Jean Baxen

PERFORMATIVE PRAXIS

Teacher Identity and Teaching
in the Context of HIV/AIDS

It is widely recognized that the South African government's exemplary HIV/AIDS education policy is not making the behaviour-changing impact that it ought. Why is this? What is actually happening in the school classroom?

In this book, Jean Baxen makes an important contribution towards understanding the complex interface between the HIV/AIDS education curriculum and what and how teachers are teaching in the classroom. Bringing Judith Butler's theory of performativity to bear in an analysis of the pedagogic practice of a number of teachers in the Western Cape and Mpumalanga, the author shows how teachers' personal conception of their role and identity as educators plays a vitally important role in filtering and shaping the classroom transmission of key information and attitudes.

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To Dad: Strong and Phenomenal

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Introduction

HIV/AIDS prevalence amid heterosexual populations in Sub-Saharan Africa is amongst the highest in the world. As one of the countries in this region, South Africa experienced an increase in its infected population from about 3.5 million in 1999 (World Bank, 2000) to almost double the number in a very short space of time (about 6.5 million in 2002 according to the ASSA model by Dorrington, Bradshaw and Budlender (2002). Figures from UNAIDS (2006) show the number of those living with HIV in South Africa to be at about 5.5 million (available at http:/data.unaids. org/pub/EPISlides/2007/071118_epi_revisions_factsheet_en.pd). Projections of the pandemic's potential devastation on the economic and social well-being of the country are well documented (see Coombe, 2000; Dorrington, Bradshaw & Budlender, 2002; Barnett & Whiteside, 2002).

The accuracy of these projections is not of consequence here. Suffice it to say that their significance is twofold: they indicate both on the magnitude of the problem and the consequences for government, in terms of planning at the systemic level and taking proactive steps to combat the disease and provide support for those infected and affected. In the wake of these projections, many strategies and programmes have been developed and implemented to educate the South African population against infection and to combat rates of infection. These have included, among others, the development of policies (national,[1] provincial and local); mass media campaigns (television,[2] billboards,[3] newspapers); peer education, workplace training and support; and free access to condoms (Baxen, 2005). In some regions, such as in the Western Cape, a website has been developed that provides information for educators, learners, and parents. In sum education has been identified as crucial in the fight against HIV/AIDS, not only in South Africa but also around the world (Coombe, 2000; Gallant & Maticka-Tyndale, 2003; Kelly, 2000).

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1   National Health Care on HIV/AIDS.
2   For example, *Soul City* and Scamtu.
3   For example, *LoveLife.*

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Indeed education is arguably "the single most powerful weapon against HIV transmission" (Kelly, 2000: 9). In particular, within formal schooling, guidance and Lifeskills programmes seem the most likely and accessible environments in which messages about safe and safer sex might be conveyed. The expectation is that such information will equip learners to make informed sexual choices, and that this will lead to a reduction in the infection rate. Gallant and Maticka-Tyndale (2003) elaborate on some commonly held perspectives for such an emphasis in formal school settings. First, schools are recognized as the largest single site where youth can be reached and, therefore, 'naturally' the most 'obvious' spaces for the dissemination and mediation of preventive messages. Second, in the Sub-Saharan region, 67% of children of school-going age remain in school at least until Grade 5. It is logical, therefore, for governments to spend resources on prevention strategies, such as education, rather than on the health care system to help those already infected. Third, studies indicate that youth in Sub-Saharan Africa become sexual active while still of school-going age. It would make sense, therefore, to provide them with safe sex messages to enable them to make informed choices, thereby minimising the potential risk of infection. Indeed, programme evaluation reviews, such as those by Kaaya, Mukoma, Flisher and Klepp (2002) point to evidence that prevention programmes initiated in primary schools, before sexual debut, are successful in lowering sexually transmitted infections. Lastly, schools are familiar spaces: their structure, *modus operandi* and general patterns of practice are known, and this renders them natural sites for knowledge mediation and transmission (Baxen, 2005).

