Women teachers talk sex: A gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS

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DECLARATION

The research described in this thesis was carried out in the Faculty of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

This study represents original work by the author. I declare that this work has never been submitted for examination in any other institution. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.

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ABSTRACT

With the current scourge of HIV and AIDS among the youth in Sub-Saharan Africa, sexuality education has been hailed as the vaccine against new infections. This places teachers at the forefront of the pandemic as facilitators of knowledge. This study explores women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. As a participant researcher, I have worked through photo-voice, drawings, memory work, and focus group discussions with eight Basotho women teachers, and explored how womanhood and teacher-hood shape and reshape each other in becoming a sexuality education woman teacher. I highlight the gender dynamics characteristic of rural communities and how they play out in the construction of sexuality discourses in relation to women teachers, and how such constructions create im/possibilities for women teachers' facilitation of sexuality education.

An eclectic theoretical approach, with an emphasis on feminist theories, informed the study. A qualitative research design employing a phenomenological narrative approach has been used. The findings show women teachers experiencing the teaching of sexuality education as a challenge. Their experiences are reflected as shaping and being shaped by their understandings regarding sexuality, and their positioning as women and teachers within rural communities. Challenges that create impossibilities for women teachers' effective facilitation of sexuality education include the patriarchal gender order in Lesotho, cultural practices, teachers' own sexualities and teachers' fears of contravening the social constructions of good womanhood.

I argue that Basotho women teachers are facing a challenge of negotiating the socially constructed contestations between normalised womanhood and teacher-hood and thus choose to perform the normalised womanhood at the expense of teacher-hood. The womanhood they perform shapes their teacher identity such that woman teacher-hood in sexuality education becomes ineffective.

This study makes unique contributions to the field of sexuality education in particular and feminist scholarship in general. The methodological contribution lies in the use of visual methods to illuminate women teachers' positioning in relation to sexuality education. While previous studies in sexuality education have been on pedagogy, this study presents a body of knowledge based on a gendered analysis of women teachers' embodied experiences of teaching sexuality education and the meanings they make of their experiences.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to the memory of three important women in my life:

- **Dr. Jackie Kirk**, a woman who fell in the line of duty. Thank you for being a friend.

- **Dr. Maseapa Mookho Moeletsi**, a woman who fell on the finish line. Thank you for being a friend.

- **Mrs Julia Khethisa**, a woman who fell just before the finish line. Thank you for being a sister and a friend.

May your souls rest in peace!

Amen.

List of photographs

List of drawings

List of tables

List of appendices

Table of contents

Chapter Three

Chapter Four

Chapter Five

Highlighting the path taken: Research design and methodology   **113**

Chapter Six

Chapter Seven

Chapter Eight

What does sexuality mean to women teachers and how do they teach about it?   **235**

Preface

> When we embark on a research journey we take a lot with us. And even if we
> think we can "pack lightly" and leave a substantial part of ourselves behind at
> home or at the office- our biases, social location, hunches, and so on- we cannot.
> What we can do, however, is know the contents of the baggage we carry and how
> it is likely to accompany us on the research journey from beginning to end (Cole
> & Knowles, 2001, p. 49)

The journey to my present interest in sexuality and sexuality education began in *Quthing* where I was born. My father was a prison officer and my mother was a housewife. As a young girl from a poor family I was always in awe of the beautiful dresses that the other girls would wear and how pretty they looked. When we were playing in the village square, I was always aware that the boys wanted to chase only the pretty girls in beautiful dresses. I wanted to be chased by boys too but I did not have beautiful dresses and hence did not look pretty. When I was eight years old, my curiosity was always aroused by one particular game that we played in the evenings called *boleke*[1] which is a version of hide-and-seek. The older boys and girls would go hiding together and never come out. I would ask why it was difficult to find them and I was told that when the older boys and girls went hiding together it meant that they were going to do *ntho-tse-mpe* (bad things)[2]. Did they tell me what 'bad things' was? No. I asked my older brother who told me that if my mother heard me asking such a question I would be in big trouble.

If the big boys and girls were doing 'bad things', then I wanted to do 'bad things' too. It could not be that bad if they were doing it everyday in the evenings. One evening I ran after a couple that went hiding in a maize field. I had no idea what to expect, but I was curious. They did not know that I was hiding just a few feet away from them. The girl just pulled up her dress and removed her panties. The boy climbed on top of her and started moving up and down. "So this is what 'bad things' is!" I said to myself. It did

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[1]This is a game for children, which was played mostly in the evenings. The other children all go hiding and one of them would search for the others who are hiding in different places. Each time a person was found, her name was called out and then the searcher had to step on a tin can, which was used as the central point for the game, to show that the found person does not deserve to hide anymore. However if the person whose name had been called out could run faster that the searcher and reach the tin can before, then she could kick the tin can out of the centre and then go hide again.

[2]When I was growing up, children were taught that sex was 'bad things'. This name is still used even today to denote having sex. This is the context in which it is used in this thesis.

look bad as I looked on and I told myself that maybe it was not so bad for older girls and boys. One of my peers had told me that even mothers and fathers do 'bad things'. I could not believe this because the only thing I saw happening in our house was my father beating my mother almost every time when he came home in the evening drunk from the village. I remember asking myself if my parents ever had time to do 'bad things' if they were always fighting. I remember thinking that maybe my mother did not know how to do 'bad things' that was why my father was always beating her.

My mother finally had the strength to leave my father, though they never divorced, and found a job in Maseru as a domestic worker. Thus my high school was done in a prestigious school in Maseru where children from well to do families attended. I was in this school because I had performed well in my primary school studies. In those days the school fees for the whole year of high school studies was ZAR100.00 (about US$10[3]). I was always sent out of class for non payment of school fees as my mother could not afford them on her domestic worker's salary. Sometimes my teachers would contribute to pay my fees because they appreciated my good performance.

I did not have the fancy gadgets and clothes that the other girls had in my class. I could not fit in with the other girls because I could not talk about the latest television craze because we did not have a television set at home. I could not sing with them the latest hit songs on radio because our small radio was always out of batteries. I did not have a boyfriend because I was not popular. The only thing I could do was be my best in class. I always topped my class in every subject. This brought me the reputation of the 'ice queen' which became one of my names. I supposedly did not have the same feelings and fantasies that other girls my age had. They were wrong, however, because I had also wanted to be popular and be chased around by boys, only I could not attract their attention because I did not have the right clothes or the right attitude.

I had a lot of questions about being attractive to boys and the games that boys and girls played. At this point I knew something about sex from my biology teacher; however the

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[3] This is at an exchange rate of ZAR9.82 to US$1 (February 24, 2009).

kind of questions I wanted to ask were not allowed in class. I will never forget the day when:

> I was in a biology laboratory, in my first year of high school. I needed to use the toilet, but my teacher refused. There I was standing next to the table with my legs tightly crossed to stop any accidental flow of urine. Then I felt this strange tingling feeling between my legs. I pressed harder, afraid that the urine would come out. I felt my heartbeat increasing, the tingling feeling between my legs intensified and I got this warm pleasant sensation at the pit of my stomach. I felt as if I had exploded. I uncrossed my legs ready to see urine flowing to the floor, but there was nothing. I felt guilty as if I had done something wrong; yet I felt nice and warm inside. I had this nagging feeling that what I had experienced was wrong and that it should not have happened in the classroom. But if it was wrong, then why did it feel so wonderful? I remember asking myself why I felt so guilty, and what had really happened to me. I needed to ask someone about it but I felt ashamed to say anything to anybody. How would I explain it? I just ran out of the laboratory to the toilet without the teacher's permission. I never got the chance to ask anybody about it.
>
> Nonetheless, my curiosity was highly aroused. I needed to know what the feeling I had gotten meant and how I could get it again. I remember that the same day when I got home, I rushed to the bedroom and closed the door. I stood next to a bed and crossed my legs again, the same way I had done in class. The same tingling feeling emerged. I crossed my legs tighter and the feeling intensified and exploded in me. I just stood there amazed! What was happening to me? I looked myself in the mirror and I could see my rapid heartbeat at the base of my throat. I felt really good about myself. The one thing I told myself was from then on, nobody should ever see me doing "that", whatever it was. Though it felt so wonderful, I could not get rid of the shame I felt afterwards. From that day onwards, I managed to find some 'alone time' when I would do this "thing" which I had no name for, or explanation of. By the time I was in my third year of high school, I had improved my technique and I could do it lying down, beneath the cover of my blankets. This has always been my best kept secret. I never told even my best friend because I did not know what to say and also I did not want to lose her respect for me and our friendship because of something I could not explain (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007).

I am not sure why I felt so much shame when I did my "thing". All I know is that I grew up in a context where everything to do with the genitals was regarded as shameful and hence I appropriated this status to what happened to me. I have never been able to ask my mother about this experience and she has never heard of it. If I had asked her, she would have assumed that I was already sexually active with boys and that would have warranted

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a severe beating. My curiosity, however, led me to start reading romance novels, especially the *Mills and Boon* series. I read about a lot of issues pertaining to sexuality and physical attraction and arousal. I wanted so much to try out my new knowledge, but because I had no boyfriend or a girlfriend that I trusted enough to talk to about sex I had to practice everything I learnt on myself. I learnt how to touch myself and knew where it felt good to touch. I developed a wonderful relationship with my body and I loved touching myself everywhere in a bid to discover which parts of my body were sensitive.

Towards the end of my high school I got tired of being labelled as the ice queen. I was tired of not being able to talk to other girls about boyfriends and how it felt when having sex. I decided that it was time to lose my virginity. This is what happened:

> One day, after our last Form 5 examination paper was done, I phoned the rich boy with whom I had danced on 'farewell' night. I asked him to go out for a movie with me the following Saturday. After the movie he drove me home. I then gathered enough courage while in the car to tell him my plan: that I wanted to lose my virginity and I needed his help. I was tired of being the only virgin in class. You should have seen his face. He became purple! He asked me if I heard properly what I had said to him and whether I was drunk. I told him I was sober and I had though about what I asked him to do. "Why me?" he asked. I told him that I thought he would do a 'good job' of it. I remember the relief on his face as he started laughing. He told me that I should wait for one month and if I still felt the same way then he would do it.

> A month went by quickly and he was the first to call me. He asked if I still wanted to go ahead with my plan, and I told him "Yes". He then told me that we had to find a place to do it. He volunteered to pay for a motel room. We agreed on a date and time. When the day approached I felt anxious and scared of what I had put myself into. The day arrived, a Saturday morning in early December 1988. As I was getting ready to leave my home, the radio was playing Betty Wright's "Tonight is the night" (that you made me your woman, you said you'd be gentle with me and I hope you will. I'm nervous and I'm trembling waiting for you to walk in, I'm trying hard to relax, but I just can't keep still). I sang along with the song in my sixteen year old voice and my excitement was getting the better of me. I remember my brother asking me why I was so excited and I told him we were having lunch at a girlfriend's house. I arrived at our rendezvous and I found him waiting for me, immaculately dressed. I nervously greeted him and we walked to our room.

> When we got there, he started undressing and told me to do the same. He wanted us to be over with it before we both could change our minds. As we lay naked

beneath the sheets he asked me if I was using any birth control, and I was not using any. He asked what I would do if I got pregnant and I just told him that I would not get pregnant. I do not know why I believed that I would not get pregnant. I just wanted to lose my virginity. I would worry about being pregnant afterwards. I started kissing him and he responded. We touched each other and got ourselves in the mood.

When we finally did the thing, I asked myself "Where is the pain they usually talk about?" At that moment I did not care about the pain, I was having fun. When it was over, he hugged me and thanked me for giving my virginity to him. When we left the motel I felt triumphant. I was no longer a young girl. I was a woman (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007).

Because I did not know what to expect from having sex ,except the pain my friends had talked about, I can not say whether my sexual debut was a good encounter or not. I only knew that I wanted to get rid of my virginity and I felt good knowing that I had done so. I had my first 'real' boyfriend when I was doing first year Bachelor of Science Education at the National University of Lesotho. I had never really had any lover except the time when I lost my virginity. This was the real thing. I fell so hard in love that my world revolved around his feet. I worshipped the ground he walked on. He must have been special because he broke the mettle of the 'ice queen'. Everything I learnt about sex and romance I learnt with him. I thought my curiosity around issues of sex and sexuality would stop. However, with everyday came new questions. I was always asking myself "is this the best that it can be?" I had no point of comparison except what I read in the novels about orgasms. In my curiosity I bought some help-yourself books on sex and read more about the pleasures of a good sexual relationship.

Four years later I graduated as a Biology and Chemistry teacher. I married this love of mine and we had a baby girl. Then my sexual world fell upside down. We just did not connect anymore. He started sleeping out, drinking more and becoming violent. If I tried to initiate sex I was told that there are other men outside who are looking for women like me who had no shame. I felt cheap and sad. Instead of the loving man I had married, I was now staying with a rapist who could only have sex with me if he was raping me. He would make sure that he passed abusive comments and then if I responded he would beat

me up and force himself sexually on me. I blamed myself for the change in our sexual life. I thought that I had done something that had upset him. I even thought that maybe childbirth had affected my vaginal muscles and hence my ability to pleasure him, or that the Caesarean birth scar made me unattractive.

I was ashamed to talk to my mother about the sexual stress in my marriage especially because I did not know what had gone wrong. I bought more books to read up on sex and how to make it more exciting. However these caused more problems in my marriage as I was told that they must have been bought for me by my lovers and we had a big fight over the books. The culmination of these problems occurred when:

> [4]One day in April 1997, I had a fight with my husband and I decided to spend the night at my mother's house. The following morning when I got to my house, my husband refused to let me in. I could sense that there was something wrong. When he finally decided to let me in, he forced me to have sex with him right there and then in the lounge. I told him that I was not ready but he pretended not to hear me. He managed to penetrate me and continue with the sexual act as I lay there like a corpse, mortified by what was happening to me. When he was through, I wanted to go to the bathroom to clean myself of the act. He tried to stop me but I managed to pass him.
>
> That is when I saw her, another woman lying on my bed with nothing on. I could not believe my eyes. I knew her. I became nauseous, my vision got blurred and my knees could not hold me. I had to hold on to the door to steady myself. The bedroom smelled like a cheap motel room with stale cigarette smoke and empty beer bottles all over. I felt so dirty and cheap. I wished I could disappear or erase what had just happened to me in the lounge. Why did he force me to have sex with him while he had obviously spent the whole night with this other woman? He could not tell me why he had done what he did, and at that moment I knew that my marriage was over.
>
> I started wondering whether he had used condoms with her because he never used them with me. I asked myself why I had never had the courage to demand that he use condoms. Was I HIV positive? Am I going to die and leave my daughter? All these questions were running through my mind as I left my house for good, with uncontrollable tears streaming down my face (Motalingoane-Khau, 2006).

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[4]This story appears in a published article: Motalingoane-Khau, M. (2006). "Should I celebrate Nairobi +21?" Being a woman in the age of HIV and AIDS in Lesotho. *Agenda*, *69*, pp. 111- 118.

I filed for divorce and I was granted sole custody of **my daughter**[5]. I had to get to terms with the blame I had always laid on myself for the sexual abuse I endured in my marriage. What hurt me most was the fact that he had been the only man I had known sexually (except, of course, the one I gave my virginity to) and loved. I eventually realised during professional counselling that I was not to blame. However, I could not relate well with men anywhere. I hated every man for what my ex-husband had done to me. Even my male colleagues and male students had problems working with me.

My interest in sex education was sparked even more as I taught biology to high school boys and girls and I could see myself in their questioning faces. I realised that they could also have, just as I had felt as a child, a lot of unanswered questions about their own sexuality. When I raised my thoughts with some of the women teachers I worked with, I realised that they felt the same way and had many questions themselves. The knowledge I had gained from my self-help books was useful in helping answer some of the questions that the women teachers had. I began to realise the dangers of growing up in a culture of sexual silence as we discussed some issues that could have helped some of the women teachers avoid dangerous situations, but which they had never known about. I began holding regular Friday afternoon sessions with my women colleagues to discuss issues of our sexuality, and sometimes the male members of staff would join in the discussions. These sessions were interesting as the men and women would talk about their sexual anxieties and shared experiences of good and bad sexual encounters.

This made me realise that the students also needed some kind of forum in which to get their worries and questions addressed. I started an AIDS club in which senior students, as peer educators, would assist junior students with their questions and I would help out as necessary. Reports that I received from the peer educators confirmed my suspicions that the students did have many myths and misconception regarding their sexuality which they got from the media and their peers. They also confirmed that students needed more correct information to help them make informed choices about their sexual lives. My

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[5]My ex-husband always doubted the paternity of our child and thus I refer to her as my daughter alone, thus the emphasis.

quest to try and make things better for my students, by becoming a better teacher, started with this yearning for sexuality education which is sex-positive, norm-critical and inclusive of all sexual identities and preferences. I thus decided to further my studies and get more information on how I could effectively facilitate the teaching of sexuality education in my classrooms.

My journey into researching sexuality education started with a Masters in Education project titled: **Understanding adolescent sexuality in the memories of four female Basotho teachers: An auto/biographical study** (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b), in which I explored the memories of adolescent sexual experiences of four female teachers. These teachers also reflected on how these experiences had shaped the kind of sexuality education teachers they are today. The journey continues and thus the current project. Now that I have revealed and acknowledged the contents of my baggage (see Cole & Knowles, 2001), the hunches and biases that might accompany me through this research journey, I want you to come along and join me as I delve into how women teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS in Lesotho.

Come along, you are invited...

Part One

Contextualising the journey

In this first part I introduce the focus, purpose and rationale of the study and the key questions that drove the planning of this journey into the gendered experiences of women teachers teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. I also provide a glimpse of the history of sexuality education in Lesotho to highlight the common paths that have been taken in the past. Finally, I present an exploration of the literature on sexuality, HIV and AIDS in education in order to highlight the current debates in these areas.

CHAPTER 1

The Journey begins

1.1 Introduction

AIDS has been recognised worldwide as a disease negatively skewed against young people. Young adults of ages 15- 25 account for more than half of new HIV infections, with about 6,000 of them getting infected daily (UNAIDS, 2008). According to the UNAIDS report, the country with the third-highest HIV prevalence rate in the world is Lesotho with young adults being the worst affected group. The UNAIDS (2008) report also observes that within the age group of 15 – 25, 14.1% of young Basotho women are infected compared to 5.9% of young men.

In Lesotho, as in many other sub-Saharan African countries, HIV is spread mainly through heterosexual sexual activity. Unequal power dynamics that are embedded in the patriarchal gender order in Basotho society restrain women's ability to adopt preventative behaviours against infections, leading to women's vulnerability to STI's and HIV. In the context of gender inequality, women are increasingly at risk of infection (Family Health International, 2002; Harrison, 2005; Patton, 1990; Peltzer & Promtussananon, 2003; Whiteside & Sunter, 2000). According to Patton (1990) women and girls in rural areas do not have the social and economic power to decide on sexual matters. Because of this, equality within sexual partnerships is constrained and hence women have limited capabilities to challenge unsafe sexual practices (cf. Long, 2009b). Basotho women also face the same challenges (Motalingoane-Khau, 2006, 2007a), even though there are few gendered qualitative studies undertaken on sexuality and HIV infection in Lesotho.

Of intervention work in relation to STI's and HIV infection, sexuality education is considered one of the most effective and efficient means to curb transmission among young people (Chege, 2006; Kimmel, 2004, Malcolm, 2002; UNAIDS, 2003). Schools all over the world have a role to shape the opinions, attitudes and behaviour of young people. Because schools can reach many young people with information, basic school education can have a powerful effect on the prevention of HIV and AIDS.

However, the epidemic itself is hindering efforts to educate young people in developing countries because pupils and teachers are taking time off to care for sick family members and are themselves dying as a result of AIDS (Chege, 2006; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Pattman & Chege, 2003). Making informed sexuality choices requires young Basotho students to have sexuality education lessons which will equip them with the necessary skills. The effectiveness of comprehensive sexuality, HIV and AIDS education prevention programs has recently emerged (Bruess & Greenberg, 2004; Hargreaves *et al*, 2008; James *et al*, 2006).

In Lesotho it becomes that much more important to focus on sexuality, HIV and AIDS education in rural schools because rural areas are economically deprived and more often than not are geographically inaccessible. This makes them ideal locations for the rapid spread of the AIDS pandemic as awareness messages and information take longer to reach them and to take root. It is also more difficult for rural populations to access education as well as medical assistance in cases of illness and infections. The gender relations that characterise rural communities also prove to be a challenge in moving from gendered stereotypes to more equitable practices. Understanding the gender relations characteristic of rural schools and communities can help in the exploration of how these relations can be transformed so that teachers can be in a position to effectively facilitate sexuality education.

In order for the teachers to be able to address issues of HIV and sexuality in their classrooms, they have to be in touch with their own sexuality and their own lived realities in relation to HIV and AIDS. They also need to be knowledgeable on HIV and AIDS. By virtue of being women, women teachers are expected by schools and communities to be carers and nurturers even in the school setting. This places women teachers at the vanguard of the pandemic regarding the assistance and care of children and colleagues who are affected or infected by HIV. However, male teachers also have the potential to care for the infected and affected (see Bhana *et al*, 2006; Morrell *et al*, 2009).

This study, however, focuses only on women teachers in rural schools and how they experience the teaching of sexuality education (SE) in relation to their 'woman' and 'teacher' selves. Exploring women teachers' understandings of sexuality education and their experiences of teaching sexuality education can help us understand what drives their handling of sexuality education and HIV and AIDS education. This is affirmed by Baxen and Breidlid (2004) and Baxen (2006) who argue for the acknowledgement and exploration of teachers' lives and experiences as important drivers in the teaching of sexuality, HIV and AIDS education.

1.2 Purpose and rationale of the study

There are five considerations driving the rationale and motivation of this study. They relate to contextual, policy, academic, personal, and theoretical issues. Firstly, Lesotho has a very high rate of HIV infections especially among the age group 15- 25 years, most of them still in schools with a majority being girls and young women. It was reported that in 2000, 25% of Lesotho's workforce died of AIDS related deaths (USAID, 2005). For a developing country, this becomes a problem because Lesotho's development depends on a healthy and educated workforce.

In a bid to reduce new HIV infections among the youth, the government of Lesotho in 2004 introduced sexuality, HIV and AIDS education as cross-cutting issues to be infused or integrated into existing subject areas (International Bureau of Education, 2003) through the Population and Family Life Education (POPFLE) framework. This was done despite the fact that Kann *et al* (1995) had already argued that the integration approach had not met with any success. Their study at the Centre for Disease Control in America shows that the model of integration in schools may simply mean 'watering down', diffusion and occasionally confusion of the intended messages. Based on how a number of schools were addressing health issues, they concluded that there is a strong case against integration model. UNICEF (no date) thus encouraged member states to adopt the "carrier" or "separate subject" strategy of dealing with sexuality issues. They support the teaching of essential knowledge, attitudes and skills within one subject. In accordance

with this argument, Life Skills Education (LSE) was introduced into the Lesotho National Curriculum in 2007 as a niche for sexuality education and HIV/AIDS education.

With girls and young women being more vulnerable to HIV infection due to biological and socio-economic factors (Long, 2009b), it is important to find out how women teachers as carers and nurturers understand, approach and experience the teaching of sexuality education in a bid to stop further infections especially among their girl students. This study illuminates, in a way, the type of sexuality education that is happening in Lesotho schools, especially rural schools, and how and why women teachers within this context play out in the effectiveness of sexuality education.

Secondly, the policy change from integration and infusion of sexuality education into existing subject areas, to Life Skills Education as a niche for sexuality education is a reflection of Lesotho's search for effective strategies for the facilitation of sexuality education for Basotho youth. Given that few studies have been undertaken since the call for infusion and integration (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b) and none since the introduction of Life Skills Education, there is need for a study that explores the understandings regarding sexuality education and how teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education in their classrooms.

Ladson-Billings and Tate (2006) argue that education scholars must undertake research that speaks to the pressing issues related to education, and that education research must be in the public interest. Drawing on these arguments, this study addresses the understandings and practice of sexuality education as a public issue affecting Lesotho's national education. Thus, the study is timely and relevant to the current debate on the role of sexuality education in public education for the reduction of new HIV infections in society.

The third consideration is academic, arising from the work that I carried out for my Masters degree on the adolescent sexual experiences of female Basotho teachers and how these influenced their handling of sexuality education and HIV/AIDS education in urban

secondary schools (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b). Suggestions from this study were that further research should explore: firstly, how women teachers teach about issues of sexuality; secondly, how the teaching of sexuality education is influenced by women teachers' lived experiences; and thirdly, how women teachers are themselves influenced through the experience of teaching sexuality education, most especially in rural schools. This study is constructed around these questions and issues.

It was the debate surrounding who should teach sexuality education, how and when it should be taught and to whom that forced the government of Lesotho to opt for sexuality education as a subject to be infused and integrated into existing subject areas. Following the example of other Southern African countries, Lesotho introduced Life Skills Education, a standalone subject, as the niche for sexuality education and HIV/AIDS education, thus ensuring that there will be teachers specifically assigned the teaching of the subject, other than in the past when every teacher was expected to teach about sexuality and none did (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b). This new standalone subject has the role of enhancing the knowledge and HIV/AIDS awareness among the youth by developing their coping skills in order for them "to confront issues of parental loss, recognising situations of risk and minimising high-risk behaviour that could lead to becoming infected with HIV" (UNICEF, 2007, p.3). This study thus extends the academic work on sexuality education and offers me the opportunity to partake in the national sexuality education curriculum debate.

In addition, academic work in both local and international literature on sexuality education highlights the debate on what should be taught as sexuality education in schools. This debate is, however, on sexuality education as a stand-alone subject and not carried within another learning area, and how it is being taught, if at all, in schools (Epstein, 1997; Jones & Mahony, 1989; Measor, Tiffin, & Fry, 1996; Renold, 2005; Westwood & Mullan, 2007; Wolpe, 1988), and teachers' lives and experiences as key mediating factors in the teaching of sexuality and HIV/AIDS education (Baxen, 2006; Baxen & Breidlid, 2004). There is, therefore, a gap in the literature on the debate around teachers as curriculum developers within sexuality education classrooms, how they do the

actual teaching and how they experience the teaching of sexuality education. This study serves as a platform for my participation in the global debate about sexuality education and to make a contribution to knowledge by addressing the gap in existing literature on sexuality education, significantly so from an African context.

The fourth consideration relates to my personal experience as a woman teacher and novice teacher educator. As a young science education graduate, my first teaching job was in a rural school where I taught biology. I faced a lot of challenges addressing only the mechanics of sex as required by the biology syllabus. The taboo nature of sex made it difficult for me to freely discuss sex, reproduction and development with my students. When I was assigned to teach Guidance and Counselling in the same school, it became even more difficult for me to address issues of sexuality where I had to include the social aspect of sex. I am at the moment teaching a Bachelor of Education Honours group in Gender and Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I have to teach them about issues of gender, sexuality and HIV/AIDS and how to address them with their learners in schools. While most of this group are adults, it is still a challenge for me to talk freely to them about sex and sexuality.

It is through reflecting on these experiences that I have come to ask myself how other women teachers actually teach about sexuality, how they understand and experience the teaching of sexuality education especially in rural schools. This study is a way of strengthening my professional competence as a woman teacher and novice teacher educator by advancing my knowledge and understanding of the cutting-edge debates on the theory and practice of sexuality education in the age of HIV and AIDS.

The fifth consideration relates to the theoretical construction underpinning the curriculum of sexuality education. By exploring the understandings on sexuality education and how women teachers experience teaching it in rural schools, this study proposes a theoretical construction that should inform the policy and decisions regarding sexuality education appropriate for a developing country like Lesotho. Thus, it could be of benefit to both professional teachers, teacher educators and educational leaders; thereby helping in

developing and improving the provision of sexuality education suitable for the educational needs of Lesotho.

1.3 Statement of broad problems and issues to be studied

The debate on who should teach sexuality education, how and when it should be taught and to whom, has created a problematic situation in understanding the role of sexuality education in public education. By focusing on women teachers' understandings, practice and experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools, this study seeks to partake in the current sexuality education debate on who should teach, how and what should be taught. Since its inception (sexuality education) in 2004 and the policy change in 2007, few studies have been undertaken (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b) to understand how and why sexuality education is being enacted at school level in Lesotho schools.

Curriculum has been described as a hotly contested space and battleground for many competing influences and ideologies (Apple, 2004; Chisholm, 2005; Darling-Hammond, 1998; Kelly, 1999; Schwab, 1969). It has also been argued that what is taught in schools is a convergence of interests of diverse social actors who press their own agendas on the school depending on their value orientations (Christie, 1999; Cornbleth, 1990; Fullan, 1993; Glatthorn, Boschee, & Whitehead, 2006; Lawton, 1980; Marsh & Wills, 1995; Sutton & Levinson, 2001; Thomas, 1983). This study draws on these notions in order to understand how women teachers understand, practice and experience the teaching of sexuality education in relation to their social contexts and the contestation surrounding sexuality education in Lesotho's national curriculum.

1.4 Research focus

The focus of the study is to explore how Basotho women teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools, and how and why these experiences influence their understanding and practice of sexuality education in the classroom. The women teachers are considered in their capacity as curriculum developers within their sexuality education classrooms. Specifically, the purpose of this study is to provide a *thick description* of the experiences of rural women teachers within sexuality education

classrooms in the context of HIV and AIDS, the practice of sexuality education by women teachers in rural schools, and the underlying reasons for the choices women teachers make regarding their practice of sexuality education.

According to Patton (2002), a thick description presents details of the context and emotions, including the social forces that join people to one another. He argues that a thick description brings out the important events and experiences that are meaningful and significant in people's lives. Thus, women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education and their influence on the practice of sexuality education within rural school classrooms are the unit of analysis for this study.

1.5 Objectives of the study

By engaging in research into the teaching experiences of a few women teachers I hope to shed some light on the gender dynamics involved in women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in the age of HIV and AIDS in rural schools and how such experiences translate into practice in classrooms. I engage in dialogue with women teachers rather than just studying them as subjects. This is a move away from traditional forms of research which have denied women the voice to talk about their concerns and be constructors of meaning concerning their lived realities and how these can be transformed (Ezzy, 2002; Jayaratne, 1993; Mies, 1993; Roman & Apple, 1990). The study, therefore, seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- To describe women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools
- To discuss how rural women teachers position themselves and are positioned as 'women' and as 'teachers' within sexuality education classrooms
- To analyse the understandings, assumptions and perceptions of women teachers regarding sexuality in education
- To deconstruct and theorise the understandings, practice and experiences of teaching sexuality education in Lesotho's public education

The key research question for the study is:

- What are Basotho women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS?

To facilitate a deep exploration of this question, a sub-set of interrelated key questions were asked:

1. How do women teachers position themselves and are positioned as 'women' and as 'teachers' within sexuality education classrooms?
2. How do women teachers understand and practice sexuality education?

It is hoped that through these key questions, this study would create a new body of information, make a contribution to knowledge by proposing a theoretical construction that should inform curriculum policy in sexuality education and propose recommendations about good practice in sexuality education.

Despite the efforts by the Lesotho government through the curriculum, sexuality education is still closeted in schools and communities, and open sex talk is still taboo. The intention of this study therefore is to make a contribution to knowledge that may guide the re-designing and effective implementation of sexuality education in Lesotho schools through the Life Skills Education (LSE) curriculum, in order to reduce the confusion and contestation within sexuality education. In addition the study may be used for guidance in the development of future policies regarding sexuality, HIV and AIDS in education.

This study encourages women teachers, schools, and the community to talk about sex in a manner that reduces further spread of HIV and AIDS among Basotho youth. The interaction between the participants in this study may help to expel some of the beliefs and values that have always informed the contestation surrounding sexuality education. In the same manner, male teachers and women teachers from other contexts may get inspired to relate stories of their own experiences of teaching about issues of sexuality and HIV through this study. My main hope is that through this study I will open up channels of communication so that different social actors within the Lesotho education

system can start to talk constructively about sexuality and HIV in the education of Basotho children.

This study also aims to add to feminist scholarship by understanding women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. My understanding of the phenomena within this study as a woman teacher, feminist researcher and a mother will help me work together with schools, parents and education officials so that we are better equipped to facilitate open sex talk between all social actors for the prevention of new HIV infections among Basotho youth.

1.6 The research setting

According to Cole and Knowles (2001), there is an undeniable interconnectedness between our lives and our environments. There is a need for researchers, therefore, to have a deep understanding of the environments within which their participants' lives unfold. The context of one's life is an important point of reference against which we can understand people's lives and experiences. For these reasons, I describe the contexts where the lives and experiences of the women teachers unfolded. I present the country of Lesotho and the Basotho people as a Nation. I provide a picture of Lesotho in relation to the national gender situation, family, religion and school environments and how women teachers as sexuality education facilitators fit into the picture.

1.6.1 The country of Lesotho

Lesotho is a constitutional monarchy headed by King Letsie III with the assistance of a prime minister. From the 2007 elections, the 18 government ministers comprise 6 women ministers while among the 5 deputy ministers 3 are women. The 33 member Senate has 12 women representatives. The ministries headed by women are the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Gender and Youth Affairs, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, Ministry of Local Government, Ministry of Law and Constitutional Affairs, and the Ministry of Tourism. These women ministers lead in some key ministries that can, if handled properly, lead to the improved status and health of Basotho women and girls. The representation of women in government is a new initiative within the governance of

Lesotho. However, women's representation in the country's governance does not necessarily translate to the elected women ministers being able to push women's agenda (Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005).

Studies show that the advancement of women's participation in governance has not made much progress in advancing women's issues to date (Gaskell & Taylor, 2003; Molyneux & Razavi, 2002). Despite this fact, Lesotho has a constitution that embraces non-discriminatory policies and has ratified several conventions to this tune. However, Lesotho operates within two legal systems namely Customary Law and the Modern Legal System, and this creates a complexity for progress in driving women's agenda because under customary law women remain perpetual minors (Mapetla & Nkhasi-Tuane, 2003).

1.6.2 Lesotho in the global world

This section presents how Lesotho relates to the global world and how its participation in global conversations has influenced policy formulation and practice within the education sector and the country as a whole.

The United Nations (UN) marked the period 1975- 1985 as the decade for women of the world and in 1985 the Nairobi International Conference on women's issues followed. These periods marked a heightened international concern for the low status of women globally (Naidoo, 2002; Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005). The 1995 UN World Conference on Women and the resulting Beijing Platform for Action Statement, and the UN Convention on Children's Rights in 1989, have all had a particular impact on the shaping of national and international development policies relating to girls and women.

The Beijing Platform for Action (UN, 1995) includes strong statements about women's empowerment. Women's empowerment is seen as possible through attention to critical issues such as poverty, health, violence, armed conflict, education and training, and the girl child. The attention given to girls' education internationally through the CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action indicates the importance of girls' education in promoting gender equality in society as a whole. The rights of women and girls are inextricably

intertwined. Educated girls grow up to be active and influential women who can shape future society. Additionally, empowered women are better equipped to protect the rights of their daughters and sons, especially in education, health, and safety arenas (Kirk, 2003).

Additionally, the Dakar Framework for Action (resulting from the World Education Forum in Dakar in April 2000) has become more insistent about the need to take concrete steps to address the evident gender disparities in education. The six goals outlined in the Dakar Framework have become international Education for All (EFA) targets (UNESCO, 1990). International donors have increased financing, technical assistance and monitoring attention to these targets, to ensure that developing countries have the necessary resources to achieve them. In countries such as Lesotho where enrolment for girls is relatively high, the quality of education may be more of a concern. In this case, some of the important ways of encouraging girls not only to come to school, but also to stay in school and to achieve good results have been identified and include gender-sensitive curricular, pedagogies and materials.

Lesotho, like other African states, has ratified some major conventions of the United Nations such as the Education for All (EFA), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the (SADC) Addendum on the Eradication and Prevention of Violence against Women, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. According to Gaskell and Taylor (2003), CEDAW is a treaty that is among the most powerful legal tools in policing countries to uphold standards with regard to women's issues. Lesotho's ratification of these treaties shows the country's interest in improving the status of Basotho women and girls. While other African countries face the problem of low girl-child enrolment in schools, Lesotho faces the opposite. The numbers of boys that enrol in schools in still below that of girls and this is a gender gap that has to be addressed by the government, while at the same time addressing the quality of education for all Basotho children. It is however noteworthy that despite the high enrolments of Basotho girls in schools (Bos, 2001); the numbers of girls who remain in school to complete their education is still very low compared to boys.

1.6.3 Educational attainment in Lesotho

According to the Bureau of Statistics (2001) about 15 percent of the Basotho population aged 6 years and above had never attended school in 2001. This was partly because in some localities schools were few and very far from residential areas. In the rural mountainous areas of Lesotho, some communities or villages did not have any schools at all and thus children had to walk long distances to get to school. Depending on the weather, children sometimes had to wade across overflowing streams and rivers or climb hills and mountains to get to their schools. The time involved and the physical strain in walking to and from school could amount to several hours each day thus making it difficult for the children to learn effectively at school or to attend daily. Some parents preferred to postpone the enrolment of their children in school till they were a bit older and more able to bear the journey to school. Thus children in rural areas started school later than children in towns and lowlands.

The proportion of people who had never been to school was considerably higher for males than for females. According to the Bureau of Statistics (2001), school attendance was lower for males than for females for two main reasons. Firstly, Basotho custom required young boys to herd their families' cattle, sheep and goats, not only as part of their socialization as males, but also because households depended on the produce and income from these animals. Secondly, for over a century, the mines of South Africa had offered ready employment for many Basotho men. Formal educational qualifications were not required for one to be employed in the mines and thus the men felt that education was not important in their lives.

Thus educational participation of Basotho males was kept lower than that for females by these two factors. Young boys herded their families' livestock until adolescence, and then they were old enough to be employed in South African mines. From my personal experience I can argue that the income from working in the mines was good and provided the Basotho miners with a better standard of living than many of their counterparts back home in Lesotho, who went to school and obtained formal qualifications. For many rural Basotho men therefore, their whole lives revolved around cattle herding and working in

mines. Formal education had little or no place in their life. This means that males in rural areas had a lower rate of school attendance than rural females.

There has been an improvement in male school attendance in rural areas. This might have been a result of the government introducing, through the Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre, programmes and innovations that enable herd boys to go to school or to enrol in special correspondence courses that enabled them to combine animal herding with schooling. This also involved building schools in rural areas and making schools more accessible by introducing free universal primary school education (Bureau of Statistics, 2001).

Another factor was the shortage of employment opportunities in the South African mines and the retrenchment of thousands of Basotho miners working in South Africa. Mine work was no longer available as ready employment opportunity to illiterate Basotho youth (Campbell, 1997; 2001). The major contributor to rural boys' refusal to attend school has been removed by the decline in employment opportunities in the mines and hence more and more rural Basotho boys have begun to see formal education as providing better prospects for employment and escape from poverty.

Even though Lesotho is among the few countries in the world where school attendance is higher for females than for males, girls' attendance declines between the ages of 13-18years as a result of several factors. The drop-out rates have increased in recent years because of HIV and AIDS. Parental illness and death due to AIDS leaves children with no financial support to attend school and most young girls have to play the role of bread-winner or take care of sick parents and siblings. Adolescent girls also drop out of school because of pregnancy or marriage-related reasons, with "23 percent of girls and 4 percent of boys quitting school either to get married or because they were forced to get married" (Bureau of Statistics, 2001, p. 193). Although school attendance for girls is high, the level of education completed by girls is not very high. The provision and access to education in Lesotho have been badly affected by HIV and AIDS, and thus the government responded

to the pandemic through a National Strategy that stresses the need for involvement of young people in the battle against HIV and AIDS.

Despite the relatively high literacy rates for Basotho women, it is still the case that women find themselves in low paying and low privilege positions in the job market, with the few educated men taking the leadership and decision-making positions (Lephoto, 1995; Mohlakoana, 1998). This is also true of the teaching profession in which most Basotho women are teachers in the primary schools, with few of them being principals. The high schools are dominated by male teachers especially in the traditionally masculine disciplines such as mathematics, science (physics and chemistry) and technology, with women science teachers mostly dominating the biological sciences.

1.6.4 Basotho Nation

This section provides a glimpse into what constitute the Basotho people, their way of life and their constructions of being. This will be helpful in understanding the positioning of the women teachers within this study as Basotho women and teachers.

The Basotho nation is ethnically homogenous with one ethnic language, Sesotho. Although Lesotho is known for the homogenous nature of its people, differences do occur in practices from one part of the country to another, between families and individuals (Guma, 2001; Makatjane, 2002). Basotho are a patriarchal nation with a belief in the power, privileges and superiority enjoyed by men. This system supports the subordination and inferior status of women and is also supported by traditional Customary Law which positions women as perpetual minors. Despite this, Basotho women are renowned for their habit of forming and joining clubs, organizations and associations. Whether they formed groups for weeding, harvesting or collecting firewood, Basotho women were always a communal community that enjoyed working together amidst song and laughter (Maqutu, 1992; Mosetse, 2005). The communal spirit still exists among modern Basotho women. However, few of these groups and organizations work towards redressing the gender imbalances that are prevalent in the country. Instead, women within such structures seem to perpetuate their own subordination.

Due to the patriarchal practices of the nation, discrimination against women persists in several areas, even though Lesotho has signed and ratified CEDAW. In general, women's representation is insignificant in key political positions. Women in Lesotho constitute eighty percent of the unskilled labour force (Makatjane, 2002; Maqutu, 1992) and tend to occupy certain feminine fields and are rarely found in science and technology or other predominantly male professions.

Due to the imbalance of power relations between men and women, women's sexuality is highly controlled from girlhood into womanhood (Gay, 1986; Epprecht, 2000; Guma, 2001; Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005). The pride of having a virginal bride makes the controlling of adolescent sexualities important for Basotho families. A virginal bride brings pride and honour to the father who will be receiving the bride price, and to the mother who will be praised as having raised her daughter well. A girl who gets pregnant before marriage is therefore a disgrace to her mother who gets blamed for not teaching her daughter well. Such a girl cannot easily get married unless she marries the man who impregnated her; and even then the number of cattle for the bride price is significantly reduced (minus six cattle). More often than not, such marriages are forced and unwanted marriages which seldom last (Makatjane, 2002; Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005).

As a result of the control over the sexuality of women, any expression of sexuality by teenagers is still frowned upon (Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005; Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b). Where expression of sexuality has led to pregnancy, the pregnant girl may experience different forms of abuse and ridicule. Depending on the context, the girl may have nasty experiences at home, church and at school. Early pregnancy impacts more negatively on the schooling of girls than that of boys. Schoolgirls who become pregnant are forced to leave school while the school boys who impregnate them are allowed to stay on at school.

Although this discriminatory practice is undergoing review and pregnant girls are being allowed to stay on at school, fear of ridicule and health problems associated with the pregnancy compel girls to leave school while the boys stay on. As a sign of abhorrence of

premarital pregnancy by Basotho communities, children born of unmarried girls are given derogatory names such as *Moramang* (Whose son is he?), *Motsoahosele* (the one who comes from the wrong place), *Matlakala* (Trash), or *Molahlehi* (the lost one). While this practice is slowly fading away, it is still dominant in some areas of Lesotho (Makatjane, 2002; Mturi &Moerane, 2001). According to Makatjane (2002) the stigmatisation of teenage pre-marital pregnancy in Lesotho was exacerbated by the Christian beliefs that Basotho people adopted as their way of life.

1.6.5 Basotho and religion

The Basotho people have always been a religious community, with deep beliefs in the supernatural and the presence of an almighty *Molimo* (God) who provided for everyone, with the assistance of the *Balimo* (gods, ancestral spirits). Basotho people believed in their spiritual healers being able to communicate with departed spirits on their behalf and pass on their requests for health and a better life. If the *Balimo* were said to be angry then they had to be appeased by the slaughtering of an animal. A ritual celebration was performed to honour them and all the food prepared, especially meat and alcohol, were said to be *lijo tsa Balimo* (food for the ancestral spirits) (Guma, 2001; Sekese, 2002).

Basotho people also believed in the after-life and thus they believed that the *Balimo* felt cold and needed blankets. Thus the skins of the animals which were slaughtered for the *Balimo* were said to be blankets which they can use in the after-life. Basotho people prepared their corpses for another life. A male corpse would be buried holding some seeds in one hand and fighting tools in another, so that he would be able to defend himself along the way and to have seeds to plant when he got into the after-life. The corpse was sent off with the words: "*Tsamea o ee ho re lokisetsa...*" (Go and prepare the place for us). Thus, according to Sekese (2002) the Basotho way of life prior the arrival of the missionaries was guided by their beliefs in *Molimo* and *Balimo*.

The arrival of the missionaries in Lesotho in 1833 brought with it several changes to the traditional Basotho way of life. The missionaries brought with them Christianity which had its own ways of being and doing things which were in opposition to traditional

Basotho ways of being. The one thing which was common to both ways of life was the subordination of women (Epprecht, 1993; Makoa, 1997; Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005). The influences of the two cultures in the lives of Basotho are so inextricably interwoven that it is difficult to separate them.

Because of the missionaries, Lesotho is now predominantly Christian. The major denomination is the Catholic Church which also owns the majority of schools and health facilities. The gender order of the Catholic Church, which is patriarchal, is reflected within the church's institutions and schools （Bhattacharyya, 2002). Basotho Catholics are guided by the doctrines of the church such as prohibiting the use of contraception and condoms. On the other hand, Basotho people also hold on strongly to the dictates of their culture and traditions which also prohibit the use of contraception and free sex talk. This means that religion and culture are influential in shaping gender and sexual identities for the Basotho.

The arrival of formal education through the missionaries created challenges for the traditional Sesotho education, as carried out in the initiation schools, to continue. Christianity and formal education undermined the traditional education and regarded it as paganism. Due to the fear of burning in hell that Christian religion has instilled in Basotho people, the traditional initiation schools have declined in number and are now only practised in the remotest rural parts of Lesotho. Most of the Basotho nation does not want to be associated with the supposedly pagan and heathen practices of their culture (Polonyana, 1993). Mission education was highly supported by the colonial rulers during Lesotho's term as a British protectorate. According to Polonyana (1993) the mission school teachers' first duty was being evangelists as most of them were the missionaries themselves. The teacher identity came second. Almost all the early preachers in Lesotho were known as the Reverend-teacher. Although there have been developments divorcing evangelism and pedagogy, in some situations the practice still persists. The above issues still have a bearing on how formal education is run in Lesotho today.

Lesotho schools today are still largely managed by the church (Catholic Church, Lesotho Evangelical Church, Church of England), while the Ministry of Education is responsible for determining the curriculum. The National Curriculum Development Centre together with subject panels develops the teaching and learning materials. The Ministry provides in-service training for school managers and administrators in order to improve their skills. The government, through the Teaching Service Department, pays the salaries of qualified teachers in government schools and in government approved mission and community schools. Unqualified and extra teachers within schools are paid by the proprietors.

Zapulla (1997) argues that education has always been a means of transmitting culture in a society. The role of schools for transmission of values is universal even though the values transmitted may differ from context to context (Cornbleth, 1990; Fullan, 1993). In the Lesotho context, the values and morality within schools are those identified, represented and approved by the church. The role played by the church in Lesotho's education context results in the protection and advancement of schools that view and advance issues of morality from the perspective of the church. The education system in Lesotho therefore continues to place value on the church's perspective of what is right or wrong, often with little regard given for Human Rights as a basis for morality. Even schools that are not owned by churches are strongly influenced by the practices of church-based schools.

The church's philosophy is that it is unacceptable for young people to be taught about sex because sex is only for marriage and procreation. The Catholic Church vocally prohibits the teaching of children about contraception and its usage as the church does not condone contraception among its members. Therefore pregnancy out of wedlock warrants punishment and this is done through expulsion from school, the church and sometimes from families. Most girls end up in forced marriages to guard against the disgrace of premarital pregnancy.

1.6.6 Location of the study

While the previous sections provided a general idea of Lesotho and the Basotho people, this section specifically deals with the particular context where this study unfolded. It aims at providing a vivid picture of the context in relation to the participants.

Two rural high schools within the Quthing district in the south of Lesotho were the base for this study. The selected schools are in remote villages that are not easily accessible because of poor road infrastructure. **Figure 1.1** shows an example of a homestead to be found in one of the villages. Almost all the homesteads have the typical thatch roof hut and a modern corrugated iron roof house. The thatch roof huts are mostly used as kitchens and the sleeping area for the children. In front of the huts are usually built cooking areas where dried cow dung and firewood are used to heat three-legged cooking pots. Typically the corrugated iron roof houses were built by the Basotho men who were employed in the mines as a sign of advancement and improved economic status and as such were special. Basotho people called such houses *heisi,* which is a corruption of the Afrikaans word for house (Huis). In the villages, homesteads that have corrugated iron roof houses are still regarded as those of rich people, even though the corrugated iron is now being replaced by clay tiles.

Each homestead also has a kraal for keeping live-stock. The size of the kraal depends on the size of the livestock. In many of the homesteads in Bongalla village, there are some cows, sheep, pigs, goats and free range chickens. Horses and donkeys are used as a means of transport. Cattle, on the other hand, are the most important animals in Basotho culture. There are several Sesotho sayings that highlight the value that Basotho place on cattle. An example is "*khomo ke molimo o nko e metsi*[6]" A big herd of cattle is a sign of wealth in the villages, especially if they are dairy cows (Mangoaela, 2001; Mats′ela, 1979; Sekese, 2002).

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[6]This saying literally means "cattle are gods with a wet nose", but the meaning attached to it is that when you have cattle you have everything, because cattle can be used as food in many traditional functions such as weddings, funerals and traditional rituals. Cattle are also used for carrying heavy loads and for paying the bride price during marriage negotiations.

In these villages the women and girls still go to natural springs to collect water for household use and to the rivers for doing their laundry because there is no running water except for a few public taps; and such places become the meeting zones for women to share the latest stories and gossip. The peculiarity of the chosen district is that according to the Bureau of Statistics' (2001) Lesotho Demographic Survey, this is the district in which the highest proportion of Basotho girls had never been to school and it also had the second highest proportion of males that had never been to school. According to the report, Quthing district had the lowest overall literacy levels for both males and females (BoS, 2001).

Figure 1.1 A typical homestead in Bongalla[7] Village

Quthing is one of the relatively mountainous and remote districts of Lesotho. The majority of rural families in this district depend on subsistence farming and livestock rearing. **Figure 1.2** shows the map of Lesotho to highlight the different districts.

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[7]Pseudonym

Figure 1.2: Map of Lesotho

http://www.googlemaps.com (Accessed 28/04/08)

1.7 Organisation of the thesis

The thesis has nine chapters. The first chapter provides an introduction and background to the study describing the general problem area, defining key research questions and assumptions, outlining the importance of the topic, the research approach, and the study's contribution to knowledge and its limitations. Chapter two presents the history of sexuality education in Lesotho using Foucault's notion of genealogy. It discusses the trends and changes across different eras starting from pre to post-colonial curriculum reform in sexuality education. Factors that shaped the curriculum policy change are discussed and the contestations within the sexuality education curriculum highlighted. Chapter three presents a comprehensive review of related literature; while Chapter four discusses the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study with a description of the paradigm, epistemology, frame of inquiry and the theories and core concepts used. Chapter five discusses the research methodology with a discussion on the methodology, context, sampling, data production and analysis techniques, design limitations, trustworthiness, and ethical considerations of the study. Chapters six, seven, and eight discuss the data analysis and presentation of research findings on women teachers'

experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. The ninth chapter is the thesis chapter. It presents the summary and thesis together with conclusions of the study, with an emphasis on the findings and their contribution, recommendations, and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2

Journeying into the past: Lesotho Sexuality Education curriculum history

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the rationale, focus and context for this study which explored women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. This chapter presents the history of sexuality education in Lesotho using Foucault's notion of genealogy. It discusses the trends and changes across different eras, starting from pre to post-colonial curriculum reform in sexuality education. Factors that shaped the curriculum policy change are discussed and the contestations within the sexuality education curriculum are highlighted.

