sexual intercourse. Therefore, it becomes an embarrassment when sex happens before marriage and pregnancy is a result. In most cases, the pregnancy was
thus hidden and the child taken as the parents’ for an out of wedlock baby would bring
shame to the family and the girl. Delius and Glaser (2002; 2004) note that the modern
urbanised lifestyle in African culture meant the breakdown of the family structure
hence one will find children growing up without (sometimes not knowing) their mother
and father, who might have been able to ensure sexuality education. With this ordeal,
a policing of women and girls’ sexuality while men and boys’ sexual endeavours and
escapades are left unattended and condoned is unacceptable. Patriarchy contributes
to such a state of affairs (Gqola, 2007; Msibi, 2009) and women remain feeling
disempowered to stand up and negotiate their own sexuality. When the women
teachers began making meaning of what they had shared with one another in the
drawings, they started talking about Xhosa culture before their time, around the 1940s
and 1950s. According to them, the teachings regarding sexuality then were full of
values such as respect for self. They acknowledged that they had gained a lot from
those values, and surely today’s adolescents could too.

In using drawing with the Xhosa women teachers, enabling them to reflect on how they
learnt about their sexuality, created a space for them to think about what they as Xhosa
women teachers could draw on to make their teaching of sexuality education
authentic. This is so that the adolescents won’t have to piece together the puzzle of
sexuality, which might leave them with an incomplete puzzle. Having been exposed to
a participatory visual methodology showed them how the stories about sexuality that
each person brings could enable an open discussion, where all are learning from each
other.

6.2.3 Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of
today’s adolescents learning about sexuality within their Xhosa culture

Four themes were developed from the data of another round of drawing to respond to
the question; ‘What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’
perspectives of today’s adolescents learning about sexuality within their Xhosa
culture?’ The themes were 1) The allure of sexuality, 2) Vicarious learning, 3)
Prescriptions from school, religion and culture, and 4) Coerced sexual encounters. In
the following section, I describe each theme with its accompanying categories and
provide relevant quotations from the participants to support my argument.
6.2.3.1 Theme one: The allure of sexuality

According to the women teachers, the allure of the sexual seemed to attract the Xhosa adolescents to available content on various legal media platforms, but also to those that were illegal, which became a source of information to draw on. Two categories emerged from the analysis, namely (i) sexuality and its glamorisation and (ii) secretly exploring pornography.

Category: Sexuality and its glamorisation

The women teachers held the view that adolescents seemed to spend much of their time on their cell phones and the internet where they picked up some information about sexuality. This appeared a useful technique as they could find whatever knowledge about sexuality they needed or wanted, even though the accuracy or appropriateness of the content might be contested. They also spoke about how the adolescents made meaning of sexuality by drawing on what they saw in soap operas that were not necessarily true to life and often offered a glamorised view of sexuality, and of sexual violence. The following quotations support these views:

*It is however through media that most learning about sexuality takes place. I can quote technology devices such as cell phones, computers and television as influencing our youth. Social media and the internet teach these young people sexuality matters.*

*Today’s adolescents learn about sexuality through the internet which they access on their cell phones and laptops.*

The women teachers argued that most of what is seen on television is not educational, for example, the soap operas that adolescents watch, as the following quotations reveal:

*On television there are some movies sometimes they are educational, most of the films are not educational at all.*
They also watch soap opera shows on television and learn from them.

Today’s adolescents learn about sexuality through watching certain soap opera shows on television.

In trying to find their identity, including sexual identity, adolescents internalise and emulate what seems glamorous from media. The allure of sexuality is also linked to pornography, which, because of its illicitness is in and of itself alluring as the next category shows.

**Category: Secretively exploring pornography**

These women teachers mentioned that today’s adolescents secretively watched pornography on television and cell phones, but also in pornographic magazines. They were aware that the adolescents did so to satisfy their curiosity, but since it is taboo to explore explicit sexual materials openly, they kept it secret.

I also see adolescents learning about sexuality from their cell phones which they watch porn without their parents’ knowledge.

... they play with pornographic magazines and learn about sexuality.

I also see young people learning from pornographic magazines as well.

While the adolescents used whatever media was available to them to access information about sexuality, the ecologies in which they find themselves often explicitly reveal that which is sexual and enable them to see sexual acts being performed, vicariously learning from it, as the next theme shows.

**6.2.3.2 Theme two: Vicarious learning**

It was also the women teachers’ perspective that adolescents learn about sexuality through observing the modelling of sexuality that they see in their ecologies.
Adolescents seem to learn indirectly from observing certain role players. The three categories that emerged from the analysis are (i) Peers, (ii) Parents and (iii) Others in the community.

**Category: Peers**

Adolescence is marked by a close affinity to friends, which is known to provide them with a sense of belonging. This, the participant women teachers saw as a space and opportunity where they learn about sexuality. The learning, however, can be both positive and negative. Most likely adolescents experience the phenomenon of peer pressure, and by virtue of being in a particular group, the adolescents often feel compelled to give in to doing as the others do and to, at other times, experiment with sex, as the following quotations show:

... adolescents get a lot of sexuality information from their peers at school and in the community.

Adolescents also learn from friends and through experimentation; learning from doing it.

... adolescents learn from and with peers, these kids copy one another.

... the youth of today model sexuality from friends through peer pressure.

A lot of learning occurs during adolescence as it is their time of negotiating who they are within the space of their age group. These women teachers acknowledged the influence of the peers but also had some thoughts on the role the parents play in the adolescents’ learning of sexuality.

**Category: Parents**

The women teachers acknowledged that some Xhosa parents take the responsibility of teaching their adolescent children about sexuality matters. In fulfilling their parental role, some parents guide their children on all kinds of matters. Parents are the primary
educators and are ultimately responsible for teaching their children about sexuality. It is also important to consider what they role model to their children.

But I cannot take this away from some parents, they make the effort to teach their young ones about sexuality matters.

While the above is ideal, these teachers also spoke of the many Xhosa adolescents who come from homes where the social conditions are not optimal, and where the overcrowded homes did not allow for privacy. The children, and in this instance, the adolescents, by being exposed to adults performing sexual acts, learn about sexuality by seeing the sexual act. This, however, is not ideal learning, as it might be accompanied by alcohol abuse, fighting, and violence, as the following quotations show:

… they learn about sexuality … through observing parents who abuse alcohol and perform sexual acts in front of them.

… all to find out that when I had to drop her off taking her home one day I had a chat with her mother and the mother said ‘no, I am actually married to a very violent person. This person is a thug so he smokes mandrax and when he is done then he wants to sleep with me right in front of the children while children are watching. It’s nothing to him to do that to me before the children.’

Such a situation leaves the adolescent with a skewed idea of sex and sexuality and not properly equipped to express his or her own sexuality in a safe and acceptable way, which influences the kind of masculinities and femininities perpetuated in the community.

Category: Community

Xhosa adolescents are seen by the women teachers as observing others in the community and so are learning about sexuality too. They seem to see the learning in two ways: On the one hand, the communal spirit in Xhosa communities encourages surveillance of the other, and so Xhosa adolescents mimic what they observe in the
community, implying that they mimic even that which is not good and which has been normalised. On the other hand, the women teachers referred to the cultural beliefs which are transferred and which assist the Xhosa adolescents in learning about sexuality, as the following quotations show:

As you can see my drawing, I also feel that adolescents learn through observations they make from the family and community at large.

I see today’s adolescents, both boys and girls - learning about sexuality from the community where cultural beliefs are transferred.

I want to emphasise that adolescents learn a great deal about sexuality from friends and the community.

These teachers, as I pointed out earlier, are cognisant of the social problems such as alcohol and drug abuse in the community and how these are known to influence how people express their sexuality as well as increase the vulnerability of the adolescents:

... being in environments where there is alcohol and drug abuse exposes adolescents to aspects of sexuality too.

By using drugs and alcohol, adolescents expose themselves to certain aspects of sexuality because they become vulnerable.

These ecologies of peers, family, school and community, in spite of the social problems, are however, framed by prescriptive beliefs and values which stem from culture and religion, and which are often accepted uncritically, as the following theme explains.

6.2.3.3 Theme three: Prescriptions from school, religion and culture

Xhosa communities, in the context of urbanisation, often still hold on to cultural values and beliefs, which inform daily life. Religion too, in particular, Christianity with its values and beliefs, has a formative influence on the lives of the Xhosa adolescents as is
expressed in church and through the teachers at school. Hence, the women teachers referred to the Xhosa adolescents learning about sexuality from the prescriptions of culture and religion as invariably expressed in the school. From the analysis, the following categories emerged (i) School subjects, (ii) Religion and (iii) Culture.

**Category: School subjects**

At secondary school, certain subjects like Life Orientation, Life Sciences and Natural Sciences contain content which focuses on sexuality. The women teachers saw this as positive in that by being at school adolescents were exposed to information pertaining to sexuality.

*The LO classes offered at school are invaluable spaces where youth also learn about sexuality.*

*It helps that schools are offering subjects like Life Sciences and Life Orientation.*

*I think at school there are … ways whereby the learners are being taught about their sexuality; positively like in their learning area Life orientation.*

However, literature indicates that teachers who are not thoroughly equipped to teach sexuality often teach these school subjects. They draw on their own personal and religious values and then teach in a moralistic way. This moralistic stance does not equip the Xhosa adolescents with comprehensive knowledge to enable them to express their sexuality in a healthy and safe way.

**Category: Religious teachings**

Religion and its values are important in Xhosa communities, and the teachings also address sexuality when instilling the norms of abstinence and partner fidelity, intending to influence behaviour positively. While abstinence might seem useful it can put the lives of adolescents at risk, if they because of the prescription, are too afraid to, for example, use condoms. The ‘church’ and its teachings have not gone without controversy, as it has been shown up for gross sexual violations, which contradict the
very (positive) message that it tries to put across. The following quotations support these views:

*I want to also acknowledge the role that is played by the church in teaching about sexuality.*

*… another place where adolescents learn about sexuality, is at church where pastors relieve themselves of stress by sleeping with the adolescents. I am a pastor’s wife I know this.*

The contradicting messages the Xhosa adolescents receive, do not bode well for learning about healthy and safe sexuality. In spite of the religious teachings, adolescents do get pregnant and infected with sexually transmitted diseases. It is not the only religion that prescribes to adolescents with regard to sexuality, but Xhosa culture also does so too.

**Category: Cultural Teachings**

The women teachers spoke about the cultural rites of passage schools and the role they currently play in teaching sexuality. One of these teachers pointed out that there are certain Xhosa cultural rituals focused on sexuality. For example, it is a compulsory custom to send boys for initiation where how to be a man, in light of Xhosa culture, is taught. The initiation that is done for girls, which involve teachings on being a woman is less common today.

*There are certain Xhosa cultural rituals in which adolescents learn about their sexuality, where a boy or a girl has come of age, they get taught certain things.*

While the women teachers referred to the Xhosa initiation schools, the daily interaction within the family and the community enables subtle and covert learning of Xhosa cultural ways of being a man or woman. In the following section, I discuss the pressure on the adolescent to give in to sexual advances by peers and male teachers.
6.2.3.4 Theme four: Adolescents learn about sexuality through coerced sexual encounters

These women teachers noted that there are other forms of learning about sexuality, which are negative and harmful and which occur in the school premises. They referred to coercion which occurs amongst peers when one is pressured to do something like “fooling around” (meaning having sexual intercourse) that they may not be ready for or do not want to do. Coercion also occurs when a teacher coerces and entices the adolescent with gifts and promises to give in to his sexual advances. The following quotations support the teachers’ views:

Another place where adolescents learn about sexuality is school; on the backyards and also in offices of teachers that take advantage of girls.

I can also mention both negative and positive things regarding sexuality at school; behind classes at school a lot of fooling around occurs….  

Adolescents also learn about violent and abusive sexuality through being violated by a sexual abuser who forces himself on the child, as the following shows:

I see today’s adolescents learning about sexuality through experiences that may not be positive such as child abuse.

When such violations occur, the adolescent is harmed, and this experience of how sexuality is expressed is detrimental to the adolescent’s own expression of sexuality and well-being.

Discussion

The women teachers, through their drawings and discussions of how Xhosa adolescents learn about sexuality, highlighted multi-faceted learning. While I anticipated a stronger reference to culture, they pulled together several interesting ideas ranging from media to family, school, peers, the community, including Xhosa culture and religion. They were making it clear that Xhosa adolescents might have a
difficult task to collate all of these, sometimes contradictory ideas, into knowledge that they can use to understand and express their sexuality in a safe way. It seems as though the adolescents, like the teachers themselves, have to piece together a puzzle of sexuality information from various quarters. In the next paragraphs, I discuss each theme and write on what literature argues on that particular aspect.