South Africa has identified this role for schools. Evident within South Africa's National and Provincial Departments of Education policy documents is an emphasis on providing learners with accurate information about HIV/AIDS (modes of contraction and transmission, and prevention), as well as on ensuring that they are taught about sexuality. Content is clearly articulated for each grade of the Life Orientation[4] learning programme, one of eight learning programmes that comprise the Revised National Curriculum of 2002. Education departments have also embarked on training lifeskills teachers in the proposed content.

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4   The curriculum for the General Education and Training Band (Grades 1–9 compulsory schooling period) comprises eight learning areas. Lifeskills is an area of the curriculum within the Life Orientation learning programme.

Although the argument about the situatedness and positioning of schools as obvious spaces for safe and safer sex message transmission is compelling, fundamental questions remain about what actually happens in schools and classrooms. What is actually taught? What do children actually learn about sexuality and HIV/AIDS in schools? How is knowledge about HIV/AIDS and sexuality mediated in classrooms? Who are the mediators and what determines the content and how it is taught? Do teachers feel confident or competent in addressing these issues? What, in their own experience and understanding of the disease, do teachers bring into the classroom? How are teachers positioned and how do they position themselves in teaching about what is taken for granted in everyday social practice as 'the deeply private'? The fundamental question that I pose in this book is: What actually happens in lifeskills classrooms when teachers teach sexuality and HIV/AIDS?

The study that serves as a basis for this book sought to address some of these questions by paying attention to two interrelated issues. The first relates to the content and form of HIV/AIDS and sexuality discourses in schools. The study raised questions concerning the epistemological origins and the frames of references underpinning constructions of HIV/AIDS and sexuality classroom discourse. Put differently, the question it responded to was: What informs constructions of HIV/AIDS and sexuality classroom discourse as articulated by the teacher in lifeskills lessons? The study also posed questions about how teachers mediate sexuality and HIV/AIDS. It asked how teachers position themselves and how they understand, produce, and reproduce discourses of HIV/AIDS and sexuality at the chalk-face. Through examining factors shaping their experience, understanding, and mediation of HIV/AIDS and sexuality, the study explored the nexus between the production of teacher identities and classroom discourse.

Teachers are rarely the focus of research pertaining to HIV/AIDS. Most studies are either concerned with the delivery of teacher development programmes and evaluating their effectiveness, or they research teachers as implementers of curricula. There is research that points to the catastrophic effects of the pandemic on teachers' work experience, either through an increase in their workload (due to sick personnel) or a variation in the nature of their work (supportive and caring demands made by sick or orphaned children, causing changed role expectations) (Simbayi, Skinner, Letlape & Zuma, 2005). But there is little research that

questions what actually happens in classrooms. This is at odds with the general assumptions that have been made about the efficacy of education, assumptions that led to the types of questions posed in this work. Few questions are directed at *who* mediates sexuality and HIV/AIDS knowledge and how, in this mediation process, teachers are positioned or indeed, position themselves. Still fewer questions are focussed on *how* and *what* occurs during the mediation process. Little is known of the conditions that shape the processes and outcomes of mediation in HIV/AIDS and sexuality classrooms. In fact, little is known about what happens in lifeskills classrooms where teachers mediate knowledge about HIV/AIDS and sexuality.

The paucity of literature in this area led me to examine how Life Orientation (Lifeskills)[5] teachers in the General Education and Training Band understand, experience, and teach sexuality and HIV/AIDS in the context of a complex HIV/AIDS hermeneutic space, one highly contested and riven by multiple and competing interpretations. This book, therefore, reports on a study that examined how the discursive space of the Lifeskills classroom works as a site of production for particular teacher identities. The assumption the study made is that while teachers are, educationally at least, strategically positioned to mediate knowledge that might lead to change in sexual behaviour, this knowledge, and the meanings they transact, as well as the process of mediation they set in motion, cannot be understood outside the broader context of social action in which individual and collective meaning is constructed, reconstructed and re-articulated. The argument is that as agents, teachers make choices irrespective of the formal curriculum; they act to produce and reproduce while at the same time being produced within complex discursive spaces of social action. Knowledge and mediation processes are themselves not neutral but charged and contradictory, and they also function to produce and reproduce competing identities. What teachers consciously and unconsciously choose to foreground in the teaching encounter (what and how they teach), therefore, is mediated in and through particular subject positions that are constructed within complex networks of social relations. "Social relations" in this instance refers to relations among social