The concept of genealogy has been used to explain the changes that have taken place in the history of sexuality education curriculum in Lesotho, the possible reasons for such changes and the power structures shaping the change. Borrowing from Foucault's (1972) concept of genealogy, the chapter discusses the historical route of sexuality education in Lesotho prior the arrival of the missionaries, followed by a discussion of sexuality education from the time Christian missionaries introduced formal schooling to the present, when sexuality education is taught within the Life Skills Education (LSE) curriculum. Then, the LSE curriculum is discussed as a niche for sexuality, HIV and AIDS education and a battleground of competing influences and ideologies. The chapter also illuminates the contradictions between the LSE curriculum and some of Lesotho's national goals of education. Lastly, I address the current HIV and AIDS context of sexuality education in Lesotho and the place of women within the Lesotho's gender order in order to illuminate the possibilities of woman teacher-hood in Lesotho rural classrooms.

The key concern of this chapter is to present a history of sexuality education in Lesotho across different eras as a framework within which to explore women teachers' experiences and understandings regarding the sexuality education curriculum policy. This framework is shaped by "a conception of policy as a politically, socially and

historically contextualised practice" (Olssen *et al.*, 2004, p. 3). Consequently I present the history of sexuality education in Lesotho within its historical and socio-political context.

2.2 Genealogical Analysis

The concept of genealogy (Foucault, 1972) is used in this chapter to trace the history of sexuality education curriculum theory and practice in Lesotho's education system. Genealogy is concerned with tracing "the historical process of descent and emergence by which a given thought system or process comes into being and is subsequently transformed" (Olssen *et al.*, 2004, p. 45). According to Vincent's (1995, p. 187) description, genealogy "exposes the motives, pressures and power underlying our supposed rationality." The supposed rationality can be a given thought system or process (Olssen *et al.*, 2004) in any field of knowledge. For Foucault (1972), all disciplines, thought systems or processes, are discursive formations reflecting particular ways of thinking. These discursive formations "are shown to be congealed sets of preconceptual, unrationalized elements which constitute a society's regime of truth" (Vincent, 1995, p. 187). A genealogical analysis seeks to expose such regimes of truth. It is with this aim of exposing the regimes of truth within Lesotho's sexuality education curriculum that the notion of genealogy is used in this study. The goal is to trace the historical process by which sexuality education started and has subsequently changed in Lesotho. As Olssen *et al* put it, genealogical analysis:

> aims to explain the existence of transformation of elements of theoretical knowledge by situating them within power structures and by tracing their descent and emergence in the context of history…(2004, p. 47)

A genealogical analysis has been employed to illuminate and trace hegemony in sexuality education curriculum and to locate the study within a historical and socio-political context. Grace (1995, p. 3) comments on the importance of understanding the setting of a social phenomenon under study by arguing that:

> Many contemporary problems and crises in education are, in themselves, the surface manifestations of deeper historical, structural and ideological contradictions in educational policy.

I also argue that the sexuality education curriculum change is in itself a manifestation of the contradictions within the educational policy in Lesotho. Such contradictions are embedded in the moralist and liberal ideologies within sexuality education. Thus, this study recognises the importance of a historical and socio-political context in the construction of knowledge about any social phenomenon. Slattery (2006, p. 66) rightly observes that the "meaning of events cannot be separated from their context, just as the knower cannot be separated from the known". Similarly, the meanings, understanding and experiences of the sexuality education curriculum within this study cannot be separated from their Lesotho context.

This study has acknowledged the impact of a socio-historical context in confining or enabling meanings and actions through the use of genealogical analysis (Thompson, 1990). Ball (2006) warns against presenting research findings on policy without taking into account the historical realities informing the phenomenon under study. The argument is that, considering the historical background helps to outline the processes involved in reforming a policy. It is a form of context-building, providing a bigger picture through which readers are given a good vantage point of the research findings for them to render their critiques (Ball, 2006). Context-building enables readers to have a perspective from which to judge the claims being made by the researcher regarding the data (Constas, 1992). Thus, this chapter provides an outline against which the theoretical, conceptual and methodological issues raised in this study should be understood.

Drawing on Lawton's (1980) notion that the decision-making involved in knowledge production and its distribution in society relates to politics of the school curriculum, the history of sexuality education in Lesotho has been analysed to illuminate what the politics of teaching about sexuality in schools have been. The substantial claim is that sexuality education in Lesotho has been marked by hegemony of the moralistic Christian faith discourses over liberal sex education ideologies.

What follows is a genealogical analysis and discussion of sexuality education in Lesotho.

2.2.1 Pre-Missionary Sexuality Education in Lesotho

There is little written about the traditional practices of Basotho people because the Basotho are an oral society (Epprecht, 2000; Guma, 2001; Sekese, 2002) that passes history and wisdom from generation to generation through telling stories (Coplan, 2006; Fandrych, 2003; Mda, 1993, Matsela, 1979). Thus most of what appears in this section is from stories told. I have recorded only what people felt free to discuss and what is taught in Lesotho schools as part of Basotho cultural studies.

Traditional education for Basotho children was both formal and informal. Formal education was through the initiation school (Mda, 1993; Matsela, 1979; Mturi & Hennink, 2005) which was the "responsibility of the elders, local leaders and traditional doctors in the villages" (MoE, 1982, p. 1); while informal education was through the socialisation of children as they grew up in the home. The traditional education system aimed at producing individuals who were socially responsible and committed to serving their societies and families (Coplan, 1992, 1993; Mochaba, 1992; Mohapeloa, 1982). Young boys herded the lower animals such as sheep and goats until they graduated to herding the higher animals such as cattle, horses and donkeys. According to Sekese (1999) it was unacceptable for young boys to spend a lot of time with their mothers during the day. They were expected to leave the house and join other boys to learn how to become men. During this time, young boys were taught about and played several games that were sexual in nature. An example of such a game is *tŝipho*[8] whose movements were an imitation of the mating ritual (Sekese, 2002).

Basotho boys walked around naked until such a time when they were grown up enough to realise they were naked and would then look for a piece of cloth to cover the groin. Once they had done this then the parents would provide their sons with clothes to wear. While in Western eyes this practice would be seen as child abuse and neglect, the Basotho saw this practice as part of training young boys to become strong and hardened men. Merriam and Mohamad (2000) argue that one's upbringing is so ingrained in cultural values that

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[8]*Tŝipho* was played by boys in the fields as they herded the livestock. It involved holding onto the ground with both hands and raising the buttocks and feet off the ground, while following this with the up-and-down movement of the buttocks.

people act out such values involuntarily. Thus the practices that are considered as part of one's culture are rarely scrutinised because they are part of who we are. This is also true for several Basotho cultural practises which under scrutiny would seem disadvantageous to the people, while the people practising them would not be seeing them as such.

Upon reaching adolescence, young boys were expected to join the traditional initiation school where they would be taught how to become real men who could fight for their chief and protect their families. During the initiation period the young men were then taught about sex and what to expect from their women. Guma (2001) points out that the young initiates gave themselves names (beginning with the prefix *Le-*) that reflected their behaviour, their personalities, or clan-names, (e.g. *Lefosa*, one who hits off target). The initiates sang *mangae* and *lithoko* (praise-poems) in which they celebrated their new names during the graduation ceremony (Mangoaela, 2001; Matsela, 1979), and such names became known to the whole community (Coplan, 1993; 1994). However, the initiates were also given private names which could be only known by those who were in the same cohort (Guma, 2001). Upon graduation from the initiation school, the young men were expected to choose brides from the village girls, preferable those who had been initiates, and get married as soon as possible. The immediate marriage was to prevent the initiates from practising their newly found sexual skills out of wedlock (Makatjane, 2002; Sekese, 2002). This was the time when they were also expected to join the men at the chief's kraal to learn about the governance of the society and other male issues.

As for young girls, their place was in the house with their mothers. Maitse (2000) posits that Basotho women were the keepers of knowledge on family histories and traditional practices. They were expected to teach their daughters how to become good women who could take care of a household and raise children. Young girls practised their skills by serving their brothers and through games such as playing house (Gay, 1986; Goduka, 1999). There are several activities that served to socialise young Basotho girls into adult female roles and relationships. When they played house, they had rag or clay dolls with which they practised taking care of babies and pretended to cook for them. When I was still a young girl we used to have a big setup of pretend houses built from stone and

boxes. The older girls would be mothers and fathers while the younger ones would be the children of the 'families'. At 'night' the mothers and fathers would have pretend-sex according to how they had seen their parents doing it. I remember hearing interesting arguments of "*Ntate oaka le 'me oaka ha ba etse joalo, ba etsa tjena...*" (My mom and dad do not do it like that. This is how they do it...). The implication was that every other child had somehow seen their parents having sex. Sometimes we would play very "elaborate mock-weddings" to celebrate marriage, mostly in girl-only occasions because the boys were always out herding the livestock (cf. Gay, 1986, p. 97). I remember that, as a young girl, playing in the mock-weddings I never got the chance to become the bride, to my dismay, because I was always the lead singer in the wedding procession.

Basotho girls also engaged in mummy-baby relationships through which they practised and experienced the nurturing aspects of being mothers or being mothered. An older girl would be the mummy and a younger girl would be the baby. The attractiveness of the baby or mummy was the basis on which they were chosen (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b). The duty of the mummy was to protect the baby and cater for her needs, while the baby was expected to run errands for the mummy. One of the expectations in these relationships was intimacy. The mummy and baby would kiss and cuddle, or sometimes fondle each other in a manner leading to arousal or even orgasm. These relationships were, however, not labelled as sexual, but innocent fun for girls (Gay, 1986, 1993; Kendall, 1999). According to Kendall (1999), these relationships between girls and women were not regarded as sexual because there was no penis involved. She argues that the Basotho women she worked with considered sex as only that which includes penile penetration.

Girls were also taught how to pull their inner labia at an early age before they could start having their menstrual periods. It was believed that menstruation hardened the inner labia, making it difficult for them to elongate upon pulling (cf. Arnfred, 2007; Parikh, 2005; Tamale, 2005). According to Thetela (2002), aunts and other younger women taught girls how to pull the inner labia. Khau (2009d) argues that girls who did not elongate their inner labia were told that they would not get married or if they got married

they would not be able to please their husbands sexually and hence loose their love. It was said that elongating the inner labia increased *mocheso* (heat) in the woman and this made sex more pleasurable for the man (Gay, 1986). The intriguing fact about the pulling of the inner labia was the fact that girls assisted each other with the pulling, thus engaging in what I would call mutual masturbation among the girls. Despite the homo-erotic inclination of this practice, Khau (2009d) argues that labial elongation among the Basotho was used only for the promotion of heterosexuality and male sexual enjoyment. This practice is evidence that female sensuality was encouraged while at the same time it was restrained through prohibiting girls from eating eggs, offal and other high protein foods because it was believed that such foods would heighten the girls' *mocheso*, causing them to desire sex. Thus these two practices show that female sensuality was never denied (Gay, 1986, 1993; Kendall, 1999). It was encouraged in some cases and at the same time restrained.

When a young girl started having her menstrual periods, it was a time of celebration because she was grown up and ready for marriage. In some clans the girl was dressed in a *thethana*[9] and her body covered in red ochre. Another young girl would accompany her to the well. The menstruating girl would have a clay pot on her head and when they got to the well the other girl would fill the pot on the head until it overflowed onto the bearer (Matsela, 1979; Sekese, 1999, 2002). The overflowing water would mix with the red ochre and run all over the young girl symbolising the red of the menstrual blood. The girls would then walk back to the village among ululations of the village women who would acknowledge that the girl was now a young woman (Maitse, 2000). In other clans, on the day of the first menstrual period the young girl was seated on a heap of manure for all people to see. Makatjane (2002) argues that the symbolism was that like the fertility of the manure, the girl was also fertile and ready to produce children. The village men and boys were thus made aware by such functions that the girl was a young woman who should be respected. This meant that the girl was no longer expected to play any of the sexual games that Basotho children played (Sekese, 2002, p. 30), lest she got pregnant.

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[9] *Thethana* is a bead skirt that was the traditional Basotho dress for girls. This bead skirt sometimes was just long enough to cover the pubic region and part of the buttocks.

Such a girl was ready for marriage and had to be prepared for marriage through the initiation school.

Young girls attended the traditional initiation school where they were taught about sex, how to become good wives and to please their men sexually (cf. Goduka, 1999; Mats′ela, 1979). During the initiation period, young women were given masculine names of their ancestors as a symbol of achievement (Sekese, 2002). They were deemed as being 'almost' as brave as men, thus the masculine name. Guma (2001) states that the names were formulated by attaching the male prefix *Ra-* to their maternal uncle's name (e.g. *Ramakalo*, uncle's name being *Makalo*), or to nouns and verbs that conveyed qualities such as adeptness, speed, and skilfulness. For example, a girl initiate could be called "*Ralebelo*", meaning "one with great speed." These names were known to and used only by those who had been in the same initiation cohort or had been involved in the initiation rites.

What actually happened during the traditional initiation ceremony was labelled as *koma*[10] and was never revealed (see Paroz, 1993). Mturi and Hennink (2005, p. 133) also observe that "little is known about the content of the sex education curriculum at initiation schools as these schools are not regulated…" Paroz (1993) writes that any initiate who dared talk about the practice of initiation was supposed to be killed before they could corrupt the innocence of those who had never been to the traditional school. This was partly because anyone who had never been to the traditional initiation school was treated as a perpetual child irrespective of their age, and hence did not need to know about adult issues such as those taught at the school. Sekese (1999) observes that if a person who had never been to the initiation school was heard talking knowledgeably about the initiation rituals, such a person was immediately taken to the initiation school and forced to join.

These practices were used to maintain the supposed sexual innocence of children and to promote people's desire to attend the initiation schools so that they could learn about

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[10]According to Paroz (1993, p. 184), *Koma* means initiation secret, or a special song sung during the night when boys are being initiated.

adulthood. According to Guma (2001) prohibiting any discussion of what happened in the initiation schools made them more interesting for those who had never attended. One could argue that keeping valuable information from people does not assist a nation. It can be argued that the secrecy surrounding the traditional initiation school is not necessary. However, the Basotho treated the initiation school as a rite of passage (Maitse, 2000; Thetela, 2002) and hence only those who qualified for the particular stage were allowed the information.

Additionally, Basotho youth played *tenye* and *sephumula* (Sekese, 2002, pp. 45- 46), which were used as a platform for choosing marriage partners. In these games boys and girls would sing and dance together (Coplan, 1994). If a boy fancied a certain girl, he would remove his necklace and give it to the girl. If the girl was also attracted to the boy she would then accept the necklace. There were some games, such as *selia-lia* (Sekese, 2002, p. 45), where girls made their own choice of boys and gave them artefacts to keep as tokens of their love. These games were only played among boys and girls because it was not expected that girls would choose other girls, or boys choosing other boys (see Gay, 1993 and Kendall, 1999). The expectation was for opposite sexes to attract. To some extent, some of the games were sexual in the sense that the boy and girl who had attracted each other would touch each other, embrace and kiss. However, according to Sekese (2002, p. 46), people were more disciplined in those days and hence the games did not go beyond simple kissing.

These games highlight the hetero-normative and hetero-patriarchal lifestyle that the Basotho adopted. They show that Basotho families were constituted along heterosexual, patrilineal, and patrilocal lines (Khabo, 1995; Matsela, 1979; Mosetse, 2005; Thetela, 2002) which did not leave room for any expression of homosexual tendencies (cf. Gay, 1993; Kendall, 1999). This, however, does not deny the existence of homosexual activity among the Basotho. Thetela (2002) argues that the lack of sexuality discourse among Basotho makes it difficult for sex to be discussed in public. The same argument can be used in relation to homosexuality. The lack of discourse to label a phenomenon such as homosexuality among the Basotho makes it a silent presence. Even though it is practiced,

it is not talked about (Khau, 2009d; Matsela, 1979). Some anthropological studies, however, show that despite the lack of recognition of homosexuality within African communities, same sex unions and friendships have been in existence in many societies (Eskridge, 1993; Gay, 1993; Louw, 2001).

The traditional education system, as discussed above, was abandoned with the emergence of missionary education which is discussed in the next section.

2.2.2 Sexuality Education under missionary control

This section highlights religious hegemony within Lesotho's sexuality education. The concept of hegemony is used to denote the domination of churches in the teaching of sexuality education in Lesotho schools. This entails sexuality education based on moralistic and health discourses at the exclusion of other ideologies, which according to Bhattacharyya (2002) means giving a privileged space in the sexuality education curriculum to moral and warning teachings over other aspects of human sexuality. The desire to dominate has the potential to lead to contestation in any sphere of life (Fairclough, 1995). This is no exception in the field of curriculum theory and practice, commonly described as a hotly contested space (Apple, 2008, 2004; Cary, 2006; Kelly, 1999). Thus the desire of the churches to dominate the school curriculum led to a lot of contestation regarding the form of sexuality education suitable for Basotho children. In terms of education in general, some Christian missionaries believed that their African converts did not need a sophisticated way of life or sophisticated ideas (Ansell, 2002; Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). They, therefore, advocated education that would sanitize the African ways of life but keep them simple. They used education as a means to an evangelical end (MoE, 1982). The main aim of this education was to lead the converts to steady sober Christian ways of living.

Maitse (2000) argues that many traditional practices were prohibited as pagan practices and thus were replaced by formal missionary education during the arrival of the first missionaries in Lesotho in 1833. The main aim of formal schooling was promoting Christianity; hence Missionary education did not leave a space for the incorporation of

traditional Basotho practices. This led to a conflict of interest between Christianity and traditional belief systems (Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). Thus van Den Berge (1984) rightly observes that the rationale behind teaching Basotho to read and write was only to ensure that they could read their bibles. One can therefore argue that the aims of the missionaries were not in line with the expectations of the Basotho community. In this case the demands of those in power, the missionaries, were given precedence. However, it can also be argued that despite the dominance of the church in Lesotho's education system, the Basotho ways of being were never completely silenced, especially in the rural areas (see also Mturi & Hennink, 2005). For example, in one of the rural schools where I taught as a beginning teacher there were some students who attended the traditional initiation school during the winter vacation of the formal school calendar and returned to formal schooling during spring.

Fitting into the Christian way of life, demanded an increase in literacy levels among the Basotho and this led to an increase in the numbers of missionary schools and a reduction in traditional initiation schools (MoE, 1982). Some clans and villages stopped practicing the traditional ways of educating the youth about becoming men and women in the hope that formal education would do so. However, the formal missionary education did not do much to teach Basotho children about their sexuality except where they were taught about the 'birds and the bees' (Gay, 1993; Kendall, 1998; Maitse, 2000). According to Arnfred (2004), sexuality within African communities has been regarded as promiscuous and uninhibited by Western standards (also see Danaher, 1994; Jarosz, 1992; Sanders, 1992; Yeboah, 1998, 2006). This, in my view, is the belief that the missionaries brought with them into Lesotho. They wanted to tame the wild African sexuality (Correa, 2002; Klugman, 2000; Petchesky, 2005) through Christian norms and standards. I would therefore argue that the sexuality education that was offered for Basotho children was dominated by moralistic teachings of the evils of sex out of heterosexual wedlock or sex without the aim of procreation (see also Hull, 2006 and Rubin, 1993 on 'good sex').

The church privileged it's moral and value structure regarding sexuality over other sexuality discourses (Bhattacharyya, 2002). Thus moral education enjoyed hegemony

within the missionary schools' sexuality education curriculum. This kind of teaching was prevalent in church schools and because most schools in Lesotho are church owned, it became a countrywide practice. For example, the ethos of the Catholic Church prohibits the teaching of sex education because it includes teaching about contraception and abortion (see Motalingoane- Khau, 2007b). Contraception and abortion are prohibited by Catholic doctrine and thus cannot be taught about in Catholic schools. From my own experience as a Catholic student and eventually as a teacher I can attest to the fact that Catholic schools in Lesotho still frown upon the teaching of sexuality education to children.

2.2.3 Sexuality education under colonial rule

While Lesotho was under British protection, the British did not involve themselves actively in providing education for the Basotho, but left it under missionary control (MoE, 1982; Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). However, the British Colonial government provided the churches with grants to run the schools. In 1909 the responsibilities of government and churches, and management policies for schools were outlined in an Education Act which brought with it the need for uniformity in syllabuses and school inspection (Clarke Commission, 1946). According to the Clarke Commission (1946), Lesotho's education was governed from Cape Town in South Africa until 1953 when South Africa introduced the Bantu Education Act (Christie & Collins, 1982). As argued by Bohloko (1982), Lesotho did not approve of Bantu Education and its principles and hence liaised with Swaziland and Botswana to develop an education system suitable to their specific needs drawing from the British Education system.

Therefore, the curriculum that ensued allowed for Basotho children to be taught about personal hygiene, the mechanics of sex, reproduction and development in animals within the science syllabus in schools. The social aspects of sex such as relationships, desire, sexual identities and pleasure were not part of the syllabus (Makatjane, 2002; Thetela, 2002) and hence were not addressed. The fact that the schools were owned by the church made it difficult for the government to enforce its wishes on the education system. Muzvidziwa and Seotsanyana, (2002) argue that the missionaries continued to privilege

their moralistic teachings of sexuality to the exclusion of any other aspect that was not in line with their agenda. The difference in ideological positions between the colonial government and the Christian missions was also reflected in the fact that the missionaries resented government control that interfered with their mission aims (Ansell, 2002; Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). What Churches wanted from the government was only financial assistance to help in the running of the schools.

2.2.4 Post-colonial sexuality education

Even though Lesotho became an independent state in 1966, the government continued to give the churches substantial powers over education. The post independence government found it difficult to extricate Lesotho's education system from the control of churches (Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). Despite this, Bohloko (1982) argues that providing services for the citizens is the responsibility of the government. This led to the government aiming for more control of the education system and schools despite the resistance from churches as proprietors. This section, therefore, illuminates the post-independence changes in Lesotho's sexuality education curriculum and the influence that churches continue to exert on education.

Jupp (1996) and Nieuwenhuis (2007a) point out that documents can be used to shed some light on the phenomenon under study. In this study, policy documents on HIV and AIDS and sexuality education were analysed. These included the Population and Family Life Education Framework (POP/FLE), which was used for the infusion and integration of sexuality education into existing subject areas in 2004; the LSE syllabus, which came into effect in 2007; and teaching support materials. This information has been helpful in providing a background for gaining a better understanding of the government's expectations in relation to women teachers' understandings, practice and experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. Marshall and Rossman (2006, p. 107) observe that, "for every qualitative study, data on the background and historical context are gathered" in order to understand the social phenomenon under study within its context. Thus, the documentary data generated has been used to construct the historical

and socio-political context, presented here, within which the research participants' experiences are to be understood.

2.2.4.1 Curriculum change in Lesotho's sexuality education

After independence in 1966, educational programs which needed to be supported within poor African countries were identified by the United Nations and other donor agencies, and they supplied foreign expertise and funds (Ansell, 2002). This supported education focused less on what the country needed for its children to attain their true potential, and more on educating and training workers who would supply the international markets with goods and services. This led to several African states including Lesotho being brought into economic colonisation (Ansell, 2002; Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). Muzvidziwa and Seotsanyana (2002) argue that:

> globalisation means that nations like Lesotho are being integrated within the ambit of global markets and value systems not at their own terms but at the dictate of powerful western nations whose vested interests, be they economic, cultural and political, are to further the interests of these powerful nations at the expense of the weaker nations... (p. 13)

From these arguments, I want to highlight that developing countries such as Lesotho ended up implementing curriculum policies that were not in line with the country's needs just because they had to satisfy the donor agencies or countries that supported their education. It has been argued that as new democracies, most African countries face the challenge of each new government pursuing its own political goals through the education system without necessarily following up on the previous government's good programs (Chisholm, 2004; Hartshorne, 1992; Meredith, 2005). As a result, I believe that many countries find themselves starting new educational programs with each new government and this is also true for Lesotho.

Chivaura (1998, p. 66) argues that African countries need:

> to empty the European-oriented content of syllabi in our schools, colleges and universities, and introduce an educational content that will instil in our people a sense of pride in their own culture and identity as Africans…

additionally, Zlotnik (1986) points out that true education strives to develop in students an understanding of their culture, history, and where they are going in life. True education teaches students to appreciate humanity and lead meaningful lives. These arguments are not meant to reify culture (Taylor, 2006) as the best option for the educational needs of Lesotho. They are meant to highlight the importance of culture in identity formation and the shaping of one's perceptions on life. This is especially important in this study because the meanings made of the women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education are grounded in the socially constructed realities of rural Basotho ways of life in relation to sexuality (cf. Campbell & Williams, 1999; Campbell, 2003; Taylor, 2006) which are steeped in cultural practices.

Muzvidziwa and Seotsanyana (2002) report on a national conference held in Lesotho in 1988 whose aims were transformation and restructuring of the education system. The government wanted to gain control of schools in order to implement an education system that would be appropriate for the Basotho nation. The government's aspirations through the conference failed, despite the backing of donor agencies, because church proprietors refused to cooperate in giving up control of schools.

Despite this challenge, as Lesotho became part of the global world and participated in global debates on health and sexuality, the government of Lesotho reviewed its curriculum with the aim of making it to better serve its nation, and proposed the Population and Family Life Education (POP/FLE) Framework in 2004, which was to be integrated across the curriculum (Mturi & Hennink, 2005). This framework contained issues of sexuality, family and population dynamics. Every teacher was expected to infuse or integrate cross-cutting issues such as sexuality and HIV and AIDS into their lessons. This became problematic as teachers did not include these issues in their teaching, assuming other teachers were covering the work. **Table 2.1** shows part of the POF/FLE framework on Human sexuality which was part of the topic of Sexual reproduction, HIV and AIDS.

Theme	Sub-theme	Knowledge and Understanding
4. Human Sexuality	*Sexual abuse*	- Define sexual abuse - Describe different forms of sexual abuse - Identify groups of people who are vulnerable to sexual abuse e.g. people with disability, children, women, prisoners, the elderly and herd boys etc.
	Personal Hygiene and Sexuality	- Describe the importance of personal care and cleanliness of sexual reproductive organs of males and females - Explain the norms related to sexuality
	Sexual Orientation	Define sexual orientation (sexual inclination/ preference)

Table 2.1 Sexual Reproduction, health, HIV and AIDS *(Adapted from the Lesotho 2004 POP/FLE framework pp.38- 39)*

It is interesting to note that under the theme of human sexuality the first issue is that of sexual abuse. This, in my opinion, reflects the negative and moralistic teachings of the church on sexuality (highlighting the negatives aspects more than the positive). This sub-theme serves as a warning to children that they should be wary of their sexuality because it could lead them into trouble, or place them at risk of being sexually abused. The sub-theme following this one also deals with warnings and dangers. Issues of hygiene involve warnings about diseases that could infect one if she is sexually active and not keeping herself clean.

The whole section of sexual reproduction, health, HIV and AIDS in the framework of POP/FLE has no section which deals with pleasurable sexuality and desire. This kind of approach paints a scary picture of sex and sexuality for children. This makes it easy for children to believe everything portrayed by the media showing human sexuality as pleasurable and fun. The syllabus and teaching of sexuality education clearly shows how the curriculum serves the interests of the elite and how schools perpetuate the beliefs and values of those in power- in this case the church. The contestation around sexuality education and HIV and AIDS education is testament to the fact that the curriculum is the battleground for competing ideologies (cf. Ingham, 2005).

The government of Lesotho opted for sexuality education as a subject to be infused and integrated into existing subject areas using the POP/FLE framework. However, following the example of other southern African countries and with funding from UNICEF, Lesotho introduced LSE, a standalone subject, as the niche for sexuality education and HIV and AIDS education in 2007, thus ensuring that there will be teachers specifically assigned the teaching of the subject, other than in the past when every teacher was expected to teach about sexuality and none did (see Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b).

Workshops for dissemination and training were held country-wide for teachers who would be responsible for facilitating LSE. The LSE syllabus shows what should be taught to Basotho children from primary school Standard 4 to Form C. In **Table 2.2** and **2.3** I only show the syllabus for Form A to Form C (Grade 8- 11) for Sexual and reproductive health and Dealing with HIV and AIDS respectively.

Form A (p. 4)	**Form B** (p. 19)	**Form C** (p. 34)
• Importance of abstinence during adolescence • Resisting negative peer and other pressures during adolescence	• Managing sexual feelings during adolescence- importance of abstinence • Activities that may help one to abstain • Reporting sexual abuse	• Support services available to victims of sexual abuse • Support service available to teenage parents and victims of sexual abuse

Table 2.2 Sexual and Reproductive Health *(Adapted from the Lesotho 2007 Life Skills Education syllabus)*

Form A (p. 12)	Form B (p. 26)	Form C (p. 41)
- Ways of HIV transmission - HIV and AIDS prevention - Prevalence of HIV and AIDS at national level - Impact of HIV and AIDS	- Factors promoting the spread of HIV and AIDS- lack of knowledge and poverty - Prevention of HIV infection- abstinence - Stigma and discrimination	- Support service given by international organisations (UNAIDS, World Vision, Red Cross, WHO, UNICEF, Churches) - Voluntary counselling and testing services - Support services available for people infected and affected by HIV and AIDS

Table 2.3 Dealing with HIV and AIDS *(Adapted from the Lesotho 2007 Life Skills Education syllabus)*

The introduction of the LSE syllabus got mixed reactions from the society. Church leaders, according to Mturi and Hennink (2005), were notable in resisting the change. More specifically, the LSE policy created controversy and contestation among churches as stakeholders in education and the Ministry of Education as policy-makers. Beyond this, the LSE curriculum can also be seen as a surface manifestation of "deeper historical, structural and ideological contradictions in educational policy" (Grace, 1995, p. 3) in Lesotho. This implies that the LSE curriculum policy reflects Lesotho's heritage of missionary and colonial education in relation to issues of sexuality.

The LSE syllabus has no section dealing with sexual orientation, an important aspect of adolescent sexuality which is not understood by Basotho communities. This could be because Christianity and Basotho tradition deem heterosexuality as the only appropriate option. Jeffreys (1991) has argued that heterosexuality is the eroticisation of gender inequality. He states that:

Heterosexual desire is eroticised power difference…so heterosexual desire for men is based on eroticising the otherness of women, an otherness, which is based on a difference in power…Women's subordination is sexy for men and for women too… (pp. 299- 302)

The argument raised by Jeffreys (1991) highlights the reasons for the desirability of heterosexuality in Christianity and Basotho traditions which are both hetero-patriarchal. Thus the influence of the moral teachings of the church is visible in the absence of homosexuality (cf. Bhattacharyya, 2002) in the LSE syllabus. While Basotho communities argue that homosexuality does not exist among their people, this does not deny the fact that there are many homosexual individuals within Lesotho who are not free to 'come out' and enjoy their sexual identity (Epprecht, 2000; Gay, 1986; Kendall, 1999). The teachings of the church on homosexuality are that it is an evil existence which is a curse on those who practice it. This argument is based on the *Bible* story of creation that God created all animals male and female and no other animal ever mates with its own sex. Reddy (2009, p. 352) writes that in an interview, one "Phumlani Nxumalo maintained that, 'I'm appalled…even animals of the same sex don't take this route.'" He also highlights another interviewee who stated that "man has indeed turned his face from God" (Reddy, 2009, p. 353). These quotes show that homosexual individuals are regarded by some Christians as more detestable, immoral and baser than animals. Reddy (2005, p. 6) argues that "for the majority of our societies, African homosexuals constitute 'improper' bodies and homosexuality a 'subversive' pleasure". This view to homosexuality makes it difficult for homosexual Basotho individuals to be honest about their sexual identities for fear of being labelled as outcasts.

The LSE syllabus is also silent on healthy and pleasurable sexuality. Jolly (2007) and Ingham (2005) argue that promoting sexual pleasure in education can contribute to empowering sexual minorities such as LGBT's who may have been subject to social expectations that sexual pleasure is not for them. They, however, observe that sex in developing countries has been associated with risk, vulnerability, ill-health and violations of rights. It has never been associated with pleasure and love. It is seen as something to be controlled and contained (cf. Correa, 2002; Klugman, 2000; Petchesky, 2005). Despite

this, Jolly states that "the pleasures of safer sex can also be promoted to reduce HIV/AIDS transmission and improve health." (2007, p. 3). Tamale also argues that:

> …when we go beyond conventional research paradigms on African sexuality (which primarily focuses on reproduction, violence and disease) to explore the area of desire and pleasure, we gain deeper insights into this complex subject matter… (2005, p. 18).

These scholars argue for the importance of promoting pleasurable sexuality to reduce risk behaviours. The absence of sexual pleasure in sexuality discourses in Lesotho therefore means the perpetuation of the church's moralistic teachings on sex for procreation only. With schools not being able to teach children that sex should be pleasurable and that safer sex could be even more pleasurable because risks are reduced, young people end up with wrong information from peers and the media.

The syllabus does not mention condom usage even when dealing with prevention of HIV infections. The emphasis is on abstinence throughout. Abstinence is a major teaching of the church in relation to adolescent sexuality. Children who are taught only about abstinence do not learn about their bodies enough for them to understand its desires; hence they become vulnerable to infections and pregnancies. The church condones sex within a heterosexual marriage, and only for procreation. Thus the church, especially the Catholic Church, argues that children do not need to know about sex and contraception because they are not adults or married. The basis of this argument is that teaching children about sex would make them want to practice it thus leading to early sexual activity and promiscuity (Guzman, 2003; Izugbara, 2005; Lewis *et al*., 2001). The belief is that children are sexually innocent and should be protected from any corrupting sexual knowledge. This discourse is predominant within developing as well as developed countries (Bhana, 2003, 2007, 2009; Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Epstein *et al*., 2003; Mitchell, Walsh, & Larkin, 2004; Oshi & Nakalema, 2005; Reddy, 2003, 2005; Renold, 2005).

The challenge of preaching abstinence only for adolescents is that it is not realistic in this era of sexual abuse, HIV and AIDS. For example, firstly, an adolescent girl could choose

to abstain, but get raped and thus abstinence could not help her against infection (Leach, 2002). Secondly, with the increase in numbers of parents and guardians dying of AIDS, adolescents find themselves having to resort to risky practices such as prostitution to support their families and thus knowing about other ways of preventing HIV infection (such as proper condom usage) could save their lives. Thirdly, whether we want to acknowledge it or not, children are sexual beings too. Not teaching them about their sexuality and all it entails does not mean they are clueless or ignorant.

Today's generation of children is born within a media system that often bombards them with messages based on sex, sexuality and body image. What they do not get from the media they get from their peers. Lastly, Basotho children today experiment with sex at a young age, with the age of sexual debut as early as nine years (BoS, 2001); and hence teaching about abstinence only to such children does not make sense. While we wish that they could wait until marriage to indulge in sexual intercourse, the reality is our classrooms are filled with sexually active youngsters who need to know how to care for themselves so that they do not get infected with HIV and other sexually transmitted infections.

Therefore the main claim of this section is that the heritage of the Christian missionary work in education continues to impact the present LSE curriculum policy. Since the inception of formal Christian missionary education, the Church's moralistic teachings have enjoyed hegemony within the education system by excluding traditional teachings and other educational discourses. The Church, as proprietor, supports and funds abstinence-only teachings within its schools. The present LSE curriculum still reflects continued hegemony by giving a privileged space to the Christian moralistic teachings. The church's demand for abstinence-only sexuality education manifests its unwillingness to allow other human sexuality discourses equal space in the school curriculum.

Slattery (2006, p. 83) offers a solution to this problem by suggesting that:

> Curriculum development in the postmodern era must include…autobiographical testimonies of many people from all religions, spiritualities, and cultures to help us understand - not convert or condemn - the rich diversity of our community.

Thus, drawing from Slattery (2006), the primary concern of sexuality education curriculum theory and practice in Lesotho should be about informing, not condemning the learners. Sexuality education should be "meaningfully connected to current events, life experiences, and personal autobiographies" (Slattery, 2006, p. 86) of Basotho learners and teachers in a manner that they will better understand and respect each other's sexual identities and sexual practices without condemnation or trying to convert others towards the norm.

2.3 Contestation in Lesotho's sexuality education curriculum

There is still no agreement on how to describe the pedagogical strategies and processes that constitute school-based 'sex education' (UNESCO, 2007). In some places such as Lesotho, using terms that relate to sexuality in the program is perceived as being overly explicit for educational stakeholders. However, the UNESCO (2007) report shows that using other labels for sexuality education provide an opportunity to completely ignore the discussion of sex. As demonstrated in the previous section, the government of Lesotho moved from POPFLE to LSE in a bid to avoid unpleasant reactions from educational stakeholders such as parents, politicians and the church.

However, as UNESCO has argued, the LSE curriculum in Lesotho has provided an opportunity for teachers to ignore discussions of sex altogether. This is evidenced by the silences of the syllabus on many crucial issues pertaining to human sexuality. Despite evidence that sexuality education can reduce the incidences of unintended pregnancies and STI's (including HIV) (Kirby *et al*., 2006; Kirby *et al*., 2007; Rogow & Haberland, 2005; Ross, Dick & Ferguson, 2006; Singh, Bankole, & Woog, 2005; Stone & Ingham, 2006), Lesotho has not yet given priority to sex, relationships and HIV education in its formal curriculum.

Thus, this section discusses the contesting spaces within the Lesotho sexuality education curriculum and why sex, relationships and HIV education have not been prioritised in the formal curriculum. Whilst contestation is inevitable in any curriculum policy change due

to different ideological positions of social actors (Glatthorn *et al*., 2006; Kelly, 1999), resistance to the sexuality education curriculum policy change was in some way influenced by the history of education in Lesotho as reflected in the previous sections of this chapter. It reflected a space where the government's educational ideologies were in conflict with those of the churches as important stakeholders in education.

While the government was in search of sexuality, HIV and AIDS education suitable for Lesotho's developing society, the churches wanted sexuality education that served their religious agenda - the promotion of Christian faith and the sanctity of marriage and the heterosexual family unit (Bhattacharyya, 2002). As Lawton (1980) observes, a controversial curriculum is a reflection of the politics regarding knowledge distribution in society. Thus the contestation surrounding sexuality education in Lesotho has been in relation to which knowledge about sexuality should be distributed in schools and who should make such a decision.

Barrow and Woods (2006) argue that, for any subject to be included in the school curriculum, it has to contribute towards the school curriculum aims in a unique way. This reason illuminates the complication faced in deciding which knowledge should be included in the school curriculum (Fullan, 1993; Garfinkel, 2003; Gergen, 2003). This has also been true for the inclusion of sexuality education within the national curriculum of Lesotho. Sexuality education has a lot to contribute to the development of a healthy, HIV free Basotho nation, despite the challenges that still face its inclusion and practice within the school curriculum.

Apple (2008, p. 241) offers the following comment in relation to the nature of education as a whole:

> Education must be seen as a political act. To do this, we need to think relationally. That is, understanding education requires that we situate it back into the unequal relations of power in the large society and into the relations of dominance and subordination – and the conflicts to change these things – that are generated by these relations.

Based on the discussion in the previous section on the influence of donor agencies and First world countries on curriculum policies in Third world countries, Apple's (2008) argument offers an understanding of the political nature of education and has been applied to the understanding of sexuality education in Lesotho. The argument that I raise is that the inclusion of sexuality education in the LSE curriculum and the implementation of LSE in Lesotho schools was a strategic political move and thus the contesting spaces reflected in the understandings and experiences regarding the sexuality education curriculum should be situated within the unequal power relations as well as relations of dominance and subordination in the education system of Lesotho. Thus, the genealogy presented in this chapter so far reflects that such unequal power relations have characterised the overall history of education in Lesotho from the time the missionaries introduced formal western education to the present.

With the high prevalence of HIV among adults in Lesotho (UNAIDS, 2008), the next section looks into the current context of sexuality education in the era of HIV and AIDS.

2.4 HIV and AIDS in Lesotho

This study focuses on the experiences of women teachers teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. In order to understand their experiences, we firstly have to understand the context of Lesotho in relation to the pandemic.

2.4.1 Lesotho's policy initiatives on HIV/AIDS

According to UNAIDS (2008) Lesotho is among the highly affected countries in terms of HIV infection rates with a 23.2% nationwide prevalence. HIV and AIDS threaten the development and survival of the Basotho nation. Thus in 2000 HIV and AIDS were declared a national disaster by His Majesty King Letsie III. This has lead to the development of the first National Policy Framework (GoL, 2000). To signal its commitment to the fight against HIV, Lesotho signed several declarations responding to the pandemic. Lesotho has prioritised MDG 6 which is about eradicating HIV and TB to

become number one because it is a national priority. These initiatives show Lesotho's commitment to curb further spread of HIV and AIDS among its citizens.

A revised National HIV and AIDS Policy came into effect in 2006 (National AIDS Commission (NAC), 2006). The revised policy framework is aimed at addressing the multi-sectoral implementation of national responses by providing appropriate coordination of interventions. Highlighted in the framework is the challenge of addressing the possible infection avenues. The framework also emphasises the government's commitment to ensuring universal access to prevention and empowering people who are vulnerable in order to ensure resilience.

As discussed in the previous section, Lesotho has also implemented curriculum policies that aim at information dissemination among school-going Basotho youth (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b; Mturi & Hennink, 2005) in order to reach them with information that can save their lives. With the implementation of the Free Primary Education (FPE) Lesotho hoped to provide access to formal education for all Basotho children (Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005) such that they could be in a better position to get equipped with the necessary sexuality, HIV and AIDS knowledge and survival skills.

Despite the implementation of FPE, some Basotho children do not attend school at all and hence the government has also developed curriculum policies for non-formal education through different stake-holders including the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and the Ministry of Education (BoS, 2001). Sexuality, HIV and AIDS programs run through these two ministries, by nurses and volunteers from home-based care support groups, are mostly aimed at reaching shepherds and children in the remotest parts of Lesotho where access to primary health facilities and formal education is still problematic.

The implementation of policies is, however, dependent on the buy-in of the communities for which the policies are designed, and thus it is important to understand how HIV and

AIDS are perceived in Lesotho. The following section looks into the perceptions of different community members on HIV and AIDS.

2.4.2 Perceptions on HIV and AIDS

HIV infections and AIDS related illnesses and deaths in Lesotho are negatively skewed against girls and women (Motalingoane-Khau, 2006; 2007b). Long (2009b) argues that girls and young women are more vulnerable to HIV infection due to biological and socio-economic factors. Within the hetero-patriarchal context of Lesotho, women and girls find themselves vulnerable to HIV infections due the societal constructions of masculinity and femininity which favour male sexual prowess and female sexual passivity (cf. Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005; Motalingoane-Khau, 2006, 2007b; Mosetse, 2005). Patriarchy in this study in understood to mean a system of practices and social structures through which men dominate, exploit and oppress women (see Khabo, 1995). The patriarchal gender order in Lesotho is problematic as it favours the performance of hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity (Connell, 2000). Men who perform the hegemonic masculinity tend to be violent, sexual predators, risk takers, and adventurers. These performances of hegemonic masculinity place men at risk of infection.

Ranotsi and Worku (2006) also point out that Lesotho has an urban prevalence rate of above 28.9% among adults. They argue that the threat of HIV and AIDS to rural Lesotho populations is exacerbated by the return of retrenched rural Basotho men from South African mines (cf. Campbell, 1997, 1999, 2001). According to Campbell (1997), the socio-economic context of migrant workers increases their vulnerability to HIV. She argues that the living conditions of mineworkers, who are mostly men living far away from their families and social support systems, creates a fertile ground for HIV infections. Family Health International's (2002) study also showed that mineworkers and taxi drivers had very low knowledge in relation to HIV and AIDS. Their study also showed that among all age groups condom use is very low, with a tendency for multiple concurrent partners (Family Health International, 2002, pp. 6- 14). Studies conducted by the Lesotho Planned Parenthood association (LPPA) (2002) and Family Health

International (2005) show that Basotho children engage early in sexual activity before gaining any knowledge on issues of sexuality, hence the spread of HIV is alarmingly high among them. These studies argue for the youth to be educated about their sexuality and how to prevent new HIV infections.

While I have discussed the merits of a virginal bride in the previous chapter, this does not mean Basotho youth are not engaging in premarital sex. Mturi, Tuane and Diamond (1997) and Makatjane (2002) state the sexual debut of many Basotho children being as early as 9years old. More often than not, such experiences are of unprotected sex. This has also been recorded for other African countries by Meekers (1994) who did a comparative study on premarital sexual experiences for women in seven sub-Saharan African countries. Early sexual debut shows that there is need for age-appropriate sexuality education programs that address children of all ages. While it may be difficult for parents and other adult stakeholders in education to accept that children need to be taught about safer sexual practices, this discomfort is better than having to face children who are already infected with HIV because they did not have the necessary knowledge and skills to protect themselves and their partners.

Another important factor in Basotho people's perceptions in relation to HIV and AIDS is the belief in witchcraft (cf. Walker, Reid & Cornell, 2004). People infected with HIV are supposedly bewitched or cursed by God and malevolent *Balimo* (ancestors). Such people, supposedly, need to make sacrifices to appease *Balimo* before healing can take place. Walker *et al.*, (2004) argue that it is difficult for families that believe in witchcraft to seek medical help for their patients. They would rather consult traditional healers who are expected to counter the evil that is causing destruction in their family. This seriously limits efforts to remove the stigma attached to the disease and to encourage families and communities to accept their HIV-infected members. Because of stigma, many people die AIDS-related deaths but the cause of death is never revealed, leading to Basotho people arguing that they have never heard of anyone dying of AIDS. Additionally, the stigma associated with witchcraft leads to the silencing of people regarding their HIV status, thus leading to chances of them infecting relatives and partners who take care of them (cf.

Susser, 2009). In this context it is of utmost importance for children to be educated about sex, HIV and AIDS such that they can take care of themselves properly while taking care of sick parents and relatives. Sexuality education that can reach such children with the necessary information can save their lives and prevent unnecessary infections.

Another dimension to Basotho people's perceptions is given by Akeke, Mokgatle and Oguntibeju (2007) who write that religion has a significant bearing on people's knowledge, attitudes and beliefs in relation to the transmission of HIV in both positive and negative ways. They have observed that Catholic Christians frown at the use of condoms while all other denominations and religions in Quthing do not support pre-marital sex, sexual promiscuity or homosexuality. These authors argue that while knowledge about HIV was high among the inmates they interviewed, misconceptions and unfavourable attitudes to people living with AIDS are still high (Akeke, Mokgatle & Oguntibeju, 2007). The studies discussed in this section show that even though Basotho people have some knowledge about HIV and AIDS there exists several ways of understanding the disease which create challenges for de-stigmatisation to occur. Thus the stigmatisation and subsequent marginalisation of people affected or infected with HIV is a big driver of transmission among Basotho.

2.5 Women and patriarchy in Lesotho

In order to understand women and sexuality in Basotho society, we have to understand the wider context of women's positioning in Lesotho. Sekese (2002, p. 196) states that "*Mosali ke morena[11]*" which translates to mean that a woman is a very respectable person. In the past, Basotho women were respected as mothers of the nation and as such even a King would not lay a finger on a woman. As a result, wife-beating and any abuse of women was not condoned at all (see also Bereng, 1982; Maitse, 2000; Mda, 1993; Mokitimi, 1997). Any man who was found guilty of such a crime was punished by being severely beaten by other men and was also fined one cow. Chaka-Makhooane *et al* (2000) argue that the respect that was traditionally given to women was not according to status or any social standing. They state that by virtue of being a woman, even a servant

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[11]*Mosali ke morena* literally means that a woman is a king.

woman was highly respected. This did not, however, remove the fact that women could not make any major decisions (Casalis, 1997) or legal decisions (Challa, 2004) concerning their own lives or families without the consent of the husbands.

Epprecht (2000) has provided a vivid picture of the nineteenth-century gender relations in Lesotho, showing Basotho women's social presence as having been subordinate yet oddly powerful. Women in other African contexts have also been notable for their strong personality and dominant character. Scholars like Oyewumi (1999), Amadiume (1987), and Nnaemeka (1998) have observed that pre-colonial African societies did not use gender as an organising principle, despite the many forms of social inequities that existed. They argue that African societies adopted patriarchy because of the process of state formation and religion. However, Bakare-Yusuf (2003) highlights the pivotal role that women play in facilitating patriarchal economic dominance. Arndt (2002) also writes of the many reins that women hold in families and communities, thus making them the heart of the community. Stratton (1994, p. 54) succinctly sums up the status of the African woman by writing: "contrary to what is often thought today, the African woman does not need to be liberated. She has always been free for many thousands of years."

Despite Stratton' (1994) argument, there is evidence of the disempowerment of women among African communities across different timelines (Chaka-Makhooane *et al.*, 2000; Khabo,1995; Goduka,1999; Maqutu, 1992; Mosetse, 2005). One prominent example of women's disempowerment is recorded by Mosetse (2005) who argues that Basotho women's achievements and efforts are ignored in written historical texts thus creating the impression that Basotho women were never part of history. The historical texts of Lesotho, which have been recorded in English by male missionaries, exclude women's achievements (Mosetse, 2005). This is also illustrated in a collection of Sesotho praise poems for Basotho warriors (Mangoaela, 2001), which contains only praises about male kings of Lesotho despite the fact that there have been very powerful females in Lesotho's monarchy. As part of the recommended text books in high schools and institutions of

higher learning, Mangoaela's (2001) book, *Lithoko tsa Marena*[12], promotes women's disempowerment and exclusion in academia.

Language, through patriarchal discourse, has also been used in the disempowerment and domination of women. Within the English language, human beings are often referred to in male pronouns irrespective of their being (Davidson & Gordon, 1979). This also happens within the Sesotho language. This is an indication of women's exclusion and domination in everyday discourse (cf. Basow, 1992; Deats & Lenker, 1994; Popenoe *et al*., 1998). Designating femininity to non-entity and negativity is, according to Weir (1996), an indication of the ways in which patriarchal practices position women at the periphery of human existence as the 'other'. Because language is a reflection of our socially constructed realities and is a product of culture, it is used to facilitate the perpetuation of sexism and gendered stereotypes that are disempowering for women.

Khabo (1995) highlights the plight of Basotho women within families. She discusses women's minor position in *Customary Law* and how, as girls, women are under the protection of their fathers and brothers and how this role shifts to the husband and his male relatives upon marriage. This has also been explored by Chaka-Makhooane *et al*. (2000) who argue that Basotho women married within *Community of Property* have no legal say in the affairs of their estate because all powers of decision making are given to the husband. This creates situations in which women are not expected to question their husbands' decisions in relation to the distribution of wealth among their children or how family resources are used. Being positioned as minors also limits women's access to land ownership as well as getting credit from banks (Mokhothu, 1998) and other institutions without the consent of the husband for married women, or father for divorced or widowed women (Letuka et al., 1994, 1997, 1998). This is because women have no contractual capacity under *Common Law* (Maqutu, 1992; Selebalo & Ezigbalike, 2002).