Media such as television and the internet glamorises sexual pleasure and sexual violence. This could be why sex and sexuality are so alluring to adolescents. There is literature that supports the teachers’ assertions that today’s adolescents learn about sexuality from the media. The literature claims that adolescents (including Xhosa youth) are more exposed to sexualised images in music videos, movies, magazines and television which come from even beyond their country’s borders (Escobar-Chaves et al., 2005). Given all these media platforms, it cannot be overlooked or ignored that indeed, adolescents are learning about sexuality in spaces that are not necessarily safe. In support of this, there is a further claim by Muparamoto and Chigwenya (2009) and Pascoe (2011) that media (like the internet and cell phones) have become part of young peoples’ sexual lives. “Furthermore, we know that youth are exposed to lots of sexual information, sexualizing and titillating media, and pornography” (Helmich, 2009, p. 12). Adolescents admit that they are influenced by pornography (Muparamoto & Chigwenya, 2009). Learning from media is inevitable for the adolescents in that they are part of a ‘youth culture’ that follows glamourised trends in media, as they are adept with its technologies (Cloete, 2012; Wood, 2013).

Without necessarily or without deliberately making efforts to teach the adolescent about sexuality, the Xhosa adolescent vicariously learns by observing others in their own ecologies. It might seem that in some cases they uncritically copy what they observe from peers, parents and others in the community. In looking at peer relationships in adolescence, Brown and Larson (2009) confirm that adolescents have high regard for the opinion of their peers. This impression of peers is used when the adolescent looks to them for guidance in sexuality matters. Helmich (2009) concurs that “[t]hey talk about sex among themselves and with older peers, and the information they get from each other may not be very accurate, reasonable, or responsible” (p. 12). Looking to peers is a worrying state of affairs as adolescents are known for their high-risk sexual behaviour (Cloete, 2012; Clüver et al., 2013; Petersen et al., 2005;
Visser, 2007) and having concurrent partners (Wood & Jewkes, 2006). This, they learn from one another.

The adolescent was not seen as looking only to their peers in order to learn about sexuality, but also to their parents. It is said that children learn what they see and sharing a small space with parents means that they will invariably learn about sexuality from them. Izugbara (2007) observes that family sexuality communications afford parents a genuine space to inform and manage their children’s understanding of sexuality. Nevertheless, in the context of where these teachers come from, the townships, children witness sexual acts due to the lack of privacy in overcrowded homes, also confirmed by Delius and Glaser (2002) and Wood (2013). In such cases, the constructive learning that is supposed to happen with the parent is jeopardised. With all being said, Section 9.4 of the National policy on HIV/AIDS (Government Gazette, 1999) calls for making parents sexuality educators who should be aware of what is taught at school.

The Xhosa community in this contemporary age sometimes exhibits less progressive values and behaviour that are prescriptive and normalised as accepted norms of being an Xhosa man and a woman. According to Morrell et al. (2009), in township communities, contrary to popular belief that it is only in rural areas, patriarchal values are still upheld. This has the potential for the adolescent perpetuating these less progressive norms in their generation as well. Francis (2010) and Jordaan (2014) note that every child passes through the schooling system, where comprehensive sexuality education programmes could give young people an opportunity to receive accurate information and also explore their own values in an environment that is supportive and non-threatening (Daria & Campbell, 2004; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). However, young people are often positioned as disinterested in sexuality education (Macleod, 2016), possibly because of the manner in which teachers teach it, for example superficially in a transmission mode and prescriptive (Moletsane, 2014b).

In this study, the women teachers pointed out that religion also influences the adolescents’ learning about sexuality education. Vanwesenbeeck et al. (2016) highlight that there are a struggle and a tussle in teachers between the comprehensive sexuality education that they have to teach and dominant societal norms. Dickinson
Muparamoto and Chigwenya (2009) and Schmid (2005) point to the influential role that Christian churches play in shaping the attitudes of their members around sexuality. Examples of this are when the ‘church’ prescribes to the adolescents to delay sexual debut, discourages early voluntary sexual activity, and infidelity between married partners. The same prescripts are taught in initiation schools, those that still remain, which are a rite of passage of an Xhosa adolescent. Cekiso and Meyiwa (2012) advance that “rites of passage play a central role in African socialisation, demarking the different stages in an individual’s development, as well as that person’s relationship and role in the broader community” (p. 1). Such formalised and regulated sexuality education for indigenous African adolescents seemed to have worked well in days gone by (Delius & Glaser, 2002). In keeping with the revival of indigenous cultures and bearing in mind that the ‘stable’ family structure is disintegrating (Muparamoto & Chigwenya, 2009), initiation schools might be seen as valuable support for families. The question is who will ensure that constructive and progressive values and teachings are the only agenda.

The normalisation of sexual violence in South Africa also puts adolescents at risk. Evidence of this is the recorded sexual violence incidences happening at school (Chabaya, Rembe, Wadesango & Mafanya, 2009; Myers, 2014; Shisana et al., 2014). Hallman (2007) points out that South African schools need to attend to the sexual violence that occurs within them on account of its reported prevalence. Coercion is raised as an issue in sexual violence, with the adolescents not having developed the necessary skill to assert themselves or negotiate safe sex (Muparamoto & Chigwenya, 2009). Modernity presents opportunities but also challenges to a growing adolescent. One of the opportunities is to access the abundance of goods available for consumption, which in contexts of high levels of poverty, are cited as contributing to young girls and women being coerced to have sex in exchange for material goods in transactional relationships (Potgieter et al., 2012; Shisana et al., 2014; Van Dyk, 2001; Wood, 2013). This exposes them to HIV infection and a subservient spirit in life. Increased learning and understanding about sexuality should be seen as crucial to adolescents’ well-being, healthy development, protection and future life chances.
6.2.4 Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers' cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality influence their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners

The dataset of the women teachers’ photovoice work responded to the following question; How do Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality influence their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners? The themes produced were 1) Using the past as lens, and 2) Shifting towards a ‘new’ practice. In this section, I report on these themes and their accompanying categories, including relevant quotations to support my argument.

6.2.4.1 Theme one: Using the past as a lens

The women teachers’ own cultural perspectives on adolescents learning about sexuality influenced their teaching Xhosa adolescents, and shows how a teacher’s personal life is intertwined with her professional work. They referred to the past, how things used to be done with regards to sexuality, to rationalise their adopted teaching practice. They appreciated some of the ways in which sexuality was regulated in their Xhosa communities through the promotion of values such as respect. Some of the women teachers also showed, through their photovoice work, the traditional chant and drill methods of going about teaching sexuality education. Two categories emerged: 1) Drawing on some age-old cultural values to teach sexuality education, and 2) Being stuck in the didactic about sexuality education. The following categories serve as evidence to these statements:

Category: Drawing on some age-old cultural values

These women teachers indicated that they do not ignore the value-laden Xhosa cultural teachings on adolescent sexuality in their teaching practice. For them, some values that relate to sexuality in their age-old culture were indispensable. Thus, with their photovoice work, the women teachers called for the preservation of certain Xhosa values, which they saw as necessary for this generation of adolescents in navigating their sexuality. They focused on respect, drawing from how it was taught to the
previous generation: respecting people in general, respecting girls, developing self-
respect, and for girls to develop assertiveness but also submissiveness in accepting
their role or position. The following quotations support these statements:

   In the olden days we used to hide when you are going with a boyfriend and
   emphasised self-respect.

   We teach them respect yourself, be able to abstain, don’t conform to peer
   pressure ....

   We are trying to teach learners that it is important to respect girls …

These teachers mentioned that they teach assertiveness the same way as it was done
when they were growing up. The adolescent learners should be confident enough to
assert themselves and say ‘No’ even in their intimate relationships.

   … be assertive as much as possible! Culturally we were taught assertiveness,
   the parent would tell you if you say No! a No! is a No! But then we did not see
   it as assertiveness, but we just knew that we are taught if you say, No! then No!
   is a No!

However, the teachers saw it necessary to teach girls to be ‘submissive’ since they
were confronted with cases of learners actively pursuing relationships with male
teachers. Submissiveness to the teachers, in this instance, implies that girls should
contain themselves and not be forthcoming in initiating sexual relations with men.

   We teach these girls that in our culture girls are expected to succumb, be
   submissive, and allow the male to approach the female, not the opposite. But
   we know that they [the girls] will say it’s their time now, those things were done
   in the olden days, you’ve got a right to go and ask for love. We are still
   submissive as women, we try to tell the girls they do not have to go out of their
   way and propose love, especially [to] a teacher. A teacher is like a parent, you
   cannot go out there chasing their love.
The traditional quality of an Xhosa woman and girl being submissive seems to contradict these women teaching girls in their classes to be assertive. Assertiveness was presented as a way to take charge of a sexually charged situation and to be able to dictate own choices and decisions, whilst the submissiveness they were asking for, taken from its meaning, might render the girls disempowered to assert themselves.

In their photovoice work, the women teachers showed that they appreciated the teachings of their parents - who received it from their parents and that they wanted the adolescents to be exposed to the same teachings. Hence they chose to draw on the teachings from the past. They reckoned that the adolescents would benefit from such teachings as they (the participants) had benefitted from them. Not only did these teachers draw from the past to inform their teaching, but some also seemed to be stuck on the kind of teaching that is didactic and has moral instruction as an ulterior motive.

**Category: Stuck in being didactic**

It seemed as if some women teachers were set on being the main dispensers of knowledge in their interaction with the learners, thus reserving little room for learners’ voices. In their teaching, they tended to take the learners up the moral highway communicating the dos and don’ts of conducting themselves sexually. In that way, being didactic could stifle consideration for and engagement with the social context and the times adolescents live in. Their photovoice work showed that they address a number of topics: how to dress, abstinence, the consequences of sex and teenage pregnancy, and the dangers and effects of alcohol abuse.

*We are teaching the children how to dress. So, they (you) must dress and hide your body, nè!*

*I would love to say that this lesson is also encouraging teaching young men that the only time they will have sex with a young lady is when they wait until they give themselves in marriage. Abstinence for boys and girls is important. So, when I teach about abstinence I bring consequences first.*
... if you are taking a bath in your family home, do not be naked in front of the females if you are a guy or in front of guys if you are a girl. That avoids uncles from touching their nieces. Keep privacy!

... because as a woman you will get married one day and you need to be pure.

At school as we teach, we do remind the children about abstinence, that it is good.

We are talking about the effect of alcohol and drugs. As learners they could be exposed to danger, they could be raped. We are also teaching them that there is nothing for mahala [for free], if you receive something you are gonna have to give something back. It works that way...

These quotations indicate that these women teachers used the past as the lens to inform their teaching of sexuality education to adolescents. They felt that there were teachings from the past that could work well in terms of teaching sexuality to 21st Century Xhosa adolescents in their classes, and they drew on these cultural and/or religious influences to inform their teaching. Although the women teachers' articulated intentions seemed honourable, they tended to take a didactic stance in terms of their approach to sexuality education. Being didactic, without allowing space for interrogation and critique thereof, is not constructive and might not suit the realities of the adolescents of today. For example, their ideas of dress is not a way of preventing sexual violence as these teachers seem to imply, and abstinence is not necessarily possible in a context of coercion, abuse and violence. The responsibility should not only be placed on the girl, but the boys and men should also learn to control themselves. Nevertheless, they recognised that a ‘new’ approach and practice to teaching sexuality education was necessary.

6.2.4.2 Theme two: Shifting towards a ‘new’ practice

In keeping with the times, some of the women teachers seemed to have realised the need to use participatory approaches when they are teaching adolescents. This shift also came from the recognition that there are taboos that seem to silence Xhosa
people (parents, teachers and learners alike) when it comes to sexuality. Therefore, some women teachers’ attempts were deliberate efforts to counter that status quo and facilitate a participatory teaching practice. Two categories emerged: 1) Innovating their teaching method, and 2) Refocusing on a safe lifestyle. The following categories serve as evidence to these statements:

**Category: Innovating their teaching method**

Teaching sexuality education is often seen as challenging due to the nature of the content taught and from drawing on old methods such as chalk and talk and reading from the textbook. Innovating their teaching methods by drawing on democratic and interactive ways to teach sexuality to the adolescents in their classes could ease the challenges of teaching sexuality education. The women teachers’ photovoice work showed that they used debate and role-play to engage the learners and that they acknowledged the learners’ life experiences in their teaching. This is reflected in the following quotations:

*I normally have a debating session where you want them to talk because culture, Xhosa culture, they don’t want to express themselves, their opinions and their feelings.*

*… where you can have a role-play kind of situation where you have two girl learners together moving away from one girl learner that dresses up like a boy.*

*We are trying to tell them that yes, we understand that you know what you know because they are getting teachings from their peers that are misleading.*

*We are trying to teach them to change their mindsets saying this is what you know, now let’s go to the unknown. The unknown is that which their parents were taught growing up but missed to tell their kids.*

In the innovation of their methods, these teachers pushed to change the mindsets of learners through getting them to think and talk about various issues pertaining to sexuality, exposing them to what their parents might have neglected teaching them,
or what their peers might have misinformed them about. In this way, they were appraising the status quo and seeing the possibility of innovating their methods to meet the demands of the times. In the same breath, they are in keeping with participatory approaches as these approaches are called for in comprehensive sexuality education. With their teaching method reconsidered, the women teachers turned to how their cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality had influenced their teaching sexuality education and refocused on a lifestyle that is safe.