5   Life Orientation is one of eight learning areas taught in the General Education and Training Band. Lifeskills forms part of the larger Life Orientation learning area. It is within the Lifeskills programme that sexuality and HIV/AIDS education is taught.

agents themselves and the nexus between social agents and institutions, rules and regulatory practices that shape and are influenced by social actors (Hall & Du Gay, 1996). Importantly in this work, social relations presuppose an audience even when the audience includes the individual in dialogue with the 'self' (McLaren, 2005). This work, therefore, is about productions of the 'self' in a complex HIV/AIDS hermeneutic space.

Through the use of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with teachers and participant classroom observations in some purposively selected primary and secondary schools in the Western Cape and Mpumalanga, the study traced what happens in the act of teaching when teachers mediate sexuality and HIV/AIDS. The study began by asking questions about who the teachers are and what it is about themselves that they bring into the classroom. This in turn provoked questions about what happens in classrooms when teachers invoke the body in its physical and sexual form, a body usually absent in the public arena of the classroom. The underlying premise of the study was that factors shaping understanding, as well as individual and collective experiences, serve as mediatory resources teachers draw on to produce and reproduce knowledge and teacherly enactments in the classroom. Such an argument challenges constructions of, on the one hand, teachers as mere *deliverers* of an uncontested, sanitised and agreed upon body of content and, on the other hand, schools as stable or neutral environments where safe sex messages are effortlessly delivered by a complying teacher to a relatively passive audience. Thus the study focused on examining factors that shape teachers' understanding, experience, and teaching of sexuality and HIV/AIDS in some schools in the Western Cape and Mpumalanga. Three core questions formed the basis for this exploration.

- Amongst this cohort, what social and cultural practices shape Lifeskills teachers' understanding, experiences, beliefs, attitudes, and responses to sexuality and HIV/AIDS? Put simply, what factors accompany teachers into Lifeskills classrooms when they teach sexuality and HIV/AIDS?
- How do some Lifeskills teachers in the General Education and Training Band[6] teach sexuality and HIV/AIDS in the socio-political context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa? In other words, how are teachers posi-

6   This refers to the compulsory years of schooling in South Africa and comprises Grades 1–9.

tioned and how do they position themselves when teaching sexuality and HIV/AIDS?

- How does teaching sexuality and HIV/AIDS shape, produce, and reproduce a particular teacher identity? What are the patterns of teacher behaviour, and what teacherly performances are invoked when teachers teach sexuality and HIV/AIDS? How are these produced or reproduced and how do such invocations work to produce and reproduce 'the teacher'? What are the slippages and ruptures in teacher performance in teaching sexuality and HIV/AIDS?

Interest in understanding who teachers are and what it is in (and about) themselves that plays into what and how they teach, led me to pose questions about identity and its constitutive form in social order and social action. Such a focus directed me to a number of interrelated aspects that needed attention: subject formation, subjectivity, subject positioning and in this instance, their articulation with content and classroom practice. Since I was interested in understanding teacher subject positioning and teaching, I developed a theoretical framework that explained the nexus between the two.