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[12] This title literally means *praise poems for kings*. Despite the fact that Lesotho had some powerful women kings, this book's 80 poems are only about the male kings.

Becoming heirs to their family's estate is also a problem for women because under the *Laws of Lerotholi* (Rugege, 1993), only first born sons can legally inherit their father's estate. First born girls are not entitled to the inheritance because they are expected to get married and move to another family. However, even in marriage, a widowed woman can only inherit such an estate if she does not have a son, and this would have to be under the supervision of a male relative (cf. Letuka et al., 1997, 1998). These examples are important in understanding women's legal and social positioning within Basotho communities in order to have an idea of the conditions which contribute to the *habitus* and experiences of women teachers in this study.

While Lesotho has had a history of female resistance to male domination (Ellenberger, 1937; Epprecht, 1992, 1995, 2000), patriarchal patterns are still wide spread today within the society (Khabo, 1995; Maqutu, 1992; Mosetse, 2005). These include male dominance of public positions, male domination of decision making in family contexts and the 'perpetual minor' position occupied by Basotho women within families. To counteract the gender inequalities promoted by patriarchy, the government of Lesotho in 2003 drafted the *Lesotho Gender Policy*. However, this policy has not been successful in effecting the necessary changes (see Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005; Mosetse, 2005). Understanding the gender dynamics inherent within Lesotho's patriarchal gender order can help in understanding the meanings that women teachers make of their lived experiences of woman teacher-hood, especially in relation to gender roles and stereotypes. Such an understanding could also be important in challenging the contradictions embedded in woman teacher-hood within sexuality education classrooms.

2.5.1 Female sexuality in Lesotho

Current literature addresses female sexuality in Lesotho mostly within discourses of unwanted pregnancy, where female sexuality is depicted as a moral and health problem. Several studies have been conducted on teenage pregnancy and its impact on the physical health of the mother and child, their psychological well-being, the economic impact and moral issues (see Makatjane, 2002; Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005; Motlomelo & Sebatane, 1999; Mturi & Moerane, 2001; Polonyana, 1993; Tau, 1994).

Female sexuality in Lesotho is emphasised within the discourse of child-bearing, which relates a woman's worth to the number of children produces. Arndt (2002, p. 126) has also observed that "women's identity and the justification of their existence is rooted in their motherhood." She states that a barren woman is deprived of joy and spends her life hoping to raise children one day. The discrimination of women who are barren is often carried out by those women who have children. Thus Arndt (2002) also highlights and criticises woman-to-woman discrimination or gerontocracy which is characterised by the discrimination of daughters-in-law who do not fit into the mother-in-laws' expectations and requirements. Emecheta (1979), in her book "*The joys of motherhood*", critiques women's complicity in the gender specific discrimination which they suffer. To help us understand the situation of women in marriage, Butler (1990, p. 39) alerts us to the fact that "in marriage woman qualifies not as an identity but only as a relational term that both distinguishes and binds the various clans to a common but internally differentiated patrilineal identity."

There is need for understanding the social constructions of female sexualities in order to address the power inequalities and disadvantageous contexts that make women and girls vulnerable. Women and girls in Lesotho continue to be neglected and there is dire need to engage them in dialogue on their experiences. This will be helpful in contesting and deconstructing the socially constructed perceptions of sexuality, especially female sexuality. Understanding how women teachers view themselves as sexual beings in this study would help in understanding the choices they make in their practice of sexuality education.

2.5.2 Basotho womanhood and female sexuality
This section deals with how the Basotho view womanhood in relation to female sexuality. The importance of this section is in relation to how the women teachers in this study see themselves as women and as teachers and how the interaction of these two identities is implicated in the effective handling of sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools.

Basotho men and women acquire new societal status through marriage (Ashton, 1967). Mohome (1972, p. 181) writes that in-laws avoid calling their new bride by her maiden name by giving her a "teknonymous" name. Since the Basotho communities are patrilineal, teknonymous names given to new brides are related to boys' names (Guma, 2001, p. 272). Mosetse (2005) also argues that Basotho communities are patrilocal, meaning that newly married women are expected to leave their birth homes and move to their in-laws' home (cf. Chaka-Makhooane et al, 2000).

Basotho people place a lot of value on production of children within families as a way of upholding the clan and keeping the family name alive. According to Setiloane (1976, p. 34), "children are a gift of *Balimo*." In the past, when a young man wanted to get married he was told to look for a woman with wide hips which were a sign that she could bear children. The expectation was that within the first three months of marriage, the woman should get pregnant with a son. Failure to have children was mainly attributed to God and *Balimo* being against the parents, while the birth of twins was a blessing from God and the ancestors (Ashton, 1967, p. 33; Mohome, 1972, p. 178). Motherhood, in this way, has always been an illustrious position within the Basotho nation. Being able to produce children positioned women as being closer to God and the *Balimo,* and by implication motherhood was regarded as a pure and wholesome identity. The attachment of motherhood to purity has been noted by scholars in other countries (Acholonu, 1995; Arndt, 2002; Emecheta, 1979; Kirk, 2003; Long, 2009a).

In those days, a woman who bore a boy as her first-born was regarded as a good woman while having a first-born girl was a shame to the family and to the woman. However, the presence of any type of children within families was regarded as a sign of a woman's worth. Thus the Basotho gave young brides marital names that denoted the expectation of the family. Guma (2001, p. 266) writes that "the naming process among the Basotho society serves as a socio-cultural elucidation of the concepts of 'self', 'person' and 'individual'..." He argues that names are given to "symbolise individual life experiences, social norms and values, status roles and authority as well as personal attributes." Thus, most young brides, even today, are given names according to an expected baby boy. The

names would then be *Ma* (mother of) followed by a boy's name. For example: **Ma**thabo= Ma + Thabo, implying mother of Thabo. Such a name is an indication that the family is expecting the woman to have a baby boy who would then be named Thabo. If the first born child was not a boy, then the woman was expected to produce a boy, who would take up the name, almost immediately after the first child. In some families the first born girl would be given the name of the boy who had been expected.

Some families would wait for the young bride to have a child before she could be given a marital name. Once the child was born then the woman would stop using her maiden name and assume a marital name in line with the name of her first-born. For those women who never got children, they remained with their maiden names forever. In such instances the maiden names were used to mock the childless women. Despite being married, childless women had no social standing. Thus citing Fortes (1973), Guma (2001, p. 277) emphasises that

> ...no matter how loved and admired an individual may be, if he or she fails to fulfil the ideal pattern of life and leaves no children, then full personhood has not been attained.

This argument is exemplified within the Basotho where married women who produced only boys were the most lauded in the society, while those who produced only girls were also mocked and ridiculed. It was a common practice that women who produced only girls would go to traditional healers to seek help in getting a baby boy. It was a woman's fault if there were no boys in the family or no children at all. Even today when it is widely known that biological sex is determined by the man; women are still blamed for not bearing boy children. Thus, families would suggest to the husband that he should marry another woman who would produce children, especially sons. This practice still persists in some areas of Lesotho, despite advances in educational attainment and medical science.

Thus a good woman among the Basotho was and still is one who can produce sons for the family. A woman's worth was and still is determined by the type and number of children she produces. The argument for having many children is that the woman should repay the

bride price that has been given to her parents by producing many children, especially boy children. With the changes in the regulations surrounding the payment of bride price, the demands placed on women have changed in relation to child-bearing. However, it is still expected that a woman should produce some children for her to be a 'real' woman. This kind of womanhood places female sexuality within the discourse of reproduction only. The worth of a woman's sexuality is in producing heirs for the husband. The question remains "What does it mean to have children? What is the relevance of a marital name to a Mosotho woman?" This is an important question in understanding the womanhood and teacher-hood that the Basotho women teachers in this study perform.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the historical context of the study. I have detailed the history of sexuality education in Lesotho using Foucault's notion of genealogy. I have also analysed and discussed the trends and changes from pre to post-colonial curriculum reform in sexuality education. The aim of presenting the genealogical analysis of Lesotho's sexuality education curriculum has been to create a framework against which the understandings and experiences of the participants should be interpreted and understood. Through this chapter, I have highlighted the hegemony enjoyed by Christianity in Lesotho's educational system and hence the sexuality education curriculum.

CHAPTER 3

Who else has taken the journey? Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I detailed the history of sexuality education in Lesotho using Foucault's notion of genealogy and discussed the trends and changes from pre to post-colonial curriculum reform in sexuality education. This chapter builds on the history by presenting literature on sexuality education, women teachers and female sexuality. Few studies have been conducted on sexuality education, female and adolescent sexualities in Lesotho. There are even fewer studies that document teachers' perceptions, understandings and experiences of facilitating sexuality education in Lesotho schools. The only place where female and adolescent sexualities are discussed is within the context of unwanted teenage pregnancy. However, several studies have been conducted in other Southern African countries that are useful and these will be discussed throughout this chapter.

This literature review framed by the question, 'How may my readings on sexuality education, female sexuality, and women teachers' lives in other countries inform studying the lives of women teachers within sexuality education classrooms in rural Lesotho schools?'' This question was chosen to guide the review because of the paucity of literature within the context of Lesotho in relation to sexuality education and women teachers' lives. This review of local and international literature is on sexuality education debates, female sexuality, gender and education, women teachers' lives as well as research on HIV and AIDS in education. The aim is to contextualise the research within existing relevant knowledge by analysing and understanding the cutting-edge debates on the topic and to identify gaps in the literature where this study can make a contribution. This chapter will be divided into two parts, Part 1: Gender, HIV and Sexuality in Education and Part 2: Women in Education.

Part 1: Gender, HIV and Sexuality in Education

This part of the study provides a discussion on the debates surrounding issues of gender, sexuality, HIV and AIDS in education. This is of importance because, as discussed before, the pandemic is mostly affecting young people who are still in schools. This part highlights how the pandemic is gendered and how sexuality and education affect the infection dynamics.

3.2 What is sexuality?

According to Holland *et al* (1999, p. 458) sexuality entails "people's sexual identities in all their cultural and historical multiplicity". They state that according to their understanding, sexuality does not only involve sexual practices. It involves people's knowledge and beliefs about sex; especially what people think is natural, proper and desirable. In agreement, Weeks (2003) argues that sexuality is a product of culture and nature and not simply about physical drives or genetic imprinting. Thus for Weeks:

> 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 to be linked together (Weeks, 2003, p. 7).

Machera (2004, p. 167) also describes sexuality as being "constantly reshaped through cultural, familial and political relations which are conditioned through prevailing social organisations of gender, race and class relationships". Judith Lorber, on the other hand, describes the constructionist view of sexuality thus:

> All sexual desires, practices, and identities not only are generated but reflect a culture's views of nature, the purpose of life and procreation, good and evil, pleasure and pain; the discourses about them are permeated with power... (Lorber, 1994, p. 56)

Thus, we socially construct and sustain our sexuality through language (Bergvall, 1999; Vance, 1984; Weeks, 2003). Thus if sexuality involves what people know and believe, then it means that sexuality is indeed a problematic concept with no easy answers to the challenges it poses. I am, therefore, in total agreement with Carole Vance (1984) who argues that sexuality is an invention of the human mind. Sexuality is a product of discourse and is socially constructed (Holland *et al.*, 1999; Weeks, 2003). It is shaped by

language, through what is culturally acceptable and what is deemed natural. Therefore people in different contexts can define sexuality differently in line with their socially constructed realities. For example, within the context of Lesotho where there is limited discourse on homosexuality (Epprecht, 2000; Gay, 1993, Thetela, 2002), the concept or notion of homosexuality 'does not exist' (cf. Khau, 2009d). Despite the challenges inherent in trying to define sexuality, the common idea among the definitions referred to in this section is the socially constructed nature of human sexuality. This notion, therefore, forms the basis of the understanding of sexuality that I employ throughout this study.

3.3 Sexuality education debate

Sexuality education in schools has been an issue of intense debate in relation to the teaching and learning strategies employed. While schools are acknowledged as important in the production and regulation of sexual identities they, however, prohibit any expression of sexuality within their premises (Epstein & Johnson, 1998). According to Epstein, O'Flynn and Telford (2003, p. 51), "Sex education is always about what a particular government chooses to permit the school to say officially about sexuality and what or whom must remain silent…" This highlights the value-laden nature of sexuality education and the politics surrounding what each government deems permissible in schools.

Consequently, there is a growing awareness among scholars (Glatthorn, Boschee, & Whitehead, 2006; Iannaconne, 1983; Marsh & Wills, 1995) that what is taught in the classroom is influenced by demands from several and often conflicting social actors who express their collective or individual views about the kind of learning children should obtain in schools. These views vary according to social actors' specific value orientations (Christie, 1992; Cornbleth, 1990; Sutton & Levinson, 2001). Thus, Kelly (1999, p. 167) describes curriculum as "the battleground of many competing influences and ideologies." As such, the sexuality education curriculum is also not neutral but a hotly contested space and is a battleground for contesting societal ideologies.

The reality of what actually happens in schools shows that if at all sexuality education is addressed; it is not done effectively (Epstein, 1997; Epstein & Sears, 1999; Jones & Mahony, 1989; Measor, Tiffin, & Fry, 1996; Renold, 2005; Wolpe, 1988). Bhana *et al.* (2006), Morrell (2003) and Pattman (2006) argue that in many South African schools there is a culture of silence, because of the taboo nature of sexuality, which causes the inability and unwillingness of teachers and learners to personally reflect on issues of gender and sexuality. They argue that such a culture undermines AIDS prevention initiatives and places learners and teachers at risk of HIV and AIDS. This means that in order for AIDS prevention strategies to be effective, there is a need to challenge the prevailing norms and practices in our societies such that the environment is conducive for sexuality education.

Experiences of teachers being sexualised by their students have also been documented as creating challenges for effective teaching of sexuality education (Aapola & Kangas, 1996; Cunnison, 1989; Lahelma *et al*., 2000). In Canadian schools, Coulter (1995) has observed that it is not uncommon for male students to make nasty comments in relation to women teachers' bodies, how they are dressed and how they move. These kinds of comments are also common in Finnish schools (Kivivouri, 1997). This situation contributes to teachers' fears of addressing issues of sexuality within their classrooms. In African communities where children in rural schools often start school late in life, the sexualisation of female teachers is a common phenomenon as well (cf. Oshi & Nakalema, 2005). This situation creates fears in teachers who feel that they are not safe teaching about issues of sexuality, thus reducing their effectiveness.

Teachers' fears of teaching sexuality education have been recorded as one of the stumbling blocks in the effectiveness of classroom sex education. These fears include the fear of corrupting children's supposed sexual innocence (Epstein *et al*, 2003; Khau, 2009a; Mitchell *et al*, 2004). Khau (2009a) observes that teachers find it especially difficult to teach about sexuality in their own schools because they have to face the students daily. They would rather swap the teaching of sexuality education with teachers from other schools to reduce the feelings of guilt.

Sex and sexuality are supposedly 'shameful' subjects hence some teachers feel uncomfortable delivering sexuality education in schools (Izugbara, 2005; Khau, 2009a; Mturi & Hennink, 2005; Oshi & Nakalema, 2005; Peltzer & Promtussananon, 2002; van der Riet, 2009). It is dangerous and unnerving for teachers to find themselves having to be the ones to corrupt the innocent minds of children. Sex is socially constructed as an adult issue and hence children are protected from knowing about it before they become adults (Bhana, 2009; van der Riet, 2009). This has led to a society in which sex talk is problematic between an adult and a child, irrespective of the child's age (cf. Reddy, 2003, 2005).

This means that while schools and teachers remain silent, students learn about their sexuality from the informal 'hidden' curriculum, particularly in the "social culture of the school" (Lesko, 2000 p. 76). Studies conducted in African countries by Mirembe and Davies (2001), Biersteker and Hermanus (2003), Dunne (2008) and Dunne *et al* (2005) have explored the 'hidden curriculum' in schools and support Lesko's argument about how it encourages gender polarisation in the formation of sexual identities.

Sexuality education programs existing in schools are silent on sexual pleasure. They place more emphasis on the risks, girls and women's vulnerability and violation of their rights. Such programs position women as victims and men as perpetrators of violence (Correa, 2002; Fine, 1988; Forrest, 2000; Ingham, 2005; Jolly, 2007; Klugman, 2000; Petchesky, 2005). Thus sexuality education becomes dangerous as it deals with the things that the school both explicitly and implicitly wants to exclude (Paechter, 2004, 2006).

Fine (1988) and Thompson and Scott (1991) also discuss in some detail the 'missing discourse' of desire and female pleasure in school sex education. They note that female desire and pleasure do not play a significant part in the official discourses of the classroom even in sexuality education classes where sex is to be spoken about (see also Forrest, 2000). Pattman's (2005) study also claims that the popular stereotype that positions girls and women as lacking desire and sexual agency makes it difficult for many girls and women to talk about their feelings. In the context of the studies discussed above,

teachers are not sure how to deliver lessons without endangering themselves by being too frank and open thus supposedly promoting promiscuity, promoting homosexuality, or problematising heterosexuality.

There is evidence, however, that positive approaches to sexuality can help build confidence to make positive decisions, while stigma and scare tactics leave people feeling less able to assert themselves (Philpott, Knerr & Maher, 2006). In '*Pleasure and danger*' Carole Vance (1984) argues that male sexual violence and the ideologies and institutions that justify it create challenges for women to pursue their own sexual pleasures. McFadden (2003) also argues that because of patriarchal concepts of women's sexuality as 'bad' or 'filthy' many African women are afraid of considering the possibilities for their own sexual pleasure. Pereira (2003), on the other hand, challenges McFadden's understanding of African sexuality. She points out that there is need for research to focus on African women and men's understandings of sexual power and pleasure. Despite this challenge, she is in agreement with proponents of sexual pleasure in education.

This literature shows that adolescents schooled within discourses of the dangers and risks of sex grow up to become adults who are unable to fully appreciate their bodies and the pleasures inherent in them. This has also been observed by Jolly (2007) who argues that schooling children within a discourse of sexual danger creates challenges for promoting safer sex practices as pleasurable in a bid to promote safer sex practices among the youth for HIV prevention.

Another major concern is that girls and women are brought up to believe that being sexually active is to transgress the rules of femininity. The quest for sex transforms good girls into bad girls, hence most women and girls "accept the cultural standard of minimalism" (Kimmel, 2004, p. 240) which Kimmel defines as less pleasure, less sex, fewer partners and fewer positions. These rules of female sexuality and femininity are enforced by other women and men, and institutionalised in churches, the state and schools. Thus this study sought to better understand how women teachers are implicated in the enforcement of gendered stereotypes in their teaching of sexuality education.

In addition, the social efficiency model of education argues that education must be organised based on the needs of the social order and that children must be trained to take their place in it (Block, 2001). Because society has constructed children as innocent, desexualised and in need of protection from sexual knowledge (Bhana, 2003; Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Epstein *et al*., 2003; Mitchell, Walsh, & Larkin, 2004; Reddy, 2003, 2005; Renold, 2005), it means that children are expected to be ignorant of any 'adult' issues such as sex and sexuality although this is not always the case. Epstein *et al.* (2003) argue that apart from being an excuse to keep children ignorant, the discourse of childhood innocence is dangerous to children because it denies them the knowledge they need to make informed decisions regarding their budding sexualities. This discourse is based on the notion that once children know about sexuality then they are no longer innocent (Epstein *et al.*, 2003; Paechter, 2004). The arguments raised in relation to this discourse seem to equate sexual ignorance with sexual innocence. Thus, a child who is ignorant of sexual matters supposedly retains her innocence.

Children's previous experiences and local cultures strongly influence what they know and believe; and they bring to school different experiences in relation to sexuality (Epstein *et al*, 2003). Children learn from each other, not only the forms of policing their bodies, but also a variety of strategies for understanding and finding out about sexualities (cf. Bhana, 2007, 2009; Renold, 2005). This shows that children are neither ignorant nor innocent of sexual knowledge; hence the notion that not educating them about sexuality can act as a kind of protection of their innocence is misleading. Mitchell *et al.* (2004, p. 45) also argue that "presenting young people as children and hence as unknowing and being unprepared for their own sexuality, in this era of HIV and AIDS, is as good as gambling with their lives".

Highlighting the sensitive nature of sexuality education, Epstein *et al.* (2003) observe that sexuality education is the only subject in which parental consent is required. In relation to all these arguments, Piot *et al.* (2008) observe that if we do not reach young people with the right information before their sexual debut, they might get this information while it is already too late for them to make the necessary behaviour changes or to adopt healthy

sexualities. They argue for a sexuality education program that is age-appropriate and brings forth all sexual choices and possibilities. This is of utmost importance in developing countries within sub-Saharan Africa where the prevalence of HIV and AIDS is very high (UNAIDS, 2008).

While most of the studies cited above focus on adolescent sexuality, van der Riet's (2009) study looks into preschool teachers' perceptions and constructions of childhood sexuality. She argues that most programs on sexuality education in South Africa target adolescents while preschool children are left out. Through a discourse analysis of a focus group discussion with eight preschool teachers, she highlights the major discourses that shape the teachers' constructions of childhood sexuality. Van der Reit (2009, p. 323) concludes that "younger children and some girl children were constructed as fairly 'asexual'; older children and boy children tended to be accorded 'sexual instincts'." She also posits that regarding childhood sexuality as dangerous creates challenges for teachers who feel they have to take charge of the situation and prevent the children from harm. In accordance with the discourse of childhood innocence, the teachers in van der Reit's (2009) study also believe that there are certain aspects of sexuality that children are not allowed. These perceptions and constructions of childhood sexuality in relation to young children and girls become a challenge when teachers have to teach about sexuality because teachers are in disagreement with young children exploring their sexuality.

This study therefore explored how sexuality education is being practiced in Lesotho schools and how the discourse of childhood innocence, teacher sexualisation by students and societal constructions of sexuality are implicated in this practice. It also looked into how the absence of homosexuality and pleasurable sexuality discourses impacts women teachers' ability to facilitate effective sexuality education in rural schools.

3.4 Researching HIV and AIDS in education

It has been acknowledged that education has a significant role to play in the fight against HIV and AIDS (Kelly, 2002, p. 1). One of the challenges for education, however, is that many of the teachers are themselves infected with the virus. Particularly high prevalence

rates of infection in rural areas and amongst younger teachers in South Africa were revealed in the Education Labour Relations Council's (ELRC) report (2005). Overall, the HIV prevalence of teachers is found to be similar to that of the general population (ELRC, 2005, p. 128). The implication is that the knowledge and skills that teachers have about HIV is not contributing to behaviour changes around sexual activities, or that there is a general knowledge inadequacy. The report, therefore, recommends that teachers should be equipped with skills for personal negotiation of safer sex (p. 132), and skills for educating learners about HIV and AIDS. I do acknowledge, however, that being able to negotiate safer sex does not necessarily prevent one from being a victim of sexual abuse. O'Donoghue (2002) highlights that school AIDS programmes should stress participatory teaching and learning methods and life-skills training. He highlights that teachers and curriculum developers need training and guidance in participatory techniques. The challenges highlighted in these studies are also relevant to Lesotho despite the fact that there are hardly any studies done on HIV and AIDS within the education sector.

Kelly (2002) advocates comprehensive programmes that empower participants to live "sexually responsible, healthy lives" (p. 5) and warns that in this regard, programmes should be "speaking with one voice" (p. 11) and work across all sectors of society. James (2002) argues for the importance of contextually relevant HIV prevention programmes to ensure their effectiveness. Additionally, Chetty (2000) points to the fact that health and sexuality are private concerns and this is reflected in institutional cultures and their responses to HIV and AIDS. He raises an important question of how a private practice such as sexuality can be made into an issue of public debate and action whilst being sensitive to the cultures in which our institutions are rooted. This is an important concern within education where teachers are expected to effectively discuss issues of sexuality with students while at the same time being sensitive to the cultures of the school stakeholders (see also Buthelezi, 2004; Khau, 2009a). Teachers' effectiveness in mediating sexuality, HIV and AIDS education relies heavily on how they negotiate the slippery ground between socially constructed realities of sexuality and demands of the curriculum (cf. Baxen, 2005; Baxen & Breidlid, 2004).

Scholars highlight the need for policies that are gender sensitive in order to improve the effectiveness of teachers as mediators of sexuality education (ASWE, 2001; Chetty, 2000; Ennals & Rauan, 2002; Kelly, 2001). The fact that women are more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS has been well researched but ways of reducing the level of threat to women are still not well developed. Castle and Kiggundu (2007) built on this argument in their study looking at the vulnerability of marginalised groups to HIV and AIDS. They argue that fresh approaches to HIV and AIDS prevention are needed for the youth as well as adults.

Coombe (2003b), on the other hand argues that policies and planning are not translating into effective implementation. She also posits that responses at community-level are problematic because they are under funded or ill- managed, even though some of them are effective. She raises an important issue saying "Little has been done to interrogate planning assumptions about the effectiveness of teachers as counsellors, sexual advisors and mentors during this crisis" (Coombe, 2003b, pp 84- 85). On presenting the preparedness of SADC countries for dealing with HIV and AIDS, Coombe (2003b, p. 89) indicates that:

> … only two of the thirteen countries surveyed are preparing pre-service and in-service teachers to teach Life Skills curricular, no teacher educators have been trained in HIV and AIDS issues and curriculum implementation, no countries offer counselling for learners or educators, and not one country rated as prepared to respond creatively to mitigating the impact of HIV and AIDS on the education sector.

Concerns raised by Coombe and the Association for the Development of Education in sub-Saharan Africa (ADEA) that teachers are not adequately prepared for the extraordinary demands HIV and AIDS make on teachers appear to be endorsed by the findings of the ELRC in their report on the health of South African educators (ELRC, 2005).

3.4.1 HIV and AIDS in the classroom

Although from studies done in countries other than Lesotho, this literature is relevant for this study as it highlights the shortage of studies that focus on what happens in schools

during sexuality education and HIV and AIDS education lessons. Few studies pose questions about who the sexuality education teachers are or what happens during the teaching, and in particular how teachers experience the teaching of sexuality, HIV and AIDS (Baxen, 2005; Baxen, 2006; Baxen & Breidlid, 2004; Bhana, 2007, 2009; Bhana & Epstein, 2007; Morrell, Epstein, Unterhalter, Bhana and Moletsane, 2009). In the Lesotho context, no studies investigate teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education or what happens in classrooms when teachers teach about sexuality, HIV and AIDS.

With HIV and AIDS prevalence being very high among school-going youth, it is important to interrogate and understand the conditions that are implicated in this state of affairs. Several studies have been conducted on school-going youth in order to establish the relationship between education and sexual behaviour. These studies highlight the ways in which gender power relations are played out in heterosexual relationships and the power dynamics that facilitate unsafe sexual practices, with most of the studies focussing on sexual harassment and coercion (see Bhana, 2005; LeClerc-Madlala, 2002; Morrell, 1998, 2000, 2003; Pattman, 2005; Scorgie, 2002; Silberschmidt, 2001; Wood & Jewkes, 1998). Other studies have looked into the social constructions of the pandemic and as such have examined the social and cultural practices that create challenges with regard to infection and prevention (see Buthelezi, 2004; Campbell, Foulis, Maimane & Sibiya, 2005; LeClerc-Madlala, 2002; Simpson, 2007).

In particular, there is a shortage of work that focuses on teachers as facilitators of sexuality, HIV and AIDS education (Baxen, 2005). Baxen (2005, p. 60) argues that in Akoulouze, Rugalema, & Khanye's (2001) study, teachers are "positioned as deliverers of an uncontested, already negotiated and agreed upon body of HIV/AIDS knowledge". She argues that teachers are assumed to be in the best position and able to teach about a private matter such as sexuality within the public sphere of the school (Baxen, 2005). Contrarily, Rivers and Aggleton (1999) have indicated a need to regard teachers as sexual beings who might have trouble teaching about sexuality. As Baxen and Breidlid (2004) argue, teachers' lives and experiences need to be explored as key factors in their teaching of sexuality education. At present, teachers are not forthcoming with their own

experiences of sexuality and hence there is a strong likelihood that the taboo will go unchallenged. Another generation of children will grow up with little discussion and understanding of sex which will expose them to unnecessary sexual risks.

3.5 Gender and education

Understanding issues of sexuality, HIV and AIDS in education requires an understanding of the gender dynamics that are characteristic of school environments. This section discusses the importance of gender in education, especially for developing countries such as Lesotho.

While gender issues may be a stated educational priority, education in developing contexts is itself rarely subjected to gendered analysis or to critical feminist investigation (Leach, 2000). There are few documented initiatives where teachers' own gendered experiences and issues are discussed. Stromquist (1996) is critical of the ways in which international agencies officially advocate gender equity, and attend to gender issues, whilst consistently ignoring contributions of feminist analysis. The agencies focus mostly on supplying education, and they assume that the education being supplied is neutral, unproblematic and uncontested. As Leach (2000, p. 336) writes, however, these agencies are failing to "understand, appreciate and act upon the powerful gender ideology embedded in all educational institutions, which along with the family, is the state's key agent of socialisation of the young."

The Dakar framework for Action is an example of a very optimistic policy document in presuming that schooling will create positive change for individuals and future society. In contrast, Longwe (1998, p. 19) interprets conventional school systems as "a process of schooling for women's subordination". She argues that schools are "patriarchal establishments which are grounded in the values and rules of patriarchal society" (Longwe, 1998, p. 19) where women and girls are conditioned to accept male domination as natural. Jeffery and Basu (1996) also critique the traditional notion of schooling for girls as an effective contraception and express their doubt about the impact of education

on women's autonomy. Their argument warrants attention, especially in the Lesotho context in which girls and women are schooled in bigger numbers than boys and men.

Stromquist (1996) critiques the tokenistic approaches taken by governments and donor agencies where gender equity is defined and controlled through patriarchal, male-dominated networks. Stromquist also critiques the gender delusions and exclusions in relation to education and democratization. Although rhetorically relying heavily on the involvement and buy-in of teachers, Stromquist argues that donor agencies do not bother much with teachers' training needs, and they often exclude teachers from important conferences and other educational meetings.

It may be hoped that the increased participation of women in education, may contribute towards changes in gender roles and relations and can therefore be a strategic initiative towards gender equality. However, the feminisation of the teaching profession has not necessarily created stronger positions for women as educational leaders (see also Moorosi, 2006), nor has it necessarily brought about the strategic advances for women that might have been hoped for by feminist educators (Grumet, 1988; Miller, 1992; Walkerdine, 1990). Attention has to be given to the short term and long term implications of increasing female participation in teaching, not only on girls' education, but for the system as a whole. Kirk (2005) argues that education policies that entrench stereotypical gender roles and promote traditional gender identities for women might be disempowering for both men and women.

Continuing the argument, Subrahmanian (2002) questions the extent to which alternative schools in India that seek to address gender imbalances in current access to education do so in ways which exaggerate current patterns of inclusion and exclusion. She argues that women teachers who teach girls in alternative, non-formal, female-only schools risk being doubly disadvantaged. They are situated at the margins of an educational system that was developed by and for men (Paechter, 1998), and which has been slow to respond to changing gender roles and ideologies.

Acknowledging and working with women teachers' own experiences of girls' education may provide interesting starting points for teacher development initiatives which promote quality education for girls and leadership for women teachers (Mitchell, 1995). An example might be the innovative professional development described by Bonder (1995), which is very much centred on the participants' own understanding s and experiences of gender relations. This allows them to name and explore their own multiple and shifting identities as individual women who teach, but are also mothers, partners, daughters and friends. Readings, discussions and activities in this professional development initiative are all related to the lived experiences, attitudes and ideas of the women teachers. These all aim to deepen understandings and then to develop strategies which acknowledge and challenge the interconnections of gender inequities in schools, homes and communities.

As Stacki and Pigozzi (1995) write from their experience with an empowerment-focused teacher education program in India:

> Especially for female teachers in developing nations, curriculum must include a critical understanding of patriarchy, balancing traditional values of conventional societies with women's values and ways of knowing. Content should include analysing and discussing to better understand themselves and their societal situation; recognising the balance required to accommodate new definitions of men and women. (p. 18)

As Stromquist, Klees and Miske (2000, p. 255) state, "It is not possible to isolate girls' education from the substance of politics of women's concerns." Yet this is exactly what can happen when programming, policy and thinking relating to girls and women are detached, and attention is focussed on practical policy measures. The conceptual, practical and strategic linkages between women teachers and girls' education have to be explored in more depth in different institutional and cultural contexts, in order to determine the relationships between women teacher empowerment and the empowerment of girls (Kirk, 2003, 2004, and 2005).

Part 2: Women and Education

This part of the study addresses literature on what it means to be a woman within educational institutions and how this plays out in women's effectiveness as teachers especially because Paechter (1998) argues that schools were made for men to educate

men and boys, while women were just made to fit into this male world when they were allowed into the education systems of the world.

3.6 Female bodies and education

Goetz (1994) points out that female bodies matter a lot in development contexts. However, as Stromquist (1996), Leach (2000), and Kabeer and Subrahmanian (2000) observe, in the education sector these bodies are largely defined in male-dominated terms and conditions. In response to demands for equality, women and girls' bodies, especially in schools, have to be counted. Bodies and minds become separated in this counting process. As Kirk (2003) writes, attention to bodies in schools is generally focused on two domains, those of curricular intervention and of bodily regulation, protection and provision. The bodies to be regulated and protected are most often those of girl students and women teachers.

Development agencies and organisations may be involved in initiatives related to both domains through, for example, support for life-skills and HIV and AIDS curriculum development, and through support for policy development to create safer schools. When it takes place at all, curricular attention to bodies and sexuality tends to be through didactic instruction on sexually transmitted diseases, HIV and AIDS and pregnancy prevention, often with a strong emphasis on abstinence (Mgalla, Schapink & Boerma, 1998). Although there are examples of work that engages young people, to encourage them to speak openly about their bodies and their bodily feelings in South Africa (Bhana, 2005; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Morrell, 1998, 2000; Walsh *et al.*. 2002), Uganda (Straight Talk Foundation, 2002), and South Asia (Seshadri, 2002), for example, much of this occurs outside of the formal school context. Stromquist (1996) reminds us of the controversial nature of even the most conservative curriculum programs on adolescent sexuality and the potential for conflict between parents, religious leaders and education authorities. Formal school curricular tends to address the body only in bio-medical terms (Mirembe & Davies, 2001), and is assumed to operate outside of the social context and behaves rationally according to information received. Little attention is given to whether such curricular are taught by male or female teachers.

Educational policy attention to the body also occurs in relation to issues of student and teacher pregnancy, rape, sexual harassment and other forms of gender-based violence. As indicated by a number of recent studies (Human Rights Watch, 2001, Mgalla *et al.,* 1998; Mirembe & Davies, 2001; Omale, 2000; Panos Institute, 2003), these issues are cause for concern. In many cases they warrant protective measures to be in place. The number and frequency of reported cases of sexual harassment and rape of female students by boys and male teachers in schools are, in some contexts, alarmingly high. With the high prevalence of HIV and AIDS among male teachers, the consequences of teacher abuse of girls can be even more serious.

In South Africa it is estimated that one woman in six is in an abusive relationship, and that rape and assault are frequent features of intimate relationships (Jewkes et al., 2002; Mlamleli *et al.,* 2001). Thus regulations have been developed on teachers' behaviours in relation to their students in order to maintain the moral and social order within schools and societies. These regulations stipulate that teachers, male and female, are not to have any sexual relations with their students irrespective of their ages, nor harass learners sexually or physically (see Gol, 1995; SACE, 2005). Teachers are expected to respect learner's rights and beliefs. They should earn learner's respect by using language that is not provocative and behave respectably.

In the context of schools in sub-Saharan Africa, Makau and Coombe (1994) argue that the use of sexual harassment and sexual power over women teachers in relation to appointment, deployment or selection for training has to be stopped. Thus using Armatya Sen's (2002) framework of development as freedom, Correa (2002) calls for an education that aims to promote sexual rights. She argues for the affirmation of sexual rights along with eroticism, recreation and pleasure. This would be helpful in creating platforms for the inclusion of healthy sexualities and sexual pleasure as part of human rights in education.

Feminist scholars such as Kristeva (1982), Young (1990) and Oakley (1984), have critiqued the ways in which male-dominated discourses have problematised the biological

nature of the female body as 'leaky'. Such discourses have attempted to control the constant fluidity of women's bodies and have pathologised the menstruating, pregnant, birthing or breast-feeding body of women. It might be argued that the control and regulation of the disorder that women and girls supposedly create is apparent in educational settings. Rules and regulations concerning specific female issues such as exclusion from school in pregnancy, may exist, and as such may be quite explicit in their discrimination against girls' and women's equal participation in education.

Chilisa's (2002) study reports that national education policies in seven countries of sub-Saharan Africa force pregnant girls to leave school. Six of the countries have re-entry policies. In Chilisa's study however, as the example case of Botswana shows, re-entry policies ignore the gender dynamics that make it difficult for a girl to return to school after motherhood. This is also the case in Lesotho (Makatjane, 2002; Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005; Mturi & Moerane, 2001). While teenage mothers may be allowed to go back to school, they are limited by the gender dynamics inherent in womanhood and motherhood. Teachers' colleges in many African countries also exclude pregnant women or even bar entry to married women who are potentially pregnant. Kirk (2003) observes that in many cases, an explicit ban is not required as prevailing gender relations and the facilities provided make it impossible for mothers, or even married women to attend.

Women teachers usually are placed in an uncomfortable situation in which they are subjected to comprehensive control within hierarchical school structures, while also being expected to impose rules on student bodies (Sattler, 1997). As is the case in Mirembe and Davies' (2001) study of school culture in Uganda, equally disturbing for girls is women teachers' lack of attention to the safety of their bodies against sexual harassment at school. They report that:

> The [women] teachers themselves do not challenge sexual harassment in school but just choose to tolerate, thereby giving a helpless situation to the girls (Mirembe & Davies, 2001, p. 410).

We should recognise, however, that girls' harassment occurs within a context of hegemonic masculinity, where women teachers are also subjects of sexual harassment.

This situation creates challenges for women teachers to protect girls from harassment within schools. As Goetz (1994) asserts, attention has to be paid to the gendered structuring and ideology of the organisations women are involved with and therefore to the schools in which women teachers are working in. UNESCO states that:

> A teacher is not just someone who stands up in front of a group in order to give a lesson; he or she should treat the boys and girls with patience, affection and care, preparing them to work for a decent standard of living, as well as reinforcing social role models that promote gender equality. Due to motherhood, and traditional family responsibilities, women are prepared to relate to children. This is undoubtedly a great advantage that relates to teaching. However, it is not enough. Professional training is required so that women may perform optimally in education systems. In traditional societies it is also important for female teachers to give parents greater confidence in sending their daughters to school (2000, p. 33).

The "great advantage" which according to UNESCO, childcare and family responsibilities give to women teachers has to be questioned. Discourses of nurturing and caring may become in themselves regulatory mechanisms through which women's participation is controlled and limited to the classroom (Pillay, 2009; Rosen, 1999; Ruddick, 1989). At the primary school level, cultures of schooling intersect with cultures of the home and family (Unterhalter & Dutt, 2001) and in contexts such as Lesotho, gendered power imbalances in both family and school converge to create constraints for women. Women teachers, defined primarily in terms of their biological body, become equated with less-valued classroom-based tasks, whilst men's invisible bodies are associated with higher status and mindful activities such as management, supervision and policy development (cf. Pillay, 2009). Women in many developing countries including Lesotho (see Moorosi, 2006) are marginalised from leadership and management in education and from policy and decision-making processes.

With a development planning approach that emphasises the need to train and upgrade women to work as caring, patient and nurturing teachers, the male domination of such a system remains unchallenged (Kirk, 2003). As the UNESCO statement points out: "professional training is required so that women may perform optimally in education systems" (2000, p. 33). It is the woman teacher who is incomplete and insufficient, not

the system. Thus the deficit model of looking at women teachers within schooling systems creates challenges for many women teachers.

While gender policy in education seeks to promote quality education for girls, often through the recruitment and placement of women teachers, Kirk (2005) points to an inherent paradox. If the gendered experiences of women teachers are bypassed in policy and training that focuses on apparently gender-neutral professional practice, the tendency will remain to homogenise the notion of teacher. An alternative gender and development approach in relation to women teachers may provide a more critical vantage point from which to explore the gender-based marginalisation, discrimination and limitations that women and girls experience in schools. It could encourage policy development which goes beyond mere recognition of men's and women's different roles and responsibilities in society, and which aims to shift imbalances in gender and power relations.

3.7 Women teachers

This section deals with issues of being a woman and a teacher, two separate but linked identities, and how *teacher* and *woman* shape each other in the construction of a woman teacher. I discuss the research on women teachers within a feminist framework, and how the female body is involved in the experiences of being a woman teacher. These studies were useful in my understanding of the positioning of the research participants as women teachers teaching sexuality education within the context of HIV and AIDS in rural classrooms in Lesotho.

3.7.1 Women teachers' lives

Feminist scholarship insists that gender plays a significant part in the ordering of social structure and consciousness, while profoundly shaping the conditions of our lives, and as such gender cannot be excluded from any analysis of experience in any aspect of life. This is particularly true of a field of study that is tied to women's social and professional positions in public school teaching (Lather, 1994).

Feminist scholars challenge dominant, male-oriented paradigms and argue for women's experiences of teaching and learning to be inscribed into the centre of educational theory-making. Feminist approaches also commit teacher-researchers to a consciousness of their own positionality and of the power of their own voice. Central to feminist analyses of schooling and teaching are the shifting power and gender dynamics and the complex realities of female teacher lives. They highlight the contradictions and paradoxes of lived experience. It is important to consider the multiple ways in which being a woman may shape teaching identities, how being a teacher may shape experiences of being a woman, and how these identities may overlap and/or contradict. Also to be acknowledged is how other aspects of individual identity, such as race, class, sexual orientation, religion and ethnicity, further shape gendered experiences of teaching (Kirk, 2004).

A small number of feminist scholars have worked intensively with groups of women and men teachers to explore their lived experiences. Although these studies take place in western contexts (North America and Australia), their conceptual frameworks and methodological approaches to women teachers' lives make them highly relevant to studying women teachers' lives in a developing country such as Lesotho.

Common to the scholarship of Munro (1998) and Middleton (1993) are frameworks that allow for the co-existence of agency and accommodation, action and resistance, power and powerlessness, and the interdependence of self-definition with external factors. Walkerdine (1990) points out the tensions and contradictions in being a woman teacher: an identity that commands respect (teacher) while at the same time speaking of subordination, marginalisation and repression (woman). Walkerdine suggests that any fixed, institutionally-determined position or subjectivity defined by the term 'woman teacher' is impossible. In agreement, Munro (1998, p. 1) explains that "to be a woman is to lack authority, knowledge and power. To be a teacher is to have authority, knowledge and power".

Munro (1998) explores the life histories of three female educators in order to better understand how women teachers construct their selves both within and against dominant

educational and cultural (androcentric) norms and discourses. Munro uses post-structuralist theorising to position women teachers as subjects of, but also creators of, educational discourse history. Through the complex and often contradictory stories of her interviewees, Munro argues that women's resistance does not depend on traditional conceptualisations of power as a product to be acquired, seized, or shared. She claims that while women may become victims of patriarchy, they can also become agents of its perpetuation and disruption. Munro's theorising therefore opens up spaces in which to envision women teachers and researchers as accommodating dominant discourses whilst simultaneously challenging them.

A number of feminist scholars have taken an autobiographical, self-reflexive approach in order to better understand not only their own teaching selves, but also the teaching selves of other women. The theorising of scholars such as Middleton (1993), Grumet (1988) and Motalingoane-Khau (2007b) places women teachers' lives, and the knowledge generated through their experiences of being mothers, wives, sisters and daughters, at the centre of pedagogical knowledge. This study borrows from such theorisation in order to better understand women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools, through their embodied knowledge as mothers, wives, sisters and daughters.

Using a life history approach, Middleton (1993) focuses on the contradictions and complexities of women's educational experiences, interweaving her story with those of her participants. Reflecting on her own experiences as feminist educator and feminist activist, Middleton connects history, biography and social structure in order to examine master narratives of education from the inside out. From a feminist perspective she critiques education as a complex sociological field, shaped by multiple inequalities and power differences. She posits that hearing and valuing women teachers' stories, experiences and subjectivities within educational contexts, where female experience has been trivialised and female voices marginalised, is certainly challenging. However, by making visible the constructed nature of these voices, as well as of her text itself, Middleton challenges dominant and oppressive constructions of the female teacher.

Additionally, through interrogating the perceived oppositional identities of being a mother and an academic within the South African context, Pillay (2009) observes that regarding motherhood and work in the public sphere as 'balancing two lives' is limiting for women academics. She posits that this approach assumes that thinking and intellectual pursuits are a masculine terrain which has no room for emotion and nurturing. Ribbens (1994) also highlights that the inability of academic mothers to internalise their motherhood as part of their intellectual selves forces their motherhood and scholarship to lose their social value. These scholars argue that if women focus on the differences between mother and academic, they will never achieve a wholeness of self.

3.7.2 The female teacher's body

Grumet (1988) seeks to reclaim the teacher's body from curricular and pedagogical invisibility. Her writing on women teachers and women's education is infused with a strong sense of her own embodied self, as teacher, mother, wife and daughter. Her physical movements and the clothing she wears define and inform her pedagogy. The knowledge she generates through attention to such dimensions of lived experiences becomes important sources of curriculum theorising. Mitchell and Weber (1999) also disrupt the apparent social taboo that divorces the professional practice of teaching from aspects of self such as appearance, dress, body shape, sensuality, sexuality, desire, fantasy and emotions. They are nonetheless aware of how bringing these terms into discussion of teaching practice can place one on shaky ground, especially when issues of sexual abuse are at the forefront of the public mind.

This is especially true in Lesotho where open discussion of issues such as sexuality, sensuality and the body is still taboo. On the other hand, as didactic approaches to teaching about the dangers of unsafe sexual practices to Basotho children were seen to be less effective than hoped for in the battle against HIV and AIDS, alternative approaches were taken. Despite this change in focus, Coombe (2003) still warns that preparing teachers to comfortably and effectively present and work on such body-focused topics as sexuality with children is a great challenge and one to which more attention has to be given.

Scholars such as McWilliam (1996a, 1996b, 1999), and Paechter (1998, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2006) argue for placing women teachers' bodies at the forefront of teaching and learning theory. McWilliam and Paechter draw attention to the problematic ways in which male dominated thinking has led to the prevalence of mind/body dualisms and separations and the constant privileging of the mind over the body (cf. Damasio, 1994). In the education sector the human body is ever present even though not in connection with cognitive and mental activity.

For students and teachers alike the body has to be controlled, regulated and managed, so that it does not interfere with the more important intellectual activity. This sort of control and regulation occurs through physical education programs, uniform policy, and through confining children to sitting in desks. However, testimonies of female educators such as Grumet (1988) and Steedman (1987) assert the importance of bodies in processes of teaching and learning. In recent years feminist scholars of education have taken an increasing interest in the female teacher's body, in the embodied knowledge of female educators, and in applications of feminist theorists' understanding of the female body, of body performance and body-voice in the classroom context (see for example, Elbaz-Luwisch & Estola, 2001; Estola, 2003; Mitchell & Weber, 1999; Viser, 1999).

McWilliam (1996a, p. 341) examines the "corpor/realities" of the lived experiences of the female teacher and insists on the physicality of the personal and professional knowledge. She draws on emerging feminist theories of the female body as a site and subject of discourse and of its role in knowledge production and reproduction. Her work reclaims the teaching body as a significant site of educational activity that is both cultural and political. When attention is focused on the body, however, McWilliam (1996a) highlights a paradox for the female teacher. Her "fleshy body" performing in the classroom is not only a "site" of educational knowledge, but also a "sight" for external male gaze.

McWilliam (1996a) and Paechter's (2004, 2006) theorising asserts the importance of lived body experience in the classroom, but given the realities of many developing country and rural classrooms (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005), there are perhaps

limitations to the extent to which their theories of pedagogical eroticism make sense in such contexts, and specifically in Lesotho rural classrooms. There are also important issues of gender-based-violence in and around schools to keep in mind. And yet to ignore the female teacher's body would be to ignore an important dimension of "women's teaching as embodied, lived experience" (Kirk, 2003, p. 26). Rather than deny the risky presence of female bodies, Kirk (2003) argues that it is important to find ways of defining corporeality that embrace the pleasure and the vulnerability of women's physical presence in sexuality education classrooms.

Against the background provided by this related literature, I argue that the dominant theoretical frames for understanding issues pertaining to woman teacher-hood in sexuality education discussed in this chapter are incomplete. They cannot individually provide a holistic understanding of the issues and hence this study contributes to knowledge by bringing all these theoretical conceptions together to provide a springboard against which to make meanings regarding woman teacher-hood in sexuality education. This study therefore presents a gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education as its original contribution. It also adds to feminist scholarship on the embodied and gendered experiences of woman teacher-hood.

3.10 Conclusion

I have presented in this chapter a review of local, regional and international literature on sexuality education debates, female sexuality, gender and education, women teachers' lives as well as research on HIV and AIDS in education. The aim is to contextualise my research within existing relevant knowledge by analysing and understanding the predominant debates on the topic and identifying gaps in the literature where this particular study could make a contribution. Thus through this chapter, the paucity of literature on woman teacher-hood within sexuality education and studies that provide a gendered analysis of teachers' experiences of sexuality education, especially within the African context, has been highlighted as the gap which this study aims to contribute towards filling.

Part Two

Mapping the study: Some guiding Principles

In this part of the study I present the guiding principles for the study. The aim of this part is to offer an insight into the path taken in this journey into the experiences of women teachers teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. I discuss the theoretical framing of the study and its implications on the production of data and analysis. Discussed also in this part is the methodological underpinning of the study, from planning to the final execution of the data production and analysis.

CHAPTER 4

Mapping the journey: Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3 I have discussed the current debates around sexuality, HIV and AIDS in education. The aim is to contextualise this study within existing knowledge. I have also highlighted the paucity of knowledge on woman teacher-hood within sexuality education, a gap which this study aims to fill.

This chapter is concerned with mapping the analytical route of the study. It discusses the theoretical and conceptual frameworks employed to describe, analyse, and theorise women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in Lesotho rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. Some scholars (Lieher & Smith, 1999) make a distinction between a theoretical and conceptual framework. A conceptual framework is described as concepts and/or theories which work together to guide a study. A theoretical framework, on the other hand, is described as existing literature or a ready-made map for the study (Lieher & Smith, 1999). Ball (2006, p. 1), additionally, describes a theoretical or conceptual framework as "a set of possibilities for thinking with." For purposes of this study, I have used Ball's (2006) definition as a guideline.

4.2 Frame of inquiry

The study is positioned within the feminist frame of inquiry which regards gender as an important part of human relationships and social processes. Theoretically and conceptually, the study is guided by an eclectic amalgam of concepts that provides the study with a sense of direction (Blumer, 1969, p. 148). As Patton (1990, p. 67) puts it, "How you study the world determines what you learn about the world." Thus employing a feminist frame would yield a gendered analysis of the experiences of women teachers in this study.