**Category: Refocusing on a safe lifestyle**

In teaching sexuality education, it is necessary to focus on enabling a safe lifestyle, rather than focusing on scare tactics in trying to ensure that adolescents do not engage in unsafe sexual activities. The women teachers’ photovoice showed that to achieve this, they ought to teach the adolescents norms and values, cautious and careful living, and thus the use of condoms, letting go, to some extent - of their ‘narrow’ view on sexuality education. This stance is in line with what the South African sexuality education curriculum prescribes a comprehensive sexuality education. This is reflected in the following quotations:

> … but in our classrooms we teach both these boys and girls to have norms and values, they must respect and know how to behave in a public environment.

> So in the classroom situation we are teaching these learners to be more cautious so that they don’t find themselves in a situation where they wake up in a bed with someone they don’t know.

> Still on this one on condoms, we’ve been introduced to them as this generation because we don’t have a choice, whether we like it or we don’t like it we must face it that people are sexually active out there.

> We teach them to be cautious … parents will tell you don’t go around eating anything.
It’s on that topic where you deal with conditions associated with reproduction in humans where you outline to them that it’s not only the female that can be infertile, the male can too. In Xhosa culture, it seems as if it is always the female who is in the wrong there.

From the findings, it can be said that the women teachers were treading through seemingly irreconcilable terrains in that, on the one hand, they were comfortable with the old and on the other were redefining their practice in line with the new. They insightfully did this by not drawing on all there was in the olden days but brought forth rational values such as respect and assertiveness. This is important as some of the ‘things’ which were taught and done in the past might be seen as highly contested in the light of human rights. For example, virginity testing can be seen as invasive, violating the individual girl’s right to privacy. There is, therefore, evidence of refocusing their teaching from being purely didactic to cultivating a safe lifestyle, given the acknowledgement that adolescents are indeed sexually active. Overall, the women teachers’ photovoice work indicates that through their teaching practice, they are inculcating in their Xhosa adolescent learners a sense of responsibility for directing their own behaviour regarding sexuality. That is a necessary attribute to possess as a 21st Century adolescent.

Discussion

The photovoice work of these teachers highlighted the fact that the Xhosa women teachers have largely realised a redefinition of their teaching sexuality education. This is in spite of their cultural perspectives on adolescents learning about sexuality that also influence their teaching. It is interesting that their photovoice work demonstrated a participatory teaching practice (Haberland & Rogow, 2015), although they were teachers of another generation and might not have been adequately equipped in their teacher training to adopt such a practice (Francis, 2010; Moul, 2013; Thaver & Leao, 2012). In the next paragraphs, I discuss each theme and write on what literature argues on that particular aspect.

Using the past as lens implies that the women teachers sought from what used to be the state of affairs in Xhosa culture and brought some of those values forth into their
teaching. Literature confirms that teachers teach sexuality education in line with their own cultural and/or religious beliefs (Beyers, 2012; Helleve et al., 2009; Moul, 2013; Rooth, 2005; Thaver & Leao, 2012). The lines between culture and religion are often blurred, with the women teachers talking about Christianity as if it had become one with Xhosa culture. It is important to draw on culture in the teaching of sexuality education since studies postulate that the ineffectiveness of HIV and AIDS teaching and learning material and the implied sexuality education may be due to the failure of designing culturally appropriate materials and reimagining teaching approaches (Sorcar, 2015; UNESCO, 2009b; Wood, 2009a; Zuilkowski & Jukes, 2012). At times, these teachers sounded as though they were contradicting themselves because they would call for values that at first glance seem incompatible with each other. An example of this is when they asked girls to be assertive yet submissive (sounding as though they expected them to be passive) as it was the case in times past. Delius and Glaser (2004) claim that women and girls had always been commanding in African communities and asserted themselves in intimate sexual relationships. Recent studies show that this is not the case with black Africans in South Africa, as men and boys are generally more open, aggressive and suggestive about sexuality than women and girls who are censured (Morrell et al., 2009; Shefer et al., 2008). It is interesting that these teachers went for both these positions in their photovoice work. Nevertheless, if adolescents (particularly girls) could assert themselves, they might be able to actively define their aspirations regarding sexual relationships (Auslander, Perfect, Succop & Rosenthal, 2007), and be able to make choices which are appropriate for them. Another avenue that the women teachers drew on from the past is the area of respect, as mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, in that children in the community were taught and were expected to respect each other. This involves respecting their own bodies, and by the same token, respecting others (especially older people). It is a tricky exercise to demand respect for adults unreservedly or undeservedly in Xhosa culture as this has implications for children. It might be challenging for the children and adolescents to say ‘No!’ to abuse or to report cases of abuse if it comes from the adult who ought to be respected (Hill, 2005). In addition, respect may inhibit them from communicating openly about taboo subjects, such as sexuality.
Above all, the women teachers also demonstrated that they were still stuck in being didactic (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015; MacPhail & Pettifor, 2007; Muparamoto & Chigwenya, 2009), perhaps echoing what Moletsane (2014b) understood of the sexuality and that they took a moralistic stance in their teaching. Economou (2012), MacPhail and Pettifor (2007) and Zanatta, Moraes, Freitas, and Brêtas (2016) concur that biomedical aspects of reproduction and HIV and AIDS are focused on by teachers rather than sexuality and social aspects of HIV infection. By doing so, they are overlooking sexuality and the context in which adolescents negotiate their sexual spaces (Hunting, 2012; Moletsane, 2014b). Adams, Tucker, George, Reardon and Panday (2016) corroborate that point and say that for example in the teaching of sexuality education, which includes HIV and AIDS, learners are uninterested in the information given as they see it as being fixed at the level of basic facts rather than communicating fundamental understanding. Moreover, the situation is compounded by the fact that Xhosa teachers seem to be ‘wearing masks’, tending to be superficial when they teach sexuality education (Mbananga, 2004). In essence, teachers are embarrassed, guarded and do not want open dialogue when they are teaching about sexuality. The problem with this approach of being didactic is that it has not had a marked impact on lowering the negative outcomes of risky adolescent sexual behaviour (Moletsane, 2014b). So, using the past as a lens in approaching sexuality education has ambivalences: on the one hand it is seen to work well in that it is fashioned for specific cultural groups (Anderson & Beutel, 2007; Barr, 2008), and on the other hand as ineffective in that intended goals and the necessary learning for current times are not achieved (Moletsane, 2014b).

Even though the women teachers used the past as lens in their teaching practice, they also showed that they were shifting towards a ‘new’ teaching practice. Beyers (2013b), Francis (2011), Moul (2013), Sani et al. (2018), UNESCO (2009c) and UNFPA (2010) advocate for participatory teaching methods for sexuality education as they are seen as relevant for today’s adolescents, interesting to those taking part in them, and creative. The methods are relevant as they largely draw on technology and the visual (Mitchell & De Lange, 2013). Facilitating a lesson using what is familiar to the adolescents, i.e. technology, might spark interest in the teaching of sexuality education. Participatory methods are fun (Punch, 2002), and enjoying learning might mean internalising it. This bodes well for the attainment of sexuality education
outcomes. The methods also promote a democratic atmosphere as power is renegotiated (Mitchell, 2015) away from the teacher in the traditional teaching of chalk and talk, and towards the learners whose voices are accommodated and celebrated. Given the aforementioned nature of teaching sexuality education, participatory methods “… have the potential to change sexuality education into a positive experience for all those involved [teachers and learners alike]” (Beyers, 2013b, p.11).

The women teachers also demonstrated that they could facilitate a comprehensive sexuality education curriculum as seen in their focus on a safe lifestyle. Haberland and Rogow (2015) posit that it is comprehensive sexuality education when the curriculum is culturally appropriate and geared at meeting the needs of cultural groups. Not only that, it addresses sexuality education in a holistic way (Francis & DePalma, 2014) covering responsible decision-making, choices, protection, sexual preferences, attitudes and values. Although there were elements of abstinence in the women teachers’ practice, this is acceptable as comprehensive sexuality education covers abstinence, but it further qualifies it with options if it cannot be met (Kirby, 2008). There is, however, a twist in teaching the prescribed comprehensive sexuality education in South Africa, as teachers tend to focus less on the comprehensive curriculum and dwell more on abstinence (Francis & DePalma, 2014). Participatory visual methodologies could disrupt this tendency as teachers facilitate a more interactive atmosphere in class. Moreover, if teachers could clearly make the link between a safe lifestyle and what culture proposes, comprehensive sexuality education would thrive.

The women teachers’ photovoice work portrayed that their cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality influence their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners, drawing on the past, but also shifting their practices. I noted that all the participants found value in some of the teachings from culture (the past) and that those informed how they taught the adolescents in their classes. Intergenerational teachings were not only handed down to the next generation, but they were scrutinised and revisited to ensure utility for the 21st Century adolescent.
The curriculum posters created by the women teachers in response to the question; ‘What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ views of meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners?’ produced three themes. The themes were 1) Focusing on the crux of the matter 2) Shifting teacher positionality and 3) Contextualising sexuality education in Xhosa culture. What follows in the next section is the discussion of these themes as informed by the categories and supported by relevant quotations.

6.2.5.1 Theme one: Focusing on the crux of the matter

The women teachers realised that their teaching sexuality education has not always been focused on that which is essential to an adolescent’s healthy sexuality development and that they should focus on the crux of sexuality education, that which would enable the adolescent to express healthy sexuality. Two categories emerged: 1) Teaching sexuality in its fullness, and 2) Nurturing leaners’ sexuality development.

Category: Teaching sexuality in its fullness

Teaching sexuality in its fullness meant that teachers should attend to all the aspects related to sexuality. The women teachers believed that teaching sexuality education should persuade the whole being of the learner, emphasising the importance of the whole and the interconnectedness of its parts, for example, that the physicality of sex and sexuality is related to emotions and relationships. This shows how learning about sexuality links the physical, emotional and social development of the adolescent. These teachers also maintained that all the facets of sexuality should be taught so as not to present a constrained sexuality education, which is negative, overly controlled and narrow - to the learners. The following quotations serve as evidence to support these statements:

… connect body, mind and soul …. 

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What we find is that parents, and some of us teachers, tend to talk about the negatives with regard to sexuality; you are going to be infected, you are going to get HIV, you are going to get pregnant. That is not always the case, there are some positives to it that we do not talk to our kids about, for instance, important issues that happen to them such as one having a crush on somebody, that’s positive, it’s a positive feeling that they have. We need to talk about those so that the kid knows that it’s normal, they learn how to manage them so that they know they do not have to act on them.

These teachers clearly were aware of the importance of teaching sexuality in its fullness, promoting its positive facets as well, which are sometimes overshadowed by the negative aspects. The LO CAPS covers all the facets of sexuality, i.e. the emotional, social, moral, intellectual and physical development, but teachers intentionally choose topics they are comfortable with and which they could focus on in their teaching. Teachers and parents tend to dwell on the consequences of risky sexual behaviour and overlook prevention and pleasurable sexuality. With focusing on the crux of the matter in meaningfully teaching sexuality education, another goal of the women teachers was to nurture learners’ sexuality development as seen in the next section.

**Category: Nurturing learners’ sexuality development**

Meaningful teaching for the Xhosa women teachers meant that they had to focus on deliberately nurturing the learners’ sexuality development. This implied that teachers would make an effort to teach about sexuality, whatever the cost, as they were aware of its significance in the lives of adolescents. The women teachers did not want to see their learners in the same predicament as them; that of growing up with no clear understanding of their own sexuality and with no one to engage actively with regarding their sexuality. They were confident that they could make in-roads in developing adolescent sexuality. In doing that, these teachers positioned themselves to be able to relate to adolescents and their questions. The following quotations serve as evidence to support these statements:
... there was not much information that I would get.... I was not told what actually would make you fall pregnant if you have a boyfriend.