To do this I drew first on social theory. In particular, I used Bourdieu's theory of practice, Giddens's theory of structuration, and some components from Goffman's presentation of the self in the everyday, to develop a conceptual framework that gives an account of subject formation and subjectivity. This framework offered some insight into how social and cultural practices shape lived experience and how the former is said to structure social action. While these theorists offer different theoretical perspectives on the phenomenon, they all make a valuable contribution to this work by offering explanatory tools to examine (a) the constituted nature of social action; (b) how subjects are constituted and constitute themselves in social action; and (c) teachers' subjective experiences. They also help to explain how teachers not only come to hold particular attitudes, beliefs, and values about themselves as individuals, but also how these become the frames of references they use to make meaning of themselves and their work in relation to the pandemic. However, this framework had limited application since I was unable to apply it to understand what actually happens in the classroom when teachers teach sexuality and HIV/AIDS. In particular, I was unable to explain some aspects of the empirical data that seemed to throw doubt on the determin-

istic claims regarding social action made by these theorists. In part, the problem was that applying such a framework allowed only limited possibilities for teachers to act differently, outside the experience amassed in their lifetime. The difficulty, as I saw it, related to constructions of power: how it is explained by these theorists and how it is brought into play in subject formation. Their explanations do not offer an understanding of subject formation beyond describing an already determined subject who is constrained by, rather than dependent on, power for 'survival.'

The inadequacy of conceptions of power in this explanatory framework led me to explore components of psychoanalysis and feminist theory that shed light on the role of power in subject formation, subjectivity and subject positioning. Such a focus enabled me to analyse the articulation between teacher positioning and classroom practice. In theorising the use of power in understanding subjection, domination, resistance, resignification and identification, the theories I used for the second part of the conceptual framework made it possible to shift from describing and explaining the conditions under which teachers come to understand who they are, to analysing the subject positions they take up in the classroom. The analytical framework thus relies primarily but not exclusively on Butler's theory of performativity. In deploying this theory, I refer to Foucault's notion of power and discourse, and Lacan's and Althusser's emphasis on the role of language in subject formation. Through highlighting the limitations in their explanations of subjection, I insert Butler's theory of performativity as the framework that offers possibilities for a different reading of subject positioning, resistance, identification and resignification.

It was through applying Butler's theory of performativity that I was able to respond to another key aspect of the main question, namely, how teachers are positioned and how they position themselves in the classroom when they teach sexuality and HIV/AIDS. This work advances Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* and Giddens's theory of structuration beyond conceptions of a predetermined subject. It illuminates how subjectivity is constituted *in and through* relations of power. Power here is understood as not only constraining or enabling but as the actual condition the subject relies on for its very existence (Butler, 1997). Such a perspective made it possible for me to explain the dialectic relationship between subject positioning and social practice, thereby enabling me to explicate the complex interrelationship between teacher subject positioning and teaching. This work challenges commonly held conceptions that (a) teach-

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ers merely deliver an uncontested or incontestable body of knowledge in an unproblematic fashion to achieve externally determined outcomes, (b) they are well placed to mediate knowledge on sexuality and HIV/AIDS, and (c) schools are the best repositories for sexuality and HIV/AIDS messages.

Overview of the book

This book comprises five parts.

Part I is a detailed description of the study. It offers insight into the particular research process followed and accounts for the choices I made in gathering and managing the empirical evidence. It also outlines the epistemological decisions made in this process.

Part II, which includes Chapters 2–5, describes the theoretical framework of the study. I introduce this part with a synopsis of the path I followed in developing an explanatory and analytical framework. I describe the assumptions made about teachers and their work and argue that any exploration of teachers and their work cannot be done outside a framework that accounts for who teachers are. Such an argument led me to situate this work within a sociological framework and pose questions about the constitutive nature of identity and its articulation in social practice. In particular, I posed questions about subject formation, subjectivity and subject positioning and how these are understood to be constituted in social practice. It is here that I outline the theories I rely on to develop a conceptual and analytical framework. I offer an explanation of why I use a range of perspectives on identity by describing each theory, its usefulness as well as its limitations. I end this section by formulating a theoretical and analytical framework that made it possible to examine (a) in the empirical evidence, the multiplicity of identity positions and their articulation in social practice; (b) the limitations of dominant epistemological discourses in selected literature on teachers and their work; (c) identity resources teachers draw on in constructions of sexuality and HIV/AIDS discourses; and (the main question addressed in the study) (d) levels of influence or factors shaping teachers' understanding, experience and teaching of sexuality and HIV/AIDS.