Dewey's philosophy of experience has been employed together with post-structural feminist theories and Bourdieu's theory of social practice as the theoretical framing for

the study. The following sections provide the conceptual context and theoretical orientation that guided this research on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education.

4.3 Theoretical framework

Attempting to answer the main question of the study, that is, exploring women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS led me to ask broader questions about how women teachers are positioned as women and as teachers and how this positioning is translated into social practice. The assumption was that teachers teach who they are and thus their particular subjective positions influence how they teach. A fundamental principle on which this work builds is that identity is constructed in a complex interrelationship between structure and agency. Construction is defined by Butler (1993, p. x) as constituted within relations of power and is therefore an "effect of productive constraint".

While my study is about sexuality education and woman teacher-hood, it is also about identity. Thus drawing on social theory offered a useful account of subject formation and subjectivity and their influence on constructions of social action. It also highlighted the interrelationship between structure and agency in subject formation.

4.3.1 Philosophy of experience

This study focused on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. Dewey's writings (1934; 1938/1963) on the nature and forms of human experience provide a theoretical foundation for this inquiry into rural women teachers' lived experiences. Dewey's philosophy of experience has two principles - *continuity* and *interaction*- (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994, p. 417; Richert, 2002), which guided my narrative interpretation of the experiences of the women teachers. The principle of continuity claims that every experience borrows from those that have gone before and informs those experiences that will come after (Dewey, 1938/1963, p. 35). This principle was helpful in reminding me that every individual experience is shaped by our previous experiences. Thus, in making sense of the women teachers' experiences of teaching

sexuality education, I had to be aware of the women's past and the future experiences that could be interwoven into these particular experiences.

The premise of the principle of interaction is that every personal experience connects with the past as well as shapes the future. Each experience is a consequence of the interaction between a person and what constitutes her environment. A person's environment, according to Dewey (1938/1963), is made up by the interaction of personal needs, desires, purposes and capabilities that create experiences. Thus, the personal experiences of women teachers unfold "in an environment; not merely in it but because of it, [and] through interaction with it" (Dewey, 1934, p. 13). This principle was helpful in analysing the environmental influences which shaped the women's experiences of teaching sexuality education.

Dewey's concepts of "educative" and "mis-educative" experience were used to explain and understand the experiences of rural women teachers and their positioning as sexual beings in their teachings of sexuality education. Dewey argues that education is a "development within, by and for experience" (1938/1963, p. 28). For Dewey, education, experience and life are part of the same cloth. However, he warns that not all experiences are equally or genuinely educative. Dewey purports that an authentically educative experience should leave open to stimuli and provide opportunities for development in new directions while also adding to the general quality of one's life. If, on the other hand, an experience hinders or distorts the development of further experiences, it is "mis-educative" (Dewey, 1938/1963, p. 25). Understanding whether their experiences of teaching sexuality education have been educative or mis-educative helped the research participants and I to reflect on how our past experiences have impacted on our conduct as women teachers in the context of the sexuality education classroom, and hence how we can improve our facilitation of sexuality education within rural Lesotho schools.

Dewey's work as a constructivist however, does not explain the agency and structural conditions that are part of one's environment and how they are implicated in shaping experiences and hence social practice. Bourdieu's theory of practice provided the tools to

get into this arena. The two theories work together in addressing the influence of one's environment and experiences in socialising one into particular sets of *habitus*. Dewey's concept of interaction highlights the interconnectedness of one's past to the future and this is in line with Bourdieu's 'structuring structures' of *habitus*. While Dewey argues for past experiences as being important aspects of one's education, Bourdieu focuses more on the influence of past experiences on one's social practice. Thus, in this study exploring women teachers' experiences of teaching it is useful to look at their social practice of teaching in the light of what they have learnt from their past experiences.

4.3.2 Bourdieu's social practice theory

In order to understand the social conditions and the positions from which the women teachers make meaning of their lives, I employed Bourdieu's theory of practice. I briefly describe three important concepts that form the basis of this theory, namely capital, field and *habitus*. These concepts serve as useful tools for exploring descriptions of the materiality and social conditions and positions within which these women teachers make meaning of their lives.

Bourdieu's theory of practice is concerned with our understandings and explanations of interactions between contexts and the social actions that are practised within those spaces (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002, p. 21). He argues that subjects act as agents in the construction and transformation of society, social practices and institutions. Thus according to Bourdieu, one cannot understand "social activity outside the action of the subjects" (Krais, 1991, p. vii). To Bourdieu (1990b) subjects modify and transform social practices through their activity. He proposes that people are constituted within and by the practices in which they participate.

Bourdieu (1990a) believes that all action is driven by interest. He argues that "whether actors conform to norms or follow prescribed rituals is depended on their interests" (Swartz, 1997, p. 99). Thus their behaviour is not only shaped by "obedience to rules", but also their own vested interests in the practice (Bourdieu, 1990a, p.65). The implication is that in any situation, people do not necessarily follow rules or conform to

norms but are strategic improvisers responding to the opportunities and constraints in different situations in accordance with their dispositions. Bourdieu (1977, p. 72) writes of his theory of practice as an "experimental science of the dialectic of the internalisation of externality and externalisation of internality." This means people internalise the external environment and conditions that shape their experiences and hence their *habitus*, and this in turn is externalised through the actions or practices that people get involved in which are in line with their *habitus*.

4.3.2.1 Field and *habitus*

Bourdieu argues that field is "a structure of relationships between positions" (Cheal, 2005, p. 155). Postone *et al* (1993, p. 5) posit that "the purpose of Bourdieu's concept of *field* is to provide the frame for 'relational analysis' by which he means an account of the multi-dimensional space of positions and the position taking of agents." Positions result from an interaction between the position one holds in the field in relation to their capital and *habitus* (Postone *et al*., 1993, p. 5). According to Bourdieu (1992) these positions have material effects on agents within any specific field. He argues that positions are constituted through power relations and that within any field, one would find a distribution of capital along lines of power and superiority, with superiority resulting from the amount of capital one has at her disposal (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

To Bourdieu, people play the game of life by considering the amount of capital available to them in relation to the capital available to others. In other words, those who have capital also have the power to validate what constitutes capital in a specific field. This also means that in order to participate in the game, those who have power and capital should cooperate with those who do not have them. Not everyone in the field is allowed to play. The concept of field distinguishes between legitimate players and those without access to the game and its rules.

Economic or symbolic capital accumulated in one field can be transposed to another. Therefore fields are not solely independent. The amount of capital one accumulates through life defines one's social standing as well as one's life chances. As such, capital

produces class differentiation. The consequence is that agents endeavour to compete and gain various forms of capital in different fields. Competition thus becomes an inherent feature of the field since those operating in a specific field compete for capital. Those who have 'valued capital' make the rules and have access to play the game. Competition also exists between fields because "fields sometimes have to compete to be defined as a field" (Postone *et al*., 1993, p. 5). Thus class and capital are defining features within and between fields.

4.3.2.2 Capital

Bourdieu (1971) argues that agents employ different strategies to either stay in the game, or transform the field by changing the rules of the game. According to Bourdieu (1992), rules can be changed only when values associated with the type of valued capital are changed. Sometimes, those who do not have much investment work to undermine the capital of the dominant group and employ unorthodox strategies. Thus different groups compete in self-interest irrespective of their social class or status. Each competes for capital and does so in ways that are not obvious or explicit.

Bourdieu (1990b) suggests that power refers to a form of worth associated with culturally legitimated and authenticated practices, tastes, dispositions, characteristics and competencies deemed valuable or worthy in a field. According to Bourdieu, capital offers access to power in a field during specified periods of time. As Cheal (2005, p. 156) suggests, capital refers to "a possession that gives individuals that ability to do certain things, such as exercising domination over others". People who have capital in the field have the power to validate and distinguish worthy practices. Therefore possessing capital means controlling other people's futures as well as one's own (Postone *et al*., 1993).

According to Bourdieu (1984), capital functions to structure society. The unequal distribution of social, cultural, and economic capital makes this possible. Bourdieu & Wacquant, (1992, p. 119) argue that social capital is:

> ...the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relations of mutual acquaintance and recognition...

Social capital is acquired through interactions and associations with other people who have social, cultural, and economic capital. Thus associating with those who possess economic or cultural capital increases one's own social capital (Bourdieu, 1984).

Social capital therefore is impacted on by group membership or social networks. The mutual benefits provide sustenance for social relationships because they invoke feelings of gratitude, respect and friendship (Cheal, 2005). This interrelationship requires active participation by members within the network. Exchanges of benefits within social networks require resources. Cheal (2005) and Swartz (1997) argue that the more resources at one's disposal mean one's social capital is more viable. Therefore, those with economic capital have a better chance of acquiring social capital especially if their economic standing is coupled with social competencies and knowledge of "social relations" (Cheal, 2005, p. 158). A person has economic capital when she has access to financial resources that are easily translatable into money. Those with economic power are most of the time high on the hierarchical social ladder because economic capital is a key indicator used as the unit for class differentiation (Bourdieu, 1984).

Cultural capital, on the other hand, is "the knowledge and tastes that are transmitted within families and schools, and that mark those who possess them as socially superior to those who do not" (Cheal, 2005, p. 158). For Bourdieu, cultural capital is an identifier of social class. Bourdieu argues that rather than promoting social change, educational institutions such as schools tend to reproduce existing social relations and inequalities. This is also supported by Connell (1993), who has considered how ruling class values have informed schooling within Australia. Webb *et al* (2002, p. 113) also talk about the "hegemonic view of schooling; a theory which suggests that the role of schools is to make students believe that the existing social relations are just and natural and in their interests." This theory encourages low achieving students to believe that they are just not 'cut out' for school and that they can compensate their lack of academic prowess by pursuing opportunities in other areas, such as sport. For Bourdieu, home and family life play a significant role in social reproduction, because the success of the child in acquiring

the values, dispositions and cultural capital that characterise the school depends on the degree to which the *habitus* of the school fits that of the child's family.

Bourdieu (1984) offers an elaborate explanation of how knowledge and tastes are acquired and mediated through socialization and education in *Distinction*. Families maintain class membership through making available to their offspring the means to continuing education and through a development of a taste of the finer aspects of life. Cultural capital is appropriated only by understanding the meanings associated with, for example, mathematical equations or literacy texts (Swartz & Solberg, 2004, p. 41). Acquiring dispositions and tastes is a lengthy process that requires investment of time. Cultural capital is also dynamic and requires interactions mediated by power relations in the cultural field.

Additionally, Bourdieu refers to symbolic capital as the "power of constructing reality" (1991, p. 166). Symbolic capital is defined as the "capacity to construct beliefs about the world and make them seem real" (Cheal, 2005, p. 159). In other words, symbolic capital is the embodiment of the other three capitals even though it is not dependent on any of them for its maintenance. In some instances, symbolic capital can take the form of reputation, prestige or fame and at other times it can be trust and respect associated with these symbols.

Bourdieu (2000) also explains how struggle for capital operates in a field. Those in the field modify their expectations of what capital could be available to them. They make assumptions based on what he calls "subjective hope and objective chances" regarding whether or not the action is worth the risk. Postone *et al* (1999) have observed that people adjust their expectations basing themselves on how they are positioned in the field and how likely they think they are to change that position. If the profit might be low, chances that they will participate in the game are also low. According to these scholars, agents base their expectations and the likelihood of change on their social and family background, status and class. Therefore those with the least capital are less ambitious and less likely to participate in competing for capital in the field. They become more

submissive and sometimes even fatalistic about their position (Bourdieu, 2000; Postone *et al*., 1997; Webb *et al*., 2002).

Despite this, agents with the least capital do compete in the field. In some cases, they experience a level of success or win, thereby increasing their value and affecting a change in their status. Bourdieu, however, suggests that the likelihood of such transformations occurring is low because children are already predisposed by their *habitus*. The *habitus* is expressed as the way individuals, through the influence of their experiences and contexts, engage in social practices (Webb *et al*., 2002). Thus habitus exemplifies how actions and structures relate and how the individual and society interact (Postone *et al*., 1999) in that agents recognize beforehand their lack of competence to play the game and consequently expect failure as the inevitable outcome.

Bourdieu (1977, p. 72) further argues that *habitus* is the "product of structures, producer of practices, and reproducer of structures." In addition, Swartz (1997, p. 102) states that *habitus* is a "structured structure" deriving from the class-specific experiences of socialisation. According to Swartz (1997), an agent's *habitus* results from one's early socialisation experiences through which external structures and limitations are internalised. In other words, *habitus* generates desires and practices that correspond to the structures of earlier socialisation while at the same time setting the limits for action. Bourdieu (1977) observes that aspirations and practices of individuals and groups correspond to the formative conditions of their respective *habitus*. Thus *habitus* reproduces the attitudes and actions that are in line with the structures within which the habitus itself was produced. *Habitus*, therefore, is "necessity made into virtue" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 95). Bourdieu also suggests that early experience is central in shaping later behaviour and values. To him, these early experiences mould an agent into a state that is difficult to change. However, Cheal (2005) argues that people can act inappropriately in the field if they have not modified their *habitus* through practice. This implies that for *habitus* to take root an agent has to practise those activities that constitute it.

Additionally, Swartz (1997) posits that through *habitus*, individual action is shaped such that particular opportunity structures are maintained. In other words, it represents the generating of self-fulfilling prophecies in accordance with different classes. Swartz (1997) also argues that actors' dispositions of *habitus* force them into practices in which they are likely to succeed or fail depending on their past experiences and resources. Thus people's aspirations and prospects are adjusted in relation to the chances of success or failure attributed to members of the particular class for a specific behaviour (Bourdieu, 1991; Cheal, 2005; Swartz, 1997). In other words, this implies that our *habitus* directs our actions in accordance with the consequences that we anticipate. The argument raised by Bourdieu (1991) is that people's *habitus* legitimates social and economic inequality through people's unquestioned acceptance of the conditions of their existence. He argues that social games or life games are not fair.

Bourdieu believes that symbolic power is experienced when agents "voluntarily give up power, because they believe that the particular person has the power to do things" (Cheal, 2005, p. 161). Symbolic power is maintained in the form of perceived benefit for others and for the general good. In essence Bourdieu suggests that the distribution and redistribution of capital is regulated by symbolic capital. Because people believe that those who have symbolic capital have power, they give over their own power voluntarily. Symbolic power, therefore, exists "because the person who submits to it believes that it exists" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 192). Despite these arguments, Bourdieu agrees with Nietzsche (1966) in pointing out that people always act out of self-interest in any circumstance. He argues that every act is interest driven and that people have a 'will to power' (Nietzsche, 1966). All activities are informed by self-interest and are governed by the rules of the specific field in which the activity takes place, as well as the agent's place within that field.

Another manifestation of symbolic power is through what Bourdieu (1990b) calls symbolic violence. Misrecognition is fundamental to understanding symbolic violence. Violence in Bourdieu's terms is understood as enforcing power in ways that cannot be explained in justifiable terms. This enforcement, however, is not forceful but rather

operates through complicity. To Bourdieu, an agent is subjected to symbolic violence with her complicity. Thus agents can be given subordinate positions, denied access to certain public positions and spaces without them recognising this as violence. They take this as the way life should be.

The relationship between misrecognition and symbolic violence can be seen in the way gender relations have been traditionally defined in terms of male domination. According to Webb *et al* (2002, p. 25), "patriarchy cannot be understood simply in terms of women's coercion by men". They posit that "gender domination takes place because women misrecognise the symbolic violence to which they are subjected as something natural." As a consequence, women become complicit in producing the very performances that work to mark their domination. They implicitly recognize the existence of hierarchy in the field but rationalise this as the way the world is, as natural (Cheal, 2005; Webb *et al*., 2002).

4.3.2.3 Applicability to the study

Bourdieu's theory of practice is useful in offering tools to explain social practice through the complex interaction between material structures and the agent. Bourdieu explains social practice as the interconnection between "class *habitus* and current capital as realised within the specific logic of a given field" (Calhoun, *et al*., 1993, p. 6). He also provides a convincing argument of how power produces and is produced in fields of practice.

Understanding the interrelationship between field, *habitus* and capital enables us to develop, according to Calhoun, *et al*. (1993), a reflexive approach to social life and it goes a long way in helping us understand the production of social structure. Bourdieu believes that examining human life is unproductive if it does not provide the chance for people to understand the importance of their own actions within and between fields. Calhoun *et al* (1993, p. 6) explain Bourdieu's illumination of the inequalities which are reproduced socially and culturally through investigating and analysing how dominated groups have a *habitus* which masks the conditions of their subordination.

In applying Bourdieu's theory, therefore, I was able to identify and describe dominant structures in the women's lives, as well as explain how they are constituted. In addition, I was able to trace how rules in one field of practice get transposed or modified in another field. Importantly, I was able to describe how women teachers modify their behaviour in one field (teaching) as a result of the rules applicable in another field of practice (womanhood). In essence, Bourdieu's theory of practice enabled me to explain how these women teachers came to be who they are as well as describe the conditions that shaped their attitudes, beliefs and experiences. I was unable, however, to use his theory to tell the whole story since it could not offer insight into how teachers exercise agency to make choices outside a predetermined script.

4.3.2.4 Limitations in Bourdieu's theory of practice

Bourdieu argues that people act out of self-interest and the capital available in the field. They reproduce positions and relations of dominance and subordination through misrecognition and through an embodied *habitus*. As already stated in the discussion above, such a lens is useful for developing the argument that early experiences shape identity. It is also useful in tracing how agents might act in complicit ways to reproduce hierarchical relations of power. However, agents are not always complicit. They often act to reproduce different sets of power relations.

Bourdieu (1977) argues that instead of transforming power relations and redistributing capital, an agent's actions maintain these structures. The resilience of *habitus* in his explanation becomes problematic. *Habitus* is understood as predisposing an agent thereby serving as a constraint in which chances for transformation are limited. He also introduces a different set of relations, between agents with power and agents without power. Regrettably, Bourdieu does not elaborate on how the processes of internalisation and externalisation become activated (see also Anderson et al., 2007; Baxen, 2006). Additionally, *habitus* is seen as resistant to change because Bourdieu sees agents' primary socialisation as being formative of internal dispositions than subsequent socialisation experiences. His construction of *habitus* is problematic for feminists who are offended by the absence of a nuanced construction and description of gender in his

work. According to McCall (1992), Bourdieu's work underplays the masculinised constructions of social reality.

McCall (1992, p. 848) provides a feminist critique of Bourdieu's work by arguing that women in highly stratified societies do not experience the taken-for-granted "fit" between dispositions and positions that Bourdieu's concept of habitus presupposes. Bourdieu also defines power as external to the individual, residing in structures that "press(es) on the subject from the outside" (Butler, 1997, p. 2). His concept of power foregrounds a subject who has very little space to manoeuvre outside the predetermined script because structures are imposed from the outside. Even though he describes an embodied subject, Butler (1997) observes that forms of embodiment are only relevant to Bourdieu in as much as they reproduce and maintain existing forms of power. For him, power informs and maintains the status quo. In other words, he does not account for how power forms the subject; how the subject depends on it for existence (Butler, 1997). He, therefore, leaves concepts of power that describe how subjects are formed through relations of power rather than only through power dynamics unattended. Such an omission leaves little room for agency. This is where feminist post-structural theories were employed for a conceptualisation of human beings as actively creating and shaping their realities instead of being passive victims of social structures.

4.3.3 Feminist theories

Feminist thinking allows for women's lived experiences to be scrutinised and the meanings they associate with the conditions of their lives questioned (Grumet & Stone, 2000). Thus post-structural feminist theories including Butler's notion of performativity have been used to bring forth the lived experiences of women teachers teaching sexuality education in rural schools.

4.3.3.1 Post-structural feminist theory

The *feminist post-structural theory* has been used as the analytical framework for this study. The central tenet of post-structural feminism is the belief in the social construction of people's realities. A post-structural feminist analysis exposes women's daily oppression in societies and the daily interactions that perpetuate such oppression (Lather,

1991). Post-structural feminism argues that humans actively participate in creating their realities rather than passively becoming victims of social reproduction. I therefore considered the women teachers as agents having the power to make choices in different situations.

The post-structural feminist theory observes that experiences are situated. Thus it is important to acknowledge that individual experiences occur within a society where language, social structures and power relate to produce contrasting ways of allocating meaning (Jackson, 2001). In other words, as individuals interact with different discursive fields, certain values become deeply held such that the meanings that people make out of life become constant fields of conflict. Thus through interactions with each other and their environments, human beings become bound by norms and ways of doing that exist within a particular context. This is in line with Dewey's principle of interaction which posits that present experiences occur through interaction with one's environment.

In agreement, Guerrero (1999) argues that the politicised nature of interpretations and meaning making is a product of power because the discourses and interpretations that are powerful gain their status from societal interactions. These arguments helped me understand how the women teachers made meaning of their woman self and teacher self in relation to their teaching. Self in this study is understood through the social constructivist conception of self as a continual process of self-construction through and by the influences of social life (Brown, 2004) and the dialogic view of self as "always engaged in relationships with others and the social context" (Mkhize, 2004, pp. 5- 18).

The women teachers revealed the socially constructed versions of Basotho womanhood and teacher-hood. Through their activities and discussions as women teachers they have constructed the meaning of their positioning and made sense of their experiences as women teachers in a rural society. This theory was also helpful in providing an understanding of the construction, positioning and regulation of childhood and female sexuality through social institutions such as schools, families and the church.

However, the post-structural feminist perspective posits that people are neither passive recipients of socialisation nor are they biologically fixed or psychologically determined. People actively construct the world and shape their lives and those of others (Bhana, 2002). Hence, human experiences derive from power relations that are socially mobilised. Applied to this study, these notions highlight the fact that society constructs certain ways of being for women and the women teachers are expected to fit into the mould. Those in power such as husbands, chiefs, principals, and policy-makers socially construct the discursive and hence material spaces within which the women teachers live and experience their world.

While this section deals with feminist post-structural thinking as an analytical tool for this study, it is important for me to also discuss post-structural thinking and how its tenets play out in this study. Post-structural thinking looks at discourse in terms of how it functions, where it is found and how it gets produced and regulated (Weedon, 1997). Foucault (1980) has argued that the subject is not a fixed entity, but that people are positioned and position themselves in discourse. Additionally, Burman (1994) states that discourse is a socially constructed framework defining the limits of what can be said and done. Thus, once a discourse becomes "normalised" it becomes a rule and hence limits what can be said and done. This enables certain groups of people to wield power in ways that will disadvantage other groups. Best and Kellner (1991, p. 26) argue that this is because discourses are "viewpoints and positions from which people speak and the power relations that these allow and presuppose." Thus discourse is embedded with power because of its ability to construct people in particular ways, or dictate certain ways of being normal (Davies, 1993).

What is deemed right and normal is socially construed and produced in discourse. For example, sexual entitlement is rarely aligned with women because dominant discourses attach power to female sexual innocence and restraint, while for men power is attached to male sexual prowess (Jewkes *et al.*, 2006; Kimmel, 2004). However, the constructions of female sexual restraint and male sexual prowess may not align comfortably with the lived sexual experiences of women or men. This is because identities are actively constructed

and reconstructed, produced and reproduced, maintained and resisted through interaction with the social environment; and hence are not produced in rigid linear ways.

Thus, while we may be positioned as powerless in one situation, we can also be positioned or position ourselves as powerful in other instances. This shows that power does not deny human agency, but allows different levels of possibility for the expression of agency. Foucault (1978) argues that power cannot be "acquired, seized or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points..." (p. 94). Different discourses position individuals as powerful or powerless. It is through discourse that individuals can be subjected to power or for them to exercise power over others. Foucault (1978, p. 129) also compares power to a game. He argues that there is no evil in exercising power over others "in a sort of strategic game, where things can be reversed..." Thus, just as in a game of chess, while one player could seem to be having the upper hand, this state could easily be reversed. This implies that none of the players has the power to keep or hold on to.

The women teachers in this study position themselves and are positioned through discourses that place them as subjects of power or active agents with power. Within the context of the rural school setting, the teacher self is constructed as powerful, while the woman self is constructed as powerless. Women teachers in rural schools are therefore always circulating between the threads of the power net while negotiating, producing and reproducing their different identities. Foucault (1978) argues that power relationships are reversible, unstable and mobile and they can be modified. Thus power is not owned or possessed but is exercised in ways that produce and reproduce inequalities.

Bhana (2002, p. 13) argues that there is no essential male or female. She posits that people are positioned as male or female by dominant discourses of gender which also provide the gender scripts to be performed by men and women. The possibility of different modes of subjectivity and creation of alternative discourse therefore exists. In support of this argument, Steinberg, Epstein, and Johnson (1997) observe that subjectivity comprises the ways in which we attribute meaning to our world, ourselves

and others. They state that the discursive networks which organise and systematise social and cultural practice shape and regulate subjectivity.

However, we are always faced with contradictory discourses in making choices about the meanings we give to our lives and other people's lives. Thus Steinberg *et al*., (1997) posit that:

> In gender relations it is not only the relations of power between men and women that are the problem; it is the way in which masculinities and femininities are constructed as separated categories that describe and circumscribe individual persons (p. 12).

Based on the idea that every relation is fluid, one can argue that the problematic constructions of masculinity and femininity can be troubled. The fluidity of power and gender relations is evidence to the fact that the borders between femininity and masculinity are permeable and fragile, allowing for slip ups and the performance of alternative scripts. Applied to this study on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education, these ideas help in highlighting that while the women teachers within this study are subjected to particular constructions of femininity there are possibilities for shattering the fragile border between femininity and masculinity. Hence there are possibilities for active resistance and performance of alternative scripts.

This framework was important for my study because it created spaces for challenging and unmasking issues that are taken for granted (Caputo, 1997; Derrida, 1976) through interrogating the socially and culturally constructed realities of women teachers' lives. As Atkinson (2003, p. 37) puts it, "The effect of a deconstructive approach is to question the assumed educational, theoretical or moral superiority of particular worldviews or dominant paradigms in educational research and practice." Thus, deconstruction helped me to challenge the sexuality education curriculum theory and practice so as to illuminate that a curriculum is not neutral but political, ideological, socially constructed and negotiated (Garfinkel, 2003; Gergen, 2003). It also helped in challenging the taken for granted social constructions of proper Basotho womanhood and teacher-hood.

4.3.3.2 Performativity

Butler (1990, 1993) observes that the construction of identity is a performance, and that gender is a performance serving the interests of heterosexuality. Using this idea, she argues that gender is a "repeated stylisation, a set of repeated acts" (1990, p. 33). During the performance there are disruptions, challenges, resistances and violations of norms; which threaten the performance of normalised gender and sexual scripts. Within the context of this study, the concept of performativity created spaces for visualising women teachers' lives as a stage upon which they perform their gendered and sexual scripts.   In any stage performance the actors/actresses can be subjected to the director's power while they can also actively decide how they perform and bring to life their given scripts. Thus, even in the lived experiences of the women teachers, there are spaces in which they are subjected to the dominant discourses of performing womanhood and teacher-hood while at the same time they actively challenge and resist the scripted performances. This means that, just as in a stage performance, the women teachers can have slip ups in the performance of their gender, sexual and teacher identities.

4.3.3.3 Bourdieu and Post-structural feminism

While I acknowledge the tensions between Bourdieu (a structuralist) and post-structural feminist theories, I am also aware of the opportunities these tensions have allowed me to look at women teachers' experiences as shaped by structures but not limited to the predetermined dictates of structures. Through his concepts, Bourdieu foregrounds certain features of social relations and the forces that shape them, thus enabling me to explicate the socially embedded nature of the women's daily social interactions and make visible the ways in which different societal practices such as traditions within the Lesotho context shape gender relations and influence decision-making practices within families and other institutions.

Bourdieu brings our attention to the taken-for-granted features of culture which are embodied and lived in *habitus* and sustained through social and organisational processes (Lynam *et al.*, 2007). These scholars argue that even although *habitus* is long-lasting, it can also change to accommodate new environments. For feminist scholars, the conditions

under which such accommodations are possible or even desirable are a crucial part of any understanding of how power relations are constructed. Hence, even though Adkins (2004) and Skeggs (2004) argue that Bourdieu's work does not take up the feminist agenda, Skeggs (2004, p. 20) observes that Bourdieu "has been particularly useful for enabling feminists to put the issue of class back onto the feminist agenda".

On the other hand, Anderson *et al* (2007, p. 185) argue that Bourdieu's writings start with theory in order to inform narratives of those who suffer, while post-structural feminist work begins with everyday lived experiences of "those who suffer for an inductive exploration that links everyday experience with the social". This implies that even though post-structural feminist theories and Bourdieu both address social suffering, they begin from different locations, with Bourdieu theorising about narratives to illustrate suffering while post-structural feminists begin with narratives of suffering in order to theorise. This tension has been employed in this study to incorporate the "humdrum details of everyday life to a more general social analysis of power" (Moi, 1991, pp 1019-20) in order to make the everyday lives of women teachers visible from their vantage point as those who suffer.

While this chapter has tried to bring together the theoretical underpinnings used to understand women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools, I have to acknowledge that even the different theories employed do not provide a complete and clear picture of the phenomenon under question. All epistemologies and theories are partial and in the making and therefore there are no complete knowledges. Each of the theories is limited to a particular way of seeing life and the limitations have been discussed for each theory. Bringing together these theories has, however, been helpful in complementing each other's limitations such that I could be able to look at different angles of the women's experiences.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the analytical toolkit used in this eclectic approach to research. The theoretical framing of this study employed an eclectic amalgam comprising Dewey's philosophy of experience, Bourdieu's theory of practice and feminist post-structural theories with particular reference to Butler's concept of performativity. These were used as analytical tools to excavate the meanings within the stories of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. I have presented and discussed the central tenets of post-structural thinking and how they played out within this study, linking them to feminist post-structural ideas on the importance of gender as a special lens to look into the socially constructed realities of life. Through these theories, I have discussed the possibilities for the performance of normalised as well as alternative gender, sexual and teacher identities, and the fluidity of power and identity constructions. A brief outline of Bourdieu's central concepts has also been provided in order to highlight how social practice can be influenced by structure and agency, and hence the women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools.

CHAPTER 5

Highlighting the path taken: Research design and methodology

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter looked into the influences of power and discourse on how individuals perform their different scripts. It discussed the possibilities for the performance of normalised as well as alternative gender, sexual and teacher identities by women teachers teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. Additionally, the fluidity of power and identity constructions was highlighted.

This chapter discusses the processes employed in this qualitative inquiry which explores how Basotho women teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. Commenting on the work of qualitative researchers who process, analyse, organise, and present their qualitative findings in categories, Constas (1993) observes that the researchers make all sorts of choices in creating research studies and methods. However, Constas (1993) further argues that, for the most part, qualitative researchers are not good at sharing these decisions and the rationales for the presentations of their work. As such, their work becomes vulnerable to the criticism of method-reporting deficit (Constas, 1993). This chapter aims to avoid the method-reporting deficit, by discussing and justifying the choices made with regard to the research design, methodology and methods of data production and analysis.

In part one I discuss the methodology while in the second part of the chapter I describe the actual data production procedures. I then go on to explore the ways in which I engaged in the analysis of the data. Finally, I include a section about my role as a researcher researching into the experiences of teaching about issues of sexuality, a domain which has been silenced in Lesotho so far, and how this has affected the ethical considerations of the study.

Part 1

5.2 Research paradigm

According to Baxen (2005), studies that have been conducted on sex and sexuality education have been primarily concerned with either making recommendations of what should be done in classrooms (see Bhana *et al*, 2006; Coombe, 2003) or how different methodologies could be applied to improve the knowledge base of learners (see Mirembe, 2002; Pattman, 2006). The researchers in these studies conducted *research on* teachers not *research with* the teachers who teach sexuality education. Against this background, I conducted my study as a collaborative peer inquiry into women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS by positioning myself at the centre of inquiry through reflecting upon and sharing my own experiences as part of the data. Thus my autobiography runs throughout the study.

My decision to adopt a qualitative feminist approach and working with a small group to produce data in a variety of ways is supported by Geertz (1988) who has shown that qualitative approaches and engagements with small groups allow a researcher to do "thick and deep" (p. 10) work to gain understanding into how a few individuals perceive and experience a phenomenon. Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1993, p. 18) also emphasize how teacher-researchers often draw on "multiple data sources that can be used to confirm and/or illuminate one another." Additionally, Clandinin and Connelly (1994, 2000) maintain that narrative inquirers use a range of qualitative methods to engender and collect field texts that relate diverse aspects of researchers' and participants' experiences in the research setting.

Feminist inquiry proposes equality and connectedness between the researcher and the participants and goes beyond knowledge production to promote social change through the use of knowledge, more importantly "knowledge about women that will contribute to women's liberation and emancipation" (Guerrero, 1999, pp. 16- 17). Explicitly feminist inquiry acknowledges and values "women's ways of knowing including the integration of reason, emotion, intuition, experience and analytic thought" (Guerrero, 1999, p. 15- 22;

Thompson, 1992). Thus, the knowledge produced in this study will hopefully change the researcher and the participants' practice of sexuality education, and propose a theoretical construction that will inform the sexuality education policy for Lesotho schools that will be supportive of women teachers.

Locating myself from the outset within feminist research methodology, I am aware of my role as a researcher and producing the narratives of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools, while deconstructing traditional conceptions of truth and objectivity in my analysis. Since the study was exploratory, an open and flexible approach that has room for "progressive refocusing" (Geertz, 1988, p. 14) and which allows for inductive approach to interpretation was needed.

Usher (1996) also outlines several principles of feminist research, which have relevance to my study, such as the significance of gender in the analysis and organisation of everyday interactions, deconstructing traditional truths and objectivity, as well as using multiple research methods. According to Lather (1991, p. x) the "ultimate aim of feminist research is action on the everyday world by women as subjects and objects of their own experiences." Feminist inquiry is characterised by looking at how the lens of gender shapes and affects our understandings and actions (Maguire, 1996; Reinharz, 1992; Ribbens & Edwards, 1998; Thompson, 1992).

A feminist perspective was chosen for its suitability in this study because it acknowledges and values women's ways of knowing and allows for the integration of emotion. Further, a feminist orientation to research advocates for participatory methods that are in line with raising consciousness and researcher reflexivity, while at the same time engaging in the production of knowledge for change (Guerrero, 1999, p. 15- 22; Olesen, 2000; Patton, 2002, p. 130). My aim in this study was to understand how women teachers experience teaching sexuality education and the meanings they make of their experiences. I did not set out to change the women teachers' status quo, even though I acknowledge that their understanding of their personal and professional lives could be transformed through participation in the study.

Feminist scholars have observed that women researchers choose to study topics that have relevance for them. Cotterill and Letherby (1993) highlight the value in using one's own personal experience in research (see also Smith & Watson, 1998; Stanley & Wise, 1993; Ribbens & Edwards, 1998). My choice for this topic was guided by my personal experience in relation the phenomenon of interest and it is important for my professional development as a scholar. Contrarily some researchers are against the use of personal experience as data (see Kelly *et al*. 1994, pp. 29 – 32).

While I am no longer a practising classroom teacher, I reflected upon and shared my experiences of having taught sexuality education in a rural school in Lesotho and my current experiences of teaching about sexuality at university level. In undertaking the study this way, I align myself with Clandinin and Connelly's (1994, p. 425) argument that "personal experience methods permit researchers to enter into and participate with the social world in ways that allow the possibility of transformation and growth." They also argue that "when both researchers and practitioners tell stories of the research relationship, they have the possibility of becoming stories of empowerment" (Connelly& Clandinin, 1990, p. 4). Thus my participants and I told our stories in a bid to empower ourselves.

Schratz and Walker (1995) also posit that if we are involved in qualitative research that helps us to become reflexive in our workplaces and practices, gain some insight into our perceptions, and awareness that others around us may perceive things differently, we will gain a deeper understanding of our situations and this can result in change. These authors see research as social action resulting from "processes of individual and social reflexivity and reciprocity" (1995, p. 118). They consider that individuals gain understanding of themselves and others through social interaction and that this gaining of different perspectives can lead to social change. Their suggestion for methods or tools for doing research as social change include the use of memory-work, drawings, and photographs, which have been used in this study.

Gitlin's (1994) call for research as social action and change in education takes the form of political activism that pays particular attention to where research is located and the power relationships set up between the researcher and participants. He argues for research to "be reconceptualised so that it can more powerfully act on some of the most persistent and important problems of our schools" (p. 2). His suggestion is that we should ask questions about how the context and relationships in our research affect our ability to make a difference in relation to education.

According to Gitlin and Russell (1994, pp. 181- 185), traditional research methodologies fail to bring about change because of their failure to recognise and incorporate the knowledge gained through lived experiences of teachers, or to promote self reflection. They therefore propose an alternative methodology "Educative research" in order to encourage "a dialogic process where participants negotiate meanings at the level of question posing, data collection and analysis" (p. 185), thus developing through this process the voices to question and explore issues and change practice because of gained insights.

A common feature of these researchers interested in research as social action or change is their rejection of research solely as a product. They advocate for the active involvement of teachers or learners and their lived experiences in a process of research that empowers them through the knowledge that they produce. This study focuses on the lived experiences of the women teachers and it is hoped that their participation in the study would help them produce the kind of knowledge that would be empowering for them and other women who read their stories.

5.2.1 Methodology

It is important to distinguish research methodology from research methods from the outset for purposes of this study. The term 'methodology' is employed here to denote an approach to data production or analysis whilst the term 'method' is used to denote a way or technique of data production or analysis (Best & Khan, 1993; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000; Swann & Pratt, 2003). There is, therefore, a marked difference between

methodology as an approach and method as a technique or way of doing something. However, as observed by Swann and Pratt (2003), more recently the term methodology is sometimes, and rather confusingly, used in place of method. I have maintained the difference and used the term methodology for approach and method for technique for purposes of this study.

A **phenomenological narrative** design was employed in this study (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Creswell, 2003). I label my methodology as phenomenological narrative because of "phenomenology's emphasis on understanding lived experience and perceptions of experience" (Patton, 2002, p. 115). This phenomenological influence has been used to drive the narrative inquiry in relation to the "experience of interest" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 124), which is the teaching of sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. Using phenomenology to explore the narrated lived experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools was one possible approach to overcoming the tendency of dealing with lived experiences in a banal way. However, van Manen (1997) points out that this has not been the case in all phenomenological inquiries. His critique is that thematic dimensions tend to dominate the expressive dimensions of inquiry, and he argues for a balance between the two. My hope was to counter van Manen's critique by engaging aspects of phenomenology and narrative in this study.

According to van Manen (1997, p. 353), bringing experience vividly into presence and phenomenologically reflecting on it is evocation. He continues by saying that a "text that creates evocation of meaning brings to immediate presence images and sensibilities that are so crisp and real that they in turn evoke reflective responses such as wondering, questioning, or understanding" (p. 354). To attain an evocative effect, the women teachers' storied experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools have been used diligently as data in the original voices of the participants.

Narrative researchers such as Bruner (1990, 1996), Clandinin and Connelly (1994, 2000), Conle (2000a) and Elliott (2005) assert that sharing stories of experience actually create psychological and social realities in people's lives. In narrative educational research,

story is used to bring the texture, depth, and complexity of contextualised, lived experiences of teachers, learners and researchers into view. The purpose is to discern significant narrative tensions and patterns that occur "along temporal dimensions, personal-social dimensions, and within place" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, pp. 128-129).

Narrative inquirers, often in collaboration with their research participants (see for example, Beattie, 1995; Clandinin, Pushor & Orr, 2007; Phillion, 2002), generate possibilities for new stories of action and development at the individual and social levels (Bruner, 1996; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Coles, 1989; Ritchie & Wilson, 2000). Narrative accounts of research also tend to explore the contextual and temporal dimensions of the research process (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, Clandinin *et al*., 2007; Conle, 2000a).

Connelly and Clandinin (1990, p. 2) argue that narrative studies are used in educational research because of the claim that "humans are story-telling organisms who, individually and socially lead storied lives." At the same time, Lodico, Spaulding and Voegtle (2006, p. 270) posit that "phenomenological research is mainly interested in an individual's interpretation of her experiences." Thus they argue that a phenomenologist attempts to understand the meaning of an experience through the eyes and voice of the participant. My interest in this study was in both the meanings that the participants made of their experiences of teaching sexuality education and how they experienced their teaching worlds. I was also interested in the stories they tell of their lives as women teachers. Thus I found that drawing from phenomenology and narrative was a suitable endeavour.

The phenomenological perspective has been used to capture the research participants' understandings and experiences of teaching sexuality education as a social phenomenon. Phenomenology helps to illuminate how research participants perceive a social phenomenon, how they "describe it, feel about it, remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others" (Patton, 2002, p. 104).

People as social actors express meaning about the events in their social world in order to make sense of their world (Creswell, 1998; Haralambos & Holborn, 1991). They distinguish between different types of events, actions, objects, and people through language. This study has explored women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools, their understandings and choices regarding their pedagogic practice, and the meanings they make of their experiences. As observed by Lodico *et al*., (2006, p. 271):

> Wanting to understand the human experience and how experiences are interpreted differently by different people would certainly be an appropriate reason to conduct a phenomenological study.

The process of interpreting the world is subjective since it depends on the opinions of the observer. Therefore, the most that can be done through a phenomenological study is gaining an understanding of the meanings individuals give to particular phenomena. Haralambos and Holborn (1991, p. 20) argue that understanding the meanings employed by members of the society in their every day lives is the end product of phenomenological research. Thus my conviction that people tell their stories in words as they reflect upon life and explain themselves to others and live their stories in an ongoing text (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Day, 1993) prompted me to have a narrative dimension to the inquiry and analysis adopted in this study, so that the study could go beyond simply understanding the meanings the women teachers made of their experiences but to also understand how they experienced their world. It is for this reason that a phenomenological narrative methodology has been employed in exploring the understandings and experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. The intention was to explore how and why women teachers understand, practice and experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural school in the age of HIV and AIDS.

5.3 Data production methods

This section presents the particular methods that were employed in this study and the reasoning behind the choice of each method and instrument used.

5.3.1 Memory work

Memory work as a method was developed within the fields of sociology and psychology. It was formally labelled by the German sociologist and feminist scholar Frigga Haug and a group of other feminist socialists in the sixties (Schratz & Walker, 1995), and continues to evolve within a feminist context. Some of the key people associated with feminist approaches to doing memory work include Crawford *et al* (1992) in Australia and Mitchell and Weber (1999) in the Canadian context. Samaras and Freese (2006) have also used memory work in their studies of teacher development and they argue that memory work is a self-study method used to represent autobiographical inquiry with critical and reflective revisiting, and hence it is a situated inquiry.

The pertinence of memory work is espoused by Mitchell and Weber's (1999) observation that memory work is an excellent method for gaining insight into childhood. In their book "*Reinventing ourselves as teachers: Beyond nostalgia"*, Mitchell and Weber used memory work in a study with teachers to explore their experiences of childhood in relation to their identity and practice as part of professional development and to suggest how relevant memory work is in gaining insight into the experiences of teachers and students. They draw in particular on the systematic and deliberate approaches to memory work suggested by Crawford *et al* (1992), Haug *et al* (1987), Kuhn (1995) and Zandy (1995) and suggest ways in which teachers can work back through personal memories of school to make the past usable in their teaching.

Haug *et al* (1987) have argued that memory writing helps us to explore new territories by offering us opportunities to transgress boundaries. Kuhn (1995, p. 8) also observes that "those who engage in memory work may be conscientised simply through learning that they do indeed have stories to tell, and that their stories have value and significance in the wider world." Berger and Quinney (2005) also observe that in telling our stories we

rework and re-imagine the past. We reflect back upon ourselves and entertain what we have and could become. They argue that "what is included or omitted from our stories makes plausible our anticipated futures" (p. 5). This relates to Hampl's (1996, p. 270) argument that "memories of negative experiences, especially painful incidents, are the most vivid in our minds." This has been particularly true for this study because the women teachers were able to reflect on memories of experiences that could be labelled as having been negative or painful for them.

According to Mitchell and Weber (1999, p. 56) memories of grief can be put to good use. They posit that "retrieval of those memories can influence one's work both in the classroom and professional life generally." Berger and Quinney (2005, p. 10) believe that a compelling story connects personal experiences to public narratives and therefore allows society to "speak itself" through each individual. DeHay (1994) also brings up the fact that in remembering, we reclaim and protect our past which dominant cultures often suppress. This, according to DeHay, implies that "remembering is crucial in the process of gaining control over one's life" (p. 43-44). Mitchell and Weber (1999, p. 9) state that "remembering is a nostalgic act", which can equip teachers with the skills to use their own schooling experiences in order to develop and improve their teaching.

Allender and Allender (2006, p. 15) argue that "unless we as teachers are conscientiously aware of what is driving our choices of behaviour in the classroom, we are likely to revert to the ways of the teachers who taught us." Samaras, Hicks, and Berger (2004, p. 908) also argue that "our past experiences of learning create hidden personal narratives that have a profound and sometimes intractable impact on the way we teach our students." Hence breaking away from ineffective pedagogies can help us discover our personal strengths. Using memory work in this study has helped the women teachers to reflect on their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools such that they could make those experiences usable in their present and future teaching of sexuality education.

5.3.2 Visual participatory methods

Using visual and participatory approaches for research has become popular in the social sciences. A growing body of scholarship in education (see Karlsson, 2001; Mitchell, De Lange, Moletsane, Stuart, & Buthelezi, 2005; Stuart, 2006), is using image-based strategies in their research methodology. In this study I employed photos and drawings to produce data on women teachers' understanding and positioning in relation to sexuality education. My choice for these methods was driven by the fact that the trying out of visual participatory methods is itself an intervention, a way of taking action and bringing about social change (Schratz & Walker, 1995). Central to my choice of visual participatory methods was the knowledge that such an approach can be enjoyable, flexible and deeply engaging to each individual's unique understandings and experiences of teaching about sexuality.

5.3.2.1 Photo-voice

Wang (1999) used photo-voice with rural women in China. Some scholars have also used photo-voice with children (see Ewald, 1996, 2001; Karlsson, 2001) and with trainee teachers (Stuart, 2006). These studies show that photo-voice can be used as a tool with participants to allow them to explore and engage with sensitive issues. Each participant's photograph represents a personal choice as well as a personal interpretation of reality (Goldstein, 2007), and therefore communicates that. The intention was for women teachers to be given simple point-and-shoot cameras to take photographs that depicted what sexuality meant to them.

However, the pilot project showed that this would not be feasible because of the sensitivity of the topic and the ease of getting ready situations that depicted sexuality. Therefore ready made photographs from magazines were used instead and the participants just chose the pictures that suited their project. The women teachers were given a prompt to use for choosing photographs that represented their view of what sexuality entailed and to write an explanation on why the particular photographs were selected. The purpose of using the photo-voice project was to get an understanding of how the women teachers understood the phenomenon of sexuality and how their

understanding related to their teaching of sexuality education and the way they experienced the teaching. While I acknowledge that it was easier to use magazine photographs, I also want to highlight the influence of such media on the women teachers' conceptions of sexuality and my bias in the selection of the magazines used. I argue that if the women had produced their own photographs, they might have presented something seldom seen or discussed.

5.3.2.2 Drawings

Drawing is a powerful technique for eliciting opinions and beliefs and generating discussion around an issue of interest (Stuart, 2006). Martin (1998) argues that drawings can offer an entry point and provide insight into the experiences and perceptions of the people producing the drawings. Schratz and Walker (1995, p. 77) observe that:

> Where photographs can take us behind the scenes and allow us to share witness with the researcher, drawings can take us inside the mind of the subject...the ways in which people draw things, their relative size and placement of objects for example can at least give us a starting point from which to ask questions.

Drawings were used in this study to get the women teachers' representations of their women and teacher selves. The drawings were used to allow me to get inside the minds of the women teachers in order to explore how they saw themselves as women and as teachers. Each drawing was accompanied by a written explanation of how the women teachers saw themselves as women and as teachers of sexuality education. The drawings revealed powerful metaphors that showed women teachers' understandings of themselves and the meanings they made of their multiple identities.

5.3.3 Focus group interviews

I chose to conduct focus group discussions with the women teachers to offer them a chance to talk about their memory accounts, drawings and photo-stories. Patton (2002, p. 405) argues that a good interview lays open "thoughts, feelings, knowledge, and experiences, not only to the interviewer but also the interviewee." He also attests that even though interviews may be intrusive in re-opening old wounds, they can also be healing. However, he warns that when interviewees open up and are willing to talk then

interviews pose the risk of becoming confessions particularly under the promise of confidentiality (cf. Willig, 2001). I was therefore aware of these arguments as I conducted the interviews which also seemed to be very intrusive particularly concerning the issue of sexuality in the women teachers' lives. Focus group discussions were chosen for their ability to provide researchers with tools for understanding the experiences and opinions of participants that may not come out through individual interviews (Krueger, 1994). Krueger and Casey (2000) also write that because of human being are social animals, focus groups become enjoyable to participants. The aim was to understand women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education, how they taught about sexuality, HIV and AIDS in their lessons and how they positioned themselves and are positioned as women and as teachers.

Focus groups are effective for collecting data from a number of people at the same time, without demanding a lot of structuring on the part of the researcher (Krueger, 1994; O'Brien, 1993). Focus groups have also been hailed in promoting women's social justice issues by exposing and validating women's everyday experiences of oppression, their collective resistance and strategies for survival (Madriz, 2000). Additionally, Krueger (1994, p. 8) argues that "interactions among participants enhance data quality. Participants tend to provide checks and balances on each other, which weeds out false or extreme views." Within the African context groups are the basic units of social activity and hence this makes focus groups an ideal method of data production (Obeng-Quaido, 1987). Thus this method was also suitable in rural Lesotho.

As mentioned in Chapter one, Basotho women are renowned for their communal practices and hence group activities are the norm, especially in the rural areas. Within the group, chances of getting information that might not come up in one-on-one discussions were improved. The women teachers had the opportunity to share their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools within an environment which was conducive because the groups were single-sex groups. This allowed them to openly discuss sensitive experiences which might not have come up in a mixed-sex group.

5.4 Developing and piloting the instruments

All instruments designed for this study were piloted in Maseru, where I live, before using them with the rural school teachers. I worked with women teachers based in schools on the outskirts of Maseru. The women teachers were informed about the study, and the rationale for the different data production methods.

The pilot exercise allowed for revision of some methods which were challenging with the pilot participants. It was problematic for the participants to take photographs that depicted their view of sexuality. They argued that it was not easy to get ready situations where they could just take the kind of photographs that would express their views. They pointed out that they would have to use staged photographs in order to get photographs that would be true to their views of sexuality. In line with this observation, I decided to give the pilot participants magazines so that they could choose photographs that represented their views of sexuality. This proved more workable and hence magazine photographs were used in the actual study in the rural schools.

While I was aware of the power differentials between the pilot participants and myself, I was also aware that they could not be completely removed. I did my best to ensure that I reduced the feelings of unease among the pilot group. This group gave me an idea of the likely challenges that I could encounter by using the methods planned for producing data.

5.5 The research participants

The study was conducted in two rural secondary schools within the Quthing district in the south of Lesotho. The selected schools are in remote villages that are not easily accessible due to poor gravel roads. The common mode of transportation between some of these rural villages is on horseback or using pick-up trucks which act as taxis. Participants for this study were purposively selected (Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Merriam, 1998). The participants were eight women science teachers (four from each school) who previously taught the infused version of sexuality education (POP/FLE) and are presently trialling the Life Skills Education curriculum. My selection of the participants was deliberate for this study. My choice was based on the participants'

accessibility and specificity (Cohen & Manion, 2000). These participants were suitable in the exploration of how the sexuality education curriculum is being enacted within rural classrooms, specifically by women teachers.