*We first thought of the different gender roles; there we were thinking about the parents specifically the women, will be teaching the young ones about being responsible women.*

*We need to encourage identity, gender identity, the children must be aware of themselves, of their bodies and if they want to ask something around those issues there must be somebody they can relate to.*

... and that will lead to them accepting one another and being self-confident.

By renegotiating their focus in teaching sexuality education, the women teachers were critical of how they were once taught or not taught. This is seen in the example that they gave, that they were not taught how conception happens and how a girl might get pregnant. By implication, this means that they did not wish the same for the learners they teach. They acknowledged the noticeable silence there was when it came to sexuality matters. They saw it necessary to cultivate an atmosphere that supported learners’ sexuality exploration and development, also referring to an awareness of self, of gender roles and gender identity, in order to achieve positive outcomes in their teaching of sexuality. Teaching sexuality in its fullness and nurturing learners’ sexuality development was what the teachers regarded as important, the crux, in meaningfully teaching sexuality education. Having determined the crux of teaching sexuality education, the women teachers turned to question their own standing and thus, shifted their positionality.

### 6.2.5.2 Theme two: Shifting teacher positionality

Teacher positionality refers to the teachers’ positioning in teaching sexuality education. Their values and views on sexuality were modified in response to the needs of adolescent learners in the classes they teach. They were eager to position themselves differently than was the case before to teach sexuality education meaningfully to see the accomplishment of its educational goals. Two categories
emerged: 1) Revisiting pedagogical assumptions, and 2) Taking ownership to teach sexuality education.

**Category: Revisiting pedagogical assumptions**

Pedagogical assumptions, in this instance, refer to conventions that the teachers hold about the curriculum content, the teaching method, the learners and themselves as teachers teaching sexuality education. They are expressed in the formal teaching situation as biases, labels and stereotypical ideas. The women teachers, having been given the opportunity - in the research process - to reflect on themselves, showed shifts in their assumptions, a move away from some of those initially held. The following quotations serve as evidence to support these statements:

*This had an effect on the boys we teach in class as female teachers; they would shy away when we female teachers try to teach the male reproductive system.*

*We are also saying … that sexuality education must be taught by both male and female teachers and there must be no stuff that is supposed to be taught by males only as the male learners expect.*

*… as educators that our responsibility is not only to talk about the content, as much as the content is important we also need to be conscious of the fact that when we teach this subject a lot of our culture comes into play.*

*… community is in the hands of both males and females.*

In their own teaching, the women teachers admitted to assumptions they held about their Xhosa learners, that they (the teachers) were not to teach certain aspects of the sexuality education curriculum. For example, women were not expected to teach boys about reproduction, but these teachers felt that males and females should both teach the reproductive system to their Xhosa learners. The women teachers had a rethink of that assumption held in their township schools that girls have to be taught by women, and boys by men. These teachers, in thinking about how they taught sexuality education, also challenged the banking method of teaching often used. They thought
teaching about sexuality is more than mere content delivery, and that there had to be consideration and exploration of the cultural context that is brought into the classroom. The women teachers also saw that sexuality education should be about community building, efforts of being proactive in empowering the community, and that duty lies on the shoulders of both males and females.

Having revisited their pedagogical assumptions, these teachers saw that they should not wait for someone to salvage the situation of ineffective sexuality education; and so they set out taking ownership of their teaching sexuality education.

**Category: Taking ownership to teach sexuality education**

These teachers’ curriculum posters demonstrated that they should take back ownership of and lead in the teaching of sexuality education. This taking back of ownership meant that it was teachers in the field who had to be proactive in terms of finding and bringing into the teaching of sexuality education that which is necessary to make it effective. Their thinking was that they should not wait for the Department of Basic Education officials in terms of providing what was needed to support effective teaching and learning of sexuality education. It could be very easy to detach oneself from responsibility especially when one knows there is some superior who was supposed to be held accountable. When no one takes ownership, the necessary change and impactful teaching that is needed will not happen. The following quotations serve as evidence to support these statements:

‘Taking back the power’ leads us to say we need to communicate, we need to communicate both with learners and with their parents.

*Communication really has to be the driver of the whole system of taking back the power…. We can play a vital and positive role with regards to that.*

*… but we need to go beyond that as teachers; we need to call a spade a spade, we need to encourage communication, communication with elders in the community, anyone the child is comfortable speaking with, not only the parents.*
... and if they want to ask something around those issues there must be somebody they can relate to. Teachers play an important role in this area because they spend a lot of time with the children at school.

The women teachers claimed ownership for teaching sexuality education, thereby taking responsibility for the learners. They also communicated that they needed to be approachable so that the learners can relate to them. Communication came out strongly in these teachers’ curriculum posters, pointing to a possible disrupting of the silence that surrounds sexuality matters at present. Also, they were forthcoming when they sought to involve the parents and the community trying to guarantee that learning would be reinforced at home. In doing this, they were positioning themselves aptly for meaningful teaching of sexuality education to occur. Further, they envisaged that through their teaching, adolescent sexual behaviour could lead to positive outcomes. This means that adolescent learners might not have to be victims of not fully understanding sexuality matters. With the women teachers having looked at the learners and themselves, next was to consider the context.

6.2.5.3 Theme three: Contextualising sexuality education in Xhosa culture

The Xhosa women teachers, in their curriculum posters, promulgated their realisation that sexuality education needs to be taught in context, also in cultural context, in this instance, the Xhosa cultural context. They recognised that sexuality education would be more comprehensible and meaningful to Xhosa learners if they contextualised it in the cultural context. Although there seemed to be a sense of longing for ‘things’ to be done the way they had been done in the past, they reckoned that some of the teachings could be critiqued and needed fine-tuning for this particular era and context. Two categories emerged: 1) Reconnecting to Xhosa values, and 2) Appreciation of cultural roots and practices.

Category: Reconnecting to Xhosa values

These teachers considered that certain Xhosa values needed to be re-established in their teaching sexuality education. They saw these as relevant and crucial in the
teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa adolescents today. The values were related to sexuality education and are also found in contemporary Xhosa culture and religion. The following quotations serve as evidence to support these statements:

Men are also taught about their different cultures and how to act responsibly, understanding the consequences of acting irresponsibly; whilst girls went to intonjane, the males are taken to initiation schools where they would be taught everything about manhood, how to handle themselves, and how to respect the opposite gender. This was done in order for them to understand what the outcome of abstinence was, because they were taught not to touch each other. Here is a marriage [pointing to a photograph], what you can see there is a woman whose face is covered by a bead-like veil to show that this woman has not been touched, she is pure, she has listened to the teachings during the intonjane training.

There were different ways that were used to instil values, respect and all the other things in the kids when they were brought up.

They [girls] are also taught to have a sense of pride of themselves; they need to be proud of their bodies understanding that men cannot do as they please with their [girls] bodies.

According to the women teachers, sexuality education offered in Xhosa cultural institutions in the past could be useful to instil values relevant to both boys and girls. The kind of values that they could instil was taking responsibility, respect and self-assurance. The example of abstinence was prominent in the posters, as the women recalled that abstinence was part of the teaching on sexuality where adolescents were encouraged and expected not to have sex before marriage. Their curriculum posters also pointed to other values such as assertiveness, self-confidence, self-awareness and identity, which too could contribute to meaningful teaching of sexuality education today.
The women teachers spoke appreciatively of some teachings on sexuality that used to characterise Xhosa culture. They seemed quite nostalgic in that they not only reminisced about their roots but presented Xhosa practices as being all-good and made no mention of any Xhosa practices that might have been undesirable. Such activities were, for example, the acceptance of another woman (extramarital) as an Xhosa husband’s mistress when a wife had just given birth to a baby. Cultural practices were intended to traditionally transmit unique knowledge and values from one generation to the other. The purpose of cultural practices is to uphold cultural norms that would set standards for acceptable behaviour; how to interact within the culture.

The following quotations serve as evidence to support these statements:

* … our pride is in our roots because if we can go back there we think our young ones would be able to handle themselves until they are ready for adulthood and not enter into activities that are going to bring about problems. *

* Here we have a picture of intonjane, it is a cultural activity that is done whereby the young women or girls were kind of taken aside and are taught how to handle themselves as women and tomorrow’s mothers, and all the different roles that they need to play. *

* The whole community becomes aware of what’s important when their boys are about to go to initiation schools. *

* For instance if a young man goes up the thighs of a young woman during fondling, the family of that young man will be forced to pay a penalty; giving a cow to the girl’s family. *

Although appreciating the cultural practices, the Xhosa women teachers needed to be critical of some of the practices. For example, they seemed to support the idea that there is a sense of pride in a girl being a virgin and publicly declaring her status. They did not seem to see virginity testing as a violation of the girl’s sense of autonomy and privacy. They also pointed out that Xhosa adolescents were taught to observe limited sexual intercourse between boys and girls and that boys and men would have to pay
a penalty for sexually penetrating a girl. This practice, however, has the potential of making girls and women be viewed as commodities that could be bought or sold, and so limiting the opportunity to express themselves in relationships.

Taking pride in their cultural roots assumed an obligation on the part of the women teachers to inform their Xhosa learners of how things used to be done in their Xhosa culture, clearly wanting to pass the cultural knowledge on to the next generation. This knowledge was seen to be able to instil a sense of pride in the learners and that they might own for themselves what their culture has to offer. In all this, there remains the need to be critical of the Xhosa culture, as there is a possibility that what is passed on to the younger generation might not be useful in the age of HIV and AIDS. When contextualising sexuality education in the Xhosa culture, it is necessary to be vigilant of its relevance for today’s adolescents and possible contradictions that might exist.

**Discussion**

In the next paragraphs, I discuss each theme and write on what literature argues on that particular aspect. The exercise of creating curriculum posters enabled reflexivity on the part of the women teachers. They could examine the whole research process and determine what they thought would be meaningful teaching of sexuality education. Essentially, these teachers were saying there has to be a modification of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa adolescents. Contextualising sexuality education in Xhosa cultural context came out as key to meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners. All the women teachers had been brought up in a township and were teaching in township secondary schools but seemed not to have lost touch with their Xhosa culture. In their posters and the discussions that ensued, there was a clear indication that the women teachers’ thinking was in synchrony with Shilumani (2010) and Sani et al. (2018), who advocate for the provision of sexuality education in the context of culture, but culture made relevant for today’s adolescents.

These teachers also demonstrated awareness that they needed to put the adolescent learner at the centre of their teaching, as inferred by Francis, (2011) and UNESCO (2009c). That is the crux of what sexuality education should be about, i.e. holistically focusing on the learner and teaching sexuality education in its fullness and nurturing
the learners’ sexuality development. This is in line with Ngwena’s (2003) assertions that sexuality education should be about the learner’s development and well-being. By redirecting the focus like that to these positive aspects of sexuality (Moult, 2013), the women teachers were being critical of the norm of teaching sexuality education in South African schools. It is this kind of critical thinking, accompanied by reflection that is needed for the meaningful teaching of sexuality education (Beyers, 2012).

Mercer (1995) asserts that links between teachers in schools and culture be made in order to challenge assumptions about how teaching and learning about sexuality could be done. These teachers’ curriculum posters attempted to address this. It is a certain kind of teacher that is needed to teach sexuality education (Mathews et al., 2006) (See section 2.1). In this regard, these particular women teachers challenged the notion in black township schools that some aspects of sexuality education should be taught by a teacher of a specific sex. I could not locate literature on this other than that which says it is usually women who are given the task of teaching sexuality education (Helleve et al., 2009). There is a need to disrupt this notion as the family dynamics have been changing and there are now more homes that are headed by single parents (Gouws et al., 2008), which flags the need to call upon teachers of both sexes to be engaged with learners regarding sexuality at school. Sexuality education cannot continue to be a task of women teachers only, and they should not give in to pressure about what content they as women teachers could and could not teach to boys. The women teachers encouraged communication, which required them to think about their positionality as they sought to challenge “the historically and culturally produced taboos and silences that surround talking about sex and sexuality, and gender inequalities” (Wood, 2013, p. 54). These teachers saw themselves as taking responsibility to lead such a situation, thereby, putting themselves at the forefront of the task of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa adolescents.