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Part III contextualises the study within teacher and HIV/AIDS research. It comprises three chapters, each with a different focus. Common to all, though, is an orientation towards the literature that critically examines the epistemological and methodological limitations in research on teachers in general and their work in relation to sexuality and HIV/AIDS in particular. Chapter 6 reviews selected literature on teachers and teaching. It provides a rationale for the particular epistemological orientation on teachers' work followed in this study. Rather than offer a general review of teacher literature, I trace how dominant epistemological and methodological orientations influence constructions of the teacher subject. I argue that these orientations offer limited understandings of the complex interplay between structure and agency and, as such, limit understanding of the interconnectedness of teacher subject positioning and classroom discourse. I end this section by offering recent feminist and critical theory as alternative epistemologies to the above. I argue that within recent feminist orientations, subject positioning is not only proposed as constituted through and within relations of power, but as the condition on which subjects rely to constitute their identity. This orientation provides this study with an epistemological framework to examine teachers and their work, especially in teaching sexuality and HIV/AIDS which, as will become clearer in Chapter 11, requires a particular teacher subject positioning that is often not invoked in the public space of the classroom.

In preparation for the argument pursued later in the book, Chapter 7 introduces some dominant discourses that act as structures shaping constructions and interpretations of HIV/AIDS and sexuality. These include discourses on sexuality, disease and the politics of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. I trace how these discourses act as foregrounding as well as interpretive lenses for the meanings people attribute to the pandemic. First, a short historical overview of the dominant discourses shaping ways of knowing and understanding sexuality and disease is provided. Then I comment on the way epistemological frameworks used to describe and understand sexuality and disease shape interpretations of the phenomenon in general, and the HIV/AIDS research agenda in particular. This section is preparation for the argument in Chapter 8, where I illustrate how the dominant discourses under discussion influence orientations in research on HIV/AIDS. The relevance of this discussion lies in its importance as a contextual backdrop for understanding constructions and in-

terpretations of HIV/AIDS and sexuality and concomitant classroom discourses. Importantly though, locating HIV/AIDS within the meta-narratives of sexuality and disease offers a way of exploring classroom discourse and teacher identity, since such discourses act as interpretive and reproductive scripts within, through, and from which teachers produce and reproduce individual and collective identities.

Chapter 8 continues with descriptions of how epistemological and methodological frameworks used to understand sexuality and disease are imposed on researching HIV/AIDS, thus setting limits to the nature of the research conducted, the type of questions posed and the meanings people attach to the pandemic. This is done by outlining the epistemological assumptions and methodological frameworks underpinning constructions of HIV/AIDS, which shows how, framed by the dominant discourses on sexuality and disease, these become the dominant research frameworks shaping research on HIV/AIDS, globally, on the African continent and in South Africa. I also show how these play out in research in education, particularly in examining teachers and their work. This lays the groundwork from my argument that such discourses shape what is taught about sexuality and HIV/AIDS, and how it is taught. I end this section by arguing that bringing together the discourses of sexuality, disease, and HIV/AIDS not only highlights ways in which the classroom text is constructed, but puts the very process of construction, production, and reproduction under the spotlight. As a site of production, this discursive space draws attention to those who speak, the positions from which they speak, as well as what is produced and reproduced in their speech. Such a space, I argue, is not neutral but embedded within unequal relations of power and is thus open to negotiation, contestation, and disruption.