Cole and Knowles (2001) argue that participant selection in the genre of personal experience is not aimed at population representativeness, but depth of information. They argue that working thoroughly and meaningfully with one participant is more important than ending up with sketchy understandings based on many views. Thus I worked with only eight teachers (biographical data) and myself (autobiographical data) to provide snapshots of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education and what happens in the sexuality education classrooms mediated by women teachers. Because of the limited scope of the study, the data produced can only be used to provide a glimpse into the private area of sexuality education. **Figure 5.1** provides details of the profiles of the women teacher participants.

In relation to the other villagers, the women teachers involved in this study had big modern houses with iron-sheet roofing and several rooms. The biggest was a three bedroom house with a spectacular view of the valley below the village. This house belonged to the widow whose husband had been working in the mines and who, as I am told, had managed to use her husband's payoff money from the mine to build the house. A big house in the village is a sign of wealth and social standing and thus the teachers I worked with in this study were regarded as comparatively well off. I had thought this issue would make the other villagers not to accept my presence in the village because I was associating with the supposedly 'well off', but it turned out that I was able to work my way into all spheres of village life and I was accepted by almost every villager I met.

Names	Age	Marital status	Teaching experience	Position at school	Educational qualifications
´Matsebo (B)	37	Married	12	Disciplinary committee	Bachelors degree in Science education
´Mathuso (B)	39	Widow	14	Head of Department Mathematics & Science	Bachelors degree in Science education
´Maneo (B)	36	Married	7	Entertainment committee	Diploma in Science education
´Mampho (B)	34	Married	10	Board Representative	Secondary Teachers' Certificate (Science)
´Matau (M)	36	Married	12	Disciplinary committee	Diploma in Science education
´Mathato (M)	34	Married	9	Sports committee	Secondary Teachers' Certificate (Science)
´Matumo (M)	34	Married	9	Head of Department Mathematics & Science	Bachelors degree in Science education
´Matsepo (M)	36	Married	10	Sports committee	Diploma in Science education

Table 5.1 Research participants' biographical information

The women teachers did not seem to have any problems relating to each other irrespective of their differences in qualifications and the positions held in school. They seemed to accept and respect each other's status without feeling disadvantaged. I cannot say with any certainty why this happened.

5.6 The schools

For purposes of this study, the two schools will be named Bahale High School and Makoala High School. **Figure 5.1** shows one building at Bahale High School, while **Figure 5.3** shows two building blocks at Makoala High School. The names of the schools where the women teachers come from are indicated in brackets in the above table.

Bahale High School is a co-educational Catholic school which serves several villages in the Quthing district. There are 500 students at this school and 25 teachers. 0f these teachers, 18 are women and seven are men. The principal and deputy principal are males while all heads of departments are women teachers. Although the Catholic Church is the proprietor, all the permanent teachers are paid by the government and the school only pays temporary teachers. The school provides lunch for the students daily.

Figure 5.1 Bahale High School

Due to long distances that students have to travel to get to school from their villages, there are some hostels that have been erected around Bahale High School which parents rent for their children so that they could be closer to school. Some students rent a room by themselves while others share a room to cut the costs and for security reasons. These

hostels are useful in terms of bringing the children closer to the school but also provide lots of disciplinary challenges for the school, the community and the owners of the buildings.

One of the biggest challenges posed by the hostels has been unplanned teenage pregnancy and STI infections. With their newly acquired freedom in having their own rooms, the students get tempted to form miniature families where boys and girls would stay together without the knowledge of the parents or guardians. The hostel owners are supposed to monitor the wellbeing of their minor tenants but this has not been the case. Without proper adult supervision within the hostel dwellings, girl children become even more vulnerable to rape from their school mates as well as from the villagers who take advantage of the situation. **Figure 5.2** shows some of the hostels next to Bahale High School.

Figure 5.2 Hostels used by Bahale High School students

On the other hand, Makoala High School is a co-educational community school which also serves several villages. Makoala High School has boarding facilities for the students and hence most students who come from far villages are housed at the school. There are 630 students enrolled in this school. 300 of them are boarding students with 180 girls and

120 boys. Students from nearby villages travel to and from school every day. Students who board at the school are only allowed to go home once a month. They are kept in highly regimented surroundings with strict rules around students' movements and activities in order to offer protection and to discipline them. This school has a big hall which is used as the dining area for the boarding students as well as the day-scholars. The students share the lunch meal, while the morning and evening meals are only for boarding students.

Makoala High School has 30 teachers. There are 17 women teachers and 13 male teachers. The principal and deputy are male teachers and there is only one woman head of department. Permanent teachers in this school are also paid by the government. This school has a lot of non-academic staff that takes care of the boarding facilities and the feeding of the boarding students. These members of staff are paid by the school from the school fees, thus making the school fees more expensive for boarding students.

Figure 5.3 Makoala High School

5.7 Ethical considerations

There is a variety of scholarly opinion on ethical issues in social research. For instance, Sarantakos (2005, p. 16) observes that ethics in social research aim at making research more systematic and accountable through regulations on the access to information as well researchers' behaviour. Research ethics also "ensure that inquiry is conducted according to professional and ethical standards" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 16). For Wassenaar (2006, p. 61), the main aim of research ethics is protecting the participants' welfare. The theory of relational ethics proposed by Adler and Lerman (2003), on the other hand, points out that the researcher must actively care about and care for the researched and their rights, to ensure that there are no negative repercussions encountered by the research participants through the research or publication of its findings. Thus the central aspect of research ethics is protecting research participants from any harm. Sarantakos (2005) identifies three types of harm that can be experienced by the research participants, namely, physical, mental, and legal.

This study therefore employed, as far as possible, the following four widely accepted ethical principles: nonmaleficence, autonomy and respect for dignity of research participants, beneficence, and justice (Wassenaar, 2006). It has also been acknowledged that research ethics should include issues of "scientific misconduct and plagiarism" (Wassenaar, 2006, p. 61). The principle of nonmaleficence argues that researchers should ensure that participation in a study should "not cause any harm to the participants either directly or indirectly" (Wassenaar, 2006, p. 67).

In keeping with this principle, this study did not involve any physical harm (Sarantakos, 2005) on the part of the research participants. Furthermore, every effort was taken to ensure that the research participants are not subjected to any mental harm. There was no procedure that would intentionally cause the participants "discomfort, stress of some kind, anxiety, or loss of self-esteem or embarrassment" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 19), even though I acknowledge that the subject matter of the study was very sensitive.

In relation to the principle of autonomy and respect for participants' dignity, every effort was taken to make sure that there could be no legal harm done to the participants by not violating their right to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality (Sarantakos, 2005, p.19). In this study, I avoided any deception or misrepresentation in my dealings with the research participants by ensuring that they understood the purpose of the study and answering their questions regarding the study.

The principle of justice in social research requires that research participants "receive what is due to them" (Wassenaar, 2006, p. 68). Thus all promises made to the research participants were kept during the course of this study in relation to their freedom to withdraw, their anonymity and confidentiality and safeguarding their interests (Denscombe, 2002). Anonymity has been achieved through use of pseudonyms when referring to the research participants, their villages and schools. The information they have provided is confidential and has been used only for purposes of the study. If any of this information has to be used for other purposes, the participants will be duly informed. The women teachers were cautioned not to reveal the contents of the group discussions or any part of the study to anyone who was not part of the study so as to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. I also ensured that I was seen talking to other women teachers who were not research participants so that my participants could not be easily identified by the school community.

To safeguard the interests of the research participants, I was mindful of the fact that getting people to participate in research is both intrusive and obtrusive, involving personal interaction and requiring cooperation between the researcher and the research participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Thus the fieldwork was done during times which were suitable for the participants to still pursue their other daily activities. For example, the data was produced when school was out and the teachers had some time to themselves. I was ethically bound to respect the participants by behaving in a way that did not upset their private and public spaces. Denscombe (2002, p. 179) argues that:

> Social researchers need to be sensitive to the likely impact of their work on those involved. Whether research is done on people or whether it is done with them, there is the possibility that their lives could be affected in some way through the

fact of having participated. There is a duty on researchers, therefore, to work in a way that minimizes the prospect of their research having an adverse effect on those who are involved.

Informed consent was therefore sought from the District Education Official, the school principals, and the participants themselves. The instruments used were in English and Sesotho so that the participants could express themselves freely in the language they were more conversant with in order to avoid the participants misrepresenting themselves through using words they did not fully understand. Participants were also asked to read the transcripts to ensure that they were comfortable with what was in them and to give consent on the use of such material to avoid any legal implications. The participants will be given copies of the thesis so that they can have access to the interpretations and conclusions I have drawn from our collaboration. I am hoping that this will foster further reflection on their practice of sexuality education.

Wassenaar (2006) states that research should benefit the research participants or the society in some way. This study has hopefully benefited the participants by helping them reflect on their understandings and practice of sexuality education as women teachers in rural schools. By virtue of having participated in this study it is hoped that the women teachers would become more efficient facilitators of sexuality, HIV and AIDS education and be in a position to challenge the status quo in terms of what constitutes Basotho femininities and masculinities. By reflecting on how they position themselves and are positioned as women and as teachers, the women teachers are expected move away from performing normalized womanhood and teacher-hood in a bid to improve their personal and professional lives.

This study is also expected to contribute to knowledge that can be used by the Ministry of Education, Lesotho, to better plan for effective sexuality education classrooms and to create conditions that are conducive for women teachers as well as men teachers to effectively facilitate sexuality education in schools. By understanding how women teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education, policy makers would be in a

better position to design curriculum and pedagogical strategies that take into account the lives and socialization of Basotho teachers.

The last ethical consideration relates to what Wassenaar (2006, p. 61) describes as plagiarism and scientific misconduct. To counter this, I have done my best to acknowledge all the information I have used in this study and have disclosed my research motivation, research design, methodology, methods and their logic.

Part 2

5.8 In the field

Because of the sensitivity of the research topic in relation to the context, I divided the data production into three stages which were the preparation phase, actual data production, and debriefing. I was aware that I had to gain the trust of my participants and to ensure that they were comfortable with being part of a study dealing with sexuality- a taboo subject in Lesotho. The preparation phase was designed specifically to get access to the women's trust and to build rapport. It was also an important stage for reducing the effect of power differentials among the participants and me. The debriefing phase was designed for purposes of getting rid of any anxieties that could have arisen during the process of the study.

During the research process, I kept a journal in which I recorded my stories of my engagement with the research. Journaling is a data production method that is frequently used by teacher-researchers and researchers who adopt narrative approaches to educational inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Hamilton & Pinnegar, 1998; McCutheon, 1992). Reading my journal created an awareness of its importance in providing an unthreatening and intimate space in which to deliberate over my researching experience and to bring ideas into being (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994, 2000). It also became a record of the anxiety, frustrations and triumphs that I experienced during the research process:

> I am feeling really sad today. I am not sure how I will help the woman who wants to divorce her husband. Am I the right person to offer advice? How can I help her make an informed choice? This is really frustrating because I understand what she

is going through...at least writing about my feelings makes it easier to work through them (Mathabo, Journal, 2009).

5.8.1 Preparation phase

While I may be an 'insider' by virtue of being a Mosotho woman teacher, I have to acknowledge that in the context of my research (a rural village) I was somehow an 'outsider'. My divorced status was problematic in the rural context where: *mosali o ngalla motseo* (a woman never leaves her family but runs to the kitchen). The implication of this saying is that a good Mosotho woman should never get divorced despite the problems within the marriage. Another factor I took into consideration was my educational status which positioned me as having 'rebelled' against the belief that women do not need to be educated but need a good husband. I acknowledge that there are many educated Basotho women in the towns, but the rural areas still maintain that women do not need education but to marry well and raise a family. My status, therefore, made my motives questionable especially when dealing with such a sensitive issue as sexuality education with married women teachers and hence I had to reassure the school community as well as the participants that my intentions were noble.

I used the opportunity of having an aunt (who has a good social standing) staying in one of the villages to get involved in community activities so that I could become 'part' of the village. An opportunity presented itself for me one weekend when there was a funeral function for one of the prominent members of the village. I attended the night vigil and spent the best part of the night singing hymns as if my life depended on it. The congregation was impressed and the following day I was asked to lead the hymns for the burial ceremony. This occurrence allowed me to get to know many of the villagers and I used this opportunity to invite some women including my participants to a women's party- *litolobonya*[13] (cf. Arnfred, 2007). The *litolobonya* dance involves moving the waist

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[13]Basotho tradition dictated that the women who helped when a child was born in a village should celebrate the birth of the child together with the new mother. This was usually done through a celebration called *pitiki,* where there would be song and dance and food to share. This was a woman only feast and men were prohibited to even think of entering where such a function was held. A man who was found at such a place was whipped by all the women, using sticks, until he begged for mercy. The *litolobonya* dance was introduced into the *pitiki* ritual by the late Queen 'Mamohato Bereng Seeiso after having witnessed a

and buttocks in a backwards and forward movement imitating the sexual act and the gyration of the hips to the rhythm of a song.

My research participants from the neighbouring village were also present at the burial ceremony and thus they also got the invitation. I hoped that through this party I would be able to assure the women teachers that while I may be comparatively more educated and divorced, I was still a Mosotho woman who valued some traditional practices. My aunt usually holds such women's parties at her place and therefore this was not a strange occurrence for the village women.

I had to bear the cost of the refreshments for the party. Some of the women who attended this function enjoy traditional brews while other wanted modern alcoholic beverages. I had to pay some women to prepare the traditional brews as I was clueless on how to prepare them. This also proved to be an educational experience for me because the women who prepared the traditional brews were willing to show me how to prepare the mixtures. I believe they enjoyed seeing my enthusiasm to learn something that they were experts at and that despite my educational background there were some things I did not know. During this brewing session, they were the experts and I was the learner and this shifted the power differentials to some extent. Through this interaction the women teachers opened up and shared more of themselves.

On the day of the function the women who had gathered at my aunt's place were curious to see whether I knew anything regarding the particulars of the dance and singing done during a *litolobonya* festival. For starters we sang the popular song which literally asks the women present in the room to identify themselves in terms of their marital status and the number of children they have. The words of the song are:

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similar dance in one African country where she had paid a royal visit. Basotho women all over the country loved it so much that it became a central part of the *pitiki* celebration and the pride of many Basotho women.

Ipoleleng Basali[14]   *(Lead)*

Uena u mang?   *(Response)*

      Ke ´na ´me ´Mathabo   *(Individual recital)*

      Ea hahileng Maseru

      Ngoana oaka o mong

      Ke ausi Kananelo

      Efela ke Mosali

Say who you are women

Who are you?

      I am Mathabo

      I live in Maseru

      I have one child

      A daughter by the name of Kananelo

      I am indeed a woman

All the women in the room were expected to recite their stories and after this the group acknowledged itself as being made up of real women. The real dancing and singing started and everybody showed their prowess. It was really refreshing to see how shocked the women were to see that I could sing and dance with the best of them. The only thing I could not do was to ululate and I was given some lessons on this in vain. I became a hit with the village women who were really impressed that I could join in this occasion. My divorced status never again became an issue with this group of women. While the women teachers had already agreed to participate in the study, they seemed to become more relaxed in my presence during this function. The *litolobonya* function seemed to cement their resolve to take part in the study. It also made our relationship to become more relaxed and the power differentials were reduced.

The peculiarity of the *litolobonya* function was that most of the songs that were used were songs that told stories of infidelity and extra-marital relationships (see **Appendix**

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[14] *Basali* literally means women, but in this context it implies married women with children.

A). I was told that they are used to mock other women who believe their husbands were loyal to them. The gist of the songs is that if a woman could not satisfy her husband sexually then other women who knew how to perform sexually would take him away. The highly sexual dance that accompanies these songs is suggestive of how the women in the group believe the sexual act should be performed to keep a man happy in the family. The *litolobonya* dance is intended to be both educational as well as humorous to create a favourable environment for women to learn some skills of being sexually pleasing to their husbands.

The *litolobonya* dance and song gathering is one of the few places I know of in which Basotho women are free to acknowledge their sexuality and to freely talk about issues of sexuality among themselves. The supportive group environment allows for the women within such a gathering to lose their inhibitions and become as sexual as they can be through the dancing ritual. It also provides a relaxed environment for the women to share tips on how to better please their husbands sexually. However, the exclusion of unmarried mothers and childless women from the group is testament to the belief that marriage and childbirth are signifiers of good womanhood and that sexuality is only sanctified in heterosexual marriage.

During the dance party I was able to arrange with my participants to meet them at their schools for the data production. The days that followed the *litolobonya* party became more pleasant as I felt less like an outsider and my interactions with the immediate school community had improved.

5.8.2 Dressing for research

> Almost as a matter of course, wearing, or seeing someone wear an item of clothing establishes connections and association between a particular garment and a particular person, event, experience or moment in time... (Weber & Mitchell, 2004, p. 257)

Weber and Mitchell (2004) aptly capture the importance of clothing and the meanings that can be read into how one is dressed; thus the importance of dress in the relationship

between the researcher and research participants. It became important for me during the research process to decide what to wear. I had to ensure that my dress code was suitable for a rural village and that it was the accepted code for adult women. I also had to ensure that my dress code made the women participants feel comfortable around me, that I was not dressed in a manner that would increase the power differentials between us. As a divorcee, I have been considered an easy sexual target by men and a threat by married women. Because of this, my involvement with the women teachers within the rural setting was delicate and thus my dress style very important. I had to assure them that my intentions were pure and that I was not after any man in the village. I also had to portray, to the men, a picture of respectability so that they would not think I was an easy target for their lust.

I am mostly comfortable in a jean and T-shirt, with a pair of trainers. Within the context of the village, this kind of attire was not suitable for an adult woman and it was supposedly worn by 'loose' and immodest women who wanted to reveal their bodies. It was a great challenge for me to get out of my comfort zone and comfortable clothes in order to fit the context of the village. I had some modern European dresses which were not really suitable either because they were not the right length (I prefer my dresses to be knee-length). I realised that the only dress that would not raise any questions for me would be the *seshoeshoe*[15] dress. My mother had to make three new *seshoeshoe* dresses for me for the field-work because the ones that I owned were a bit short for the standards of the village. However, the new dresses came with another complication. I wanted them to look worn so that the participants would not feel threatened by them. I had to wash them several times before wearing, just to give them the worn look.

The problem of the dress was sorted but what remained were the shoes. I could not wear any formal shoes with my *seshoeshoe* dresses because of the amount of walking that I had to do daily to get to the schools. I found myself in the most awkward position of having to wear a formal dress with trainers. I found myself hating everyday that I had to dress in such a manner. I had to have a shawl or a Basotho blanket for warmth depending

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[15] The *seshoeshoe* dress is the modern traditional dress for Basotho women.

on the weather. This created another challenge for me because my aunt told me that I wore the blanket like a man. She had to show me how to wear the blanket with some semblance of grace. My aunt also told me that I walked too fast for a woman and I had to change. I usually walk fast in my jeans and T-shirt without any worries, but in a dress I felt really clumsy, especially when time was limited and I had to hurry. The dresses were too long for my short frame and they made walking somehow problematic. I felt awkward and unattractive and this did not help with my confidence at all. It took some getting used to before I stopped feeling bothered by my appearance. I believe that the women teachers I worked with were more comfortable in the dress code expected of them through prolonged practice.

Everyday of the field work made me realise how torn I was between the desire to express myself personally, to be true to who I felt I really was inside and the desire to comply with perceived notions of how women teachers should look. I found myself asking questions similar to those asked by anthropologist Fred Davies regarding what to wear:

> Whom do I wish to please, and in so doing whom am I likely to offend? What are the consequences of appearing as this kind of person as against that kind? Does the image I think I convey of my self reflect my true innermost self or some specious version thereof? Do I wish to conceal or reveal? (Davies, 1992, p. 24)

I did my best to please the participants and the village community with my choice of dress during the period of the field-work. My aim was to conceal my body so as not to appear sexually inviting and to blend in with the other women so as not to be seen as an outsider university student. The person I managed to portray with my chosen dress assisted a lot with the data production even though what I presented was not my true 'innermost' self. I am still not sure up to this moment as to how the villagers and my participants read my dress code and the meanings they made out of it. I am also unable to say whether the women teachers were dressing for the research just as I was, and what part of themselves they portrayed. The question still remains: **in dressing for research does one dress to reveal their innermost self or to comply with common perceptions of being?**

5.8.3 Memory writing

A week after the preparation phase and having sorted out my dress code, I met the women teachers to start producing memory accounts of their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. Mitchell and Weber (1999), Crawford *et al* (1992), and Haug *et al* (1987) argue that writing about memory should be detailed and done in the third person in order to create distance between the memory itself and the person reflecting on their lived experience. Each woman wrote her memory account individually during their free time.

I believed that giving the women teachers time to think of their experiences and recording them individually would be beneficial for them to get into sensitive memories. While Mitchell and Weber (1999) talk of the benefits of collective remembering, I felt that it would not be appropriate for this study into women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools, even though the memory accounts would be discussed within the group. The guideline used by the participants to retrieve their memories was as follows:

Memory guide

- Reflecting on your experiences of teaching sexuality education, can you please recall any particular episodes or events pertaining to your teaching that caused a shift or change in your practice?
- Please write about one such memorable experience that was critical for you as a woman and as a teacher. Please include as many details and as much dialogue as you can remember so that the reader will have a sense of the interactions involved in the event. Do not worry about spelling and grammatical mistakes. Just write what comes to mind as it comes. Write your story in the first person. When you feel you have written all there is, then re-write your story in the third person using your name or a pseudonym.
- What impact do you think this particular experience has had on your personal and professional self?
- Prepare to share your narrative and reflections with the other women teachers

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Table 5.2 *Adapted from Motalingoane-Khau (2007)*

Nash (2004) argues that writing personal narratives means looking deeply into ourselves for the meanings which could, when done well, resonate with other people's lives with the possibility of inspiring them in considerable ways. Thus the memory writing exercise provided us with the chance to look deeply into ourselves as women teachers. However, relying on memory is challenging because what we remember and what we forget are out of our personal will. Some memories are given preference over others, hence individuals become unable to provide complete accounts of their lived experiences because "experiential accounts are never identical to lived experience itself" (van Manen 1990, p. 54). Despite this challenge, LaBoskey (2004, p. 843) argues that memory work is one of the self-analysis and self-transformation tools necessary for the improvement of teaching practice. She argues that whether our memories reflect the 'truth' or not, they are influential in the "construction of our identities, our current thinking and future behaviours" (2004, p. 843). In agreement, Crawford *et al* (1992, p. 39) posit that "memories contain the traces of the continuing process of appropriation of the social and the becoming, the constructing of self."

As van Manen (1990, pp. 120-1) notes, anecdotal narratives function as experiential case material and hence are important for making pedagogical reflection possible. He argues that each person gets touched or moved by story and therefore actively searches for the storyteller's meaning by reflecting on their own stories. LaBoskey (2004, p. 843) also argues that by reflecting upon and interrogating our memories, we enhance our ability to control their impact on our teaching.

5.8.4 Using visual participatory methods

The women teachers were given old copies of *People* magazine which they used to produce their photo-stories. I want to acknowledge my bias in the choice of magazine used by stating that *People* magazine is my favourite gossip magazine and I had many copies of it. The prompt was for the women to choose photographs that depict their understanding of sexuality or that speak to them about issues of sexuality. Plain paper

and paper glue were provided for the women teachers to paste their pictures onto the plain paper. The next step was for them to write what each picture said to them about sexuality, or why they chose the particular picture. The women teachers brought their photo-stories to the workshop for discussion.

Another prompt was provided for the women teachers to make drawings that depicted how they saw themselves as women and as teachers. They were told that the emphasis was not on good drawings but on representation of how they saw themselves. They were given plain A4 paper and pencils for their drawings. Each drawing was accompanied by a written account of why the particular drawing was chosen and what it meant to the participant. The drawings and photo-voice projects were done in my presence after school at the different schools.

The camaraderie characteristic of these sessions was exciting for me as well as for the women teachers. It felt as if we were back at pre-school cutting out pictures from magazines and creating our own stories. The women teachers enjoyed going through the magazines and they were quite upset that after creating their photo-stories the magazines would be destroyed. I had to assure them that I would bring them more copies of the magazines which they could keep for their own use. They told me that they thought using photo-stories would be a good way for them to work with their students and needed to know more about them. While I am not an expert on using photo-voice, I worked with them to show them how to choose photographs and create stories out of them as a way of passing on a message.

What the women teachers liked most about using the photo-stories was the effect of visuals on kick-starting the thought process. They argued that by just choosing and cutting out the pictures, they were already creating their stories and becoming more aware of their own understandings about sexuality. If we had had more time the women teachers would have liked to try out using photo-voice within the group to learn more about using it as a teaching tool.

The drawing sessions were even more exciting as the women teachers drew stick figures, gave the stick figures names of some people in the school community and made jokes about them. While drawing their representations of their woman and teacher selves, the women teachers lost the joy they had when they started. They stated that they had never had a chance to really reflect on what their lives meant as women and as teachers. Thinking of what drawing represented their woman and teacher selves forced them to face the realities of the social constructions of being a woman and a teacher and the inequality in the power afforded different identities.

5.8.5 Group discussions

A one day workshop was organised at Makoala High School because it had a hall. Participants from Bahale High School were transported to the workshop. Participants brought their photo-stories and drawings to the workshop. These were presented to the rest of the group to open up the debate around sexuality education. The participants also shared their written memory accounts. Reflections on the memory narratives provided information on how women teachers experience teaching sexuality education in rural schools. The photo-stories provided information on the women teachers' understandings of what sexuality entailed in relation to their teaching, while the drawings provided information on how the women teachers saw themselves as women and as teachers and how this positioning influences their teaching. Discussions during this session were audio-recorded. A light lunch and refreshments were provided for the women teachers during the workshop.

I led the discussion on the memory accounts by sharing my own story of teaching sexuality education in a rural school. During my presentation I could sense that the women teachers were shocked at what I was telling them. When I was through with telling about the experience they started asking me several questions in relation to the experience (see Chapter 6). One of the questions was "How could you get aroused by just thinking of a student's question?" I felt really awkward having to answer this question because the women teachers did obviously not comprehend what had happened to me.

For them it was unheard of. I thought I had spoiled things for them by revealing such a story because I felt as if I was being judged as a 'bad' woman.

However, I answered their questions to the best of my ability and eventually they started talking about their own stories which to me also seemed intense and sensitive. The first woman teacher to open up was the widow, who to my thinking had nothing to loose by relating her story however sensitive unlike the other women who still had husbands. It could also be that the widow learnt to speak up for herself when her husband died, while the other women still wait for male voices to give meaning to their thoughts. During her talk the other women teachers started joining in and confirming some of her points as being true to their own experiences. This made it easier for the other women teachers to talk about their experiences too. Our stories showed how our teaching of sexuality education was affected by several issues pertaining to the societies in which we live and the cultures and traditions that govern them.

The discussions on the drawings and photo-stories got the women teachers fired up to take action to better their situation. As we discussed the photo-stories the women teachers were able to identify the gaps in their knowledge of sexuality and how this affected the way they taught sexuality education in their classrooms. They started talking of ways in which they could improve their knowledge and practice of sexuality education. They made plans of steps to take to improve their teaching and I tried not to get too involved in these plans even though I promised that I could help in any way I could to implement their plans.

The discussion on the drawings became a bit emotional as the women teachers reflected on the meaning of their lives as women and sexual beings within the rural family context. For some of the women teachers it seemed as if the study had provided them with the only opportunity they had ever had to reflect on who they were as women and the power dynamics embedded in being and becoming a Mosotho woman. The drawings on how the women teachers saw themselves as women also brought reflections on their personal lives which were traumatic.

I was not prepared for such an emotional explosion. I could not help being emotional myself as these discussions forced me to reflect on my own experiences of having been married and the challenges I had faced. However, it was interesting to listen to how the women teachers commented on their position as teachers and how the power invested in this position contradicted their position as women, and how these two positions could be reconciled to create possibilities for them to better facilitate the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools.

At the end of the one day workshop I walked home with some of the women teachers. This gave me an opportunity to experience with them the societal expectations on teachers. As we walked on home we were greeted with warmth and respect by the village people. Some parents were brave enough to even stop the teachers on the way and ask them to assist with social problems that did not have anything to do with teaching. I began to realise that in the village, a teacher was expected to be knowledgeable in every aspect of life irrespective of gender. An example of such an occurrence was when one parent said "*Misi ngoana'ka fariki eaka e hana ho nka poho. Ebe nka etsa joang*?" (My daughter, I need help with my pig that does not get pregnant. What should I do?). The women teachers were expected to give assistance in this matter just because they were teachers and therefore knowledgeable. Luckily one of the women teachers also had pigs and she told this particular parent where to go to get a good boar.

The teacher position is prestigious to a point of becoming harmful to the teachers. The pedestal that teachers are placed on assumes teachers to be superhuman. As we were walking home, we stopped at a community tap to get some water to drink. There were some villagers collecting water and they let us fill our bottles first. Unfortunately as we were filling the bottles, one teacher who was suffering from flatulence broke wind loud enough for everyone near the tap to hear. The teacher was very embarrassed as we left the tap and one of the villagers said, behind our backs, "*Le matichere a phinya tjee*?" (Even teachers break wind in public?). While this statement was humorous, it still indicates much about the social construction of teacher-hood within the rural context.

147

It was striking that as we neared the homes of the women teachers, they seemed to change and become quieter. They dropped the leisurely pace that we had adopted from the school and wanted to hurry so that they could get home before sunset. This, they said, was so that they could not get into trouble with their in-laws and husbands. I am not sure if I was reading too much into the situation but the women teachers seemed to lose their joviality and appeared to become more depressed. The only people who carried on without any change were the widowed teacher and one other teacher whose husband was working away from home.

5.8.6 Debriefing

The purpose of this stage was allaying any anxieties that could have surfaced during the data production stage and forging a way forward. We discussed and reflected on the research process with my participants especially on the feelings that participation in the study had evoked and on what our experiences of teaching sexuality education meant for us now and for the future. This discussion brought out some of the women's plans to challenge the situations in their personal and professional lives.

One of the teachers talked of the fact that she was seriously considering divorcing her husband. We did our best to talk to her not to make rash decisions that she might regret. I felt bad about this turn of events as I felt responsible for inspiring this kind of feeling in this particular teacher. I felt as if my discussions on my marriage and how I had gotten out of it was the source of the divorce idea. While I felt good that the women teachers had had a chance to reflect on their personal and professional lives and considered ways of improving them, I was afraid of being responsible or blamed for any harm that could befall them.

Because of the intensity of the discussions in this session, I gave the women teachers the contact details of a professional counsellor within the district in case they felt they needed someone to talk to about their personal challenges. It was interesting to find out that none of the women teachers had ever considered professional counselling for their personal problems before. They argued that in Basotho culture, personal problems should be

solved within the family or by the extended family and village elders if such problems could not be resolved within the family.

In relation to their professional lives, the women teachers acknowledged the fact that they needed extra assistance with improving their approach to and understanding of sexuality education. Thus I gave them the contact details for educational support services to consult when they needed support in dealing with any challenges experienced in their teaching of sexuality education. I also promised to help them in identifying relevant literature to help them in their teaching.

5.9 Working with data

In this section I discuss and justify the data analysis process and methods employed. I discuss the analysis process and the challenges of translation within the study.

Data analysis is described as a transformational process in which raw data is transformed into insights about a social phenomenon under study (Wolcott, 1994). In this study, the social phenomenon under study is women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in Lesotho rural schools. Inductive thematic analysis has been employed with the view to reporting the participants' interpretations (understandings) in themes generated from the data.

The importance of the researcher's role in the process of data collection is stressed by several feminist scholars (Maynard & Purvis, 1994; Oakley, 1981, Reinharz, 1992). In agreement, Patton (2002), Nieuwenhuis (2007b) and Bartunek and Louis (1996), also argue that the impressions and feelings of the researcher are important in attempting to understand a particular setting and the people inhabiting it. Thus I was aware of my subjectivity and the influence of my world-view on working with the data at every stage of this research. Thus the women's perceptions and the meanings they made of their experiences are presented in their own voices in the study.

5.9.1 Thematic Analysis

Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that although thematic analysis is widely used in analysing qualitative data, it is poorly demarcated and acknowledged in its own right as a method. In fact, it is debatable as to whether thematic analysis is a method on its own or not (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Roulston, 2001). Scholars who do not recognise it as a method mainly argue that thematic analysis just provides core skills, such as "thematising meanings" (Holloway & Todres, 2003, p. 347), and the process of thematic coding (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). As such thematic analysis can be used in many forms of qualitative data analysis. Thus it is considered as the foundation for qualitative methods searching for patterns or themes, such as conversation analysis, interpretative phenomenological analysis, discourse analysis, and narrative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thus, scholars argue that it cannot be regarded as method in its own right (Holloway & Todres, 2003; Ryan & Bernard, 2000).

While Ryan and Bernard (2000) and Holloway and Todres (2003) do not regard thematic analysis as a method, other scholars argue that it "should be considered as a method in its own right" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 78). They observe that the only difference between thematic analysis and the other qualitative methods is that these other methods stem from or are tied to a particular epistemological or theoretical position while thematic analysis is not (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Despite that difference, thematic analysis has a clear theory and procedure of analysing qualitative data. As such, it can and should be considered as a method of qualitative data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Siedel (1998) contends that qualitative data analysis is as much an art as it is a science, since the data generated have to respond to the research question and be presented in a way that makes sense. As such, data analysis is not simply a matter of revealing structures and patterns but is a creative and personal process, guided by a rigorous analytical procedure (Siedel, 1998).

Thematic analysis is also described as "an inductive, thematic analysis" (Roulston *et al*., 2003). It is inductive because themes have to be generated from the data. In this study themes have been generated from women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality

education in rural schools. In conducting inductive thematic analysis, I have rigorously followed the analytical procedure proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) and Marshall and Rossman (2006). As noted, in the debate surrounding thematic analysis, the phases are generic to all qualitative data analysis (Holloway & Todres, 2003; Ryan & Bernard, 2000). So, whether thematic analysis is acknowledged as a method in its own right or not, it does not affect the procedure. It is along this generic procedure that I have conducted thematic analysis of the qualitative data of the study.

5.9.1.1 Familiarising myself with data

There are five main "field texts" (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994, p. 418) used in this study. These are written data from drawings, photo-voice stories, and field notes, transcripts of the audio-tape recorded focus group discussions with the participants, and written data from the memory work exercise. Ely *et al* (1991) argue that having audio-taped and transcribed conversations allows researchers to reflect on events and experiences such that they can supplement the details. Riessman (2002) also observes that the process of transcription is one excellent way of starting familiarising oneself with data. Commenting on the importance of transcribing as an aspect of thematic analysis, Bird (2005, p. 227) argues that transcription should be regarded as "a key phase of data analysis". It is also further argued that transcribing interviews is an interpretative act where meanings are created. It also involves making decisions on correcting the language during translation, thus changing the voice and expression of the participant (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Crotty, 1998; Gay, 1992; Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999).

After transcribing and typing the data, I edited the transcripts by checking them against the recorded tapes. The aim was to ensure that the transcripts had retained the information from the verbal accounts of the interviews in a way which was true to the original accounts. Transcribing and typing of the memory work, drawings and photo-voice data were important tasks in familiarising myself with the data and helped me gain a deeper understanding of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Following the transcribing and typing, another aspect of familiarising myself with the data was what Marshall and Rossman (2006) describe as immersion in the data, which involved reading and re-

reading through the data. Thus, I read and re-read through the data corpus, consisting of the transcriptions, typed copies of the drawings and photo-voice data, and the memory accounts. This enabled me to become intimately familiar with the data. The data sets were taken back to the participants for member checking and ensuring that they were comfortable with what was recorded, thus allowing them to change their statements if they felt the need. None of the women teachers changed their documented statements.

5.9.1.2 Generating Codes

After familiarising myself with the qualitative data, the next phase was data coding. Coding data involves transforming raw data for the purposes of analysis. Based on my familiarization with the data, I started with open-coding. This is described as manifest content analysis (Gay, 1992; Sarantakos, 2005), where the data are opened for ideas, themes, categories, or patterns emerging from the manifest content. Open-coding is conducted "to identify first-order concepts and substantive codes" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 349). I coded the data by using highlighters and writing notes in and on the margin of the text, to mark ideas. Coding involved reading and re-reading, coding and re-coding the data. This was done to identify segments of the data that reflected some ideas about the understandings and experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools in the age of HIV and AIDS.

The importance of generating codes as an aspect of thematic analysis is acknowledged by Braun and Clarke (2006) who observe that codes identify data features that are interesting to the analyst. In addition, Boyatzis (1998, p. 63) describes codes as "the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon." Miles and Huberman (1994) acknowledge coding as an important part of data analysis, whilst Tuckett (2005) argues that coding helps the analyst to organise the data into meaningful groups. Thus, coding is a critical aspect of thematic analysis since it finally leads to the development of themes in the next phase of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Commenting on codes, Siedel (1998, p. 14) differentiates between codes as "heuristic tools and codes as objectivist, transparent representations of facts." Heuristic codes are used as tools to smooth the progress of further investigation of the data. As Siedel (1998, p. 14) observes, in "a heuristic approach, code words are primarily flags or signposts that point to things in the data." On the other hand, objectivist codes are condensed representations "of the facts described in the data and can be treated as surrogates for the text, and the analysis can focus on the codes instead of the text itself" (Siedel, 1998, p. 14). In this study, codes have been used as heuristic tools about the understandings and experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. The codes have thus helped me to organise and develop themes from the data.

Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 89) also discuss two types of coding namely: data-driven coding and theory-driven coding. The former leads to the development of themes that "depend on the data" and this can also be described as inductive or grounded coding. Theory-driven coding is done "with specific questions in mind that you wish to code around" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89), and can be described as deductive or theoretical, or *a priori* coding. The coding employed in this study was data-driven, inductive or grounded coding in the sense that the codes were generated from and not imposed on the data.

It can be argued that coding was one phase of the research process where my role as a researcher, analyst, co-producer and manipulator of knowledge was critical. This is because what was coded as interesting features of the data depended on my personal interests and creativity. The data set was coded inductively by generating codes that had relevance to the key research questions within my subjective and bounded perspective. Thus, the same data could have been coded differently by different analysts (Bruner, 1996, Eisner, 1997; Hamilton & Pinnegar, 2006; Lyons & LaBoskey, 2002; Richardson, 2003; van Mannen, 1990). Thus Clandinin and Connelly (2000) warn that it is important for researchers to be mindful that how they conceive and enact their roles will influence the research process. They maintain that researchers must strive to be open and self-reflective about their roles when conducting research and research texts.

I tried to code the data for as many potential interesting features as possible. Secondly, I coded the data inclusively by keeping a little of the relevant surrounding data as a way of remaining true to the context of the data and avoiding the common criticism of losing the context in the process of coding (Bryman, 2001; Gay, 1992). Thirdly, data extracts were coded in as many different ways as possible, so that some parts of text were un-coded while others were coded several times. At the end of this phase, all data extracts were pulled together within each code.

5.9.1.3 Generating Initial Themes

Generating themes can be likened to the second level of coding by Sarantakos (2005, p. 350) described as "axial coding". At this level of coding the codes generated under open-coding were interconnected to construct higher-order concepts called themes. Sarantakos (2005) also describes this phase of generating initial themes as theoretical coding or latent content analysis. He considers it a more advanced level of coding than open-coding, since it involves interconnecting "first-order concepts to construct higher-order concepts" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 350). Whilst open-coding just opens data to theoretical possibilities, axial-coding finds relationships between the first order codes in order to reach a higher level of abstraction. Sarantakos (2005) labels this task as generating initial themes since it involves identifying relationships between and among the generated codes in order to come up with themes on the social phenomenon being studied.

The generation of initial themes was based on the generated codes, which led to the development of a thematic sketch on the experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. Leininger (1985, p. 60) argues that themes can be identified through "bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone." In keeping with my key research question I engaged the codes to generate the themes reflecting women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools.

Patton (2002, pp. 457-458) differentiates between themes as "indigenous typologies" and themes as "analyst-constructed typologies". Indigenous typologies are those themes

created, expressed and used by the research participants whilst the analyst-constructed typologies are those themes created by the researcher and grounded in the data but not necessarily used by the research participants themselves (Patton, 2002). Using the notion of themes as analyst-constructed typologies, I constructed an initial thematic map on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools.

Patton (2002), however, warns that the use of analyst-constructed typologies has the limitation of running the risk of imposing a world of meaning on the participants that better reflects the analyst's world than that of the research participants. To mitigate this limitation, for each theme I used data extracts with enough detail to remain true to the context of the study and perspectives of the research participants. As Terre-Blanche *et al* (2006, p. 321) point out, the "key to doing a good interpretive analysis is to stay close to the data, to interpret it from a position of empathic understanding."

5.9.1.4 Reviewing Themes

Reviewing themes involves the refinement of the initial thematic map (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Through this task, some of the themes generated for the initial thematic map could no longer stand as main themes and had to collapse into sub-themes. The guiding principles followed here were Patton's (2002) twin constructs of 'internal homogeneity' and 'external heterogeneity' of themes. These constructs respectively denote that data "within the themes should cohere together meaningfully, while there should be identifiable distinctions between themes" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 91).

I reviewed the themes at two levels. I considered the validity of each theme in relation to my data, and also checked whether the generated thematic framework accurately reflected "the meanings evident in the data set as a whole" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 91). This was done by re-reading my entire data set to check for coherence between the themes and data sets and to identify any data in the themes that might have been missed during the earlier coding phase.

5.9.1.5 Defining and Naming Themes

After generating and reviewing a satisfactory list of themes from the data, I defined and named them in a way they were to be presented as research findings. I also analysed the data within the themes to ensure the internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity of themes. Sarantakos (2005) describes refining themes as selective coding, which denotes the selection of higher-order themes with theoretical saturation and high explanatory power.

5.9.2 Language and translation

This section deals with the challenges of language and translation during the transcription and analysis of the data on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in Lesotho rural schools.

All the participants in this study were qualified science teachers fluent in English. However they preferred to use Sesotho in some situations. Where they had to address taboo issues, the women teachers preferred to express themselves in English arguing that it was difficult to say the Sesotho words. It was challenging to capture the actual gist of the Sesotho parts of the conversations during translation. I found that the translation made some of the utterances to lose their original emotion and passion. This was particularly so when the participants used Sesotho traditional sayings and proverbs which were a challenge to capture their full meaning.

It has been a challenging exercise, despite the fact that I am a native Mosotho, because the language used within the different regions of the country is particular to those regions. The greatest problem was the different dialects used in the different regions of Lesotho. I had to enlist the help of two critical colleagues to double check my translations and interpretations of the Sesotho sections of the data.

5.10 Positioning myself as a researcher

Feminist scholars argue for the importance of the researcher's role in the process of data production (Maynard & Purvis, 1994; Oakley, 1981, Reinharz, 1992). In agreement,

Patton (2002), Nieuwenhuis (2007b) and Bartunek and Louis (1996), also argue that the impressions and feelings of the researcher become an important part of the data to be used in an attempt to understand a setting and the people in it. To bracket off my understanding regarding sexuality education from the understandings of the research participants, a description of my position as a researcher is made here. Positionality in research is crucial in influencing how one looks at a phenomenon under study. Patton (1990) describes positionality as a form of self-reflection and self-examination which allows the researchers to gain clarity from their own preconceptions.

Thus, it is important for me to put my assumptions upfront. My first assumption is that different people always seek to influence the conduct of education in the school depending on their world view. As such, I believe the inclusion of sexuality, HIV and AIDS education in the Life Skills education curriculum to be a reflection of certain elitist ideologies that can be explored and theorised. Secondly, different understandings and disagreements about curriculum change render the curriculum a hotly contested space, making it difficult to get the curriculum beyond bureaucracy into practice. Lastly, for any proposed change to take root the interested parties should have a sense of ownership of the change; and the proposed change should take into account the context in which the change is supposed to be effected. The same applies to the curriculum change in sexuality education.

The duty of the public school is to teach children about their sexuality and how their choices can be implicated in their sexual well-being. Thus, the school is a vital space for the society to prepare children to make informed sexual choices and to live in harmony with people of different sexual orientations. Understanding human sexuality does not mean acceptance, endorsement or support of any unwanted practices. It does not mean promotion of promiscuity or perverted sexual practices. It means respect for others and an open mind (Weeks, 2003).

As mentioned in the preface, I am a Mosotho woman science teacher interested in the teaching of sexuality education in Lesotho schools. I have taught biology in Lesotho high

schools for twelve years and the biology syllabus requires that students be taught about the mechanics of sex and reproduction. This has over the years proven to be a big challenge for teachers. During the in-service training workshops that I have facilitated for Basotho biology teachers through the office of Science Inspectorate Lesotho[16], the topic of sex and reproduction was always one of the topics in which teachers needed assistance in handling. Despite several workshops equipping teachers with the content and pedagogical skills of facilitating sex education, there was always a problem with the topic.

The teaching of sexuality education, which according to my personal understanding encompasses the social aspects of sex, has proven more of a challenge because it demands a more engaged approach dealing with relationships, sexual orientations, desire and pleasure. My work as a novice teacher educator has also shown that teachers are having problems with the teaching of sexuality education in other countries. While I believe in open sex talk in schools and communities, I am also a member of a society in which sex talk is still taboo. Thus I am very much aware of the influence of social constructions of sexuality in relation to masculinities and femininities on the teaching of sexuality education.

While I had an idea of the challenges of placing the self at the centre of inquiry, I was not prepared for the questions and the discomfort that sharing my story produced within the group. I found it unsettling when the participants were more interested in my experiences of having been a married woman and my divorce. It was even more problematic trying to answer their questions regarding my sex life during and after the marriage, which obviously did not relate to the research but which interested them all the same. I did my best to answer their questions because I needed them to also feel comfortable sharing

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[16]The Inspectorate office holds in-service training workshops for teachers twice a year during school vacation. In these workshops, teachers are equipped with content and pedagogical skills as necessary. Resource persons from different educational institutions are used in such training sessions. I was trained as an in-service trainer for Biology teachers in Kenya in 2004 at a training programme organized by SMASSE (Strengthening Mathematics and Science in Secondary Education), funded by JICA (Japanese International Cooperation Agency).

their stories with me. However I was not prepared for reliving my marriage and the trauma I went through.

The questions that I was asked by the women teachers forced me to relive some of the experiences which I had locked away in some dark room in my mind. I knew that I had to answer their questions because with each answer I gave they seemed to get encouraged to speak more about their own lives. The experiences were so vivid in my mind that it felt as if they were happening as I was relating them. I had never gone into any depth about my marriage experiences with any other person except a professional counsellor. Talking to these women teachers, other ordinary women like me trying to make their marriages work, made me feel saddened that they were not happily married women. At the same time I felt empowered that I had had the courage to get out of a dysfunctional marriage while they still felt bound to their marriages by factors such as culture and religion.

The women teachers also had to relive some traumatic experiences which surfaced when we discussed their drawings of how they saw themselves as women. There was evidence of suppressed anger and frustration in some of the women. I did my best not to break down in front of the women as they told their stories because so that my vulnerability could not be exposed. I controlled my tears even though I felt I would burst. However, as I went to bed at night I could not control the emotions anymore. I cried myself to sleep feeling the pain that was reflected in the women's stories. It was more painful for me because I had been through it all and could relate to their pain. Sears (1992, p. 155) observes that "as we peer into the eyes of the other, we embark on a journey of the self: exploring our fears, celebrating our voices, challenging our assumptions, reconstructing our pasts." This has been true for me and my participants in this study. Looking into each other's eyes and listening to each story we explored our fears.

I kept wondering how the women would cope after the data production stage was over. I had created a platform for them to reflect on their woman and teacher selves in a way that had transformed their thought processes, and thus I felt responsible that I had made them become more aware of the oppressive conditions in which they lived without providing

any solution for them. While I subscribe to the concept of research for social change (Schratz & Walker, 1995), my experience with the women teachers in this study made me more aware that change could be negative or positive. My hope and intention was for the women teachers to be able to change their personal and professional situations for the better. But then how do I guarantee that the change does become positive, how do I guarantee that whatever decisions they take in relation to their lives do not become harmful to them? This is one of the risks I have had to face in researching a sensitive and taboo subject such as sexuality, which I am still not sure how to work through.

On the other hand, Rager (2005) suggests self-care tips that researchers can use when dealing with emotionally taxing research, which I used. I recorded my emotions during the research in a journal and used peer debriefing to dispel anxieties that came up during the field work. I found myself relying on discussions with colleagues during cohort university research seminars and talked about how being involved in the research had affected my personal and professional lives.

Looking back on the journey we took, I do not regret conducting my study the way I did. It was an experience that changed my life as well as my participants' lives. Schratz and Walker (1995, p. 137) succinctly sum up my feelings by stating that "we cannot understand who we are except through social action, and we cannot engage in such action without inviting change. None of us is an island entire." Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 85) have also observed that "enhancing personal and social growth is one of the purposes of narrative inquiry." Thus I am less fearful of my sexuality and am much stronger today because of my interactions with the participants.

5.11 Is there a place for dreams in qualitative research?
One interesting issue has been that during the fieldwork and the process of working with the data I had several strange dreams in which I saw myself being physically and sexually abused or in compromising situations respectively. The most vivid of these dreams are presented as follows:

Dream A

I dreamt I was cooking in the kitchen when my ex-husband came in from work looking furious. "You don't even ask why I am so upset. It seems I am not needed in this house. You have a man who is satisfying you heh!" While I was still trying to figure out what to say he slapped me across the face. I ran into the bedroom but he caught me and raped me. Then he walked out of the bedroom. As he walked out of the door he said "Let's see if he still wants you now!"

"But where are you going?" I ask

"Where I am needed and appreciated, that's where." He banged the door behind him and left the house.

I woke up feeling scared and looked around at the unfamiliar surroundings of my aunt's house and I remembered that I was doing my fieldwork. "It must have been a dream" I thought to myself. A sigh of relief escaped my lips and I went back to sleep. This dream was significant in the research because it happened the night after we had discussed the drawings of the woman self. This discussion had been emotionally draining and we had cried a lot. The night of the dream is the night I had cried myself to sleep because of all the pain I had felt at reliving my traumatic marriage.

Dream B

I dreamt that I was sleeping stark naked and uncovered, in a ground floor bedroom with the windows and curtains open. Some strangers were passing by the window and commenting on my naked status and I could hear their comments in my sleep. I was however not affected by their comments. I told myself in the dream that there was nothing wrong with being naked because what they saw on me was the same for all women.

I remember that when I woke up the following day I was shocked at the absurdity of the dream because I have never slept in the nude as far as I could remember. I even reflected on what happened during the previous day in order to have some sort of explanation on the dream. I asked myself "was it something I wore?" However I remembered that I had worn my typical clothes (a pair of jeans, a t-shirt and a hat), nothing revealing. I dismissed the dream at that moment because I could not relate it to anything that could help me to make meaning of it. The dream, however, stayed with me for the rest of that day.