The women teachers’ curriculum posters were laced with Xhosa cultural connotations. They demonstrated that culture was relevant for the meaningful teaching of sexuality education, without the latter, adolescents, especially girls, are more exposed to disheartening reproductive and sexual health practices (UNFPA, 2010). The women teachers reconnected their teaching to Xhosa values, appreciating the cultural practices that taught these, and celebrated their cultural roots. With regard to cultural
practices, Baxen and Breidlid (2004) call for the examination of cultural practices and their use in a meaningful way in terms of interventions in sexuality education. The UNESCO (2009c) also notes the importance of cultural values in the understanding of sexuality. The women teachers remembered abstinence as a value Xhosas used to teach, and they wanted to teach it in their classes still. At times the participants sounded like they were saying abstinence is the only way, and at other times, they were open-minded about the alternatives. The women teachers in this study might have observed what Ahlberg (1994) advocates for; an education system that focuses positively on peoples’ historical backgrounds, and only when able to mobilise peoples’ meanings can there be the possibility to effectively empower people to deal with issues of sexuality, including HIV and AIDS.

It was enthralling to see these teachers engaging and fully appraising their teaching of sexuality education in township schools. I sensed a readiness on the part of teachers to rethink the teaching of sexuality education.

6.3 Conclusion

These findings from the five datasets (participatory document analysis, two sets of drawing, photovoice and curriculum posters) enabled me to respond to the main research question; How can a deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality inform how Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers could teach sexuality education? I will explain the response to the main research question in the next chapter and present the conclusions, implications and contribution of the study.
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

7.1 Introduction

This research study, located in the field of Educational Psychology and in the area of sexuality education, explored how Xhosa women teachers’ deeper understanding of the influence of cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality could inform how they teach sexuality education to Xhosa adolescent learners. As pointed out in chapters one and two, there seemed to be very little research in this area, and hence this study intends to contribute to the body of knowledge of sexuality education in the context of HIV and AIDS. The nature of the study is qualitative and draws on the interpretive and critical paradigms, using a participatory visual methodology. Methods of data generated with the purposively selected nine Xhosa women teachers were document analysis, drawing, photovoice and the making of curriculum posters to enable them reflect and reimagine the teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa adolescents. The data were thematically analysed and interpreted using Cultural Historical Activity Theory as a theoretical framework, looking closely at the elements making up the activity system of sexuality education. This chapter offers a summary and the conclusions drawn, as well as the implications of the findings. I put forward the theoretical and methodological contribution of the study of how a deeper understanding of Xhosa cultural perspectives might influence Xhosa women teacher’s teaching sexuality education to Xhosa adolescent learners. The chapter concludes with the research study’s limitations including pointers to further research in this field.

7.2 Synthesis of the findings and conclusions

In this section, I offer a synthesis of the findings in response to each of the five sub-questions, which collectively answer the main research question.
7.2.1 What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ understandings of sexuality education in the LO, LFSC and NS Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements?

It became clear from the participatory document analysis that the women teachers had not scrutinised the CAPS documents before. However, once they did, they recognised the broad scope of sexuality education and appreciated the wide range of topics covered in the curriculum. Their understanding of sexuality education deepened as they scrutinised and analysed the CAPS for sexuality education content. They saw patterns in the topics covered in each of the three subjects and concluded that the three subjects were complementary to each other. The teachers thus recognised some collaboration opportunities amongst themselves as sexuality education teachers. They also identified topics that were important to teach, further shaping the scope of sexuality education.

The women teachers grasped the essence of sexuality education and had to face not being comfortable with some topics they had to teach. They were aware that their learners, too, were experiencing the same discomfort. They responded to this hurdle by drawing on what and how they themselves were taught when they were growing up, which was not necessarily useful in the context of HIV and AIDS. At the same time, they acknowledged the urgency of teaching sexuality education, realising omissions they may have made with the topics they felt were difficult to teach. Yet there were several topics in the CAPS, which they taught with comfort and which made them feel that they were contributing to the essence of sexuality education.

In spite of this, some of the Xhosa women teachers were grappling with the concepts of sexuality education, and used them inconsistently or interchangeably, showing some confusion and slippage. This points to the limited or no training given to the teachers who have to implement the CAPS, and, in this instance, teach sexuality education. Learners, however, are at the receiving end of this shortfall by their teachers.

This leads me to conclude that most teachers from township secondary schools possibly do not have access to the CAPS documents at their schools and that their
exposure to textbooks alone does not provide the teacher with the whole range of topics they have to teach. However, once exposed to the CAPS, teachers seemed to understand what it is they should be teaching. Given the opportunity, some sexuality education teachers will purposefully act with urgency in their teaching, being proactive, realising the significant role sexuality education plays in the lives of adolescent learners. To flourish as a sexuality education teacher, the teacher must be able to work with the basic building blocks of the body of sexuality education knowledge, i.e. the concepts and how they relate to each other.

7.2.2 What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers' perspectives of learning about their own sexuality within their Xhosa culture?

The drawing work with the women teachers revealed that they had learnt about sexuality through piecing the puzzle together, informally collating the little bits of information from various quarters such as parents, teachers, friends, church and the media. As it was taboo to talk about sexuality issues then, the shared information was not abundant and not necessarily correct. Even the formal Xhosa cultural schools were decreasing, and so the usual regulation of sexuality in formal Xhosa cultural schools was almost missing in the time these teachers were adolescents. The sexuality information, therefore, seemed inconsistent, if not inadequate, and so it was a daunting task for them to make sense of it all.

In a context of not talking about sexuality and piecemeal information, it was quite easy for adults to draw on strict rules and fear to get the adolescents to toe the line in terms of not having sex. The strict rules and fear hindered the communication necessary for adolescents to navigate safe sex, especially when intergenerational knowledge transfer makes it difficult for a child to talk about their sexuality with the adults who are in positions of authority. It would seem that parents and teachers used these strict rules and fear so as not have to attend to sexuality issues with adolescents. This too left the Xhosa women when they were adolescents, with limited avenues from which to learn about their sexuality.
Given that adults instilled fear about sex and sexuality, instead of explaining what was necessary, the women teachers spoke about *learning the hard way*. This meant that they explored their sexuality and because of not knowing, made costly mistakes. It seemed that they did not know how to deal with unwanted demands from boys or how to assert themselves in difficult situations. They were not prepared for exploring their sexuality in situations of coercion which they had to face. Such hard lessons were painful.

Considering that mistakes were made they also *learnt through shame*, and a teen pregnancy had to be hidden from the sight of the community. The Xhosa adolescent girl was made to feel embarrassment as she had brought shame to her family and the community at large. It left necessary things about teen pregnancy unsaid, with the girls carrying the blame and shame, and the boy possibly only ‘paying damages’ as was expected in Xhosa culture, but continuing with his life.

I, therefore, conclude that the Xhosa women teachers’ learning about sexuality when they were growing up might have been incomplete and incorrect. The by-product of that incomplete and incorrect knowledge was that they as adolescents did not fully understand sexuality issues and could be intimidated by adults using fear and rules, instead of useful sexuality information, leaving them to become victim to unintended consequences. The absence of a relationship of openness with adults about sexuality in Xhosa culture seemed to position adolescents as ill-equipped to navigate safe and healthy sexuality, and vulnerable to abuse or exploitation. This, in turn, would have had an effect on the self-esteem of an Xhosa adolescent girl, her school attendance and the unfolding of her life.

7.2.3 What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ perspectives of today’s adolescents learning about sexuality within their Xhosa culture?

The drawings made by the Xhosa women teachers revealed that they thought that today’s adolescents were *allured by sexuality*, as portrayed in media via cell phones, the internet and television. According to them, the Xhosa adolescents tended to explore that which relates to the sexual secretively, exploring pornography too. The
availability of media enabled some learning about the sexual, but the quality of what was learnt could not be monitored. More and more adolescents were thus seen to be tempted to experiment with the sexual, seeking that which is pleasurable, yet doing so in a risky way, putting the adolescent in danger of negative consequences.

The teachers also recognised that *vicarious learning* about sexuality took place in the various and different ecologies of the adolescents. By virtue of living with family, often in a small space, adolescents learnt about the sexual from observations they made. Peers too offered opportunities for observing and learning about sexuality, often compelled by peer pressure. The modelling by adults in the community was another avenue from which adolescents learnt about sexuality. Adolescents, therefore, would internalise the behaviour they saw as normal and acceptable and model them as well.

The teachers also pointed out the *prescriptions from school, religion and culture* as tools, which guided the adolescents in terms of sexuality. The teachers came to realise that these prescriptions were not contextualised for the spaces youth found themselves in. The school curriculum, for example, prescribed certain sexuality education topics but the teacher often times found it difficult to contextualise it for the adolescent learner in a meaningful way. At the same time, the Christian churches set standards of behaviour regarding adolescent sexuality, often focussed on girls. A large proportion of the Xhosa people are affiliated to a church, and so the prescriptions influence the lives of adolescents. Xhosa culture, as preserved by the elders in families, adds another layer of prescriptions for conduct where sexuality is concerned, often to the advantage of boys and men. Today’s Xhosa adolescent, therefore, has to make meaning of these prescriptions and enact their sexuality accordingly.

Another aspect of adolescents learning about their sexuality related to *coerced sexual encounters*. The need for girls to belong and to be in a relationship seems to be used to persuade a girl to have sex with a boy. If a boy feels rejected by a girl, he might want to show her that he is in charge and will force himself on her. Other adults, sometimes even those in authority positions, like teachers with selfish sexual motives, take advantage of the adolescents and coerce them into having sex without necessarily consenting to it. Such a sexual encounter, outside of a loving relationship, does not enable an adolescent to learn about expressing sexuality in a positive way.
This leads me to conclude that the Xhosa teachers perceived the adolescents as exposed to sexuality information through the ubiquitous media, which they cannot escape, and which therefore informs their sexual behaviour. Through vicarious learning, adolescents are further subjected to norms of behaviour that are established from the modelling by role-players such as the adolescents’ peers and adults in their lives. There seems to be tension in the adolescents who have to collate what is taught in the spheres of school, the church and Xhosa culture. It is possible that cultural wisdom has lost its value in contemporary Xhosa culture leaving Xhosa adolescents ill-equipped to manoeuvre themselves in the sexuality space in the 21st century and in the context of HIV and AIDS. It is in this kind of climate that sexual coercion from opportunists becomes rampant.

7.2.4 How do Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality influence their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners?

The photovoice work with the women teachers indicated that they used the past as a lens to teach sexuality education. They said that they taught values that characterised the Xhosa culture they grew up with, mentioning three in particular, i.e. respect, assertiveness and passivity. In the context of this study, the women teachers pointed out that in Xhosa culture all persons had to respect each other, also respect girls, and this is what they tried to teach. The teachers stated that the values of assertiveness and passivity for girls, in particular, were necessary for the successful navigation of her adolescent sexuality, even though the two values seem contradictory. Seemingly stuck in the past, they also adopted a didactic and moralistic approach to their teaching, focussing on the biomedical aspects of sexuality and abstinence. However, they noted a tension between the past and the present, between what the teachers saw as the Xhosa culture and what they had to teach today. This tension manifested itself in part in their didactic teaching, which stood in the way of innovation in their teaching practice.

In spite of using the past as lens, the women teachers were beginning to shift from traditional teaching methods towards a ‘new’ practice. They were innovating their methods using strategies like debates and role-plays. In this way, they were fostering
an atmosphere of communication, having noted the seeming silence on sexuality with Xhosa adolescents. What they also did was to focus on a safe lifestyle rather than taking a moralistic stance. This came from their recognition that the 21st Century adolescent requires much more than the biomedical information and do’s and don’ts. From their experience of receiving insufficient sexuality guidance, these teachers sought to address the complexities of adolescent sexuality in innovative teaching practices.

It can be concluded that the teachers’ own Xhosa cultural perspectives (also drawing on the past) of adolescents learning about sexuality, influenced their teaching practice, yet not in a predetermined ‘one size fits all’ way. Some teachers realised they had to teach sexuality education, focusing on safe and healthy sexuality, but this they did in line with their own perspectives and cultural values, based on who they were. Not all the teachers were didactic nor innovative in their practice. Some drew on a small repertoire of participatory methods to teaching sexuality education, but the drawing and photovoice method they used in the study made the teachers more mindful of their teaching practice.

7.2.5 What are Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers’ views of meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners?

The participatory research process with the Xhosa women teachers enabled them to see that they needed to focus on the crux of the matter, teaching sexuality education in its fullness and nurturing the learners’ sexuality development. Their curriculum posters showed how they saw meaningful teaching as that which attends to all the aspects of sexuality, not presenting a narrow and negative sexuality education. They did not wish the Xhosa adolescents they taught to be in the same predicament as them; that of not getting the necessary guidance in sexuality education appropriate to the era in which they live. They were determined to engage actively with the adolescent learners.