Part IV focuses on the empirical data and is presented in three chapters. Chapters 9 and 10 are contextual and serve to situate the cohort of teachers in the study within a specific space and time. These two chapters offer perspectives on the specificity of context as a critical indicator in the understanding of social identity, subject formation, and social positioning. They anchor what follows in the final chapter of this section, namely, descriptions of the patterns of behaviour that teachers enact in Lifeskills classrooms. The first two sections also offer a textual landscape from and through which not only to situate this group of teachers, but also to understand context as discursively constituted by structures and

discourses that are only visible through performative behaviours within that site of practice. This is exemplified in in the present context by what happens in classrooms when teachers mediate sexuality and HIV/AIDS.

Observational data are presented in Chapter 11. Rather than select episodes from the behaviour of a range of teachers, I give detailed accounts of eight teachers in four categories. Each of the four categories identifies particular behaviours that exemplify the performative.

Part V of the book summarizes insights yielded by the study. I do not offer a conclusion because, like the theory on which this work depends, I see the work as neither complete nor conclusive. I do, however, outline the policy, teacher training and curriculum implications of the study and in so doing raise more questions than provide easy solutions. This section emphasizes the need for the application of epistemological and methodological orientations that offer a more nuanced reading of the HIV/AIDS landscape in South Africa.

Part I
Context and contours
of the research

Introduction

This section outlines the methodological decisions made in crafting a research plan to examine factors shaping teachers' understanding and experience of teaching sexuality and HIV/AIDS. A study of this nature requires an approach that takes into account how people come to know and understand themselves; an approach that pays particular attention to constructions of social reality in the setting in which it occurs. In seeking to understand the meanings and interpretations people give to experiences, such an approach must not only allow for the inclusion of people's voices, but also be sensitive to the discursive spaces in which meaning is constructed and mediated. In short a methodological orientation was required that could enable me to illustrate how subjects come to know and the levels of influence that shape this.

1 The study

Methodological orientation

The main question to which this study responded was that of the factors shaping teachers' understanding, experience and teaching in a hermeneutic space of HIV/AIDS. Since I was interested in examining how a particular cohort of teachers made meaning of themselves and their work, I adopted a qualitative mode of inquiry which enabled me to pay attention to, not only how teachers viewed their social world, but also to how they were positioned and positioned themselves within their particular social worlds.

A case study approach was followed. According to Denzin & Lincoln (1994: 204) a case is "a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context-the unit of analysis, in effect." Usually, in a case study approach there is a focus and loosely defined physical and/or social boundaries within which the research is carried out. Foci and /or boundaries can be identified by large or small social units, e. g. individuals, groups, institutions, organisations. (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). In this instance, teachers were the unit of analysis and as such constituted the 'case'. A life history approach was applied to gain access to a central source of information namely, teachers' life stories.

Life history is defined by Goodson as "a narrative, influenced by the cultural conventions of telling, by the audience, and by the social context" (1992: 236). Life histories and biographies have been used to gain an understanding of "individual – collective praxis and socio-historical change in the organisation of individual life data and more specifically in the interplay between teachers' individual identities and the socio-historical context in which they work" (Stephens, 2002: 16). According to Stephens, life history research focuses on two interrelated worlds, namely that of the individual with his or her particular life history, and that of the "past, present and future contextual world though which the individual travels" (2002: 16).

Goodson, though, makes a distinction between life stories and life history by suggesting that the former is the story as related by the person "who lived and experienced the life" while the latter is "influenced by cultural conventions of telling, by the audience, and by the social context" and is "life as told" by the life story teller and researcher, a collaborative process that seeks to produce an "intercontextual account, the life history" (1992: 236). In providing a rationale for studying teachers' lives (and by implication using a life history approach), Butt, Raymond, McCue and Yamagishi (1992: 57) argue that:

> The notion of the teacher's voice is important in that it carries the tone, the language, the quality, the feelings that are conveyed by the way the teacher speaks or writes. In a political sense the notion of the teacher's voice addresses the right to speak and be represented. It can represent both the unique individual and the collective voice; one that is characteristic of teachers as compared to other groups.