Dream C

> I was in a room with my sisters-in-law (my brothers' wives) when my lover came into the room and started kissing me. We continued kissing in the presence of my sisters-in-law who were shocked. Instead of stopping we continued to have sex right there in front of them as if we were the only people in the room. I had the most earth shattering orgasm I have ever had. In the dream I did not feel ashamed of having had sex in the presence of other people and I just told my sisters-in-law that it was a natural thing to happen to anyone.

Strangely, I woke up immediately after this dream and found myself sweating profusely and out of breath as if I had been running. I was shocked at having had such a dream. I was asking myself "how could I even dream of having sex in the presence of other people? How could I be so uncouth?" Unfortunately I had no answers to these questions. I really felt uncomfortable with this dream and thinking about it made me feel vulnerable somehow. I remember asking myself what could be the meaning behind the dream, but I fell asleep again and never bothered about the dream until I had another strange dream.

Dream D

> I dreamt that I was having a bath in my flat on Edgewood campus. When I was through with bathing I could not find my towel or bath robe. They had miraculously disappeared. As I was searching for them, the walls of the bathroom suddenly disappeared and I was in full view of my flatmates and their visitors. I just walked out of the bathroom past them to my bedroom without even trying to cover up.

I remember that after this dream I became really worried about the trend my dreams were taking. I started reading about dreams and their meanings. I found out that when one dreams of oneself naked it is because they are either in a position of vulnerability or they have exposed something that should have been kept secret (Hearne & Melbourne, 1999). I was surprised because I did not feel vulnerable and I did not think I had exposed anything that should have remained a secret. The truth of the matter only crystallised for me when I had a discussion with a colleague who related the dreams to my study. She told me that she thought the dreams were related to the private and taboo information on issues of sexuality that I was placing in the public domain. My emotional engagement with the research was highlighted through the dreams. I think my dreams reflect a part of

me with the desire to not be ashamed of my sexuality or afraid of vulnerability and exposure, while in waking up the part of me invoked is that which is fearful and ashamed. I believe that the self reflected in the dreams is a self I want to be, while the self reflected in my waking up is the self which has been socialised to feel ashamed of sexuality. Thus with each dream, trying to emulate my dream self, I learnt to be more open with the women teachers and we explored our vulnerabilities together.

5.12 The place for emotions in qualitative research

These dreams, for me, signify one level of the emotional engagement of researchers in their studies. Bohm (1985, p. 46) observes that "emotion and thinking are almost inseparable. They are just different levels of the same thing." Gilbert (2001), on the other hand, provides the following list of synonyms for emotion:

> feelings, sensations, drives; the personal; that which is intimate; personally meaningful, possibly overwhelming; being touched at a deeper level; something that comes from somewhere within ourselves; and that which makes us truly human (p. 9).

The role of emotion in qualitative research has been widely acclaimed (Dadds, 1993; deMarais, 2004; deMarais, & Tisdale, 2002; Harris & Huntington, 2001; Jaggar, 1996, Kleinman & Copp, 1993; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Sciarra, 1999; Stuhlmiller, 2001). Sciarra (1999, p. 44) also argues that it is "inconceivable how the qualitative researcher would accomplish her goal by distancing herself from emotions, because entering the meaning-making world of another requires empathy". Therefore Gilbert (2001) argues that researchers should expect a cognitive as well as an emotional connection with their participants and to be aware of how their emotional reactions come out in the process. In agreement, Maykut and Morehouse (1994, p. 25) observe that qualitative researchers should be able to "walk a mile in the other person's shoes".

Other researchers (Day & Leitch, 2001; Lather & Smithies, 1997; Wolcott, 2002) also confirm that qualitative inquiry requires researchers to enter their participants' world and see the world through their eyes. The challenge for this type of inquiry in writing is presented by Tillman-Healy and Kiesinger (2001) who argue that:

When studying emotional topics, we become what Behar calls "vulnerable observers." By confronting the joys and horrors of others' experiences, we face the joys and horrors of our experience. Because of this, we must ask ourselves before embarking on such a project: *am I prepared to take on another's full humanity and to explore and unveil my own?* [My emphasis] (p. 101)

I did not ask myself this question until I was already involved in the research project. I realised that the preparation I thought I had done for engaging in the research was not enough. Schratz and Walker (1995, p. 128) also highlight the fact that we often find ourselves "researching topics that touch our personal vulnerabilities in ways that are not immediately obvious to us when we begin." They argue that talking about our research often reveals our areas of greatest personal doubt. My engagement in this research also reflected my greatest personal doubt which was my failed marriage and the implications this had had on my sexuality. Fineman (1993) adds that social interactions are shaped and lubricated by feelings. The expression of my feelings in this study lubricated my interactions with the participants as it allowed them to feel free to explore their own feelings regarding the phenomenon of interest.

I do not think I could have ever been prepared enough for the emotional turmoil that arose in me due to my engagement in this study even though I was aware of the sensitivity and context of the research topic. I do believe, however, that with more training, preparation and support on the emotional aspects of research other graduate students could be assisted to avoid the challenges I faced.

5.13 Trustworthiness

According to Nieuwenhuis (2007a), engaging several data production methods such as document analyses, interviews and observations can lead to trustworthiness. He also argues that having several investigators or peer researchers could also enhance trustworthiness. In this study, several data production methods were employed and the research participants were acting as co-researchers in order to enhance the trustworthiness of the study. Riessman (2002, p. 256) argues that personal narratives are "not meant to be read as an exact record of what happened", nor are they a mirror of the world.

Thus, drawing on Mishler's (1990) notion of trustworthiness in social science research I have explicated my research process in a way that will give it the potential to serve as an accessible, credible resource that others might use to generate ideas or questions for their own inquiries or practice (Conle, 2000a, 2000b; LaBoskey, 2004b; Loughran, 2002; Nash, 2004). I have contextualised and balanced my inward focus through trying to point "outwards and towards the political and social" (Mitchell & Weber, 2005, p. 4). Therefore in this study, trustworthiness and not 'truth' is the key issue. Because qualitative research deals with changing realities, Richardson (2000) has proposed that crystallisation provides a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being studied. She argues that "reality emerges from various data gathering techniques and it represents our interpreted understandings of the phenomenon" (Richardson, 2000, p. 934). Thus, meanings described in this study are those that have *crystallised* from the data, and are presented such that the data and analysis present same emerging patterns.

5.14 Design limitations

My study was a small-scale in-depth study that cannot be generalized across Lesotho or to other contexts, but it can raise significant issues and ideas that could be further explored in different contexts and/or on a larger scale. Qualitative data only allows for naturalistic generalisations, extrapolations, and transferability of research findings (Patton, 2002), or "fuzzy generalisations" (Swann & Pratt, 2003, p. 201), or context-bound generalisations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 2002). By providing a clear and detailed description of how I went about my study, I hope to offer some ideas and inspiration to others who are interested in undertaking similar work.

Every study design has its limitations and there are always trade-offs to make due to limited resources, time, and human ability "to grasp the complex nature of the social reality" (Patton, 2002, p. 223). The study was on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in two rural secondary schools. As such it was limited to a sample of only a few women teachers who teach sexuality education in two secondary schools. This left out unheard voices of other stakeholders in education such as women teachers in other rural schools, male teachers, principals, learners, parents and policy

makers, who could have added another dimension to the study. Given the constraints of time and money, I could not include them in this study. However these are possible areas for further study.

5.15 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the methodology and methods used in the study. It highlights the challenges of researching taboo subjects together with the emotional engagement in such studies. I have discussed, in this chapter, how I worked as a participant-researcher. One of the goals of this chapter has been to discuss and justify the choices made with regard to the research design, methodology and methods of data production and analysis. The next three chapters present the findings from the study.

Part 3

Findings and analysis

A diagrammatic representation of the prongs in the findings chapters

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   Memory
   work
                          Focus            Analysis of
   Drawings              group             findings

   Photo-
   voice
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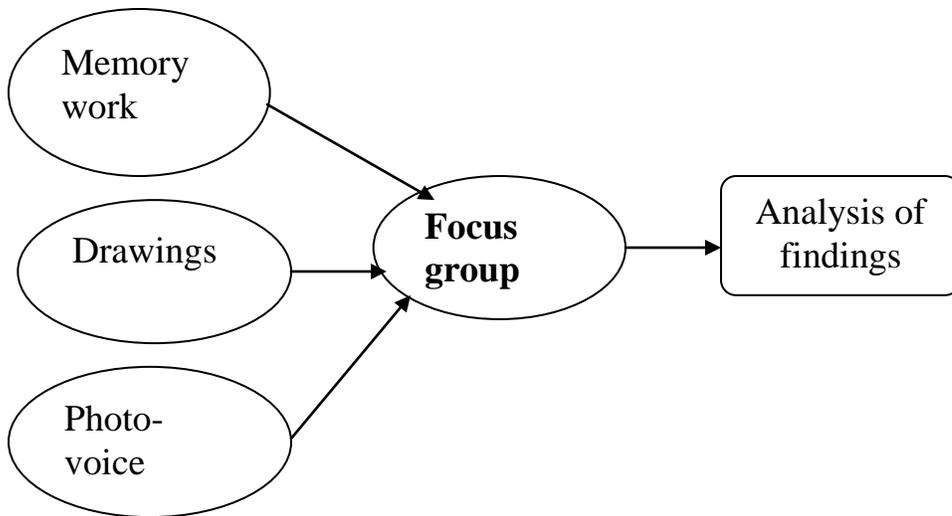
What do the findings reveal about the women teachers?

Name	Memory account	Woman self	Teacher self	Magazine picture
'Matsepo	Incest story	Potted green flower	Sheep dog	8.4 Incest
'Matumo	Labia elongation	Blanket	Three legged pot	8.3 Lesbians
'Matau	Birth at school	Donkey	Shepherd	8.1 Why have sex
'Mathato	Traditional initiation	Hen	Army commander	8.2 The sex problem
'Mathuso	Sexual pleasure	Elephant	Captain of ship	8.5 Sexy bodies
'Mampho	Student lover	Chamber pot	Vulture	8.6 AIDS scare
'Maneo	Sexualised in class	Fruit tree	Salt	8.7 Fall in love
'Matsebo	Students having sex in class	Ant	Ostrich	8.8 Pregnancy
'Mathabo	Sexual arousal	River	Travel agent	8.9 Sex change

Table 5.3

CHAPTER 6

Remembered practice: Women teachers' memories of teaching sexuality education

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the methods employed in producing data and outlined the successes and challenges of the journey into women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education. In line with Clandinin and Connelly's (2000, p. 128) argument that "narrative inquirers tend to begin with experience as lived and told in stories", this chapter and the next two chapters present the experiences of the women teachers as lived and told in stories of their own construction. This chapter presents the memory accounts that the participants recorded as critical incidences in their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. The accounts are presented in the first person as they were written by the participants which gave them ownership over the process and added value their voice in the stories they tell.

The experiences presented by the women teachers show the centrality of their female bodies and the social constructions of normative womanhood, motherhood and teacher-hood in the teaching of sexuality education and the challenges these pose to their effective teaching. The common thread running through this chapter is that woman teacher-hood within rural Lesotho sexuality education classrooms is problematic.

6.2 Memory accounts

The memory accounts were recorded individually by participants to a prompt that assisted them in memory recovery (see **Table 5.2**). The accounts are as different as the women teachers are different, but they highlight common issues in the experiences of these women teachers.

6.2.1 ´Matsebo

´Matsebo had just graduated from university with a Bachelor's degree in Science education. This happened during her first placement as a qualified teacher:

I was an unmarried 20 year-old beginning teacher in my first year of teaching in a rural school in the Mohale's Hoek district. The class I was given was a repeating group which had failed Junior Certificate (JC) examinations. None of the old teachers in the school wanted to work with these students as most of them were too old to be doing junior certificate. As a new teacher in this school, I did not have much choice but to teach science to this group. The class C³ had been allocated a room far from the rest of the other classrooms, in what used to be a store-room because there was no other available space. Because they were repeaters, I only taught topics which they felt they needed further assistance with. The topic they enjoyed most in my science lessons was reproduction, especially animal reproduction. They did not care much for the lower animals. They wanted reproduction of higher animals, especially human beings.

One day after I had presented a reproduction lesson focussing on the male reproductive system -production of sperm, masturbation and wet-dreams- I realised that the boys in the class were quiet. I decided to leave the classroom and pretend to go to the staffroom. When I got outside the classroom I could hear laughter and screams of girls. I was too short to see what was happening through the window. I walked round to the lower windows of the classroom and I saw a crazy situation. One of the girls was sitting on top of a boy gyrating her hips and the other students were saying "they are doing it... they are doing it!" I could not believe my eyes. I got back into the classroom and demanded they stop what they were doing. The boy just looked at me and said "are you jealous it is not you getting it? You will have your turn later." They continued their act to the excitement of all the onlookers.

I was angry that the girl had agreed to partake in such an activity in class. I also felt sad that she mistakenly thought having sex with the boy would get him to love her. Boys do not do that to girls they love. I decided that in all my teachings I would use this incident as an example and teach my girls to be confident, have self-respect and be assertive. I reported the incidence to the principal and the two students were expelled from the school. The disciplinary committee decided that they would be bad influence to the rest of the student body.

'Matsebo's problem in teaching in a class that has students the same age as her is also reflected in 'Maneo's discussion.

6.2.2 'Maneo

'Maneo was still an unmarried young woman in her second year of teaching in a rural high school when she experienced a particularly troubling incident:

My class had these big boys who were the football stars at the school. They were built in a way that made them look older, and they knew it. One day as I was teaching about sexuality, especially on love, relationships and desire something

really strange happened. I found my eyes locked with those of one of the footballers. It was as if he wanted to hypnotise me, as if he was daring me to look away. I kept starring at him and he did the same. The rest of the class became aware of this and watched. This boy then said to me "madam, can you tell when someone desires you?"

This was a challenge to me. I asked him why he wanted to know and he said he wanted to find out whether there is something one sees or feels when they are next to someone who desires them. I did not know then that this boy had sexual feelings for me. I responded to his question by saying that a person can see the mannerisms or actions of someone who is interested in them. I gave examples of people who do things to catch the attention of a potential partner. This is when he asked "what should one do to get your attention as a potential partner?"

Hei! I was so shocked that I could not speak. The class was roaring with laughter. I needed to gain control of the situation and so I asked him if he was in a relationship and how it had happened. He told the class about how he had met a girl and felt interested in her, how he always walked her home and carried her books and how they finally got involved. I used his response to engage the class and asked them about their own relationships. What had begun as a disastrous situation became a lively lesson. Students discussed issues they felt were important in relation to love affairs. When the class was about over, the boy said "but you have not answered my question. How does a person get your attention?" I did not answer him but left the classroom. One of the students followed me and told me, in confidence, that the boy is always saying to others that he loved me.

It became really difficult for me to teach this class after all this. I had problems with what to wear as I thought maybe the boy was interested in me because of what I wore. I wore drab clothes on the days when I had to teach in form E[1]. I wore long floating dresses that covered everything. I felt really ugly in these dresses, but I felt safer in them. Since that year, I always make sure that I do not teach about sexuality in the higher classes. I only take form A to C (grades 8-10). I feel a lot safer with them.

'Mampho's story reflects the same issues as the previous two, but also highlights the fact that students are sexual beings and can be attracted to their teachers. The story also presents the challenges inherent in such student/teacher relationships.

6.2.3 ́Mampho

'Mampho was in her early twenties, unmarried and in her first teaching post in a deep rural school:

When I started teaching I was not yet married. Most of the students I had in the senior classes were within the same age group as me and a few of them were older than me. I am not proud to say I had an affair with the football star of the school. He was a tall and muscular goal-keeper. The whole student body was crazy about him and the other female teachers were jealous of our relationship. I never expected to be assigned to teach his class.

I was nervous the first day I got into the classroom to teach about reproduction and development. I was worried about how he would react to my teaching. I started teaching about sexual intercourse and its mechanics. The other students kept looking at me and then him. I did not know that all the students knew about our affair. When I got to how fertilization and pregnancy occur, my boy asked "how come I have never impregnated you? Are you a woman or a man?" The class roared with laughter.

I was so humiliated by this that I ran out of the classroom. I decided to tell my principal the truth of what happened and asked him to remove me from that class. I received a lot of scolding and moral stories about teachers having relationships with their students, but I was removed from the class. My stay at that school became a living hell and I had to apply for a transfer to another school.

I do not like teaching about sexuality even in my current school because I feel as if the boys are undressing me with their eyes as I teach. I am married now, but I feel that I will never be truly free from what happened to me that day. I try to talk to the girls and tell them that if they become teachers, they should never fall in love with their students, though I never tell them why. It embarrasses me even thinking about it. The problem is that the society and the students see teachers as super-human. The sad part is we are also human with the all the feelings and desires which need to be attended to.

'Mampho's story highlights that teachers are also sexual beings with the same desires and feelings as everybody else. While 'Mampho's story shows a teacher expressing her sexuality with a student, 'Mathabo's story highlights the fact that teachers as sexual beings should be aware of their own sexuality and how it can play out in their sexuality education classrooms.

6.2.4 'Mathabo

'Mathabo was expecting her first child and she was teaching biology in a rural school. This is what happened to her:

I was teaching a Form D (Grade 11) class on reproduction and development and was seven months pregnant. As I was talking to the students I could sense that the interest of most of the students was on my bulging tummy.

During the lesson one of the girls asked me whether it was possible for a woman to feel the movement of the sperms when a man ejaculated. I do not know what happened but thinking about a response to this question got me highly aroused, and the foetus in my tummy started kicking wildly. The students who were on the front table could see the bumps on the spots where the kicks were. One young girl asked me if she could touch me to feel the kick and I gave her permission to do so. She was excited to feel the kicks and told the rest of the class what it felt like.

The commotion around the movements of the foetus made the class forget about the sperm question and the focus was on how I felt when the foetus moved inside me. However, I have never been able to forget that question because it got me into an embarrassing situation of being aroused in a classroom full of students. I blamed it on hormones and the pregnancy and I felt really ashamed of myself. The thing is I could not even understand why I felt so ashamed when arousal is a healthy and normal thing to happen. I really felt lucky that my arousal was not visible to the students and it was easily averted by the kicking foetus.

This incidence made me careful when I went into class to teach about sexuality issues. I always tried to get myself into the 'right' frame of mind so that I could never get affected by talking about sex and sexuality. However, I have always wondered how I would have felt had I been a man teaching and getting an erection right in front of the class!

'Mathabo's story highlights the challenges of the unruly sexual body and how it can react anytime to stimulation. This shows that teachers have to ensure that they are in touch with their sexual bodies and what can affect them negatively in order to avoid embarrassing situations in classrooms. Unlike the previous stories, 'Mathuso's story relates how her adolescent sexual experiences were brought to the fore by students' questions in class and how this had now made her a dedicated sexuality education teacher. Her story reflects teachers' fears of corrupting children with sexual knowledge.

6.2.5 ´Mathuso

´Mathuso was already married and living in the same village where her school was when this happened:

I was teaching a Form D (Grade 11) biology lesson focussing on sex, reproduction and development. As we discussed the human body and the

reproductive system, I could feel that the atmosphere in the classroom was highly charged. All the students were listening attentively though there was some suppressed laughter. At one point a boy asked "Madam, every time when I pass the mill there are donkeys having sex. The female one always has its mouth wide open as if it is chewing something. Is it because it is feeling pain or because it is enjoying?"

I have to admit I did not have an answer to this question then as I do not have it now. I was also angry at the boy who had asked because the class was waiting expectantly for my response. I said "it would be interesting to know what happens with donkeys my boy. Unfortunately I have never been a donkey and I do not know how they feel." I regretted this statement immediately because one of the girls then asked "but is it nice when people have sex?" I did not know what to say. I took a long time thinking this through and I said I would answer her the following day. I asked myself what would be the right thing to do. "Do I tell them that sex is good and fun or do I tell them that sex is bad for them because it brings diseases and unplanned pregnancy?"

This made me think of when I was growing up, where I was always told that sex is painful and it is bad for young girls. I remembered how scared I was of talking to boys and being asked to be in a relationship. I wished I had been told when I was a girl that sex in a good relationship is good and enjoyable. The fear of sex that had been instilled in me made me an edgy bride and I was a problem for my husband as I did not want to consummate our marriage. It was only after severe scolding from my mother-in-law that I gave in.

This memory helped in deciding what to tell my class the following day. I boldly stood in front of them and told them about relationships, love and desire and the joy of a good sexual relationship. It was magical! My students were not giggling but genuinely engaged and asked constructive questions. Even the boys did not tease the girls when they voiced their opinions. At the end of the lesson I was surprised when the class monitor stood up and thanked me for the information. He asked whether I would be willing to share the information with other classes because he knew they had the same questions but nobody to ask. I agreed to do this and since then I have never looked back. I do get scared of what other teachers, parents and the community might say, but so far I have not had any problems.

The fear of leading children astray when teaching them about issues of sex and sexuality, as reflected by ´Mathuso, also manifests in 'Mathato's story.

6.2.6 ́Mathato

'Mathato grew up in town. After getting married she had to follow her husband to his home district where she got a teaching job in a rural high school. This is the experience she remembers most vividly:

> I was teaching on safer sex practice in my class and telling my students how people can enjoy each other's company in a relationship without engaging in penetrative sex. My students were interested in this and asked a lot of questions about different ways of kissing and masturbation. We discussed some of the myths associated with masturbation, such as becoming blind, being infertile, and not being able to enjoy sex with a partner if one becomes used to masturbating. It was encouraging that the students were freely asking about what they had heard from their brothers and sisters about sexual issues.
>
> The following day, early in the morning before starting with my lessons, I was summoned to the principal's office. I found two angry parents with the principal and I was told that it was in relation to my teaching that the parents were so angry. The parents were telling the principal that they do not approve of their children being taught such 'silly and bad things'. They told the principal that their children would learn about those things when they were ready for marriage, and that then they would go for traditional initiation. They said "*Mathisa ana a rutang bana ba rona a fosahetse. A bua ntho lisele le bana...*" (These women who have not been to the traditional initiation school are a bad influence to our children because they teach our children bad things). The implication was that I was not the right person to teach children about sexuality because I had not been to the traditional Basotho initiation school. What shocked me was that the principal agreed with her and said that he was also against the idea of teaching children 'such things' but the government demanded it.
>
> I had to apologise to the parents and promise that when I was teaching about sexuality I would send their children out of the class. Unfortunately for me, I was the only teacher who was teaching about sexuality and HIV at the school. There were other teachers who could do it but who had refused to do it. Maybe if the teaching was done by someone who had been through the initiation school the parents would have reacted differently. I felt trapped by the fact that as a teacher I had to teach the children what was required by the syllabus, but also I was seen as inappropriate for the job because I was not traditionally trained even though I had the academic qualification. I decided that I would continue teaching until all the parents complained.
>
> By the end of that session my principal told me that I had to stop teaching such topics. I was told that the school is a Catholic Church school and does not condone children being taught about sex and contraception. It was really bad for me because even when I was just walking in the village I could hear people giving me bad names and saying how I had no morals. This nearly cost me my marriage

because my husband heard these stories and was not comfortable with them. The fact that he had been to the traditional Basotho initiation school and had married a woman who had not been there had always been a thorny issue. Having the whole community remind him of that again was almost too much for him.

'Mathato's story highlights a community's construction of a good sexuality education teacher as someone who has been to the traditional initiation school. Contrary to communities' belief on childhood sexual innocence as expressed in 'Mathato's story, 'Matau's story shows that sometimes denying children information on their sexuality and thus keeping them innocent could be harmful to them.

6.2.7 ́Matau

'Matau was responsible for sporting activities in her school. This incidence happened during a friendly game between her school and a neighbouring school:

> One day when I was supervising netball games I saw students running from one side of the netball ground to another. They made a big circle on the other side and it seemed that what they were looking at shocked them, I went to check what was happening. I was shocked to find that one of my Form A (Grade 8) learners was giving birth. It was a mess. The baby was lying on the ground. There was blood flowing from the mother. You can imagine how I felt! I was so afraid that my bowels got loose immediately. I asked the learners to go back to their classrooms and to get other teachers to assist the young mother. Unfortunately the principal was absent that day. As a mother myself I knew what needed to be done and I managed to cut the umbilical cord with a nail clipper and tied it up. The girl was bleeding and we had no sanitary pads so I gave her my head scarf to use in place of pads. There are no ambulances in the village but we had to get the girl to the nearest clinic. We found a van that took her there. From that day I realised that a teacher is a nurse, doctor, parent and judge.

> After a week I visited the young mother. I asked her to relate the story about her pregnancy. She told me that her boyfriend forced her to have sex and she was too scared to say no. Her boyfriend was twenty years old and this girl was only fourteen and she had believed everything he said. He had promised her that having sex would help her get bigger breasts and hips. I felt guilty because I had failed to do my job of teaching this young girl about issues of sexuality, which might have made her more informed about sexual intercourse. This experience forced me to change my attitude towards teaching about sexuality and HIV. I started to talk openly with my students and discussed sex and relationships. I want my girls to be able to say no when they are faced with boyfriends who demand sex from them.

This story poses the same problem as in 'Matsepo's story, the difference being the nature of the perpetrators of the sexual crime.

6.2.8 ́Matsepo

́Matsepo, as a newly married teacher in a rural school experienced what she feels is the worst experience any mother could ever face. This is what happened:

> Teaching about sexuality was difficult for me as a Mosotho woman. Sex in our culture is something that is respected and private. We do not talk sex with children. But one day I found that I had to tell the children the truth about issues of sexuality, HIV and AIDS for the sake of protecting their lives.
>
> I was teaching Form A (Grade 8) and the children in this particular class seemed to be young compared to the other Form A groups that I have taught. It happened that in my class there was a thirteen year old girl whose parents had separated and she was left staying with her father. Her mother had gone to South Africa in search of employment. Her father worked in the mines in South Africa and came home on weekends to buy food and pay for everything that his daughter needed. We all thought that he was a caring father indeed. The girl did not lack for anything. When her father was at work, this girl used to have a neighbour's children sleep at her house so she would not be afraid.
>
> One Monday morning this girl came to tell me that there was something she would like us to discuss. I did not think it was anything urgent so I told her to see me at break-time. She looked at me and started crying. I went out of the staffroom with her so that we could talk in private. She then told me that her father was at home and that he had had sex with her the whole weekend and her vagina was painful. She told me that the father said he was helping her so that she would not get sick and start bleeding from the vagina when she grew up. She said he did this almost every weekend when he was home. I did not know what to say or do. I just listened and looked at this young girl as she told her story. I told her that I had to inform the principal about her problem.
>
> The child was taken to the nearby clinic and it was found that she was pregnant and had a sexually transmitted infection. The girl had never seen her periods and she was already pregnant. I found myself feeling guilty that if I had taught my students properly on the different adolescent stages in boys and girls and about other sexuality issues maybe this girl would have known that bleeding from the vagina was not a sickness that her father had to prevent by having sex with her. I was involved in moving the girl from her father's house to her maternal grandmother's house for safety. The principal and the chief decided that we should not let people know that the girl had been molested by her father because the father was well respected in the village. I tried in vain to get them to see it from the point of the young girl. The father was never reported to the police and

the young girl was told to say she was impregnated by a boy. Her father continued sending money and stuff for her and the baby but never went to see the girl at her grandmother's house.

I still feel guilty even thinking about this incidence because an innocent girl was taken advantage of because she did not know any better. I had not given her the information she needed that could have changed her life. I can say that since then I am a changed teacher. I do my best to give the children the skills and information they need in life. But I tell you, I will never trust a man enough to leave him with a baby girl any time soon!

'Matsepo and 'Matau's stories show that childhood innocence does not always translate to childhood safety from sexual abuse. The teachers had thought that they were protecting the children by not giving them the sexual knowledge they needed; however, this did not protect them from their abusers. Despite their fears, teachers do sometimes make informed decisions on what to teach their students regardless of the restrictions or demands of the community. This is evidenced in 'Matumo's story.

6.2.9 ́Matumo

́Matumo was a young graduate from a town experiencing her first teaching post in a rural school. This experience stands out in her mind:

One experience I will never forget was when ten girls in one class had fallen pregnant in my school. The principal called a parents' meeting and asked parents what should be done to make sure that the children do not get into such situations. The principal indicated that parents are also responsible for the education of their children and should talk to them about sex and its consequences. The parents expressed their concern with having to talk with their children about sex; that it was not in Basotho culture for such to happen. They argued that it was the role of the school to teach children whatever they needed to know.

Some parents suggested that male teachers and fathers should meet in one room and the females also do the same. In our group the mothers pleaded with us teachers to teach the girls that they should pull and elongate the inner labia so that they can stop having sexual feelings towards boys. They argued that this practice had helped Basotho girls of previous generations to avoid pre-marital sex and pregnancy. They also highlighted that the elongation of the inner labia helped reduce the sensitivity of the clitoris and hence reduced sexual desire. It was interesting for me to hear all these issues coming from the women parents. There was no mention whatsoever about the children being taught about the modern contraceptives and other safer sex practices.

What worried me from this discussion was how I would be able to tell my girl students to pull their inner labia when it would somehow affect their sexual functioning. I knew that it was a long-standing traditional practice for young girls to do this, but I had never been clear as to why it was being done. I had not done it myself as a young girl and I had no idea what to do. Eventually in my own lessons I decided that I would not teach about this practice, but I would continue teaching about the modern contraception methods and safer sex practices and ensure that my students knew where to access them.

6.3 Definition of terms

In order to understand the experiences presented in this chapter, I discuss the definitions of the words *woman* and *teacher*, the two identities that are at play in this study. According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary a *teacher* is someone who helps others to learn something by giving them information about it, shows others how to do something so that they are able to do it themselves, and makes people feel and think differently. On the other hand *woman* is defined as an adult female human, behaving and dressing in a way that people think is feminine. These definitions highlight the differences in what is expected of a woman and a teacher. The teacher is expected to have information that she can give others and skills that she can share with others so that they can do things for themselves and think differently. The woman is, contrarily, expected to mainly give birth to babies and behave in accordance with *what people think* is feminine. There is no reference to her thinking skills. According to Butler:

> …one is not born, but rather becomes a woman, it follows that woman itself is a term in process, a becoming, a constructioning that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end. As an ongoing discursive practice, it is open to intervention and resignification (1990, p. 33).

This implies that becoming a woman can be performed and constructed and reconstructed differently to what is deemed normal. Thus one can become both a woman and a teacher despite the challenges inherent in this combination of identities. Chapter 3 of this study has presented female bodies in education, womanhood and motherhood in the context of Lesotho, where I have discussed the social constructions and dominant discourses of womanhood and woman teacher-hood within developing countries such as Lesotho.

6.4 What do the storied experiences mean?

These are memorable experiences for various reasons and they highlight the challenges that women teachers face in having to teach about issues of sexuality, HIV and AIDS within a context of sexual silence. Different meanings could be drawn from these stories depending on the lens one uses. These lived experiences portray women teachers as experiencing the dangers and pleasures of female sexuality. The portrayals reflect women as sexual beings who have to be in touch with their own sexuality and acknowledge its presence and influence in their personal and professional lives before they are able to effectively teach about issues of sexuality. The women have the same desires and sexual feelings as any other human being and can be uncomfortable during sex talk due to their own experiences of sexual encounters.

The male gaze that is often focused on the body of the woman teacher creates challenges which women teachers have to face in order for them to be able to effectively teach about sexuality in a classroom context. They find themselves being sexually objectified by their male students and this makes teaching difficult. From the biographical information in Table 5.1, one can argue that the women teachers started their teaching careers in their early to mid-twenties. Within the context of the rural villages, many students get into high school around the same age, thus being age-mates with their teachers. Some of the women teachers in this study have succumbed to their sexual desires and have found themselves in difficult situations in their classrooms because of the nature of their relationships with students. While relationships in and of themselves are not wrong, there are regulations regarding intergenerational relationships between teachers and their students which teachers have to abide by as discussed in Chapter 3. I discuss the storied experiences within the following five frames: teachers as sexual beings; teacher sexualisation by students; childhood innocence and teachers' fears; the dangers of silence; and the contradictions between culture and the syllabus.

6.4.1 Teachers are sexual beings

Teachers tasked with the duty of facilitating sexuality education have to understand themselves as sexual beings and how their sexualities have been shaped. Some of the

women teachers in this study had to face challenges of having to acknowledge that their students are themselves sexual beings who actively engage in sexual activities while some of the women teachers had to acknowledge their own sexuality within their classrooms and face the consequences of their desiring bodies. A woman teacher, as well as a man teacher, cannot divorce her/his body from the teaching of sexuality education (Baxen, 2006; Buthelezi, 2004; Epstein *et al.*, 2003; Khau, 2009a; Peltzer & Promtussananon, 2003; Westwood & Mullan, 2007) and hence it is important for teachers to acknowledge their own sexuality and to know how far they can go with the teaching so that they can make arrangements to get assistance when they feel uncomfortable.

The concern raised by 'Mathabo's story is that teachers have to be in touch with their own sexuality before they could be capable of teaching about issues of sexuality to their students. As teachers, we teach who we are and therefore our sexual orientations have a bearing on how we handle the teaching of sexuality education. Being aware of who we are as sexual beings can help us to accommodate other people with different sexual inclinations. Such awareness can make it easier for teachers to freely talk, with minimal prejudice, about sexual identities other than those they occupy themselves. It can also help teachers to prepare themselves adequately for sexuality topics that might affect them negatively within a classroom setting. On reflecting upon her experience, ´Mathabo states that:

´Mathabo: This experience allowed me to reflect on my own sexuality and how it can play out in different situations. I had to learn about what gets me aroused and how to manage the arousal. I reflected on what could affect me in my lessons on sexuality education so that I could be prepared for such an eventuality. It helped me to get in touch with my own sexuality and acknowledge it as part of who I am as a woman and teacher...

Sexual arousal is a healthy part of human sexuality (Vance, 1984; Weeks, 2003; Wolf, 1997) and as illustrated in 'Mathabo's story, it can happen while one least expects it. Thus teachers need to know what can affect them to a point of arousal so that they are prepared for such an eventuality and have means of preventing it within their classrooms. Sexual attraction is another aspect of human sexuality that teachers have to be aware of. As illustrated in some of the stories, the women teachers found themselves teaching students

who are their age-mates. This posed a problem, which resulted in either the students being attracted to the teacher or the other way round. This illustrates that sexual desires are irrational and do not work in ways that appear logical (Ingham, 2005; Jolly, 2007; Kimmel, 2004; Machera, 2004; Vance, 1984; Wolf, 1997).

'Mampho's story presents a teacher who was actively engaged in a sexual relationship with a student and the challenges of such relationships in terms of setting boundaries between the sexual relationship and the teacher-student relationship. 'Mampho's experience made her hate teaching about sexuality, HIV and AIDS. She presents her fear by writing that:

> I do not like teaching about sexuality even in my current school because I feel as if the boys are undressing me with their eyes as I teach. I am married now, but I feel that I will never be truly free from what happened to me that day... ('Mampho)

The women teachers highlight the challenges that young women teachers face in having to control their sexual attraction to their male students. They argue that a lot of male teachers have married their students without any brows being raised. Society endorses such relationships because they perpetuate the *status quo* of male domination. The male teacher remains the authority over the student wife. A different yardstick is used for women teachers because they are scorned for having sexual relationships with their students, let alone marry them. Such relationships are discouraged because they would be against the norm. The woman would be in a position of authority as the teacher and the husband would be dominated.

As such, women teachers have to always be in control of their sexuality while male teachers have freedom to explore their sexuality even with their students. This highlights the double standard that is used regarding male and female sexuality. While men are applauded for sexual prowess, women are applauded for sexual restraint. Ericsson (2005, p. 141) argues that the idea of "problematic sexuality still resides in girls and the sexual behaviour of boys is seldom made an issue." This is also true in the way men and women are regarded as sexual beings. Kimmel (2004, p. 239) also argues that "men still stand to

gain status and women lose it from sexual experience: he is a stud who scores; she is a slut who 'gives it up'". A woman teacher, especially in the context of Lesotho, becomes degraded by having a sexual relationship with a student because she has 'given it up' to a student. Additionally, Ericsson (2005, p. 135) points out that the bodies of women are portrayed as being "problematic and unruly", with a sexuality that is in need of constant surveillance and regulation. The female body has been constructed as problematic and needing protection from the male gaze. The unruly female body (Ericsson, 2005; Kirk, 2003; McWilliam, 1996b, Paechter, 2004) is constructed as a moral and social threat to society.

Thus the Lesotho government has developed regulations on teachers' behaviours in relation to their students in order to maintain the moral and social order within schools and societies (Gol, 1995; cf. SACE, 2005) as discussed in Chapter 3. However, I would still argue that adhering to such regulations requires that teachers acknowledge their own sexualities and be in a position to control their sexual reactions so that they do not follow their sexual desires with students or within school compounds.

While 'Mampho also feared being sexualised by her male students, her story is different from ´Matsebo and ´Maneo's stories, presented in the next section, because they just felt uncomfortable with teaching their age-mates due to fear of being sexualised and objectified by the students.

6.4.2 Teacher sexualisation by students

The stories related by the women teachers also highlight instances of teachers being sexualised by their students and the discomfort this causes the teachers. While these women teachers acknowledged their own sexuality, their upbringing did not allow them to think of learners as sexual beings too. Sex-based teasing and harassment are often regarded as natural for adolescents. Kenway and Willis (1998, p. 108) argue that it is an "adolescent mating dance" (see also Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 1995; Wolpe, 1988).

Lahelma, Palmu and Gordon (2000) argue that concepts of *gender*, *schooling* and *sexuality* are concerned with processes and practices involving relations of power. Power and hegemonic masculinity are intertwined (Connell, 1995), with hegemonic masculinity being idealised and positioned as superior to femininity and other kinds of masculinity (e.g. homosexuality). Male students sexually harass their female teachers in a complex play of power where they try to portray hegemonic masculinity. Robinson (2000) has observed that the sexualisation of teachers, by students, does not fit the traditional roles of students and teachers within schools. Thus this behaviour challenges the 'normal' student-teacher dynamics within classrooms.

'Matsebo's experience made her realise that students were also sexual beings who could express their sexuality among themselves or project it onto their teachers. She was made to acknowledge that students needed more information to make the right choices regarding their sexual behaviour. She felt that the girl student in the episode was a naïve participant and thus she decided she needed to give girl students more information relating to love and relationships so that they could not fall victim to sexual manipulation. As a beginning teacher in a new school and village, she was doing her best not to go against the school's administration or the village community's beliefs. 'Matsebo also argues that the boy who was the culprit in this experience was her age-mate and thus the comment he passed about her "getting her turn" got her worried for her safety:

> I felt helpless because the students knew that I was his age-mate and the implication of his statement was disruptive to my being able to control the classroom. I tell you I was scared that the boy might try to rape me or that the rest of the class would not listen to my directive anymore... ('Matsebo)

This episode made 'Matsebo scared of other boys in her classroom who were around her age. She states that she felt sexualised by the boys when she was in class or just walking around the school-yard:

> I was afraid to walk within the school compound to their classroom by myself after this incidence. I was more afraid of teaching about sex, HIV and AIDS in their class because I felt like the boys were thinking of me as a possible sex partner for them... ('**Matsebo**)

These episodes show the various power relations that intersect. By virtue of being a teacher, the woman teacher is in a position of power in relation to her students. This power is challenged by male students who sexualise their female teachers (cf. Robinson, 2000). To prove their heterosexuality and masculinity, young school boys have also been observed to challenge women teachers' authority by treating them as women (see Walkerdine , 1981, 1990).

Additionally, 'Maneo's experience also reflects the fact that learners are also sexual beings with desires and sexual feelings. The boy in 'Maneo's class was attracted to her despite the fact that she was his teacher. In 'Maneo's field of reference, it was unheard of for a youngster to be sexually attracted to an adult:

> ...this boy was silly. How could he be attracted to his teacher? I mean, I am a teacher and therefore a parent to him despite the age. I was wondering what he saw in me honestly... ('Maneo)

'Maneo's experience created difficulties for her to teach sexuality education in senior classes as there were chances that the students could be the same age as herself. This confirms Lahelma *et al*.'s (2000) assertion that young teachers are more vulnerable to sexualisation than older ones. 'Maneo's greatest fear was attracting the boys and thus being sexualised by them. She felt that she had to cover up her body with drab and floating clothing to avoid attracting boys, with the hope that they would stop seeing her as a sexual being. Gordon *et al*. (2000) have observed that sexually harassed teachers often try to adopt a neutral embodiment in order to discourage further harassment from taking place. This becomes problematic because their work in public spheres places their bodies on display all the time. 'Maneo's escape mechanism is not unique to her situation. Victims of sexual harassment and rape in other contexts have also been observed to cover up their bodies (Sharpiro, 1997; Ullman, 1996; Yamawaki & Tschanz, 2005).

While teacher sexualisation by students is not peculiar to sexuality education classrooms (Lahelma *et al*., 2000), it has been noted that the intimate nature of sexuality issues creates a problematic environment for 'normal' classroom dynamics between students and teachers. As the class discussion is already on issues of sex, it becomes easier for

students to sexualise their teachers when they teach about sexuality than when teaching about other subjects such as mathematics (Aapola & Kangas, 1996). The subject matter by itself becomes problematic. Within classrooms where women teachers teach in mixed groups, especially in rural areas where students are much older than their urban counterparts, there is a greater challenge of teachers being sexually harassed by their male students.

This implies that sexualisation of women teachers within classrooms is a regular occurrence in schools irrespective of the subject being taught. This habit of male students reflects the societal constructions of masculinity within patriarchal societies where male sexual prowess is lauded as integral to hegemonic constructions of masculinity (Campbell, 2001). With boys trying to prove themselves as men through the sexual harassment of girls and women teachers within schools, it is imperative for education officials to ensure that schools become safe sites in which girls and women teachers can learn and teach free from intimidation.

Experiences of teachers being sexualised by their students have been documented by several scholars as creating challenges for effective teaching (Aapola & Kangas, 1996; Cunnison, 1989; Lahelma *et al*., 2000). Kivivouri (1997) from Finland and Coulter (1995) from Canada have also observed male students making loud comments on women teachers' bodies and what they wear. They also have been observed to comment on the ways that women teachers move. Despite these occurrences, Larkin (1994) argues that it is not every male in the educational setting that harasses girls and women. This provides some hope that all is not lost. Sexual harassment and teacher sexualisation by students warrants looking into by policy makers in order to create safe classrooms which are conducive for discussions on sexuality, HIV and AIDS.

As evidenced in the following section, being sexualised by students is not the only fear that teachers face when dealing with the teaching of sexuality education.

6.4.3 Childhood innocence and teachers' fears

One of the challenges to effective sexuality education is teachers' fears regarding society's beliefs in relation to childhood sexuality. Many societies still operate within the discourse of childhood sexual innocence (Epstein & Johnson, 1998) and Lesotho is no exception. Thus teachers are afraid of being labelled as the ones who corrupt children's innocence through sexuality education, despite the apparent need for such an education. These Basotho women teachers highlight the challenges that are peculiar to woman teacher-hood in relation to societal expectations on sexuality education.

'Mathuso states that she fears what other stakeholders within the school would think of her and her teachings on sexuality issues. She is afraid of what other teachers and the community might say about her conduct as a woman and teacher. Her students wanted to know about sexual pleasure among donkeys and they wanted the teacher to address issues of sexual pleasure in human beings too. With parents believing in childhood sexual innocence, this was a challenge for 'Mathuso because talking to children about the pleasures of sex would be tantamount to promoting teenage and premarital promiscuity. 'Mathuso's experience in her classroom, however, forced her to reflect on her own adolescence and how she was denied the information she feels she would have benefited from as a young girl. This has made her decide that she did not want her students to face the same challenges that she had faced growing up without enough information on sexual matters. Despite her fears on societal disapproval, she argues that she does her best to teach sexuality education in a manner that her students will have the correct information on which to base their decisions regarding their sexual behaviour.

The apparent silence on sexual pleasure within the sexuality education curriculum of many countries is an issue of great concern. Sexuality education programs existing in schools are silent on issues of sexual pleasure, while emphasising risk and vulnerability and positioning women as victims of violence (Correa, 2002; Fine, 1988; Forrest, 2000; Ingham, 2005; Jolly, 2007; Klugman, 2000; Petchesky, 2005). Fine (1988) and Thompson and Scott (1991) have also discussed in some detail the 'missing discourse' of desire and female pleasure in school sexuality education. They note that female desire

and pleasure are not part of the official discourses of the classroom; while male desire is positioned as dangerous to girls (see also Forrest, 2000).

Thus Mathuso's experience of students needing to be taught about issues of sexual pleasure is not unique to her rural Lesotho context. It reflects what happens in sexuality education classrooms across the world and the challenges that teachers face in having to address sexual pleasure with students. Mathuso's story also refers to the "fun of a good sexual relationship". When asked about this during the group discussions she pointed out that she was referring only to heterosexual relationships. She argued that she could not teach about any other relationships because she did not have enough information about them.

The other women teachers agreed that talk of relationships in their schools and village is only about heterosexual relationships. While some of the teachers knew about the existence of alternative sexualities, they were not free to discuss them because of cultural and religious restrictions. This is because homosexuality supposedly does not exist in Lesotho (Epprecht, 2000; Gay, 1986; Kendall, 1999). Basotho people regard homosexuality as un-natural by arguing that all animals were created male and female so that male can be attracted to female, and not male to male or female to female. While Basotho people are becoming more open to different sexual identities and embrace sexual diversity, there are still tensions that need to be addressed in relation to homosexuality. The church also sees homosexuality as a sin because God placed a man and a woman in the Garden of Eden, not two men or two women.

Thus teachers, as adults, are not expected to lead students to sin by addressing homosexuality in their teaching. As argued in Chapter 2, the LSE curriculum for Lesotho is silent on issues of homosexuality, sexual desire and pleasure, and tends to emphasise abstinence. This reflects the religious belief that sex is only good if it is done within a heterosexual marriage for procreation. Children in schools are not expected to learn about their sexuality because they are not ready for marriage and procreation. The fear of being

labelled as leading students to sin thus makes it difficult for these Basotho women teachers to effectively facilitate sexuality education. The women argue that:

'Mathuso: Anyone who talks about sex is regarded as a bad person. It is even worse when you talk about sex with young children. Our children should not know about sex until they are ready for marriage... so anyone who talks to them about sex leads them astray...

'Maneo: Yes... any adult talking to children about sex is someone with no morals. As mothers we are not expected to talk about sex with the students because we would put ideas into their heads...

'Matsebo: It is argued that only people who are about to get married need to know about sex... that children in school do not need this knowledge...

'Mathato: I think people still want children to go for traditional initiation and keep issues of sex a secret. We still live in communities that regard sex and sexuality as issues to be kept a secret or taboo... the names they give us for teaching it are horrible...

The rejection of anyone who dares talk about sexual issues to children presents intergenerational sex talk as taboo (cf. Reddy, 2005). This is reflected in 'Mathato's story which also highlights the community's reverence of the traditional initiation school. This particular community believed that people who had been to the traditional initiation school were the only ones who were morally 'strong' and could effectively address issues of sexuality within the community. This is reflected in this statement "*Mathisa ana a rutang bana ba rona a fosahetse. A bua ntho lisele le bana...*" (These women who have not been to the traditional initiation school are a bad influence to our children because they teach our children bad things). It is worth noting that in many Basotho communities, issues of sex are referred to as 'bad things'. By implication, children who are supposedly innocent should not have knowledge of bad things which might lead them astray.

'Mathato's story reflects the community's belief on good and bad womanhood and teacher-hood. For them, a woman who has not gone through the traditional initiation is not a complete or proper woman. 'Mathato was a perceived by the community to be a deviant woman who had not gone for traditional initiation but had instead chosen an alien western formal education. This positioned her as not being suitable to teach children as her morals were suspect. In addition to this, 'Mathato argues that she was treading on thin ice in terms of her being accepted within the community and her marriage because of this fact. Teaching within the same community in which she lived posed a problem for

'Mathato because her personal and professional lives could not be separated. Within rural communities, where everyone knows each other, having parents complain about her teaching could cost 'Mathato her marriage and social standing.

The principal asked 'Mathato to stop teaching about sexuality because of the school's connection to religion, arguing that the Catholic Church did not condone such teachings. Thus, apart from cultural norms, teachers who teach sexuality education also have fears of contradicting religious beliefs within their schools and communities. Churches, as the proprietors of schools, have the biggest say on what is acceptable within their schools regardless of government policies. Teachers within church schools have the greatest challenge in addressing issues of sexuality because they stand a chance of being fired for supposedly leading students astray. The participants argue that within Catholic Church schools it is extremely difficult to go against the ethos. The Church, in its teachings, promotes the sanctity of marriage and the heterosexual family unit (Bhattacharyya, 2002) and thus excludes any other ways of being. The reverence of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary also enforces teachings of abstinence to encourage girls to remain virgins until marriage. These create challenges when teachers teach about the other aspects of human sexuality.

These restrictions on who can teach, and what can be taught in schools do not prevent students from learning about issues of sexuality from other misguided avenues. The challenge is that the information that students get from their peers and the media is often perverted. Some students end up making ill-informed sexual choices which place their lives in danger. Mitchell *et al* (2004) have argued that, in this age of HIV and AIDS, we gamble with the lives of our children by portraying them as sexually unknowing and in need of protection from sexual knowledge. This is clearly illustrated in the next section.

6.4.4 The dangers of silence

While teachers and parents are trying to protect children form sexual knowledge, children are vulnerable to making wrong sexual choices or being taken advantage of due to lack of information. **'**Matau and 'Matsepo's stories present situations in which young girls face

consequences of having been protected from sexual knowledge. These are sad stories that reflect everyday occurrences in the lives of young girls. These stories are not peculiar to the context of a rural village but show the dangers that girls are exposed to daily when they do not have the necessary information they need to make informed choices in relation to their sexuality. Older boys and men often take advantage of young girls daily, and demand sex in return for money and gifts (Leach, 2002; Morrell, 2003; Silberschmidt, 2001).

Despite the sad context of 'Matau's story, it forced her to become a better sexuality education teacher. She decided that she would teach her students everything they needed to know regarding their sexuality despite community expectations and beliefs. 'Matau's reflections on the incident show that while she had wanted to keep the children innocent to satisfy community demands, she had endangered the life of a young girl. Her concern is that if she had taught this particular girl about her sexuality, she might have escaped the pregnancy. The young girl was ignorant enough to believe everything that the boyfriend had told her because she did not know any better:

> I tell you, this girl actually believed that she would get bigger breasts by having sex. She did get them anyway, because she became pregnant... it is really sad to think she was made a fool and now she is left with a child to care for... ('Matau)

In 'Matau's story the perpetrator is a boy while in 'Matsepo's story it is the father. This experience for 'Matsepo is one, which she believes, would incite every mother to murder. Because of it she changed her approach to the teaching of sexuality and how she worked with the students in her class. She became a better teacher who freely talked with students about issues of sexuality. However this experience has damaged her relations with men:

> I can say that since then I am a changed teacher. I do my best to give the children the skills and information they need in life. But I tell you, I will never trust a man enough to leave him with a baby girl any time soon! ('Matsepo)

The girl in 'Matsepo's story had trusted her father enough to believe what he had told her about having sex with him. Most perpetrators of rape and incest are known and trusted to their victims (Sharpiro, 1997; Ullman, 1996; Yamawaki & Tschanz, 2005). This creates a difficult situation for the victims who do not know enough to suspect foul play or to ask

for help in time. 'Matsepo argues that if the child had known better about menstruation and other sexual matters, she would have refused sex with her father or at least she would have talked to someone about it before further damage was done. These two stories show that keeping children 'innocent' had not worked in their favour, but placed them in danger. Because of the silence around sex and sexuality, boys and girls start experimenting with sex while they do not have adequate knowledge. While teachers negotiate the thin line between satisfying the community and the demands of the curriculum, children end up becoming victims of circumstance (Block, 2001). Thus the teachers in these episodes found that they had to change their attitude and approach to teaching about sexuality in order to prevent similar incidences happening.