The reflexive nature of the research enabled them to revisit their pedagogical assumptions and to enable a shift in their teacher positionality, to cultivate a conducive atmosphere for the teaching of sexuality education. The women teachers reconsidered
the expectation that Xhosa female teachers should not teach boys about reproduction, as it would be opportunities missed if they did not teach the boys too. They broke the mould by endorsing open communication between themselves and the adolescent learners to whom they teach sexuality education. Over and above that, they took responsibility for teaching sexuality education, not waiting on other role-players to lead it.

Considering that sexuality education should not be taught in an a-contextual way, the Xhosa women saw value in contextualising sexuality education in Xhosa culture. This meant that they could look at the Xhosa cultural values and practices and its relevance in teaching today’s adolescent learners, and yet be critical of it. The teachers appreciated their Xhosa cultural roots and envisioned the same for the adolescents they taught, yet they came to understand that this appreciation too, should not be uncritical. Some age-old cultural practices performed in Xhosa cultural institutions were important as they transmitted sexuality knowledge and promoted respect for a girl, while others were less useful, or even dangerous, in the era of HIV and AIDS. They, however, recognised the importance of contextualising sexuality education in Xhosa culture and how it might yield better outcomes for the Xhosa adolescent.

I conclude that the Xhosa women teachers saw the need to refocus on what is seen as the crux of teaching sexuality education to today’s adolescents, and to break the silences that are eminent in teaching sexuality education. This work required them to revisit their own assumptions and positionality as teachers and to appraise and challenge the contemporary dynamics between the sexes. Meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners should involve putting the sexuality education they engage with at school, within the Xhosa cultural context, in that way, making congruent the teaching and subsequent learning from the ecologies of school and home.

Collectively, the findings of the five sub-questions answer the main research question, How can a deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality inform how Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers could teach sexuality education? The teachers, through the research process, became aware of how their own cultural perspectives informed their positioning as teachers teaching
sexuality education, and that being critical of their own cultural knowledge and pedagogic practice is important if they want to be relevant to the Xhosa adolescents they teach today. The women teachers' critical examination of their own cultural perspectives, and how they saw the adolescents learning about sexuality allowed for a rethinking of their own positioning in their teaching sexuality in today's classroom. This 'starting with ourselves' approach (Van Laren et al., 2013), which is a deeply reflexive approach, enabled awareness of their own influence on teaching sexuality education, and how they might intentionally break the silence seemingly imposed by culture, and foster the necessary communication with their adolescent learners. A deeper understanding of the influence of culture also led the teachers to reflect on their Xhosa culture, engage critically with its values and practices, and contextualise sexuality education within it so that it is relevant for today's Xhosa adolescents. In this way there is potential for synergy between Xhosa culture and what is taught in sexuality education at school, working towards the attainment of curriculum goals.

7.3 Contribution of the study

7.3.1 Theoretical contribution

I drew on the theoretical framework, CHAT (See section 3.3), to make meaning of how Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers' deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality inform their teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners (See Figure 7.1).
I remind the reader that the subject refers to the LO, LFSC and NS teachers; the mediating tools refer to the CAPS, pedagogies and teacher’s culture; the rules refer to cultural ethos and school norms including the code of conduct; the community refers to the parents, learners and DBE; the division of labour refers to the teachers as facilitators and policy implementers, and the DBE as policy and curriculum developer; and the object refers to reimagined sexuality education. While the teachers as collective or group (Wheelahan, 2004) are noted in the elements of the activity system, the findings show that the individual teacher with a deep understanding of her Xhosa culture is at the centre of the activity system, i.e. the teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners (see figure 7.2). The participatory visual methodology enabled the individual Xhosa teacher to ‘start with herself’ and to reflect on the influence of her Xhosa culture and to consider how it informs and could inform her teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners and so doing achieve a reimagined sexuality education.
Teachers are usually seen in the role of implementers of the curriculum and addressed as a collective. Yet the findings showed, in all the processes of the study, that it is the individual teacher, from her own positioning, who influences all the other elements of the activity system. The “I” works with the subject element in that it is the individual teacher who commands knowledge of her teaching subject and does it in collaboration with fellow teachers. The “I” also works with the mediating tools, the CAPS, which she interprets and presents from a personal point of view. Another tool that the “I” works with is pedagogies, which she adjusts according to who she is and what she wants to achieve. It is the “I” who possesses personalised Xhosa cultural perspectives which informs the teaching sexuality education activity within the system. The values and beliefs of a society or culture as the rules are also based on the “I”, in that it is individuals of that culture who make meaning of them. Schools establish norms set
out in the code of conduct, which the school population has to abide by, and creates a particular ethos. The DBE as the community has a vested interest in what happens in its schools, yet it is individual teachers from their corners who contribute towards meeting the educational goals. The “I” also works with parents and learners, who are other community elements of the activity system, in that it is the teacher who relates and interacts with them. The element, division of labour, is also influenced by the “I” as developed DBE policy and curriculum have to be implemented and facilitated by the individual teacher who is unique and has a personalised frame of reference. In the final analysis, the individual teacher (the “I”) collates meaningfully what has been gained from the interaction with the elements of the activity system to realise the object; reimagined sexuality education. This happened within the ambit of participatory visual methodologies, which enabled the work with self and interaction with the elements to flow smoothly, leading to the object being realised. The boundaries of the concentric circles are ‘broken’ or ‘perforated’ indicating that the influence is in both directions, the “I” is influenced by the elements and so are the elements influenced by the “I”. Participatory visual methodologies influenced the work with self in the “I”, but it also enabled the work with the elements of the activity system of teaching sexuality education. The concentric circles indicate the continuous work that happens with the “I” and through the use of participatory visual methodologies within the activity system.

This study theoretically advances that any work with teachers who teach sexuality education should start with the self as a point of departure, while also considering the histo-cultural context. The teachers should be able to examine their own values and see how they influence their own teaching practice. When these women teachers examined their Xhosa cultural perspectives, they shifted their positionality; revisited pedagogical assumptions and took ownership for teaching sexuality education. They recognised the cultural and historical context of teaching sexuality education and moved further by focusing on optimally teaching the Xhosa adolescent learner of and for today.

7.3.2 Methodological contribution

The qualitative study which is located in an interpretive-critical paradigm, using participatory visual methods, offered these Xhosa women teachers the opportunity to
explore how a deeper understanding of their Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality could inform how they could teach Xhosa adolescent learners. The participatory visual methodology enabled reflexivity and criticality and ensured that these teachers could approach sexuality education in a way that eases tensions and that is contextualised in and relevant to Xhosa culture. Knowing this could strengthen the Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers’ influence on sexuality education to the advantage of secondary school Xhosa adolescent learners.

The participatory visual methodology used in this study seemed to lessen the gravity of doing research on a sensitive topic and having to work with participants in a way that yields results but also respects them (Chilisa, 2012; McIntyre-Mills, 2017; Romm, 2018). The methodology supports doing research with participants instead of on participants (see section 4.3.3). When researching with participants, it heightens the level of participation and enables the co-constructing of knowledge. The research process becomes empowering, leading to participants owning the process and the knowledge. The women teachers appreciated that they were producing knowledge in a way in which they were positioned as experts of their insider knowledge. They really saw themselves doing the same with their own learners, using the participatory visual methodology as pedagogy. The methodology also acts as ‘research as intervention’ (Mitchell et al., 2011), as it enables the imagining of solutions and could be used to initiate dialogue with stakeholders. The methodology seemed to enable them to become more critical of their own teaching of sexuality education in the context of their Xhosa culture. Their critical consciousness is raised to realise that they are knowledge producers creating new knowledge, gaining empowerment to rally against oppressive ideologies produced and sustained by culture (in contemporary Xhosa society), as well as the Department of Basic Education in its curriculum.

The participatory visual methodology is key to the exploration and deepening of one’s own understanding, and should, therefore, be encouraged when engaging with learners. As the women teachers got to look at their own histories, they could also work in a similar way with the learners, looking at their own learning and thereby reimagining the curriculum and pedagogy.
The Xhosa women teachers seemed to become agents of curriculum change in that they looked at sexuality education with new eyes and seemed to focus on what is crucial in the teaching of sexuality education, calling for that to be taught. The use of participatory visual methodology to generate findings could therefore inform transformation in the teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners.

7.4 Implications

In this section, I draw implications from the findings of the study, offering these in a systematic way, by working with the main research questions.

The findings of the participatory document analysis of the CAPS imply the need for the Department of Basic Education ensuring that every teacher owns a copy of the CAPS of their subject. Teachers, especially those from under-resourced schools, cannot be required to download their own copies from the internet. This points to the importance of professional development workshops per subject that aim to enhance and support teaching and learning. These could be done once per term and per district. Departmental intervention should not necessarily be about moderating marks only; there should be deliberate support of teaching and learning as well. Since there is complementarity between the subjects, teachers need to share what they know and learn in Communities of Practice. The findings also imply that Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS secondary school teachers could benefit from a glossary of sexuality education concepts and what Sani et al. (2018) suggest, “… culturally appropriate language in curricula” (p. 186). This would avoid them grappling with some of the concepts that they have to teach. The Department of Basic Education can foster efficient teaching by commissioning curriculum developers to use culturally appropriate language for learners to identify with and learn. Helleve et al. (2009) note the success that comes with developing localised, culturally relevant sexuality education programmes.

The findings from the drawings about the Xhosa women teachers’ learning about sexuality when they were growing up imply that the teaching of sexuality education could be strengthened if teachers get the opportunity, during teacher professional development, to do reflexive memory work on their own lives. In this way, they stand
to gain a deeper understanding of themselves and their own positioning in terms of sexuality, sexuality education, and culture. The teacher professional development could also ensure a thorough understanding of the comprehensive sexuality curriculum, and how to negotiate the content in the context of culture, in this instance, Xhosa culture. The emergent communication on sexuality matters could be strengthened through the establishment of youth clubs within the school where relevant topics could be deliberated on. Teachers should facilitate the forming of these clubs but leave the adolescent learners to run them. This could happen once in two weeks during tuition time to show its significance. The findings also imply that teachers need to engage the parents, by slotting in a sexuality-related item at parent meetings. In that way, it would be counteracting the silence that seemingly surrounds sexuality and encouraging dialogue.

Regarding today’s adolescent learners learning about sexuality, the teacher could use what the learner is already familiar with, technology, to facilitate some of the dialogue in the lessons. The adeptness of adolescents with media technologies opens up opportunities for the teacher in that the teacher can also use it innovatively with the learners in the teaching of sexuality education (Cloete, 2012; Wood, 2013). For example, the teacher could use Facebook to address a topic like inappropriate sexual behaviour. Using such media is relevant to the context and youth culture; however, teachers should take caution not to use media blindly but, together with the learners, be critical of it and its messages. Critical thinking skills need to be focused on and developed in the classroom. The sexuality education teacher could allow adolescents to satisfy their curiosity through open communication during lessons. In this way, sex and sexuality would not be something dark and mysterious. Since adolescents also vicariously learn, the sexuality education teacher could bring in an upstanding role model to address them as part of a lesson. He or she should come from the same culture and socio-economic background as the learners so that they could identify with the role model. Fataar (2015) claims that life outside of school impacts life inside the school and so ways of exploring how to ensure that culture of the home informs the sexuality education in the school context should be considered. Furthermore, the findings also imply that the school develops a code of conduct to ensure positive behaviour and do not tolerate sexual offences (from both learners and teachers alike).
This code of conduct should be negotiated and regularly communicated to the school population.

The findings of the photovoice of the teachers’ cultural perspectives of adolescents learning about sexuality influencing their teaching practice imply that sexuality education teachers could draw those values from the past that can assist in equipping the Xhosa adolescent learner. Although the teachers were critical of some of the teachings in sexuality from the Xhosa culture, there were things they felt could be learnt from it. The teachers need continuous professional development workshops in innovative and participatory methods, and this should be facilitated by the Department of Basic Education Subject Advisors. The Subject Advisors could source the expertise of educationists from local or other universities if need be. These innovative and participatory methods are appropriate for use within the sexuality education curriculum as stated earlier in section 7.3.2. Teacher training in educational institutions could include these to better prepare the prospective teacher for the teaching of sexuality education. Glover and Macleod (2016) advance that, amongst other things, with formal training of sexuality education teachers comes confidence in teaching (comprehensive) sexuality education. Both the DBE and educational institutions should promote a pedagogy that encourages teachers to ‘start with themselves’, and being reflexive in their teaching practice.