Goodson (1992) suggests a number of reasons why it is becoming increasingly necessary to focus on teachers' lives, one of these being that it emphasises the need to "understand and give voice to an occupational group that have been historically marginalized" (Goodson, 1992: 15). Furthermore, this type of study offers insights into the "deeply personal aspects of identity" (Goodson, 1992: 15). The rationale for an investigation into teachers' lives rested upon an understanding that *who* teachers are (their identity) and the context in which they live and work shapes their beliefs and hence their actions in the classroom.

Sites

The sampling strategy was purposive. This technique was appropriate because decisions had already been made that only teachers who taught Lifeskills in the General Education and Training Band would be considered for participation. Further, the age appropriateness of the content prohibited the inclusion of all grades. In order to include the perspectives of a diverse group of teachers across the social organisational categories of class, race, ethnicity and gender, the racial and social classifications imposed on the South African landscape and used in categorizing

schools prior to the democratic government of 1994, had to be employed in the choice of schools. It was important that the sample included primary and secondary schools since teachers rather than schools or grades were the unit of analysis.

Schools

I applied a purposive sampling technique to select schools since I wanted to analyse the understanding, experience and teaching of a range of teachers. In selecting schools, I took account of their geographic location, demographic profile as well as their socio-historical locatedness during the Apartheid era.

The following procedures were used in selecting schools. First, I selected two regions, Mpumalanga and the Western Cape. The former ranked as one of four provinces in the country with high rates of HIV-infection, while the Western Cape had the lowest rate of infection. Another consideration was convenience. I reside in the Western Cape and it was thus easy to access schools in the region. Mpumalanga was included because permission had already been granted by the Education Department for the researcher, as principal investigator, to conduct research in the region as part of a project funded by DFID/British Council.[7] As this study contributed to and was located within a larger project on 'Schooling, Cultural Values and HIV/AIDS in South Africa',[8] the schools in the Western Cape pre-selected for this project were the ones in which the following selection process took place.

All the schools in the Western Cape metropolis were grouped according to their grade levels (primary or secondary). Thereafter, each group was separated into the categories used prior to the democratic elections of 1994, i.e. ex-House of Representatives (coloured), ex-House of Assembly (white), ex-Department of Education and Training (black) and ex-House of Delegates (Indian). The latter ex-Department (ex-House

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7   The project investigated the policy and practice effects of HIV/AIDS on female teachers in two provinces in South Africa (Western Cape and Mpumalanga). I was the principal investigator in this project.
8   I was the principal investigator in this study funded jointly by the National Research foundation and Norway Research Council.

of Delegates) was omitted since there were only four schools under its jurisdiction in this region and they would have been too easily identifiable.

Simple random sampling was then applied. Each school was assigned a number that was placed in a box denoting the ex-department. The secondary school sample comprised one school from each of the three selected ex-Departments. However, two schools were selected from the ex-House of Representatives because they comprise the largest number of schools in the region. Thus, in total, four secondary schools were included in the study.

One school was selected from each of the three ex-departments in the primary school sample. Once the research was underway, the primary school from the ex-House of Assembly dropped out and was replaced with an additional ex-Department of Education and Training School. This resulted in three primary schools being included in the study. Therefore, the final number of primary and secondary schools in the Western Cape was seven.

All the schools in Mpumalanga were from the ex-Department of Education and Training. Simple random sampling was also applied to select four primary and four secondary schools. The total sample of schools, therefore, was fifteen, with seven from the Western Cape and eight from Mpumalanga.

Letters requesting permission to conduct research in the schools were written to the respective provincial Education Departments. Once permission was received, letters were sent to the regional offices notifying them of the research as well as the selected schools. After the regional office acknowledged receipt and approved access to schools, letters were sent to principals requesting an introductory meeting. At this meeting I explained the purpose and outcome of the research, sometimes to the entire staff and at other times to Lifeskills teachers only.

Teachers

Participation by teachers was voluntary. The focus was on those teaching Lifeskills in the General Education and Training Band of compulsory schooling. In considering the grades to focus on, three criteria were applied: age; appropriateness of the curriculum content I wanted to ob-