The young girls in these two stories ended up with unwanted pregnancies, and thus the label *o senyehile* (spoiled goods). While children are expected to be sexually innocent, a pregnant girl is "delinquent" because her sexual activity becomes apparent (Ericsson, 2005, p. 131). With a pregnancy, it becomes visible to society that a girl has been sexually active and hence devalued, while boys and men have no such worries. Pregnancy has, within the context of the rural village, reduced these girls' chances of finding marriage or life partners. This is the inevitable eventuality for young girls in many communities.

'Matsebo's story, contrarily, shows a young girl participating in sexual intercourse with a boy within a classroom. While there is no mention of any other consequences of this act except expulsion from school for both students, 'Matsebo thinks that the girl was a naïve participant who was manipulated into the situation and exploited by it. She argues that a girl who had all the necessary information regarding her sexuality would value her body and the act of sexual intercourse. She believes that the girl was led to believe that she was loved by the boy and that having sex in class was a way of 'proving' her love for the boy. This is another sad reality for many girls in different communities who are forced into sexual relationships on the pretext of proving their love for a boy who is, almost always, much older than the girl (Jewkes *et al.*, 2006; Wood & Jewkes, 1998; Wood, Maforah & Jewkes, 1998). Young girls find themselves pressured into having sex out of fear of

violence from boys if they refuse. Wood *et al.* (1998) have observed that girls who refuse to have sex are sometimes punished by being gang-raped. While we cannot argue that the girl in ´Matsebo's class had been threatened, we cannot also overlook the possibility.

Another side of the coin could be that the girl was a willing participant who knew what she was doing. It is possible that the girl wanted her own sexual gratification (cf. Wolf, 1997), and actively decided to engage in sexual intercourse with the boyfriend within a classroom (see also Allen, 2003; Hunter, 2002; Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b). It is possible that the girl only regretted her actions after being expelled from school and realised the seriousness of her misdemeanour.

While the three episodes discussed in this section are not exactly similar, they highlight the dangers of silence for girls. I would, however, argue that despite the incidences showing only the dangers that girls face in negotiating their sexual identities within a culture of silence, Basotho boys are also equally confused about their bodies and sexual identities (cf. Simpson, 2007) and require as much information as well.

6.4.5 Contradictions of culture and the syllabus

'Matumo's story presents a situation in which cultural practices are in opposition with the syllabus. Within the Basotho culture, labial elongation is a rite of passage for young girls. It is argued that elongating the inner labia reduces girls' sexual excitability and thus keeps them 'good' (Gay, 1986). This practice was used as a contraceptive measure and a way of regulating female sexuality. In addition to covering the vaginal opening, the elongated labia were supposed to increase a man's sexual pleasure by elongating the passage through which the penis passed, and was considered as the most effective way of "winning the favours of a husband" (Parikh, 2005, p. 134).

The school community believed in this practice and wanted students to be taught about it at school to reduce the high rates of pregnancy. While the parents thought that elongated inner labia would be helpful for their daughters' sexual well-being, 'Matumo felt that it would not benefit them as it would reduce their chances of enjoying sex and thus decided

against it. 'Matumo's experience with the parents allowed her to make an informed decision on how to handle her future teaching of sexuality education. She argued that the pregnancy rates proved the children were sexually active and it was therefore not realistic for her to deny her students information on contraception and safer sex practices. This meant that they were having unprotected sex which was placing their lives in danger of contracting HIV. She is concerned that what she teaches in the school is not supported in the community and thus makes it difficult for the students to get the necessary assistance:

> ...you know, I just skim through the issue of labia elongation and do not get into the details. If the girls ask questions I direct them to their parents at home. How can I teach about such a practice if it will make the poor girls not to enjoy sex? The problem is that the parents do not talk to their children about contraception and they are not willing to take their daughters to the clinics for help... ('Matumo)

'Matumo's concern is also shared by the other women teachers. They argue that their teaching becomes useless to students because the students get different messages from home:

'Mathato: You tell the students that diseases and pregnancy can be avoided through safer sex practices such as using condoms or practising non-penetrative sex and the parents and peers tell them something else. How can we be effective?

'Matsebo: That is so true. As long as we are giving different messages at school and at home, we will never be able to get these children to practice safer sex. We want the children to have knowledge, but their parents want them to remain innocent...

'Maneo: When you are teaching you still think about what the parents are going to say to contradict your teaching. It is worse that the Catholic Church is not changing its view on teaching children about sex and contraception. They really need this information...

'Mathato: The thing is who to listen to... the children are in trouble because they are not sure whether to listen to us or to their parents. I would be confused too if I was a student...

The overall concern for these women teachers is that as women they are expected to do different things from those that are expected for them as teachers and this places a lot of demands on them in trying to reconcile the two identities. Working and living within the same rural community creates challenges for women teachers because they have to ensure that when they get home at the end of the day, after teaching such controversial issues, they are still acceptable as good members of the community. They feel that maybe

if they were staying in a different community from the one where they are teaching, then it would be easier on them to freely teach about sexuality to the students because they would not have to meet them after school within the community (cf. Peltzer & Promtussananon, 2003).

As community members and as women, they find themselves powerless in contesting the notions and discourses that are held powerful by the community members. Contrarily, they have the power and agency as teachers to shape the communities in which they teach and live and to decide what is best for the students they teach in schools. Within this context the women teachers find themselves having to perform certain scripts of good womanhood which contradict the scripts for good teacher-hood. Having to negotiating between the threads of having power and of being powerless often negatively affects their teaching. They cannot satisfy the needs of the curriculum and the expectations of the society at the same time. So why are they not choosing one side to work with? Why do they choose to keep between the threads offered by the two identities?

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the memory accounts of women teachers which reflect their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. The memory accounts have highlighted issues that affect women teachers within rural Lesotho sexuality education classrooms and how they enhance and inhibit their efficacy in facilitating sexuality, HIV and AIDS education.

The argument raised in this chapter is that woman teacher-hood, within rural Lesotho sexuality education classrooms, is problematic. The experiences presented by the women teachers show the centrality of their bodies in the teaching of sexuality education and the challenges this poses to their effective teaching. The body with its sexual desires does not follow any normative scripts, while the education setting requires disciplined bodies (Paechter, 2004). Bodies that desire are not disciplined and thus teaching about sexuality is seen as bringing disorder to the schooling setting. While women teachers try to police

and discipline their bodies and those of their students within the sexuality education classrooms, the efficacy of their teaching gets negatively affected.

As discussed in Chapter 3, within the context of rural Lesotho and its patriarchal gender order, women as mothers are expected to be pure and sexually innocent. Purity and sexuality are perceived as not being able to mix (Arndt, 2002; Bhattacharyya, 2002) because sexuality is about bodies that are undisciplined, while purity is about everything clean and wholesome with virtue and morals. However, as teachers, the women are expected to have sexual knowledge, information and skills which they should be able to share with their students. Thus, in negotiating the slippery ground between the perceived purity of motherhood, the supposed sexual innocence of womanhood and the all-knowing teacher-hood, the women fear the possibility of slip-ups. The eventuality of this is that the women's teaching of sexuality education is negatively affected as they seem to align with idealised purity and innocence of motherhood and womanhood.

The next chapter presents drawings on how the women teachers see themselves as women and as teachers. The discussion on these drawings brings to light the influence of women teachers' positioning on their teaching of sexuality education.

CHAPTER 7

Being a woman teacher in Lesotho: How women teachers see themselves

> To be a woman is to lack authority, knowledge and power. To be a teacher is to have authority, knowledge and power (Munro, 1998, p. 1).

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 highlighted the social constructions of womanhood and teacher-hood, the fluidity of the power dynamics in the women teachers' relations with the school and society and the problematic nature of woman teacher-hood within Lesotho's rural sexuality education classrooms. Building up on these arguments, this chapter presents data on how Basotho women teachers see themselves as *women* and as *teachers* and the implications of their dual positioning on their teaching of sexuality education in rural schools. It highlights the impossibilities and contradictions embedded in woman teacher-hood. The data presented in this chapter is based on drawings made by women teachers in accordance with a drawing prompt as discussed in Chapter 5 and represented in Appendix F.

The stories presented in this chapter represent the women teachers' analysis of the drawings of their woman and teacher selves. My discussion of their stories presents a second level of analysis. In line with Munro's (1998) argument, I discuss how the women teachers make meaning of their different identities and the power afforded each identity and how this creates im/possibilities for the effective facilitation of sexuality education. Earlier versions of this chapter have been presented in two international conferences (see Khau, 2009b; 2009c). In the next section I present a summary of the types of drawings that the women teachers made. The aim of this section is to provide a general picture of the drawings and to reveal the metaphors that are derived from them.

7.2 The drawings

This section presents a distribution of the different types of drawings made and a general discussion regarding the dominant types of drawings. The drawings have been divided into four categories: animals, inanimate objects, plants, and people. This has been done to

find the relationship between the type of drawing and the self that it represents. The discussion presented in this section provides only a glimpse into my analysis of the drawings.

Type	Woman self	Teacher self
Animal	Ant	Ostrich
	Elephant	Sheepdog
	Donkey	Vulture
	Hen	
Inanimate objects	Blanket	Salt
	Chamber pot	Three legged pot
	River	
Plants	Fruit tree	
	Potted green flower	
People		Army commander
		Captain of a ship
		Shepherd
		Travel agent

Table 7.1 Drawings of the woman and teacher self

The above table shows the choices of the women teachers on how they see themselves as women and teachers. The portrayals are dominated by animal metaphors followed by inanimate objects. The majority of the animals and birds chosen are domesticated, while there is only one insect. When the women teachers were asked why they had portrayed themselves as animals, they stated that 'it just came to them'. They chose the particular animals because of certain traits of the animal that reflected their own lives. They did not consider the chosen animals in totality with their characteristics. Thus, the reading of the animal metaphors should be at the level at which the participants have placed them.

Any deeper relation of the animals with the selves they have been chosen to depict would warrant another study. For example, why is it that the only animal whose sex has been specified is the hen? There is also an interesting relationship between the choice of domesticated animals and the woman self. Were the women teachers subconsciously aware of the domesticated role they were expected to play as women and mothers within the private sphere of the home when making this choice, or was it a coincidence? Another interesting issue is that for ostriches the male is the one that broods, protects the eggs and generally brings up the young (Marcon & Mongini, 1991). What is the relationship of this trait of the ostrich to the teacher self that it has been chosen to reflect? These are important questions that can be explored further to uncover the hidden meanings of the chosen metaphors, but because of the limited scope of this study, this cannot be explored here.

In relation to the inanimate objects, the women teachers argued that they had not considered the lifeless, unresponsive or inert nature of the objects they had chosen. They chose the inanimate objects based on their usefulness and importance in everyday life, which related to how they saw themselves and the roles they played. However, these characteristics have been clearly reflected in the women's explanations of why they chose the particular depictions, especially for the woman self. When asked about the choice of metaphors reflecting people's jobs, the women teachers highlighted the fact that they wanted jobs that reflected authority and power. They never thought of the fact that most of their people depictions reflect traditionally masculine jobs. It is possible that, for them, power still goes with masculinity and emulates masculine traits, hence their choices.

The lack of people metaphors for the woman self is an important silence that, in my view, reflects the perceptions of the women teachers on their being as women in rural communities. While the women argued that they did not engage deeply with the choices of metaphors they made, the lack of people metaphors for the woman self could be argued out as a manifestation of the expected absence of women in the public sphere. In Basotho customary law women are regarded as children (Chaka-Makhooane *et al.*, 2000; Khabo, 1995; Selebalo, 2002). A common argument in relation to children is that

'children should be seen and not heard'. If women are children, then by implication they should be seen and not heard. This relates to the performance of emphasised femininity (Connell, 2002) in which women are regarded as trophies, beautiful to look at while remaining powerless and silent in decision making. Thus it can be argued that the ways in which the women teachers construct and position themselves cannot be divorced from their lived realities within a hetero-patriarchal society.

As stated earlier, the women teachers argue that they did not think beyond the representation of the particular self they wanted to portray because of time limitations. This was an unavoidable reality of the fieldwork because we could only use their free afternoons and this was limited to the times they were still within the school premises. Thus, the portrayals are open to several interpretations. For example, one thought that came to mind was that the dominance of animal metaphors could have been influenced by the women's training in psychology where animals are mostly used to depict certain human traits. There could be several other reasons why the different metaphors were used and their effectiveness in telling a story about the self represented. I believe that the potential of the different metaphors to effectively paint a clear picture about the self represented is limited to the qualities of the chosen depiction. For example, in the metaphor of the 'potted flower' the discussion can only relate to the characteristics and qualities of potted flowers that the woman teacher is aware of. This leaves out the characteristics that could be hidden to the particular woman and thus limits the possibilities of other interpretations. Thus, I acknowledge that the metaphors used have provided only a limited view to the selves that they portray.

It is also important to note that the drawing prompt that the women teachers used to produce their drawings had no reference to metaphors. The women were required to make drawings of how they saw themselves as women and as teachers and explain their choices of imagery. The use of the different metaphors as representations of the different selves was an unexpected novelty. It was most interesting that the women teachers saw themselves as other 'things' except their human selves. Does this imply that the women

teachers are not comfortable with their bodies as women? Why do they choose other bodies to represent who they are?

The point I am making in this section is that the portraits should be only read in relation to the explanations provided by the women teachers because this study intends to understand their experiences and positioning in rural schools. My aim was not to find a particular truth about the representation chosen and hence these portraits and their explanations are open to several readings which depend on lens used. My reading of them is not the only possible reading available.

7.3 Portraits of the woman self

In this section I present some of the ways in which the women teachers see themselves as women. The portraits of the woman identity presented by these women teachers reflect the power dynamics involved in being and becoming a woman within the Basotho community. These depictions bring to light the dominant discourses in relation to normative womanhood and femininity and the regulation of female sexuality. Through these portraits we can read the women's lives and the challenges they face in negotiating the field of proper womanhood.

7.3.1 The chamber pot

My woman self is a chamber pot (*thuana*[17]). A chamber pot is a container that people have in the bedroom and is used for urinating in at night. In the village, a chamber pot is kept under the bed, out of sight of visitors. Even at night when it is in use, people do not want it to be seen. They just use it and hide it again. In the morning, people try as hard as they can to make sure that they empty the chamber pot without being seen. Even when carrying it outside one has to hide it. It is a shameful thing to be seen, despite its important use.

I see myself as a chamber pot because I think that my husband only thinks of me when he wants sex. I do not exist as another human being with feelings, views, needs and emotions. I have no say even in the sex itself. We only do it at night, in the dark as if we are hiding from someone. He jumps on and then he jumps off and he is through, while I am left wondering what happened. I am just like the

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[17]*Thuana* is a derogatory word used for chamber pot. A more welcome word for chamber pot is *pitsana* which means a small pot.

chamber pot where he just deposits his sperms and goes off. You do not negotiate with the chamber pot when you want to urinate in it. You just do it. That is what my husband does to me. During the day I have no use to him whatsoever. I just tell him what is needed in the house and he goes with his sister to buy whatever they feel I need. He never travels anywhere with me. Even when we must go to a feast together, he would rather leave me behind to come on my own. *Ke mosali, ke sala hae* (I am a woman, I should stay at home). I am only good for the bedroom. I am expected to be there for him if and when he wants me and I should never query his decisions in anything in the household.

7.3.2 The elephant

The elephant is a strong animal which is also easy to tame. I have read that when an elephant is young you can tie it with a small piece of string to restrict its movement. It gets used to the restriction of this small string to a point where even when it is grown up it cannot break free. It does not become aware of its own strength until it can get agitated or angry enough to try to break free. I see myself as an elephant because I believe that I am strong. I might not have physical strength like the elephant, but I do have emotional and mental strength. I have been brought up to believe that a woman should not aim for anything more than to get a good husband and produce children. That is the piece of string that has restricted me to the point where I have come to believe that I am powerless.

The death of my husband made me realise just how strong I was, even though I was still restricted by society on what it means to be a good woman. I had to listen to my husband's brothers decide my future and the future of my children. I kept quiet and pretended to go along with their ideas. That was my strength because it made them relax and think I was going to do what they wanted, and it gave me time to carry out my plans. My family wanted one of my husband's brothers to "care" for me and the children. But I knew that what they wanted was the money from the mines. I was also expected to have sex with him. I could not agree to that. Because I was not able to say no to the suggestion, I just kept quiet and pretended to agree. I do, however, believe that just like the elephant I will one day break free of the string and become aware of how much power and potential I possess.

7.3.3 The Ant

The ant is a small insect that lives in highly organised groups. It is so small that most of the time it can go unnoticed, especially if it is on its own. The only time an ant can get noticed is when it is in a group, because in the group it gains its strength. Though ants are small, they are smart enough to know that they should collect food and store it for the winter when there will be a shortage of food. They get their strength in the group and they do a lot of work together. I see myself as the ant because I am regarded as a worthless wife who cannot do anything of consequence in the family. I earn a lot less than my husband and he even makes

jokes about my salary. This makes him very domineering in every aspect of our married life because he has the money. We never sit and discuss what needs to be done in the family. He decides when and how to use his money and tells me that I only have control of my own salary.

I tried to use my salary to do things that I thought I needed in my family, but because of my meagre salary my attempts were in vain. This gave him a lot of pleasure as he teased and mocked me about it. He even teased me about my salary when I asked him to use condoms. He asked me if I would buy them from my salary because his salary was not for condoms. But I found my strength in other women in our Women's Association. I have achieved so much with my meagre salary because of the association that he and my in-laws have become jealous. He now mocks me on my achievements and accuses me of having a rich lover who is giving me money.

Just like the ant, which people can step on either intentionally or unintentionally, my in-laws and husband trample over me. I do not have the physical power to fight them, but I have the strength of the mind. I am collecting food for my winter which is approaching. I am not sure whether it will be winter for him or for me. I think it will be a winter for me maybe because when I do finally divorce him, I will be without the protection he is providing now. Socially I will be an outcast because I am not expected to run away from my marriage. My mother and father do not expect me to divorce and the church will not let me worship with them. I will, however, still be welcome in my association of women and my life will still go on.

7.3.4 The River

I am personally afraid of big bodies of water such as dams, rivers and oceans. However, I love watching their beauty and the mystery of what lies beneath the surface of the water. I love watching a river as it forges its way across mountains and valleys creating its own path where there was none. When a river over-flows from a storm, it creates a new path for the water to move along. Whatever happens, the water must keep moving. The only time that a river does not move is if it has dried up and died. When the storm waters come rushing through, the river just manoeuvres around the boulders and rocks along its path and moves along on its journey. If the obstacles within the path of the water are light enough, the water just carries them along so that they do not block its journey. If the water does not find its way through an obstacle, it finds a way around it.

When I look at the water in a river, I see a picture of myself and my journey through life as a woman. I see myself as the water moving along and forging its way around the obstacles in my life. Just as the river water nurtures life within and along the river, I am also a caring mother, sister and daughter with the ability to nurture those around me. Despite the fact that my in-laws did not like the fact that my first child was a girl, I am a good mother. After my divorce I realised that

I had internalised the doubts that my ex-husband and his family had had of my being a good and sexually pleasing Mosotho woman. I was afraid of getting into new relationships because I doubted my ability to perform sexually. In frustration I discovered that I could pleasure myself sexually and give myself some of the best orgasms I have ever had. Thus my sexual performance anxiety was no longer a boulder in my path of life. I found a way round it. As I discovered my body and the pleasures inherent in it, my confidence levels improved regarding my sexuality and the fact that I could be sexually pleasing to other people too.

With all the challenges that I have faced as a divorced woman teacher and mother, I have been able to find my way around them. I have gone under, jumped over, and gone around the hurdles in my life as the river water does. Some of the challenges were light enough for me to shove aside and move on with my life's journey. When storms in my life threaten to over-flood my sensibilities, I let the emotions flow and find a way out so that my life keeps moving. Just as the river forges new ways where there were none, I also have the power to change the course of my life and the lives of those around me. Like the river, I can only stop trying new strategies and paths when I die. As long as I live I will always try to find ways around or through whatever obstacle are placed in the path along my life's journey. I have been through so much in my short life that I really believe that I have the power to shape my life such that it takes any course that I put my mind to.

7.3.5 The Donkey

A donkey is one of the most overworked animals in the world. In the rural areas it does all sorts of work without even being taken care of. You find that the farmer takes good care of his horse and brushes it and feeds it properly and builds a stable for it. Even if he has a donkey too, you will find the donkey sleeping out in the cold but in the morning the donkey will be out going to collect food for the horse and doing all the hard work. I see my woman self as a donkey because as a woman I am expected to do all the hard work in the family. I know people do not see it as hard work. They do not even see it as work at all.

I am overworked and under-appreciated. I am taken for granted by my husband, my in-laws, and even my own children. I do everything for them even when I am sick. When they are sick I take care of them but no one takes care of me even if I am sick. Even when I am lying in bed ill, they still ask me "what are we eating today?" I am everything for them, but unfortunately *there is no one for me.* You should see a donkey from the mill. It will be having big bags of maize and sorghum flour and the shepherds would also be riding on it. The poor thing just goes on with its heavy load while no one cares. The passers-by cannot even ask why the donkey is over-loaded. They take it for granted that a donkey can do it all.

Figure 7.1

7.3.6 The fruit tree

Figure 7.2

As a woman I see myself as a fruit tree. A fruit tree is expected to produce fruits for the family to enjoy at the right season. In the village we do not care much for the fruit trees until it is time for us to get some fruits from them. This is how I see myself as a woman. In my family I am expected to produce as many children as "God has given me" to repay the *lobola* that was paid when I got married. Without my children I am nothing. I cannot be called a woman, a real woman. Another thing is my husband just sees me as a baby-making tool. I say this because even when we have sex he decides when and where. I can never ask him for sex. I wait for him. Even when I am not feeling satisfied with it I cannot tell him.

I am lucky that my first child was a boy otherwise I would have been sent back home. Despite the fact that I have two children already, my in-laws keep telling me that I need to have more children. They argue that at least four children will have repaid their cows. They use culture as an excuse. They say that culturally a woman should have as many children as possible to show that she is a real woman. They put a lot of pressure on my husband that we should be having more children and he believes their arguments. I may be young enough to still have more children but there are other needs in life that one has to consider before filling a house with children.

7.3.7 The potted green flower

Figure 7.3

A potted flower is placed in the house and taken care of as long as it is still green and appealing to those who look at it. The owner of the house waters it when she wants to and not when the plant needs to be watered. If the plant wilts, then it can be uprooted and thrown away, or even another plant can replace it without a second thought. The owner of the house can have as many plants as she wants as long as they still please her to look at.

I see myself as a potted green flower as a woman. This is because a woman, like a flower, is expected to be beautiful and attractive to the husband. I have to look good so that my husband can feel proud that he married me, so that he can brag to his friends about his beautiful wife. I have to also be pleasing for the in-laws to look at so that they can be proud of their daughter-in-law. The problem is I do not have any say in the running of the house. I am just a decoration. My mother-in-law and her son make all the decisions in the house. Even some of the clothes I am wearing were bought in my absence by the two. How can a decoration complain of anything? Even sexually I cannot say anything to him about my needs. A good woman does not talk about sex.

7.3.8 The Hen

Figure 7.4

My woman self is a hen. I have chosen a hen because I have been watching my chickens daily and seeing the life of a hen. The duty of the hen is to produce eggs and chicks. The hen does not decide when and where to have sex. The cock just comes by, jumps on the hen and rushes off after the next hen and can even have sex with the other hen in the presence of the previous one. I think I always hear my hens complaining that they did not have enough sex. I think they do try to complain by the noise they make when the cock jumps off, but the cock never listens. It is too busy chasing after the next conquest.

When people look at my hens they only comment that the fat and round ones look good. A Mosotho woman, especially in the rural villages, is also expected to be big and round to show that the husband is a good provider. The slightest loss of weight is commented on in the most negative manner. I, thus, see myself as a hen because in my marriage I have no say in the numbers and spacing of the children. I am also expected to understand that my husband has needs which have to be satisfied, so I am not expected to complain about my husband's infidelity. When I am heavy with child or breast-feeding, my mother-in-law and my own mother just tell me that I should know that my husband is at another woman's house because he has needs. How about mine? Would they be happy to see another man in my house? Just like the cock, he can chase other hens but does not want to see other cocks after his hen. Unfortunately I have never seen a hen chasing a cock. Just as I said about my own chickens, the hens do complain but they are never heard. I have complained, but do you see it helping?

It is amazing that when a cock has sex with several hens per day people say it is a good cock; it is doing its job well. The same thing applies with Basotho men. If they have sex with many women then they are real men. With the hen, as long as it produces lots and lots of chicks then it is a good hen. A hen is never commended for having lots of sex with many cocks. This is also applied to Basotho women. They are expected to have no say in sexual issues. I do not think they are even expected to be sexual at all. A woman is only defined by the children she produces.

7.3.9 The Blanket

As a woman I see myself as a blanket. A blanket is a possession that one can do whatever they please with. You can have as many blankets as you wish and they can never complain. If you do not take care of the blanket, it can't say anything. If you choose to wear another one, it still remains your blanket. It cannot walk out of the house. Because you pay for it, you can do anything you want with it. You can sleep on it, walk on it, sleep under it, wipe your feet on it, or even use it as a bed for your dogs. The duty of the blanket is to keep the owner warm and happy, protecting him from the coldness of the world outside. I am a blanket for my husband. He beats me when he wants, he cares for me when he wants and sometimes he wants to be seen with me in public when he is happy.

Otherwise, just like a blanket, I am kept in the house and trampled on. Just like the blanket, my husband has several women in this village that I know of but I cannot complain to anyone. Who would listen to a jealous wife? When he is not with one of his other women then he comes to me for sex. We do it if and when he wants and he never uses any protection because he has "bought" me by paying *lobola*, just like a blanket is bought. I cannot refuse my husband sex even though I know that it is not safe for me. He would take me to his parents who would humiliate me in front of my relatives. A woman is not expected to say anything that relates to sex. Just like the blanket which cannot say anything to its owner,

my husband does not expect me to say anything to him regarding our sexual relationship. Even if I feel that I need him sexually, I cannot say it. Even if I feel I am not happy with our sexual life, I cannot complain. I tried once and he beat me so much that I was hospitalised. He said that I must have other men who teach me all these bad manners of asking for sex. He told me that a good Mosotho woman's job is to please the husband and to produce heirs. I am lucky that I have two sons; otherwise I am not sure what would have happened to me.

Because of my sons, my in-laws value me as their mother but not as another human being. Sometimes when he comes home I wonder what he is going to do to me. Is he going to be friendly and jolly, is he going to insult me in front of my children, is he going to beat me or is he just collecting his clothes and going to another woman? Just like the blanket I cannot do anything about my situation. My mother told me that "*Mosali o ngalla mots'eo*" (a woman does not run away from her marital problems). Just like the blanket I think I will be in this marriage until I am worn out and of no use to anybody, then they will throw me out. That is what you do to an old blanket. You throw it away or give it to someone less fortunate who could need it. I do not think they would want to see me with anyone. They would just throw me out as a useless blanket.

Figure 7.5

209

7.4 What do the woman portraits mean?

These drawings and stories present powerful metaphors of women teachers' positioning as women within rural communities. They highlight the patriarchal gender order characteristic of Basotho communities. These Basotho women teaching within a rural community are expected to perform certain scripts of proper womanhood in order for them to be accepted as respectable citizens. While the stories explaining the portraits show that the women are aware of the oppressive conditions of their womanhood, they have been socialised to take them as their lot in life (cf. hooks, 1981). To highlight this, I will discuss the portraits reflecting the woman self within the following themes: women as mothers, passive female sexuality and powerful womanhood.

7.4.1 Women as mothers

All the portrayals of the woman self show that good womanhood centres on being a mother and nurturing family members. The explanations of the drawings representing the woman self highlight how Basotho womanhood is constructed in relation to bearing children, especially boy children. The women teachers see their worth as women being based on their ability to provide heirs for their husbands and keep the family name going. This is what they say:

'Mathabo: My in-laws were disappointed in me as a woman because my first child was a girl. They were planning for the child to be named Thabo after one of the grandfathers and thus they pestered me to have another child as soon as possible with the hope that it would be a boy.

'Matumo: My own mother told me that without boy children in the family I would be a disgrace to her as a mother. She wanted me to produce at least four children in order to prove that I was a real Mosotho woman. I was lucky to have had children in my marriage. It is painful as a woman if you are childless…

'Mathuso: Yes. It is like you are not complete, that you are abnormal. People look at you as if you are half human. I have seen the pain that barren women go through and the social ridicule that they are subjected to by those women who have children…

'Matsebo: I know. It is as if those who do not have children are being cursed by God and the gods. What is interesting in our Basotho communities is that it is never the fault of the man if there are no children in the family or if there are no boys. All the blame and ridicule is focussed on the woman. The man can even be advised to marry another woman who will give him boy children, even if he is the one with infertility problems…

As discussed in Chapter 2 (2.5.2) Basotho people place a lot of value on women's fertility and ability to bear male children (see Ashton, 1967; Mohome, 1972; Setiloane, 1976). This is in line with the patriarchal gender order that is characteristic of Basotho communities. As wives, women are expected to secure the reproduction of the family name. The woman's body is thus objectified as a conduit for the passage of the child into the clan (Chinweizu, 1990; Stratton, 1994). Krais (1993) adds to this argument by writing that:

> Women are seen simply as receptacles for the male seed, passive vessels, a kind of safe place where the product of male potency may rest for a while and unfold its human potential... (p. 163)

Arndt (2002, p. 126) states that "a barren woman is deprived of all joy" and spends her life hoping to raise children one day. Those women who have children perpetuate the discrimination of women who are barren by teasing and mocking them as abnormal women. Within the context of Lesotho, barren women are sometimes referred to as 'men' because they cannot get pregnant. This is an unfortunate situation for many Basotho women, especially because the lack of children in the family is always blamed on the women irrespective of whether the problem lies with the husband.

Once a woman has children, she is expected to take care of them in every way so that they grow up into healthy and productive citizens. Because of the colonial history of Lesotho and the lack of jobs for women in the public sphere, many Basotho women in rural areas did not find formal employment (BoS, 2001). Thus, their job was to take care of the household and nurture the family. It has been argued that women who have no opportunities to work outside the home do not have the same freedom of association as those who do. Thus, "women deprived of education are by implication also deprived of much meaningful participation in politics and speech" (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 47). The advancement of Basotho women into formal schooling and public jobs has created a lot of challenges to this setting of the household because women have formal employment and hence cannot take care of their families themselves. The need for women to find paid employment outside the family sphere has not met with an agreeable response from rural

communities as it has disturbed the gender dynamics in which the man should be the head of the household in every way (Arndt, 2002; Chinweizu, 1990).

As exemplified by these Basotho women teachers, women are subject to the double burden of family and profession. Arndt (2002, p. 29) argues that "despite their educational and professional accomplishments, women are often reduced to their role as wives and mothers and positioned as subordinate to men" (cf. Emecheta, 1988). Thus despite professional employment, women are still expected to be nurturers within the family. Because the nurturing role is performed within the private sphere of the home, it is not seen as work (Nussbaum, 2002). The value that women's work within the household adds to the economic standing of the family is disregarded because there is no financial value attached to it. This is why these Basotho women teachers are still expected to work in their homes when they get home from their teaching work, because *working in the home is not work*. The women argue that:

'Mathato: We are always there to take care of everyone including the in-laws. However, there is nobody to take care of us even when we get sick…

'Matau: That is so true… I was lying in bed sick one day and my mother-in-law came in to ask me what was for lunch. She did not even care that I was bed-ridden. She wanted me to get up and prepare something for her to eat. You would think she would be more understanding, but no…

'Matsepo: My husband wants to be treated like a baby even when he has a simple headache. You cannot leave him alone in the house otherwise you want him to die… I tell you, just a simple headache, and to think the pains we endure as women…

'Mathuso: When I come home from work tired they want me to start cooking for them even though they spent the whole day at home doing nothing. I think my in-laws are crazy. How could they just sit at home and expect me to work after my professional work is done? My mother-in-law just tells me that looking after the family is the trademark of a good Mosotho woman. I wish I could just tell them that I am a teacher and not a housewife…

Martha Nussbaum has argued that "women's work as nurturers and caregivers has been taken for granted worldwide" (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 47). She argues that "women are often burdened with taxing employment in the public sphere and the full responsibility for housework and childcare in the private sphere, leaving them no time for play and the cultivation of their imaginative and cognitive faculties" (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 45). This

has created challenges that prevent women's abilities from being properly recognised and acknowledged. The same fate has befallen these Basotho women teachers. The discussions show that their work as teachers is not taken seriously by their families; hence they are not expected to be too tired to nurture their families when they get home.

7.4.2 Passive female sexuality

The women present female sexuality within their rural context as being passive and waiting for the advances of the man. They highlight how female sexuality is regulated within marriages and families among the Basotho. Their metaphors present female sexuality as good only in relation to heterosexual relationships and procreation. Otherwise it is something that should be policed and kept under control as it disrupts the moral and social order of society (Ericsson, 2005; Kimmel, 2004; McWilliam, 1996b; Paechter, 2004, 2006). The metaphors of the chamber pot, hen, fruit tree, potted flower, donkey and blanket depict a passive woman who waits for her man to make sexual advances. However, there are subtle hints of the women's desire for sexual fulfilment and need to make sexual advances which are not acted upon. Thus Basotho female sexuality is not completely passive but has some agency which the women as actors in the field of heterosexual marriage can strategically decide to use or ignore in accordance with their interests. The women state that:

'Mathato: We find ourselves waiting because we do not want to be given bad names. It does not mean that we have the same sexual needs as the men. We just control them better that the men do...

'Mathabo: Why should women be the ones who have to control their sexual desires and withhold their sexual fulfilment? Is it part of being a good woman?

'Matsepo: If your husband could tell his parents or your parents about you asking him for sex, you would be the worst wife. You are expected to just make movements and gestures as you go about your daily chores that will hopefully get him aroused enough to chase you to the bedroom… otherwise you just wait...

'Matau: It is not written anywhere that women should wait for the man. We just get it from our elders that a good woman should be there for the pleasure of the man. I do not think it is expected for women to have sexual desires or to enjoy sex…

'Matumo: In this village a woman who enjoys sex is a whore. I remember that we were talking with some other women in the staffroom about sexual pleasure. One woman was complaining that she has to force herself to keep quite during sex so that the husband cannot see that she is having

	fun. If you cannot have fun with your own husband then who are you expected to have it with?
'Mathabo:	Good question. Why do you as women choose to pretend to be what you are not… that you do not desire sex with your husbands or that you are not enjoying sex?
Chorus:	It is not proper for a good Mosotho woman to do that!

The chorus response of some of the women concerning proper Basotho womanhood and sexual pleasure paints a bleak picture of Basotho female sexuality. Male sexuality is constructed as actively in pursuit of sexual pleasure and fulfilment, while female sexuality is passive and women are positioned as victims of male sexuality (see Correa, 2002; Ingham, 2005; Jolly, 2007; McFadden, 2003; Petchesky, 2005). Inherent in the discussion, however, is the suppression of action towards female sexual fulfilment. These women actively choose to suppress their sexual needs in favour of being labelled as 'good' women. They choose to be what has been described by (Kimmel, 2004, p. 240) as "ladies". They seem to have a vested interest in gaining entry into the field of good womanhood so that they can acquire the capital that goes together with being part of the game (cf. Swartz, 1997). The question remains, what is it that Basotho women stand to gain by being labelled as 'good' women?

On the other hand it can be argued that these women are forced into submission and to be 'good' women by the violence that can be directed at them if they choose to go against the norm. This has been exemplified in ´Mathuso's metaphor of the blanket where she argues that she once asked her husband for sex and was severely beaten and accused of infidelity. The fear of violence, I believe, forces many Basotho women to accept their situations in marriage; not because they want to but because they do not have the weaponry to fight against the gender-based violence that is taken as normal in their communities (cf. Chaka-Makhooane *et al.*, 2000, 2002; Mosetse, 2005; Motalingoane-Khau, 2007a).

As discussed in the previous chapter, different standards are used in relation to male and female sexuality. Kimmel (2004) argues that gender inequality is perpetuated by the

belief that men are more sexually driven than women. Kimmel (2004, p. 240) observes that:

> ...men will always try to escalate sexual encounters to prove their manhood, and that women -or rather, "ladies"- either do not have strong sexual feelings, or that those they do must be constantly controlled lest they fall into disrepute. With such a view, sex becomes a contest, not a means of connection; when sexual pleasure happens it is often seen as his victory over her resistance.

The passivity expected of women in this study is also reflected in the metaphor of the potted flower where women are depicted as trophy wives (cf. Connell, 2002). They should be beautiful, good mothers and wives, bear boy children and have good moral standing. This places a lot of pressure on women to be perfect. The perfect woman is expected to be an all-rounder who adds to the public image of her husband. Contrarily, the metaphor of the river shows that womanhood and female sexuality can be performed differently from the norm. This metaphor highlights the agency and choice that women can exercise in relation to their interactions with men. Inherent in this depiction of womanhood is the power that women have to shape and reshape, construct and reconstruct their sexualities to suit their interests.

7.4.3 Powerful womanhood

While most of the drawings of the woman self depict women as powerless, there are inherent strengths reflected in some of them. These portrayals show that womanhood is not a completely powerless identity. The fluidity of the power of women is depicted in the metaphor of the river. This depiction shows the dynamics of negotiating between the threads of power in the everyday interactions of women. These Basotho women keep shifting between being powerful and powerless depending on the situations they find themselves in and their investment in those situations. The strength portrayed in the images of the elephant and the donkey is also evident in the collective strength of ants. These images show that while women are depicted as weak in some instances, they are not always powerless. The women are aware of their inner strength while also being aware of the dehumanisation they endure.

The metaphor of the ant shows that while more often than not women are invisible in social and political circles (Arndt, 2002; Moorosi, 2006; Unterhalter, 2007; Unterhalter & Dutt, 2001), womanhood is a powerful identity. Unterhalter and Dutt (2001) have observed that women who work together in collaborative schemes are able to draw from a collective strength to challenge gendered relations. This has also been evident in the women's arguments:

'Matumo: Women are good at organising themselves into groups. In my school we have a burial society which helps us when we have deaths in our families. We also have a saving scheme (*stokvel*) which helps us to get the things we want in our houses which our husbands are too stupid to see that we need...

'Matsebo: I keep my husband and in-laws surprised every time. They think they will see me asking them for money to do the things I want, but I always get money and support from my friends in our *stokvel*. Were it not for this group, I think I would have left my marriage a long time ago...

'Matumo: Ya! They see us as weaklings who do not know what to do with money or how to take care of ourselves, but in my family if they really need money they always say "we know that 'Matumo has some money hidden somewhere." They always come to me for assistance, a mere woman...

'Mathato: That is true... we might not earn much but we know how to stretch our money so that our families get all the things they need. We can beat any man at that... all they know is how to earn lots of money and just throw it away on alcohol and *linyatsi*[18].

These arguments show that while these Basotho women may not earn much money, they have a gift for making their money go further. This helps them to survive on their small salaries even when their husbands abscond from their duties of helping to maintain the family.

Working with finances is not the only strength that these women identify. They also point out that it requires super-human strength to be a mother, wife and daughter-in-law within the rural communities. In many rural Basotho communities, there are several generations of a family living together in one compound or homestead. In a typical household, the daughter-in-law is expected to wake up before all the family members to collect water, prepare breakfast, sweep the compound and clean up after everybody has eaten. She is

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[18] *Linyatsi* refers to extra-marital relationships. The 'other' man or woman in an extra-marital affair is labelled as *nyatsi*.

then expected to collect firewood so that she can prepare lunch. Sometimes she has to go to the field to collect some wild herbs, and crush some maize so that she can prepare a meal.

The women teachers in this study have a better life because their households are different. While they still live with their in-laws, they have modern amenities that make it easier for them to carry out their duties. Despite this, they still argue that for a woman to carry out all her duties shows that women are not weak:

'Matsepo: I wake up early every morning to clean the house and prepare breakfast for my in-laws. I also have to make sure that my children and husband are ready for school and work. Then I have to get ready for school... when I get there I am usually tired, but I have to teach those poor children...

'Mampho: Yes. Sometimes even when I am sick I have to ensure that I prepare for my husband to go to work. My children sometimes help me by making their own lunch boxes... but the man... then at night he wants sex!

'Matau: That is true... after all your hard work he does not care that you are tired, he just jumps on top of you and expect you to be happy. Anyway, we all know that when you see a man who is well taken care of, there is a woman slaving behind him. We make the men to be who they are and they know it, but they do not want to appreciate us for that.

'Mathabo: Yes. There is the saying that 'behind every successful man is a strong woman'. Why do you think women, with their strength, choose to be behind the man?

Chorus: because that is our place...

'Matsebo: A woman's strength is seen through her husband's success.

'Mathabo: Why can't a woman's strength shine through her own success? What is wrong with that?

Chorus: There is nothing wrong but it is not our culture...

This discussion shows that the women teachers are aware of their strength and the power they wield within their families. It also reflects their socialisation into womanhood which taught them how to become good Basotho women. While they acknowledge that they do not have to operate from the background in their interactions with men, they actively choose to stay in the background and let their power shine through the men. This is what Bourdieu calls symbolic power. Bourdieu believes that symbolic power takes place when agents "voluntarily give up power, because they believe that the particular person has the power to do things" (Cheal, 2005, p. 161). Additionally, Bourdieu (1990b) explains that any action is only conceivable in self-denial. By implication, these Basotho women

teachers, through self-denial, give over their power to men because they believe that it is the way things should be.

However, for these Basotho women teachers it is not necessarily about believing that men should have power but about the patriarchal conditions of their existence which create certain fears for the women to challenge the *status quo* of male domination. This means that while patriarchy already favours women's subordination, the women are not helpless victims of circumstance but actively construct and reconstruct their realities through non-violent resistance (see Adjei, 2007). The implication is that the women can actively choose to cooperate with men only in actions which they deem good for everybody, while they non-violently fight against men's oppressive practices, as exemplified in the women's financial management strategies. Raising such arguments does not, however, erase the fact that in such interactions men might react violently to women's resistance.

The overall implication, therefore, is that the women teachers are not totally limited by the structures of their *habitus*, but can, according to Foucault, use the power afforded them by certain discourses to their advantage. Foucault (1978, p. 129) compares power to a game. Thus, just as with any game, while one player could seem to have the upper hand this state could easily be reversed. This implies that none of the players has the power to keep or hold on to. He observes that "power is exercised from innumerable points..." (p. 94). Thus, this argument also holds for these Basotho women teachers in their interactions with men. These women teachers gain a sense of power from the way they construct themselves in relation to their husbands and children as wives and mothers respectively. They see themselves as reliable, responsible, virtuous and able to keep their families together, thus the strong investment they have in these positions. On the other hand, these very same positions that give women a sense of power can prove to be exploitative in that the women are positioned as powerless in relation to their gender and sexuality. This contradiction in the women's positioning exemplifies the fluidity of power in human interactions.

Based on the idea that every relation is fluid, one can argue that the problematic constructions of masculinity and femininity can be troubled. The fluidity of power and gender relations is evidence to the fact that the borders between femininity and masculinity are permeable and fragile, allowing for slip ups and the performance of alternative scripts. This implies that while the women teachers within this study are subjected to particular constructions of femininity there are possibilities for shattering the fragile border between femininity and masculinity. Hence there are possibilities for active resistance and performance of alternative scripts. If exercising power over others is a strategic game and things can be reversed, if there are possibilities for these women teachers to perform their womanhood differently, then why do these Basotho women teachers choose to perform the normative scripts of womanhood and femininity?

Part 2

7.5 Portraits of the teacher self

This section presents how the women teachers see themselves as teachers. These drawings and their explanations highlight the difference in the dual positions of *woman* and a *teacher*. They show how teacher-hood is positioned within the rural society in relation to womanhood, and the power afforded the teacher identity.

7.5.1 The Sheepdog

> A sheepdog is used by farmers to help with guarding the sheep and other farm animals so that they are in order. If they wander off in the wrong direction then the sheep dog has to round them up and show them the direction. Sometimes the sheepdog has to bite the animals before they can take the right direction, but most of the time barking is enough to guide them.

> I see my teacher self as a sheepdog because I am also there to guide the students and round them up when they go the wrong way. We are on good terms most of the time, but sometimes I have to 'bite' them just like the sheep dog. A good sheepdog knows of the ravines and dangerous places that the sheep should not venture towards and thus stops them from going. A good teacher is also expected to know everything that can be either good or bad for the students and guide them accordingly.

7.5.2 The three-legged pot

The three-legged cooking pot is used to cook food for many people. In the village these are the typical cooking pots. When all the three legs are working properly, it is easy to cook tasty food. Once one of the legs is broken then the pot needs to be supported so that it can do its job of cooking meals.

My teacher self is like a cooking pot because all the children that pass through my hands are expected to be thoroughly cooked or prepared for life as members of society. Being supported by the parents, the government and the church makes my job of cooking the children become easier and thus we get good results. If one of these people is not helping me in the teaching of the children then the results become poor and thus the children are not properly cooked. Anyone of the stakeholders in the education of the children have to do their part so that the legs of the pot are all functioning and thus help the pot to cook good meals. Without the other legs, then the pot is no longer a three-legged pot. Unfortunately for me, the other legs in the three-legged pot seem to be against the proper functioning of the pot. There are things that I know that the children need to know about which I cannot teach because the other legs of the pot do not support me.

7.5.3 The Captain of a ship

The captain of a ship is responsible for directing the ship, with all its cargo, towards its destination by navigating through rough weather and stormy seas. The captain always has to know what lies ahead so that he can give directives on which route to take and when to put the sail up or down. With the watchful eye of the captain, the ship can get to its destination without any   trouble. However, it is possible that the captain and the ship can become shipwrecked on the high seas. Thus only the strong and brave would survive to reach the nearest shore.

Just like the ship captain, a teacher is supposed to guide the learning of the students so that they can one day occupy their positions in society as responsible citizens. The teacher knows what lies ahead in life and in students' learning. She can guide the children to acquire the necessary knowledge to navigate in life and become successful. However, just like on the high seas there are several challenges that can impede the effective direction by the teacher. These days there are things such as HIV and AIDS which make life a challenge for youngsters and adults. The havoc wreaked by HIV in the lives of Basotho people is worse than any stormy sea. Only the strong and the brave get through the education system as winners, while the rest remain caught in the shipwreck.

7.5.4 The Army Commander

My husband tells me that in the army the Commander is the big boss. You do not question the Commander in any order that you are given. You have to perform whatever task as you are told. You do not have to agree with the task or understand it much. You just follow orders.

I see my teacher self as an army Commander. I expect complete control and discipline in my classroom. My students are not expected to talk back to me or to question my authority. I am the ultimate boss of my classroom. Unlike the army boss, I can never give my students tasks that could be harmful to them. However, I do give challenging tasks for them to perform so that they test their skills and endurance. Failing a task at first attempt is no excuse to give up. In my classes they know that you try until you get it right, otherwise you meet with the wrath of the Commander.

7.4.5 The Shepherd

In the villages where we have a lot of livestock, the shepherd is important. A shepherd looks after the animals and makes sure that they get to green pastures to graze. He also has to find a drinking place for the animals to get water. The shepherd makes sure each morning that his flock is all out to pasture. If any of the animals meets with an injury, the shepherd has to take care of it. When the animals give birth in the field, the shepherd is there to assist them and deliver the young one. A good shepherd is known to all his flock by his voice. All he has to do is call and they will follow.

My teachers self is a shepherd. I get my students to good knowledge and skills by teaching them and assisting them in challenging situations. I make sure that they know what lies ahead in life so that they can make the right subject choices that would relate to their future careers. I make sure that I know the interests of all my students so that I can offer them guidance accordingly. It is not an easy task but I try my best. Sometimes there are wild animals- such as HIV, drugs and pregnancy- that steal my students from my class. Like the good shepherd I do my best to protect the flock that is still with me by showing them the dangers that lie ahead. As a shepherd, one can never guarantee that taking the animals to the drinking spot will make them drink the water. As such I cannot guarantee that the advice that I give to my students is being followed, or whether   the lessons I give them fall on good soil.

7.5.6 Salt

In the bible it is said "*You are the salt of the earth...*"

Salt is used all over the world to season food. In the villages where there are no other fancy spices like those bought in town, just adding salt to a dish makes it tasty. Salt is an important part of the food that we eat because it also adds some minerals to the body. However, too much salt is also not good.

My teacher self is like salt. I am used by the government, parents and the children   to spice their education and thus their lives. Just like the salt I can only spice the food into which I am poured. I am given orders by the government on what to teach and how to teach it. The parents also give me orders on what they

want their children to learn. My power is limited by the fact that there are rules that sometimes hinder my work. I can impart my skills and knowledge only where and in what I am allowed to teach.

Figure 7.6

7.5.7 Travel agent

I love travelling so much that even when growing up I wished for a job that would get me travelling all over the world. I enjoy looking at travel brochures and what the travel agents put together about different places of interest so that tourists can have all the information they require before making a decision to travel to any destination. The travel agent has all the correct information about different destinations and their suitability for different types of travellers. The travel agent can only recommend a destination to a client but the final decision rests with the client.

I see my teacher self as a travel agent. As a teacher I have the correct information for my students about the subject matter and possible life paths or careers. I provide them with the information they need so that they can make informed decisions with regard to their futures. Those who decide to participate when I am teaching will be able to perform well in their examinations and move on to career paths of their choice. I give my students information in relation to career choices and opportunities and the pre-requisite knowledge. This makes it possible for them to choose careers that suit their personalities and capabilities. Most students make use of this information effectively and improve their life chances while others choose to ignore my instruction and do their own things.

As a sexuality education teacher, I see myself providing my students with the necessary sexuality information as a basis for the choices they make in relation to their sexual behaviour. What they choose to do with the information that I provide is up to them. My job is to make it possible for them to know about all the possibilities in terms of their sexuality, sexual identities, safer sex practices and having healthy pleasurable sex lives. Just like the travel agent, I cannot force my

students to take a journey they do not want to take, or to travel along a path that is not to their liking. I can teach my students about safer sex but I cannot force them to adopt safer sex practices. I cannot say that some of the girls I have taught fell pregnant because they did not have enough information. I would rather say that they had the information, but chose to act out their sexualities in ways different to what I had recommended to them. A good travel agent can warn clients about theft hot-spots in certain destinations but if the client decided to display their valuables in public, they end up having their stuff stolen or place their lives in danger. A good teacher also provides trouble hot-spots for students in relation to their growth and body changes; however the students have the final say in what they do.