The findings from the curriculum posters of the teachers’ views of meaningful teaching of sexuality education to Xhosa learners imply that curriculum developers (of which teachers should also be part of) should create a sexuality education curriculum that covers all the aspects of sexuality, but also creates a space for teachers to locate the teaching of sexuality education within cultural contexts. It is key that sexuality education teachers be consulted and drawn upon to advise on relevant curricula and be enabled to rethink their own positioning regarding the purpose of sexuality education. Sexuality education teachers as curriculum implementers should nurture the sexuality development of the adolescent learners they teach. They should do this by actively engaging with their learners, displaying a with-it attitude (Msutwana, 2004). In that way, they will be able to identify what is pertinent in the lives of the adolescents they teach and plan their lessons accordingly. Allocation for Life Orientation at school should not only be limited to female teachers, but male teachers should be placed too.
At university, male students should be encouraged to take Natural Sciences and Life Sciences as teaching subjects. This could contribute to the understanding that teaching sexuality education is the responsibility of both the sexes. With that, teachers could break the assumptions about teaching sexuality education and foster communication between all teachers as representatives of society and their learners. The findings also imply that in adopting and implementing comprehensive sexuality education, teachers could embrace the culture, yet be critical of it. Curriculum developers should accommodate this by making the curriculum relevant to the local cultural context. The CAPS could be used as a guideline to adjust content to context and culture.

7.5 Limitations of the study

This research study was conducted with a small number of LO, LFSC and NS women teacher participants of Xhosa culture from Port Elizabeth township schools. It excluded the voices of sexuality education teachers of Xhosa culture from rural schools. The participants were female, which leaves to question how things would have panned out if the study was done with male teachers. The findings of this study hold true for these Xhosa women teachers teaching sexuality education, making only their voices heard.

The research process set out to be transformative, but it is always difficult to ‘capture’ what really changed for the participants. They, however, spoke about their culture, demonstrated a criticality, and referred to how they reimagined teaching sexuality education with urgency and agency.

While the drawing and photovoice enabled freedom to express their ideas in ways they wanted to, the use of magazines I brought from home for making the curriculum posters, might have limited their expressing their ideas.
7.6 Recommendations for further research

While this study was undertaken with a small group of Xhosa women teachers, a study with women teachers of other indigenous cultures might throw further light on the culture and its role in teaching sexuality education.

Only the voices of women teachers were considered in this study, as the male teachers I invited did not show interest in participating. Further research could also be extended to men, as there is a paucity of research on the cultural perspectives of Xhosa male teachers regarding teaching sexuality education. It, therefore, could enrich the theorising on culture and its role in sexuality education if the voices of the male teachers are also heard.

Further research on initiating dialogue, using the visual artefacts the Xhosa women teachers had made, with the Department of Basic Education Subject Advisors to contribute to change in curriculum and teacher professional development, could be undertaken. It would be interesting to study what such a process would look like and what would come out of engagement with departmental officials.

Research could also be done with learners and parents, to add another dynamic to the role of culture in sexuality education.

The Xhosa women teachers referred to the issue of Xhosa girls having to be assertive yet submissive or passive. How does an Xhosa girl negotiate the contradiction, particularly in the context of HIV and AIDS, could be researched.

7.7 My reflections

Having conducted the research, I come out of the study with a good measure of respect for the participants due to the zeal with which they engaged in the research. Their zeal resulted in an in-depth data generation and an enjoyable interaction about a sensitive topic. Using the participatory visual research methodology facilitated the flow of the research process and enabled us to explore, reflect, and rethink the
teaching of sexuality education and Xhosa culture. It did not offer benefits for the participants only, as I as the researcher deepened my own understanding of my Xhosa culture in relation to sexuality education, as well as my understanding of the methodology. I am a teacher educator and am interested in enabling potential postgraduate students I might supervise to try out the methodology in their studies. I have become more sensitive to the idea of who owns the data and the visual artefacts we made and would have given them to the participants after making copies thereof for use in the study. They might have been able to use the artefacts in discussions in their classes or even with other teachers.

In retrospect, I also see that from the contact sessions that I had with my supervisor, I learnt to be more critical in my interpretation of the data, which I would not have done due to my personal bias, since I also come from the same Xhosa culture as the participants and many years ago also taught Life Orientation in two township schools. Nonetheless, I also gained through the research process in that I think I have a better understanding of my own sexuality as well as adolescent sexuality and am clear on my Xhosa culture regarding sexuality. To have taken this research journey has been worthwhile for me as sexuality is an issue that is overlooked (and often left to try to bloom on its own) yet forms part of every human being. It gives me the motivation to pursue work with this sensitive topic when looking at challenges within my Xhosa culture (but also in the broader South African society), for example, HIV and AIDS, the stigmatisation of LGBTI and teenage pregnancies.

The knowledge produced in this research, as well as the literature I reviewed, has swayed me to be more open-minded about sexuality and relax my somewhat moralistic stance. I find that discussing a sexuality issue flows more spontaneously than before. Even my adolescent daughter who is my biggest critic acknowledges that. She says that she finds it easy to talk to me about sexuality issues in a way that is not restricted. She has been surfing the internet for information on sexuality and has passionately shared it with me, for use in this study. It thus seems that we are opening up a space to talk about sexuality from one generation to the other.
7.8 Conclusion

This study explored how a deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS teachers’ cultural perspectives of learning about sexuality could inform how they could teach sexuality education to Xhosa adolescent learners, using a participatory visual methodology. The problem was identified as that it seemed as though LO, LFSC and NS teachers are not managing to equip Xhosa learners with the necessary knowledge and skills to make informed choices about their sexuality in the context of HIV and AIDS. There was a gap in the literature regarding how Xhosa teachers’ Xhosa cultural perspectives influence their teaching sexuality education to Xhosa adolescent learners. The research contributed to the understanding of how Xhosa LO, LFSC and NS Xhosa secondary school teachers approach sexuality education, also showing how Xhosa women teachers took up their agency in being critical of their Xhosa culture and wanting to ensure teaching adolescent learners sexuality education which is relevant to their lives, with a renewed focus, in the context of their Xhosa culture. The study offers a contribution to a reimagined sexuality education within the context of HIV and AIDS and contributes to knowledge in this regard.
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In N. De Lange, C. Mitchell and J. Stuart (Eds.), *Putting People in the Picture: Visual methodologies for social change* (pp. 45-58). Rotterdam: Sense.


appropriate, culturally relevant approach to teaching about sex and relationships by providing scientifically accurate, realistic and non-judgmental information


12 October

Prof N de Lange / Ms V Msutwana

Education Faculty

NMMU

Dear Ms Msutwana

Xhosa secondary school teachers in township schools reimagining sexuality education in the context of HIV and AIDS in South Africa

Your above-entitled application for ethics approval was approved by the Faculty Research, Technology and Innovation Committee of Education (ERTIC) at the meeting held on 6 October 201

We take pleasure in informing you that the application was approved by the Committee.

The ethics clearance reference number is H15-EDU-ERE-026.
We wish you well with the project. Please inform your co-investigators of the outcome, and convey our best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Ms J Elliott-Gentry

Secretary: ERTIC

The title has changed to - **Reimagining sexuality education: Xhosa secondary school teachers from township schools talk about Xhosa culture and sexuality education**
APPENDIX B

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
PROVINCE OF THE EASTERN CAPE

PORT ELIZABETH DISTRICT OFFICE
☑ Private Bag X3915, Sutton Rd, Sidwell, Port Elizabeth
☎ (041) 403 4445  /  ☏ 0866552800
Mr. N. Lukwe - CES – IDS&G

TO: MS. NOMAWONGA MSUTWINA
CC: PROF. NAYDENE DE LANGE
FROM: CES – IDS&G: MR. N. LUKWE

RE: PERMISSION GRANTED TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT SELECTED SCHOOLS

DATE: 05 OCTOBER 2015

Dear Ms. Msutwana

Warm Greetings

Permission is hereby granted to conduct research and interact with LO & LS educators at the following schools within the ambit of the Port Elizabeth District, Department of Education, i.e.

NEWELL HIGH SCHOOL
KHWEZI LOMSO COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL
The research however must be based on the following premises:

1. This letter is given to the selected school
2. The principal will be fully consulted and known in all arrangements
3. All current policies/prescripts of the DoE will be honoured
4. There will be a minimal disturbance in teaching and learning
5. This will in no way distract from the current programme of the school and its concomitant programme with the DoE.

Thank You

Obo of Mr. N. Lukwe

*CES – IDS&G*
Xhosa Life Orientation and Life Sciences school teachers in township schools reimagining sexuality education in the context of HIV and AIDS in South Africa

Project Information Statement/ Letter of Invitation to School Principals

My name is Veronica Msutwana, and I am a PhD (Education) student at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU). I am conducting research on Sexuality Education under the supervision of Prof Naydene de Lange, HIV & AIDS Education Research Chair. The Provincial Department of Education has given approval to approach schools for my research. A copy of their approval is contained with this letter. I invite you (and the teachers at your school) to consider taking part in this research. This study meets the requirements of the Research Ethics Committee (Human) of the NMMU.

Aims of the Research

The research aims:

- To explore how a deeper understanding of the influence of Xhosa cultural perspectives on learning about sexuality informs how Xhosa LO and LS teachers teach sexuality education to Xhosa learners.
• To explore Xhosa LO and LS teachers’ understandings of sexuality education in the LO and LS CAPS.
• To explore Xhosa LO and LS teachers’ perspectives of learning about their own sexuality within their Xhosa culture.
• To explore what Xhosa Lo and LS teachers’ perspectives of today’s youth learning about sexuality within their Xhosa culture.
• To discover how Xhosa LO and LS teachers’ cultural perspectives of youth learning about sexuality influence their own practice of teaching sexuality education to Xhosa learners.
• To describe Xhosa LO and LS teachers’ views of best possible content and pedagogy of teaching sexuality to these learners.

**Significance of the Research Project**

The research is significant in three ways:

1. The research will deepen the understanding of how Xhosa LO and LS secondary school teachers approach sexuality education.
2. It could strengthen the Xhosa LO and LS teachers’ impact on sexuality education to the advantage of secondary school learners.
3. The research might inform curriculum development and even policy-making in sexuality education.

**Benefits of the Research to Schools**

1. The results will be disseminated to the Eastern Cape Department of Education.
2. The results will inform curriculum development in sexuality education.
3. Schools might see a tangible impact of sexuality education on the learners due to the cultural relevance with which teachers approach sexuality education.

**Research Plan and Method**

Data will be collected through:
- document analysis of the CAPS
- teacher drawings of their and the youth’s Xhosa cultural perspectives on sexuality
- photos of the teachers’ own practice of teaching sexuality education
- the creation of curriculum posters.

Xhosa male and female LO and LS teachers from township secondary schools from grade 8 to grade 12 will form part of the study. Only those who consent to participate will be part of the study. The researcher (Miss N.V. Msutwana) will administer the data collection with ad hoc assistance from the supervisor. The study will take approximately four fortnights which translates to about two and a half months. All information collected will be treated in strictest confidence and neither the school nor individual teachers will be identifiable in any reports that are written. Participants may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. The role of the school is voluntary and the School Principal may decide to withdraw the school’s participation at any time without penalty. The nature of the data to be collected is informative and not sensitive. If a teacher requires support as a result of their participation in the study steps can be taken to accommodate this.

School Involvement

Once I have received your consent to approach teachers to participate in the study, I will

- arrange a time with your school for data collection to take place or have the participants commuted to the NMMU premises
- obtain informed consent from participants

Further information

Attached for your information are copies of the Participant Information Statement and Consent Form.
Invitation to Participate

If you would like your school to participate in this research, please complete and return the attached form.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Miss N.V. Msutwana          Prof Naydene de Lange
Researcher                  Supervisor
NMMU                        NMMU
Xhosa Life Orientation and Life Sciences school teachers in township schools
reimagining sexuality education in the context of HIV and AIDS in South Africa

School Principal Consent Form

I give consent for you to approach teachers teaching LO and LS to participate in the above-
mentioned project.

I have read the Project Information Statement explaining the purpose of the research project and
understand that:

- The role of the school is voluntary
- I may decide to withdraw the school’s participation at any time without penalty
- Teachers teaching LO and LS will be invited to participate and that permission will be sought from
  them.
- Only teachers who consent will participate in the project
- All information obtained will be treated in strictest confidence.
- The teachers’ names will not be used and individual teachers will not be identifiable in any written
  reports about the study.
- The school will not be identifiable in any written reports about the study.
- Participants may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.
- A report of the findings will be made available to the school.
- I may seek further information on the project from Veronica Msutwan on 041-5042239.

__________________________   ___________________________
Principal      Signature

__________________________
Date

Please return to:  Veronica Msutwana (to be collected by hand)
APPENDIX D

NELSON MANDELA METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

INFORMATION AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESEARCHER’S DETAILS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title of the research project</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reference number</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Principal investigator</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Address</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Postal Code</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contact telephone number</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. DECLARATION BY OR ON BEHALF OF PARTICIPANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I, the participant and the undersigned</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ID number</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Address (of participant)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### A.1 HEREBY CONFIRM AS FOLLOWS:

I, the participant, was invited to participate in the above-mentioned research project that is being undertaken by Veronica Msutwana from Faculty of Education of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.

### THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS HAVE BEEN EXPLAINED TO ME, THE PARTICIPANT:

| 2.1 Aim:                         | The investigator is studying for a PhD  |
|                                | The information will be used to/for the purpose of the study only |
| 2.2 Procedures:                 | I understand that I will have to engage in activities involving document analysis of the LO and LS CAPS, drawings, photo-voice, and creating curriculum posters |
| 2.3 Risks:                      | Talking about sexuality in sexuality education might be sensitive |
| 2.4 Possible benefits:          | As a result of my participation in this study I will be more aware of my position towards sexuality education and that of the learners I teach. This will enhance my teaching of sexuality education to the benefit of all stakeholders. |
| 2.5 Confidentiality:            | My identity will not be revealed in any discussion, description or scientific publications by the investigators. |
| 2.6 Access to findings:         | Any new information or benefit that develops during the course of the study will be shared through follow-up workshops and whatever the participants deem necessary within the scope of this study. |
| 2.6 Voluntary participation / refusal / discontinuation: | My participation is voluntary  |
|                                | My decision whether or not to participate will in no way affect my present or future care / employment / lifestyle |

### 3. THE INFORMATION ABOVE WAS EXPLAINED TO ME/THE PARTICIPANT BY:

Veronica Msutwana

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in</th>
<th>Afrikaans</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Xhosa</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

and I am in command of this language, or it was satisfactorily translated to me by

Veronica Msutwana
I was given the opportunity to ask questions and all these questions were answered satisfactorily.

4. No pressure was exerted on me to consent to participate and I understand that I may withdraw at any stage without penalisation.

Participation in this study will not result in any additional cost to myself.

A.2 I HEREBY VOLUNTARILY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PROJECT:

Signed/confirmed at Port Elizabeth on 20

Signature of witness:

Full name of witness:

Signature or right thumbprint of participant

B. STATEMENT BY OR ON BEHALF OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

1. Veronica Msutwana declare that:

   1. I have explained the information given in this document to (participant) and her representative (representative)

   2. He / she was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions;

   3. And no translator was used OR this conversation was translated into (language) NA by (name of translator)

   4. I have detached Section D and handed it to the participant YES NO

Signed/confirmed at on 20

Signature of interviewer

Signature of witness:

Full name of witness:
C. DECLARATION BY TRANSLATOR (WHEN APPLICABLE)

I, (full names)

ID number

Qualifications and/or

Current employment

confirm that I:

1. Translated the contents of this document from English into (language)

2. Also translated questions posed by (name of participant) as well as the answers given by the investigator/representative;

3. Conveyed a factually correct version of what was related to me.

Signed/confirmed at on 20

I hereby declare that all information acquired by me for the purposes of this study will be kept confidential.

Signature of translator

Signature of witness:

Full name of witness:

D. IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO REPRESENTATIVE OF PARTICIPANT

Dear participant/representative of the participant

Thank you for your/the participant’s participation in this study. Should, at any time during the study:

- an emergency arise as a result of the research, or

- you require any further information with regard to the study, or the following occur

Being subjected to any abuse for participating in the study

(indicate any circumstances which should be reported to the investigator)

Kindly contact Veronica Msutwana

at telephone number

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APPENDIX E

Program for data collection

Day 1 (12 Feb)

15:30 – 16:00  Checking-in
16:00 – 16:30  Welcoming and refreshments
16:30 – 17:00  Introduction of the study and the filling in of consent forms
17:00 – 18:00  Phase 1 – document analysis
18:00 – 19:00  dinner
19:00 – 20:30  continuation of document analysis
20:30          session ends

Day 2 (13 Feb)

07:00 – 08:00  Breakfast
08:15 – 08:30  Recap (and reflection) of document analysis
08:30 – 10:30  Introduction of drawing marking Phase 2
10:30 – 11:00  Tea
11:00 – 13:00  Finalisation of Phase 2 drawing
13:00 – 14:00  Lunch
14:00 – 18:00  Phase 3 drawing
18:00 – 18:30  Consolidation & wrap up
18:30          Dinner & departure
Day 3 (26 Feb)

15:30 – 16:00 Refreshments

16:00 – 18:30 Welcoming and introduction by researcher

‘So far’ (a recap)

Revisiting the drawings

Ethics, visual ethics, and importance of authenticity

18:30 – 19:30 Dinner

19:30 – 21:00 Phase 4: Introduction of photovoice

21:00 Session ends

Day 4 (27 Feb)

07:00 – 08:00 Breakfast

08:15 – 10:30 Phase 4: Photovoice continues

10:30 – 11:00 Tea

11:00 – 13:00 Photovoice continues

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch

14:00 – 17:30 Consolidation & wrap up

17:30 Dinner & departure

Day 5 (5 March)

07:00 – 08:00 Breakfast

08:15 – 09:15 Recapping & reviewing
09:15 – 10:30  Orientation to posters
10:30 – 11:00  Tea
11:00 – 13:00  Phase 5: Designing posters
13:00 – 14:00  Lunch
14:00 – 18:00  Curriculum posters continue
18:00 – 19:00  Dinner
19:00  Session ends

Day 6 (6 March)

07:30 – 09:00  Checking-out & breakfast
09:00 – 12:30  Discussion & participatory analysis
12:30 – 13:30  Lunch
13:30  Departure
APPENDIX F

This is how Cikky explained her drawing;

“Uh… this is my picture guys. In this picture there is me, there’s home, there’s community, there’s school. And then, what I’ve learnt from home, what I was taught at home: there was not much information that I would get. I was just told when I started menstruating; ‘You see now... because you are menstruating, should you have a boyfriend, you are going to fall pregnant.’ That’s the only thing I was told. So I did not, I was not told what actually would make you fall pregnant if you have a boyfriend. And then I got some info from the friends in my community. Friends and peers. But the information I got is also not true when I come to think of it. I can relate to one thing I can remember, there was a friend of ours who apparently started menstruating before us. So at that time we knew nothing about menstruation, we were playing and we just saw that ‘Oh shame there is some blood’ and I’m sure she also did not know what was happening. And then we gossiped and said ‘Woo, that one has got a boyfriend’. I don’t know where we took that from because we had not yet menstruated and be told that should you get a boyfriend you are going to fall pregnant. And then at school, the bigger girls that were with us in class, they would talk about stuff, in class and in break. And they would say ‘Share you story your story, don’t just listen to us, what’s happening in your own life, don’t just listen and say anything’. And from that information also, I know that some of the stuff that was shared was not correct. So there is some correct stuff that I’ve learnt. But there was also a lot of gaps from the information that I got.”

“It was my aunt who played the role of being a mother to me because my mother passed on when I was only 8 years old. So then I was brought up by my aunt as a mother. So she was the one who showed me ‘You see, what will happen, when you get pregnant, I will not take care of your child because I am taking care of you. So please guard against being pregnant because I am only responsible for you, not your child that you might bring home’. So I was so afraid to get pregnant in a very big way. I was really afraid because I thought; ‘What will happen to the child’. As a result, I got children when I was very old. My first child, I think I was about going to my 30s I think.
Because she told me; ‘The only time you have a child is when you get married’. And then in marriage I did not get pregnant immediately you see. So that’s my story’.

## APPENDIX G

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Merged Categories</th>
<th>Themes</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexuality and its glamorization</td>
<td>The allure of sexuality</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adolescents learn about sexuality through secretively exploring pornography</td>
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<tr>
<td>adolescents learn through the modelling of sexuality in their ecologies; peers,</td>
<td>Vicarious learning</td>
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<td>family and community</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Adolescents learn about sexuality from teachers teaching sexuality-related school</td>
<td>Prescriptions from school, religion and culture</td>
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<tr>
<td>subjects, mostly in a moralistic way</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adolescents learn about sexuality through religious and cultural norms</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Adolescents learn about sexuality through coerced sexual encounters</td>
<td>Adolescents learn about sexuality through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coerced sexual encounters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX H

Gr. 11 LO

- Gender roles

Gr. 12 LO

- Dev. of self in society
  - Life skills required to adapt to change as part of ongoing health lifestyle choices
  - Lifestyle diseases as a result of poverty & gender imbalances

- Contributing factors: eating habits, lack of exercise, smoking & unsafe sexual behaviors
Intervention strategies: prevention and control, early detection, treatment, care & support.

Value-added benefits and diseases of lifestyle.
Gr. 10 Lo

- Development of self in society
- Life roles, loyalty towards
- Everything under this bullet
- Democracy & human rights
- Gender, race, stereotyping & sporting codes
- Development of self in society
- Important life goals & prioritising
- Relationships and their influence on well-being
- The impact of the media on values and beliefs about relationships
- Risky behaviour & situations
- Socio-economic environment
- Positive role models
Grade 9 L.O

Respect differences: culture, religion, age

SEXUAL HEALTH AND SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

Assisting those affected and infected by HIV and AIDS and other terminal illness

Constitutional rights & responsibilities
p318 & 21

Dev. of self in society
(all topics on p318 & 19)

Influence of cultural norms and values on individual behaviour, attitudes & choices p821.

Assisting those affected by HIV/AIDS
SEXUALITY

Understanding One's sexuality

Personal feelings that impact on sexuality

Sexual behaviour and sexual health

DIFFERENT DISABILITIES (HIV/AIDS, Infected & Affected)

RELATIONSHIPS & FRIENDSHIP

Concept of Self

Respect for others' opinions

Influence of cultural norms and values on individual behaviour, attitudes and choices

Abstinence

Change of behaviour

Unwanted results of unhealthy sexual behaviour (e.g., teen pregnancy, etc.)

Social pressure that impacts on sexuality

People with other illnesses and diseases, different disabilities

HIV & AIDS (infected & affected)
APPENDIX I

- UNDERSTANDING ONE'S BIOLOGICAL MAKE-UP
- REPRODUCTIVE SYSTEM
- BODY CHANGES
- UNDERSTANDING THE RELATIONSHIP ONE FORM
- RESPECT FOR DIFFERENT GENDERS

NEW ADVENTURES + WHAT I HAVE TO TEACH
- RIGHTS OF THE DIFFERENT GENDERS
- ASSERTIVENESS - GETTING YOUR WAY AND
- INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL NORMS, VALUES & BELIEFS
- GENETICS & MENTAL HEALTH
- CHANGE OF BEHAVIOUR
- RELATIONSHIPS
- SUBSTANCE ABUSE (IMPACT)

Sexuality Education
- It must be easy for the teacher to teach the learners about
- Sex & Human Reproduction
- How the learner understands & responds to the lesson
- How the teacher feels about mentioning the Foreplay/intercourse
- How our culture handles the mentioning of private parts
- What is the unexpected answer
- Do the learners feel comfortable

I think sexual education is to give information to our children about sex life e.g. to tell them to be aware that if
you sleep with a boy or girl without using condoms you
getting to be pregnant, you can get HIV/AIDS, STI's etc. To
give our children all these information they need rather than
to be told by peers, what it is.
Natural Science is about our bodies.

LO 1 General facts about the people's sexuality

That means we can combine facts as interpretation into the sex section and the children in education.

Body Systems: All I have to teach

Reproductive System
- Purpose and function
- Reproductive cycle
- Stages of reproduction

I can teach these things from the music, and it can be education and instruction. Are we ready to clean our minds from the tunes of 1971? Let's face ourselves in the mirror. Let's think about different places and times.
Our homes, families.
Growing up in 1971.

Beating.
Self-abuse.
Should we teach children like us?
Abstinence in leisure.

Some basics that are not taught.
Sexuality Education is:

- Educating learners about their sexual orientation
- Important facts to know about their bodies, changes, etc.
- Accepting others as they are, homosexuality, etc.
- Respecting each other and other people's bodies
- When they become sexually active, who risks are there?
- Importing knowledge about diseases related to sexuality and how to prevent them
- Understanding relationships
- Human rights/self-was understanding
- Behavioral changes
- What else to teach

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