7.5.8 The Vulture

I view a teacher like a vulture. A vulture is a brilliant bird. It usually teaches its young ones how to fly so that they can be able to get food for themselves. It carries its young ones on its back to teach them to fly. When it gets high up in the air, the vulture drops its young one so that it can learn to fly, meantime watching closely so that it can assist when the young one gets tired or is in danger. When this happens, the vulture comes in and carries the young one on its back to rest and safety before trying again to fly. Similarly, the teacher uses different methods to provide students with appropriate life skills so that they are able to fit normally in their societies. The teacher cares for the students and encourages them to try again if they fail in their first attempt. She lets the students try things out for themselves and if they despair then she comes in and helps them.

Figure 7.7

7.5.9 The Ostrich

An ostrich is a big strong African bird that is protective of its young ones. It cannot fly but it can run fast. When its young ones are in danger, it can run as fast as the wind to protect them. I am told that sometimes the ostrich can just hide its head in the sand to hide from some things. It believes that with its head in the sand that enemies cannot see it, because it cannot see them.

People who prefer to ignore their problems rather than try to deal with them are sometimes called an ostrich. I see my teacher self as an ostrich because I also try to ignore what I see happening around me with our children. I do care about my students, but my caring has now been limited by circumstances. I have been teaching for many years now about sex and reproduction but they are still getting pregnant in big numbers. The parents and the church are not happy with us for teaching the children about sex. I have been told in several different forums that I am corrupting the children. I want to have my peace of mind in the village too. So these days I just look the other way. It is better not to care or to pretend it is not happening. I cared a lot and my spirit died with each of my students that got pregnant. I know that with getting pregnant is the risk of getting HIV. I now just teach only what is in the syllabus. What is in the syllabus I teach, but what the parents do not want their children to be taught I ignore. There is a lot that the children must know, but I do not feel free to teach them. It feels so much better, with my head in the sand, ignoring the problem as far as sex is concerned.

Figure 7.8

7.6 What do the teacher portraits mean?

The depictions of the teacher self reflect the socially constructed nature of teacher-hood within rural Basotho communities. They highlight the power vested in the teacher identity. Most of the portrayals show the pastoral care and guidance duty of a teacher as well as the power that a teacher has in shaping and reshaping the belief systems and lives of students. The teacher moulds students such that they can fit into their positions in the adult world (Block, 2001), and thus a sexuality education teacher is also expected to prepare students to fit into socially acceptable sexuality scripts. The major thread that runs through all the depictions of the teacher self is of power and control, even though the level of power and agency differ per depiction. Thus the teacher drawings will be discussed within this major theme.

7.6.1 Power and control

Munro (1998, p. 1) argues that "to be a woman is to lack authority, knowledge and power. To be a teacher is to have authority, knowledge and power." However, people are not fixed but are positioning themselves and being positioned by others differently at the same time. This implies that people are engaged in a constant remaking of themselves and others. This also applies to the women teachers in this study. The way they position themselves and are positioned as teachers reflects the fluidity of their teacher identity. According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (Wehmeier *et al*, 2005), *authority* means having the power to give orders to people or being in a position of power; while *control* means having the power to make decisions or the ability to make somebody or something do what you want. *Power*, on the other hand, means the ability to control people or things or the authority to do something. From these definitions, I find no clear demarcation between the three words. Thus, it is possible that I have used these words interchangeably within this study. In the present discussion, power and control have been used to denote the authoritative position of the women as teachers.

While eight of the teacher portraits reflect agency towards students' wellbeing, the ostrich shows a teacher who decides to hide from reality. From the discussions of the women teachers in relation to their drawings of the teacher self, the women present their

225

beliefs regarding good teacher-hood. They portray a teacher who is in control of her faculties. The teacher has the information and skills to guide the students so that they make informed choices. The women point out that:

ʹManeo: We have the lives of our students in our hands. Whatever we do in the classroom will reflect in how the students relate to their communities and how they live their lives outside the school. We can make them who we want them to be...

ʹMatumo: Ya. We can tell them anything and they would believe it because we are teachers and we are supposed to have all the right knowledge to give to students. However, it is not always easy to tell them about something like sexuality because the community does not want them to know about it...

ʹMathuso: Being a teacher is difficult because there are many different stakeholders to please. Although we control what happens in our classrooms, we cannot force our students to do what we tell them to be right... it is still their choice at the end of the day... we just guide them.

ʹMatau: That is so true. We give them guidance and they choose what to do. I do believe, however, that we can be forceful enough in our teaching to show them the pitfalls of certain sexual behaviours if we want them to stop practising those...

ʹMatsebo: Yes. That is why I choose to pretend things are not happening. I have been teaching them as forcefully as I can to warn them about the dangers of unprotected sex but they still get pregnant. Sometimes it is useless to keep preaching the same gospel if no one is hearing it...

ʹMathabo: Your teacher selves present you as people who have the power to change the society. Is this happening in your communities?

Chorus: No, not yet...because we are women...

ʹMatsebo: We do not have all the power a teacher should have because we are women and we still have to be under control... to be good...

These discussions show the dilemma of woman teacher-hood for these Basotho women teachers. Despite being teachers and having all the control that goes with the field of teacher-hood, they are still seen as women (cf. Arndt, 2002, Emecheta, 1988) in their interactions with the school community. Their womanhood is used to put them in 'their place', thus reducing the power that they are afforded by being teachers. They are women and they are also mothers. As discussed earlier, motherhood is associated with purity and virtue (Acholonu, 1995; Arndt, 2002; Emecheta, 1979; Kirk, 2003). Mothers protect children from harm. Thus these women teachers are also expected to protect their students from the corruption of sexual knowledge. Even though they know that their students need this knowledge, the women find themselves choosing to abide by the

dominant societal discourses on womanhood and as a result opt not to teach about some issues of sexuality, HIV and AIDS. While Paechter (1998) argues that knowledge is power, these women teachers do not seem keen to assume the power afforded to them, by the knowledge they have in relation to issues of sexuality, that would enable them to improve the HIV and AIDS knowledge in their schools and communities.

One insightful comment by the women teachers was "we are women before we are sexuality education teachers." The implication of this comment is that despite the prestige afforded them by their qualifications and teaching positions, the most valued self for them is the woman self. Thus the woman self is dominant over the teacher self. One can therefore assume that the way these Basotho women teachers approach the teaching of sexuality education in their rural classrooms is largely dictated by the womanhood scripts that they are performing. This means that these women teachers cannot be effective in facilitating sexuality education because good women are supposedly sexually innocent and pure, and always protect their children from any form of corruption, even if that corruption is perceived to come through knowledge that should save them. Even those women teachers who claim to give their students the necessary knowledge regarding their sexuality still argue that there are certain points they cannot go beyond:

´Matau: Even though I am now a better sexuality education teacher than I was two years ago, I cannot say that I tell them everything. Some of the stuff I do not know myself and some of it is too sensitive for me as a Mosotho woman...

´Matsepo: I do my best to tell them everything that I can as a Mosotho woman... I mean things that I think they should know as children. There are some things that I still cannot say to my colleagues, let alone children...

´Matsebo: That is true for me too. It is still difficult for me to use the given Sesotho names for some body parts... English makes them sound better, like they are not vulgar.

´Mathuso: Yes. I have the same problem too. Sometimes when I am teaching, I look around to see who would hear me saying such things to children...or I speak in a low voice. As mothers there are some things that we should not say.

These statements are testament to the fact that the women teachers feel that they cannot teach about certain issues pertaining to sexuality because they are women and mothers. The value placed on womanhood and motherhood in their communities is reflected in the

value the women teachers themselves place on these identities. According to Bourdieu (1990b), every action is based on the agent's self-interest. Whatever people choose to do is because they have some interest or something to gain from the action. Most of these women teachers choose to privilege their performance of proper womanhood because it serves their self-interest. While this interest is being served, the education of students in terms of sexuality, HIV and AIDS, is compromised.

7.7 Understanding the women teachers

This section addresses the interconnectedness of the lives and identities of the women teachers in this study. It brings forth the tensions and strains the women teachers face in understanding and negotiating their identity of woman teacher-hood. My aim is to highlight the relationships between the two aspects of the women's identity through the ways in which they construct themselves. The following table integrates the women teachers' biographies as well as the portraits of woman and teacher selves. While I was a participant-researcher in this study, my biography is not included in the table and discussions because it does not fit into some of the categories used for the other participants.

Names	Age	Marital status	Position at school	Educational qualifications	Woman self	Teacher self
´Matsebo (B)	37	Married	Disciplinary committee	B.Sc. Ed	Potted flower	Sheep dog
´Mathuso (B)	39	Widow	HoD Maths & Science	B.Sc. Ed	Blanket	Three legged pot
´Maneo (B)	36	Married	Entertainment committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	Donkey	Shepherd
´Mampho (B)	34	Married	Board Member	STC (Science)	Hen	Army commander
´Matau (M)	36	Married	Disciplinary committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	Elephant	Captain of ship
´Mathato (M)	34	Married	Sports committee	STC (Science)	Chamber pot	Vulture
´Matumo (M)	34	Married	HoD Maths & Science	B.Sc. Ed	Fruit tree	Salt
´Matsepo (M)	36	Married	Sports committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	Ant	Ostrich

Table 7.2 Linking biographies with the woman-teacher identity

7.7.1 Powerful teacher and powerless woman

This section addresses the contradictions embedded in woman teacher-hood. It discusses the contradictory positions occupied by the woman self and the teacher self, as well as the contradictions in terms of how the women see themselves and how they perform their woman teacher-hood.

Three of the women teachers in this study hold the highest qualification of a B.SC in Education. These three women, ´Matsebo, ´Mathuso and ´Matumo also hold positions of power within their schools' management system. Despite this, it is interesting to note that these women portray their woman self through depictions of powerlessness as potted flower, blanket and fruit tree respectively. These depictions highlight a limitation in terms

of agency. While the flower and the tree can have limited movement of their upper limbs, this movement is limited to the wind speed and direction of the wind around them. The movement of their roots is also limited to the availability of mineral salts and water in the soil where they are growing. The blanket, on the other hand, is totally dependent on being acted upon. It cannot do anything on its own and therefore has no agency.

All three depictions of the teacher show that they have some power as change agents. Two of the teacher selves that they have chosen show limited agency. For example, for salt to be effective, there has to be another person who puts the salt into food or whatever that needs to be salted. The pot also needs to be used by somebody in order for it to cook food. Someone has to put food in the pot and light a fire beneath the pot before the pot can cook the food. The depiction of the sheepdog, however, shows a little more agency than the previous two because a good sheep dog knows when to round-up the sheep or to direct them away from danger even without the presence of the shepherd. But in the same vein, the sheepdog needs a shepherd to guide its movements so that it can do its work properly.

The two other women who portray their woman teacher-hood in contradictory terms are ´Mampho and ´Mathato who hold the lowest qualification of Secondary Teachers' Certificate. These women also hold positions of power in their schools, especially ´Mampho who is a school-board member. These women chose the hen and the chamber pot, respectively, to portray their woman self while they chose the army commander and vulture respectively for their teacher selves. The woman self portraits show a powerless woman with a limited level of agency. For example, even though a hen can run away from the unwanted advances of a cock, it can never approach a cock to initiate mating; thus limited agency. The chamber pot on the other hand can do very little on its own. It cannot stop someone from urinating in it. When it is full, it cannot empty itself except if someone knocks it over or takes it out. The teacher self for these women is portrayed in terms of more power, flexibility and agency. For example, the army commander is free to exercise full decision making powers in terms of how the army operates. The vulture also

has total control of how it trains its young ones to fly and chooses when to assist and when to let go.

These five depictions show a womanhood that is powerless and a teacher-hood that has power, though limited. In my view, these depictions contradict the powerful positions that these women teachers hold in their schools and the level of education they have. Being educated means having the social and economic capital that comes with the education level (Bourdieu, 1990); however this capital is not helping the women teachers to exercise their authority. Despite the power inherent in their depictions of the teacher self, the focus group discussions show that the women are not able to exercise complete authority as teachers in terms of what to teach in their sexuality education lessons.

One possible reading of this contradiction could be that these women teachers do not see themselves as being in complete control in their respective duties. It is possible that while they hold such positions of power, there are other people who make the final decisions for them. This process has been labelled as tokenism by several scholars (see Connell, 1995, 2002; Gaskell & Taylor, 2003; Molyneux & Razavi, 2002; Moorosi, 2006), in that women are only given positions of power for window-dressing purposes so that the institutions in question could be seen as being gender sensitive in appointing women to management positions. Thus, irrespective of their qualifications and positions of power, they are still positioned as the 'other', as *women*, in their interactions with men.

7.7.2 Powerful woman teacher

The previous section presented contradictions in the depictions of woman and teacher and how the identity of woman teacher-hood is performed by five women. In this section, through the way these women see themselves, I look at the depictions that highlight similarities in the dual positioning of *woman* and *teacher*.

The three women in this section namely ´Maneo, ´Matau and ´Matsepo hold the second highest level of qualification, the Diploma in Science Education. While ´Matau holds a powerful position in school discipline, the other women hold positions of relative power

in entertainment and sports respectively. The woman self portrayals chosen by these women are the donkey, elephant, and ant respectively. While the donkey and elephant are powerful animals in their own accord, the ant gets its strength in groups. All the three depictions, therefore, are portrayals of power and agency. For example, a donkey can decide to fall on its knees and not move an inch if the load it is bearing is too heavy, no matter how much one can try to coax it to move. Additionally, while the elephant can be trained to docility, it can also go against the directives of the trainer and do its own thing. Lastly, ants are renowned for their collective work and support for each other (Marcon & Mongini, 1991). I believe that the ants choose to work in groups because they know that they can do more work collectively.

The teacher self portrayals chosen by these three women are shepherd, captain of ship, and ostrich respectively. These depictions reflect the women's agency in being able to choose the right path for their students. A shepherd and the captain of a ship both serve as guides to direct others, and hence can make decisions on which course to take. Additionally, the ostrich -which is a powerful and fast-running bird-, is known for its tendency to feign illness in order to divert the enemy from its young ones and protect them from danger (Marcon & Mongini, 1991). Thus these women teachers see themselves as powerful and free to exercise their agency both as women and as teachers. Despite these portrayals, which show a powerful woman teacher identity where the women have power both as women and as teachers, it is worth noting that the focus group discussions show limited agency in terms of what the women can do as women teachers socialised within a patriarchal gender order. The power they allude to does not seem to allow them to exercise their authority in their interactions with the school community or their families.

This, therefore, indicates that the gender dynamics that characterise the rural setting in which these women teachers perform their woman teacher-hood creates a 'glass ceiling' which stops the women from being free to exercise their capabilities as best as they can (cf. Nussbaum, 2002). This state of affairs highlights the gendered lives that the women

teachers lead within the rural communities and the inherent challenges of this situation on their effectiveness as sexuality education women teachers.

In trying to understand the linkages between the women's portraits and their biographies, it is notable that the women's ages did not seem to be a deciding factor in the types of portrayals they chose. Two of the five women discussed in section 7.7.1are in their late thirties while three of them are in their early thirties. However, they all portrayed their womanhood as powerless and their teacher-hood as having power. The marital status of the women also does not seem to have any bearing on their choices, because while four of the women are still married, ´Mathuso is a widow. The women discussed in section 7.7.2 present a somewhat homogenous group. All are still married and are of the same age (approximately 36 years old) and they portray both their womanhood and teacher-hood as powerful.

Thus, I must acknowledge that the women do not present a homogenous front as evidenced in the focus group discussions. They have differing views in relation to their teaching practice as well as their performance of womanhood. While some of the women are afraid of challenging societal beliefs relating to womanhood and sexuality, there are some women who have been able to do this effectively. In chapter 6, we saw women who decided to change their approach to teaching sexuality education despite the possible wrath of the village, so as to ensure that their students have the right and necessary sexual knowledge.

This highlights one of the limitations of having group discussions. It is possible that some of the women teachers found themselves having to hide their feelings or views in order that they are not labelled by the other group members. While the all-female group allowed for free discussion on some aspects (cf. Madriz, 2000), it is possible that the women did not want to go against societal norms in discussing some sensitive issues. This could be due to the fact that after conclusion of the study, the women would still be living in the same community and be subjected to the same standards that construct 'woman' and 'teacher' in those areas.

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented portrayals of how Basotho women teachers see themselves as women and as teachers. It highlighted the dynamics of discourse and power in the positioning of women teachers as powerful within the school context, while simultaneously being positioned as powerless women within a rural community. It also highlighted how women teachers position their womanhood differently as powerful, and how this power seems to be masked in their performance of a particular womanhood and teacher-hood. The women teachers have revealed the socially constructed versions of Basotho womanhood and teacher-hood. Through their activities and discussions as women teachers they have reconstructed the meaning of their positioning as women and as teachers in a rural society. I have discussed the meanings that the women attach to their depictions and what implications these have on their effective teaching of sexuality education in rural schools.

Through their drawings, the women teachers have highlighted the impossibilities of woman teacher-hood in sexuality education. Thus, the argument raised in this chapter is that the women teachers in this study are limited in their effectiveness as sexuality education teachers because of the gendered lives they lead. These gendered lives create boundaries on what is permissible for women and children to teach and learn respectively. These boundaries somehow perpetuate the domination of the idealised woman over the teacher identity because it seems safer for the women teachers to conform to societal norms. The normative woman self in Basotho communities is expected to be sexually innocent and pure. Innocence and purity supposedly do not mix with effective sexuality education. Thus operating within this discourse and maintaining their status as "ladies", the women are inhibited from being effective sexuality education teachers. The next chapter presents photo-stories that represent women teachers' understandings of sexuality and how these affect their efficacy in teaching sexuality education.

CHAPTER 8

What does sexuality mean to women teachers?

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the dynamics of discourse and power in the positioning of women teachers as powerful within the school context as teachers, while being positioned at the same time as powerless as women within a rural community. It also highlighted how women teachers position their womanhood as powerful while masking this power by their performance of proper womanhood.

Based on the women teachers' socialisation within a rural community, this chapter highlights women teachers' understandings of what sexuality entails. The chapter presents pictures that the participants selected from magazines. Each woman teacher was asked to select one picture, out of the collection they had made, which really spoke to them about issues of sexuality and say why they had chosen the particular picture (see Chapter 5). The aim of this chapter is not to evaluate or inspect the levels of knowledge that the women teachers have in relation to sexuality. It aims at exploring women teachers' understandings of what sexuality is about in an attempt to understand what they teach as part of sexuality education.

I acknowledge that the use of one photograph per participant in the thesis is not enough to provide a clear picture of the women teachers' understandings of what sexuality entails. However, I was able to discuss with the teachers several of the pictures that they had chosen and hence the focus group discussions related to a whole batch of pictures and their explanations. I have only provided one picture, because of the space limitations in the thesis, to give the reader a glimpse of the kinds of pictures that the teachers were working with and the kinds of explanations that came forth in relation to their understanding of sexuality as a phenomenon. It is important to note that during the focus group discussions, the women teachers had the magazines from which they had selected their pictures. From the magazines they were able to discuss with each other the pictures which they did not choose and why these were left out. This provided a rich exchange of

the possible pictures that were available and the choices that the women felt they could not make.

8.2 Women teachers' representations of sexuality

This section presents the photographs selected by women teachers as representing what sexuality entails. The reports that follow the pictures are the explanations that were written by the women teachers for their choices. These explanations highlight women teachers' understandings of the phenomenon of sexuality and what they believe should be taught within the sexuality education classroom. The purpose of the photo-stories was to understand women teachers' perceptions of sexuality and how these perceptions were implicated in their experiences of teaching sexuality education. The meanings I make of the women teachers' photographs and stories are just one reading of the many possible readings that can be made on the texts. I acknowledge that the meanings I make are biased and influenced by my being as well as the baggage I brought with me through the study. I also want to acknowledge the bias in the choice of the magazines from which the photographs were taken. I provided magazines from my personal collection and thus they were biased towards my personal preference.

8.2.1 ´Matau's picture

Figure 8.1

I chose this picture because it says a lot about sex and why we do it as men and women. The findings from the two research reports are interesting for me as a teacher because some of the issues that are being discussed are completely new to me. However, I do believe that they are relevant to our sexuality. I knew some of the reasons why I had sex, but I never knew that there are so many other reasons for it. It is good to know what they are because then I could help my students get more information about them and hence make informed decisions.

What I like about the picture is that it shows grown up people on a bed, not youngsters tumbling in the grass. This is what I believe, that sex was not made for young people but for adults, a man and a woman. However the picture also shows something that disturbs me often. They show a picture of a woman with a perfect figure, taking charge of the situation in the bedroom. This does not seem real to my village situation where we do not have such perfect women. It does also seem strange for a woman to be the one leading because our men in the village would never permit that. Leading a sexual encounter is a male thing and it shows power and dominance. It boosts a man's ego to be the chaser and not the chased. If a woman leads in sex then she becomes the chaser.

It does not however mean that I do not approve of women initiating sex. I envy such women. I am, however, not sure if I would be allowed to teach boys and girls that any partner can initiate sex. Masturbation, orgasm, STI's, loss of virginity and cheating on a partner are issues that I can easily handle in the classroom. Students always seem to have a lot of questions around these issues and this picture has some interesting information about them.

8.2.2 ´Mathato's picture

Figure 8.2

Wow! What a picture, what a question!

I chose this picture because it depicts a situation that I can relate to and which many women never talk about. It is true that men are expected to always want sex and to be

able to initiate it. Men are proud of being able to always want sex. For them it is a sign of manliness. A real man is expected to have lots of sex with as many women as possible and father as many children as possible. If this does not happen it means that a man feels inadequate as a man. I think many men place a lot of emphasis on their sexual prowess as a sign of manliness. Maybe our culture also promotes this kind of thinking.

I know that I feel angry when my husband does not seem to be able to perform sexually. The first thing that comes to mind is that he was with another woman and is too tired to do it with me. If it happens that an erection fails him while we are preparing to have sex, he becomes sad and often to a point of violence. For some men, I know that their interest in sex gets lost through certain illnesses that cause a problem with their erections. For example, men who are diabetic often suffer from erectile dysfunction.

This is important for us as teachers to teach our students about all the issues surrounding erections, impotence and desire. However, I am not sure if I can talk to a mixed class about all these issues. Maybe if I used a picture like this one and asked the students to write their own views about the issue then it would be better. My problem is I do not think I would be able to answer the questions that might arise during a discussion on erections and desire. While I may be afraid to discuss about these issues, I am not denying their importance in the sexual lives of our students and the society at large.

Some men believe that if they loose their sex drive then their women have bewitched them. For such men the common practice is for them to go to other women to see if they would be able to perform sexually with them. This puts such men at risk of HIV infection. When they eventually realise that they have a medical problem or are just stressed, they have already contracted sexually transmitted diseases which they pass on to their wives.

8.2.3 ´Matumo's picture

Figure 8.3

I have chosen this picture because it shows something that is strange, a woman kissing another woman in a passionate manner. This is not a common practice in our village setting. We have been brought up to think of sex only between a man and a woman. I cannot even think of myself being so intimate with another woman. They are kissing and

touching breasts, the perfect foreplay for sex. How are they going to have sex after they have aroused each other? How do they feel kissing each other like that? Is it normal?

From the media we hear of such things happening. However, I do not think I would be in a position to talk about such a thing. I do not believe in it and thus I cannot stand in front of children and tell them that it is normal. I know that as I was growing up we had 'mommies' and 'babies', but it was only an innocent game where we just wanted to have someone to look out for us at school and to fight bullies for us. Anyway I think it was innocent, but I do not know what was happening with the other girls. I know that my mommy and I would sometimes kiss and walk hand in hand, but I think there was nothing sexual about it.

In the Catholic boarding school where I attended it was against school regulations to have a mommy or a baby. We were told that it was a demonic practice and we would all go to hell if we did that. We were also told that girls who had mommies and babies never got married because they were not good women. Maybe the nuns were trying to tell us about homosexuality then, but they did not know how to say it. I think I face the same problem as they faced then because I think I cannot teach about homosexuality in my class. I do not know how it happens and what causes it. I do not know what really happens between two men who are lovers or two women. Thus I cannot tell my students what it is about. Maybe if I had more information on what homosexuality is about I would be able to teach about it.

I also do not think that the school principal would be willing to let any teacher talk to the students about such an issue. I do not think parents even want to hear about it. Homosexuality does not exist in Lesotho, I think. Even if there are some people with homosexual practices, they must be doing it in hiding. So it is interesting to have such a picture that shows women involved in such a practice. I wish I could see a picture in which they were actually having sex.

8.2.4 ´Matsepo's picture

By Carolyn Watt / Splash News

Maria was 25 before she was able to report her father's abuse.

MARIA DEL MEDICO's father started grooming her for sex when she was just four years old. Until she was 14, she thought being molested was something that happened to everybody. Her father, a work colleague of the notorious British serial killer Fred West, made her believe he would kill her if she ever told anyone.

"i tried everything I could to stop my father coming into my bedroom at night. I wet the bed or defecated in it so the smell would put him off.

Figure 8.4

This picture shows a woman who has been molested by her father since she was only four years old. I have chosen this picture because it made me feel sad thinking about the

young girl who never knew the love of a father. As I looked at the picture I tried to figure out what goes on in the mind of a grown man who forces himself on a young child, especially his own flesh and blood. The woman in the picture has sad eyes that show that she has been through a lot of pain. However, I might not have seen the sadness in her eyes if I did not know the story behind them. So that is why I have included the caption on the story along with the picture.

What intrigues me about this picture and its story is how a father could invite other men to rape his own daughter. Where was the mother when all these were happening? What did the teachers do? Did the teachers not notice anything amiss about the child's interactions with others or her behaviour at school? Does it mean that there was no teacher that the girl trusted enough to talk to about her abuse? Unfortunately I cannot answer these questions, but they made me think about my own students and the kinds of problems they bring into the classroom.

This picture made me remember a child that I was teaching some years back who got pregnant from her own father. Even though I do not condone what happened, at least that girl was older, she was already a teenager. A four year old is still a baby for God's sake!

My resolve to be more pro-active in teaching about sexual abuse has been strengthened by this picture. I do not want any of my students to suffer that way if I can help it. I know parents are not happy in the village if we talk about children being sexually abused. They want to believe that something like that never happens in their village, or maybe it is something so bad that they want to wish it away. I think the best place to start when addressing sexual abuse would be with the parents and the whole community, but I do not see how this can be done when sex talk is still prohibited in our society.

8.2.5 ´Mathuso's picture

"Anyone can be sexy. We all have the same body parts.

Figure 8.5

This picture is significant for me because we can never talk about sexuality without addressing issues of body image. For me sexuality encompasses issues of relationships, desire, and sex. In order to form relationships there is need for one person to attract another. The attraction comes from the body image that one has. The three girls in this picture all have different shapes and sizes and it depends on the person looking to say who is the most beautiful. Different cultures value different things in the body of a person and this makes it important for students to be taught that "Anyone can be sexy." We do not all have to be skinny to be sexy.

In our Lesotho context, a beautiful woman is a curvy, well rounded woman with a big behind. However, because of the media influence, our children aspire to be stick thin in accordance with what is considered beautiful in the Western perspective. This leads to a lot of eating disorders among the youth who are trying to be thin. Teaching about sexuality requires us to also teach about acceptance of our bodies and to appreciate what we have. I think this would be a good picture to use in class as an example for students to discuss what sexy means in their society and to them as individuals.

I also teach within biology lessons about the ideal body weight in relation to height. I have to warn students of the dangers of being overweight or underweight. With the girls I have to make sure that they understand the relevance of a little body fat to assist in conception for those who would want to get children at a later stage.

On a personal note, I do not think if I was a man I would be attracted to the fat woman. She looks too big and scary. So it means whatever I teach in the classroom is much influenced by what I believe in as a person.

8.2.6 ´Mampho's picture

TEACHER Oksana Lutsenko, 25, could have the killer virus, after her boyfriend confessed to bedding a heartless hooker.

Oksana Lutsenko had never had any reason to doubt her boyfriend Max's love for her. After two years together, she was sure she'd met the man she would spend the rest of her life with. "He was kind and loving – I thought we'd be together forever," says the pretty teacher from Ukraine. So when Max told her he had some bad news, she had no hint of the bombshell he was about to drop. She listened in horror as he confessed he'd slept with a prostitute while working out of town. Oksana was appalled. But worse was yet to come. Max had since heard the hooker was HIV positive, and had been arrested for having unprotected sex with more than 600 men. Although he'd had an HIV test before telling Oksana, the results were inconclusive. Now he wanted her to take one, in case she was infected with the virus. "I couldn't take it in," recalls Oksana. "I felt hurt and almost sorry for him. But then I became terrified. I screamed and slapped him."

"My Man Caug From A Hooker"

Figure 8.6

I chose this picture because I can relate to what the woman is going through. As married women we are always worried about whether our husbands are going to bring us the death sentence of HIV. Every time a husband leaves the house to go to work or anywhere, the wife is always wondering who he is with and whether he is using protection.

The woman in the picture trusted her boyfriend and believed that they were going to be together forever. However the boyfriend was tempted by a hooker who infected him with HIV intentionally. HIV is an important aspect of sexuality because it is transmitted

through sexual intercourse. I think teachers like the woman in the picture and we as rural women teachers should be able to acknowledge our own vulnerability so as to address the vulnerabilities of our students. I think that women who are married are more at risk of being infected by unfaithful partners than women who are in casual relationships. It is easier to negotiate the conditions of having sex with a boyfriend than with a husband. If I had a boyfriend I would tell him that no condom, no sex. I know there are some women who are not married to their sexual partners, but who still have a problem making decisions or negotiating the conditions of sex. However, I still believe that it is better than in a marriage.

In a marriage where the man has paid bride price for the wife, women find it difficult to ask for a condom. The men just tell us that they have bought us they will not use condoms in their own families. I wish I could be able to ask my husband to at least use a condom when he goes out. Unfortunately I cannot say that to him because, by implication, I would be saying to him he can go out with other women freely as long as he uses a condom. On the other hand I could get myself into serious trouble where he would say I was accusing him of infidelity and that I do not trust him. I do know that he is going out with other women but I cannot say it to his face.

I think I could use this story as a case study for my students to discuss the possible feelings and reactions if they were the boyfriend who got infected by a hooker, or the girlfriend who could also be infected by the man she had loved and trusted.

8.2.7 ´Maneo's picture

Figure 8.7

Falling in love is one of the wonderful things in life and it is part of celebrating our sexuality. I know that my students are always talking about falling in love and I am sure that some of them are not really sure what falling in love is about. Even I cannot say I know everything about what falling in love entails.

These pictures are depictions of people in love, showing their love to each other in different ways. I chose this picture because it is my duty as a teacher to talk to my students about different types of love and how they can show each other love without

engaging in sexual intercourse. It is imperative that young people can enjoy good relationships with each other without putting themselves in danger in this age of HIV and AIDS.

For most youngsters falling in love means romance and happy-ever-after stories from novels. These things hardly ever happen in real life and it is our duty to warn them. For me, falling in love starts with seeing someone and feeling attracted to the person. If when you talk to the person you like what you hear then you start developing a deeper liking. Sometimes what you see makes you to develop lusty feelings which can be satisfied through sexual intercourse. I know that most men develop lust before they develop love, if they ever do. This is supported by a famous saying whose author I do not know. It says:

> *Men give love for **sex***
> *Women give sex for **love***

The implication for me is that women and men never get to the same summit in their love relationships because their aims are different. The ultimate goal for the man is sex, while the ultimate aim for the woman is love. This is sad for young girls who get into relationships without being aware of this. They get into relationships and give their bodies to men because they want to be loved, while they do not know that once a man gets sex then he forgets about giving love. I have never heard of a man who is different so far.

8.2.8 ´Matsebo's picture

Baby?

Scared to give birth?

Halle Berry is apparently petrified to give birth to her first child. The actress, who suffers from diabetes and has been warned by doctors that she will have to be carefully monitored when she goes into labour in the coming months, has admitted that childbirth is more nerve-wrecking than awaiting the winners' announcements at the Academy Awards. "I'm worried about giving birth. I've been pretty cool about my pregnancy up until lately, but suddenly I'm realising that there's a baby that's got to come out and someone is going to have to be there to push it out. Emotionally, I'm a bit of a mess."

your weekly **gossip** fix!

Pics Magazine Features

Figure 8.8

The top pictures show pregnant women who also have other children, while the bottom picture shows a woman who will be having her first child. What interested me in the bottom story is that the woman says she is afraid to give birth, even though she never had any problem with the pregnancy. This is an important issue for me as a mother, a woman and a teacher. Pregnancy is one of the signifiers of unprotected sexual activity. What interests me most about pregnancy is that it is a "woman thing", a phenomenon that is unique to women. Pregnancy is good when it is within a stable relationship and it has been planned. However, it can become a disaster if it is unplanned and happens in a casual relationship where there is no commitment. This is where it can lead to un-hygienic backstreet abortions which, more often than not, are fatal. If abortion is not done, then a pregnancy could lead to an unwanted and early marriage for the girl to hide the shame of having been pregnant out of wedlock.

When teaching about sexuality in the classroom I have to teach the students about pregnancy, how it happens, childbirth and nursing the child. The girls do not really understand about pregnancy because each year more girls are getting pregnant. Maybe they use the "it won't happen to me" theory. However, I get worried because these days even ten year olds get pregnant. I do not understand what the rush into sex is about. It is like someone said sex will be out of fashion soon and hence everyone should do it before it runs out!! Maybe using a story of a grown up who is afraid of giving birth would shock some of the girls into rethinking their sexual activity.

8.2.9 ´Mathabo's picture
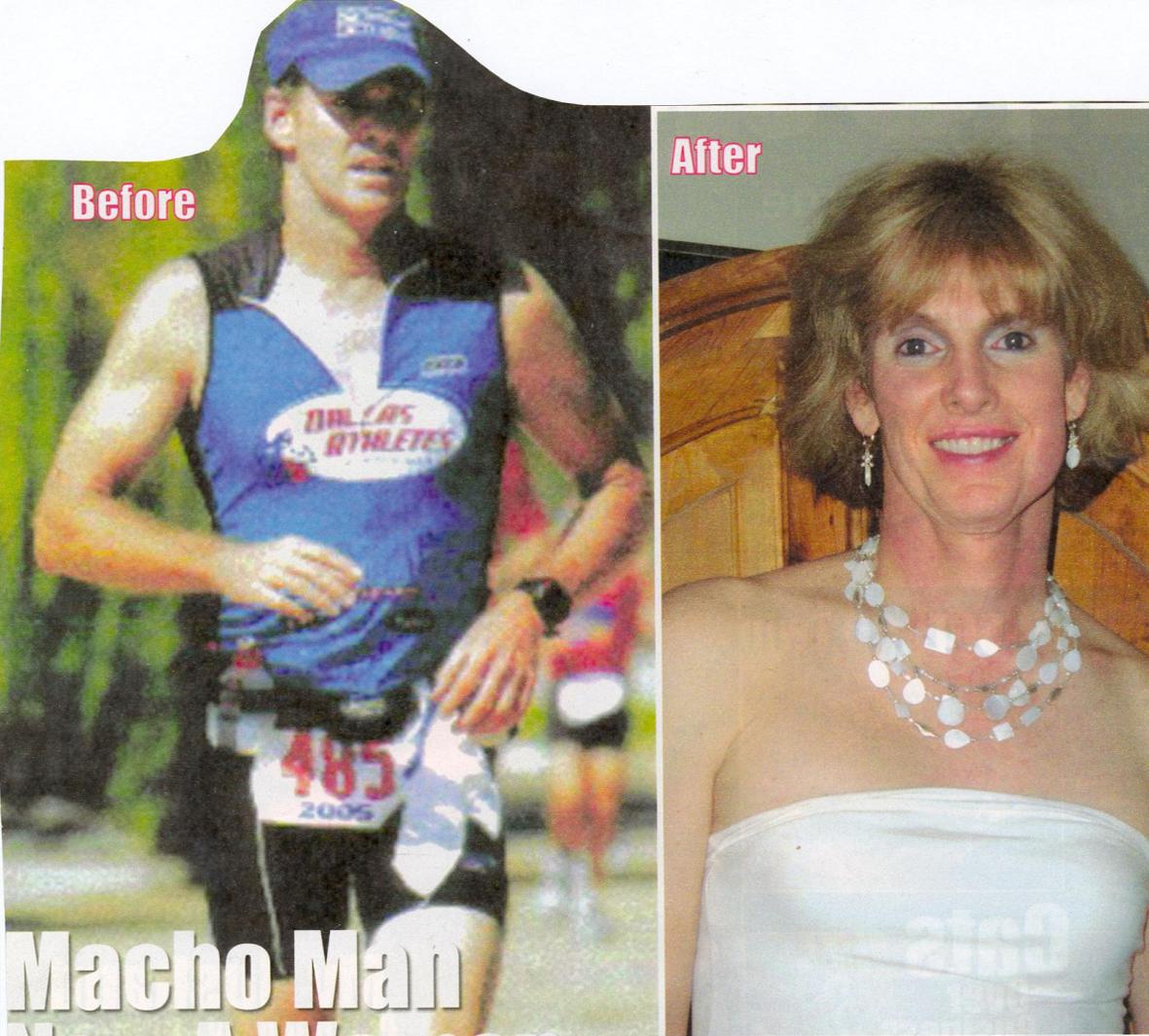
Before

After

Macho Man Now A Woman

An all-American man's journey to becoming a woman.

CLARK RIDLEY, 51, was a typical all-American boy. He grew up in Texas, went to military school, joined the navy and flew helicopters before becoming a cowboy complete with trademark hat and boots. All the time he was secretly wearing panties. Now Clark talks about his journey to become who he really was – a woman called Courtney.

"I grew up in a small town in Texas, but instead of wanting to play cowboys I was raiding my mom's drawers and rooting through her underwear. From my earliest memory I knew something wasn't right because I liked girls' toys and girls' clothes.

Clarke tried to embrace his maleness by enrolling in the military.

Figure 8.9

I chose this picture because it reveals something that is hardly talked about in my culture- the fact that one can be a woman in a man's body or a man in a woman's body. People should be able to acknowledge who they really are and live happily, despite common beliefs. I believe that people have the right to be who they are in any body. Having a woman's body does not bind me to be a female. There are many Basotho girls that I know who are more masculine than some boys. The way they carry themselves and everything about them is male but their bodies are women's bodies. This places them in a difficult position because of the stereotypical divisions of boy/girl or male/female. I also have a friend who is a man even though everything about him is feminine. I think he is even more feminine than I am, but he is not free to be the woman that he is because of the society we live in and maybe the cost of changing his biological features to fit his real identity.

This kind of picture could help in my teaching. I can use it as a case for students to discuss and make arguments for or against and state what their particular societies' responses would be to such a case. I think it would be helpful because I do not think I can just get into class and start talking about men in women's bodies and vice versa. Students would think I am mad and parents would literally kill me!

8.3 What can be read from the photo stories?

The photographs and stories presented in this chapter are informative in terms of sexuality, each with its own angle. The descriptions of why the women have chosen these particular photographs are related to the women's perceptions of sexuality and what they feel comfortable to discuss with students. **Table 8.1** shows the women teachers in relation to the kinds of photograph they have chosen. From the table it can be seen that age, education level or marital status were not deciding factors in the type of photograph chosen by the women teachers. In terms of the sensitivity of the subject matter being dealt with in each photograph, I would argue that both the young and the older women chose pictures that could be labelled as sensitive. For example, 39year old widowed ´Mathuso's photograph on sexy bodies could be as sensitive within the rural context as 34year old married ´Matumo's lesbian photograph or ´Mathato's photograph on the sex problem. However, it is possible that there could be some other underlying factors that influenced the women's choice of photographs and these would warrant a different study.

It is interesting to note that the two women who are in disciplinary committees have chosen photographs that relate to common disciplinary problems in Lesotho's schools. From my experience as a teacher in Lesotho, I can say that teenage pregnancy and students having sex on school premises are some of the major disciplinary problems that teachers face (see also Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005). It is possible that this choice was directed by the position these women hold in their schools, or it could have been just something they are interested in as women teachers. Highlighting these possibilities is my way of showing the multiplicity of readings that can be made of these photographs and why they have been chosen. My reading of these photographs is limited to the scope of this study and is definitely biased in line with my own worldview and personality; and therefore should not be taken as the ultimate reading of what the photographs portray.

Names	Age	Marital status	Position at school	Educational qualifications	Magazine picture
´Matsebo (B)	37	Married	Disciplinary committee	B.Sc. Ed	8.8 Pregnancy
´Mathuso (B)	39	Widow	HoD Maths & Science	B.Sc. Ed	8.5 Sexy bodies
´Maneo (B)	36	Married	Entertainment committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	8.7 Fall in love
´Mampho (B)	34	Married	Board Member	STC(Science)	8.6 AIDS scare
´Matau (M)	36	Married	Disciplinary committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	8.1 Why have sex
´Mathato (M)	34	Married	Sports committee	STC(Science)	8.2 The sex problem
´Matumo (M)	34	Married	HoD Maths & Science	B.Sc. Ed	8.3 Lesbians
´Matsepo (M)	36	Married	Sports committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	8.4 Incest

Table 8.1 The women teachers and their photograph choices

While the photographs presented cannot cover all aspects of human sexuality, they reflect some important sexuality issues to be addressed with students for them to make informed sexual choices. Some important aspects have come through in our focus group discussions of the pictures with the teachers. These are: limited training regarding some aspects of human sexuality, hetero-normative socialisation, teachers' personal discomfort in addressing some of the sexuality issues, and language challenges in sexuality education. These will be used as themes in discussing the women's photographs and stories.

8.3.1 Limited training

As discussed in Chapter 2, workshops for dissemination and training were held country-wide for teachers who would be responsible for facilitating LSE which is the niche for sexuality, HIV and AIDS education in Lesotho. The duration of these workshops was only a few days, after which the teachers were expected to facilitate sexuality education within the climate of contestation between Churches as owners of schools and the Ministry of Education. Thus the general feeling of the women teachers in this study is that they have not been well prepared even though they are doing their best to teach about sexuality, HIV and AIDS. Their main concern is how to handle some of the sensitive topics which they feel are important.

At the present moment, there are no specialised sexuality education teachers in Lesotho and the women teachers in this study were just chosen to teach it because of their background in biological science where they already teach about certain aspects of sex. However, the women are aware of the need to address sexuality in a holistic manner that embraces the socio-cultural and economic issues relating to human sexuality. They therefore highlight their lack of skills in delivering such an education because they were not trained to teach about those issues. The challenges highlighted by the women teachers in this study are testament to this fact. Westwood and Mullan's (2007) study also found that the major contributors to sexuality and relationships education in England were science teachers. They found that despite their specialisation in science, the science teachers also complained about lack of training for teaching about sexuality. This situation is reflected in Lesotho where most teachers who are willing to teach about sexuality education are also science teachers.

While this study is not an inspectorial exercise or an evaluation of how much subject knowledge the women teachers have, reference to lack of, or limited, training is made in relation to the teachers' understandings of what sexuality entails as this has a bearing on how they handle the teaching of sexuality education. The women talked about the fact that the pictures they had chosen reflected what they knew regarding sexuality. If they felt that some representations were not related to sexuality they left them out. On the

other hand, some of the pictures which they had left out were seen by the other women as representations of sexuality. Thus the picture portfolio of each woman teacher was evidence of her personal understanding of what sexuality is about.

The discussion that follows was prompted by ´Matumo's picture of two girls kissing and ´Matau's picture of why people have sex:

´Matumo: I am being honest...I know nothing about homosexuality except that one desires people of the same sex. I cannot go beyond that because I would not know what else to say...

´Maneo: Me too! I have been told that some homosexuals use oral sex...I do not know what falls under oral sex or how it is done. However, I am not sure if I would teach students about it if I had the information...

´Matsepo: As science teachers we have the biological knowledge of the human body and how sex happens. The sexuality part, where we are told to include all these other social issues, becomes difficult. We have not been prepared enough for this side of things.

´Matau: Yes. I can say stuff about the mechanics of sex, but I cannot tell children about desire and sexual pleasure for instance. Those are adult things and I have not been prepared to teach that to children...

´Mathuso: The government is really playing games with us...how can they say we have been trained after three days? We know nothing concerning how to talk about sexuality matters such that we give children the necessary information while also keeping our dignity as women and mothers...

´Mathabo: What kind of training do you think would prepare you enough to teach about sexuality?

´Mathuso: People need to specialise in this *thing* so that they can be prepared for all the problems and challenges that come with it. We are just science teachers...not sexuality and HIV specialists...

´Mathabo: If you got the formal training and specialised in sexuality, HIV and AIDS, do you think you would be able to teach effectively about sexuality without any challenges?

Chorus: No. Not really...

´Mathato: Remember we are still women and mothers in the community...

´Maneo: But it would be much better.

This discussion reflects the women's concern in relation to their preparedness to teach sexuality education. For them, their training is not adequate for effective sexuality education classrooms. This argument reflects what has been found by other scholars (see Buthelezi, 2004; Oshi & Nakalema, 2005; Westwood & Mullan, 2007). Buthelezi (2004) argues that teacher preparation should be broad enough to include how sexuality, HIV

and AIDS are connected to other social issues such a human rights. She argues that teachers should have knowledge about the broader policy frameworks so that they can understand the perspectives of policymakers on sexuality, HIV and AIDS thus helping them attach meaning to the policies.

Coombe (2003b) argues that there has been minimal preparation to ensure teachers' effectiveness as sexuality counsellors and student advisors in relation to sexuality, HIV and AIDS. Coombe's (2003b) concerns that teachers are not adequately prepared for the extraordinary demands that HIV and AIDS make on teachers appear to be endorsed by the findings of the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) in their report on the health of South African educators (ELRC, 2005). The concern therefore is who should ensure that teachers' knowledge of sexual health is updated and that they are adequately prepared for teaching about sexuality.

The women teachers posit that having proper training would not necessarily make them better teachers of sexuality, even though they would be better equipped for teaching. They argue that they need more than information. They also need motivation and support from all stakeholders so that they do not have any fears of victimisation (cf. Buthelezi, 2004). Because of their personal discomfort and fears of being labelled as bad women and mothers, these teachers argue that sometimes they find themselves with no motivation and thus unwilling to teach this subject matter. These arguments provide very insightful and important information which could be useful for educational policy-makers, curriculum developers, institutions of higher learning, teacher training institutions and schools in general in order to facilitate effective sexuality education in Lesotho schools.

8.3.2 Hetero-normative socialisation

Another aspect that comes through in the previous focus group discussion is the women's hetero-normative socialisation (see Epprecht, 1995, 2000; Gay, 1986, 1993; Khau, 2009d) which creates challenges for them to feel comfortable with any sexuality that defies this norm. The discussions were also silent on individuals who are bisexual, trans-

gender, transvestites, or trans-sexual. The women teachers highlight their discomfort in teaching about any issues that relate to any sexual identity outside heterosexuality. While they argue that they do not know much about what homosexuality entails, it can also be argued that their hetero-normative socialisation has instilled in them some level of homophobia (see Elder, 2005; Ellerson, 2005; Reddy, 2005, 2009). Working within a homophobic context creates fear in the women to address sexual identities that allude to homosexuality because they could be labelled as promoting this sexual identity (cf. Epstein *et al*., 2003; Eskridge, 1993; Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b). In line with the arguments raised in Chapter 2 on the hegemony enjoyed by Christian moralistic teachings in relation to sexuality and the hetero-patriarchal culture of the Basotho, it can be argued that these women teachers are limited by the discursive boundaries set by religious and cultural institutions on what is permissible within sexuality education classrooms.

The implication, therefore, is that in addition to content knowledge on homosexuality and other sexual identities, there is need for training that would enable teachers to employ pedagogical practices that defy hetero-normativity. This then alludes to a need for teacher training programs that are norm-critical, sex-positive and inclusive of all sexualities (Bryld & Lykke, 2000; Davis, 1997; Lykke & Braidotti, 1996). This would enable sexuality education specialists and teachers to be able to practice an education that would not just tolerate sexual identities that fall outside heterosexuality, but be able to look at "the messy spaces where discourse and bodily material agency intersect and interact, and where boundaries between sex and gender are blurred in non-essentialising ways" (Lykke & Wijma, 2007).

8.3.3 Personal discomfort

As has been discussed in Chapter 6, teachers are also sexual beings. This section also emphasises this point by discussing women's personal discomforts in teaching about sexuality. The discomforts highlighted in this section relate to the policing that the women teachers enact on themselves. As discussed in the previous sections, the women teachers experienced some personal discomforts in choosing the kind of pictures they felt

comfortable in sharing with the group of women. They have argued that the discomfort is worse when they have to share sexual information with children:

´Matumo: The picture I chose…it shocked me at first, but I felt it was not too explicit for me to use in a classroom. That is why I decided to have it among my collection.

´Mathuso: My picture is also very easy to use because it only shows the face of the girl who was abused by her father. If the picture showed the situation of the abuse, I do not think I would have been able to choose it…it is relevant to my experience of having one of my students abused by her father…but I would not have used it if it was too sexually explicit.

´Matsebo: There is one picture that I did not choose which showed naked people kissing…it was, I mean…it made me feel awkward…

´Mathabo: What kind of picture would you consider to be too sexually explicit?

´Maneo: For me it is anything that shows the genitals or people touching each other's genitals…heee…heee…it is very embarrassing…

´Mathuso: I think I would also be uncomfortable with that, but I also do not want pictures of people kissing…that is too explicit for me, ehm…I mean I am uncomfortable with such things…

´Mathato: My picture shows people on a bed and I think it is fine because they are adults…I am comfortable with it, but I am not saying I can share it with children in a classroom…then I would be uncomfortable…

One of the pictures under discussion shows different people kissing and it appears in Appendix M. Some of the women felt that it was too explicit, while others thought that it was a good picture to use with students. These women teachers argued that they had left out some pictures not because they were not representations of sexuality, but because they were too explicit for their liking. Thus, while the chosen pictures reflect what the teachers know in relation to sexuality, they also reflect what the teachers allowed themselves to use. It is clear that the women were policing themselves in their choices of pictures in relation to their own comfort. The discomfort displayed in choosing certain pictures was said to be a reflection of the discomfort the women had in teaching about certain aspects of sexuality.

These discussions show that the women teachers have differing levels of discomfort in relation to particular aspects of human sexuality. They have argued that their own experiences and socialisation have impacted on their comfort levels in relation to sexuality and hence affect how they approach teaching about such issues. The memory

account presented by ´Mathabo in Chapter 6 (section **6.2.4**) was also discussed in relation to the choice of pictures and personal discomfort. The discussion highlighted several personal discomfort issues. The women teachers point out that:

´Mathabo: This experience allowed me to reflect on my own sexuality and how it can play out in different situations. I had to learn about what gets me aroused and how to manage the arousal. I reflected on what could affect me in my lessons on sexuality education so that I could be prepared for such an eventuality. It helped me to get in touch with my own sexuality and acknowledge it as part of who I am as a woman and teacher...

´Matumo: The problem for me is not being aroused. The minute I start talking about certain issues of sexuality I feel as if I am naked and I start shivering. It is really uncomfortable especially talking about the female body and conception...I remember the trauma of giving birth to my first child...

´Mathato: That is scary. For me, I personally do not feel comfortable having sex with my husband, so I just do not want to talk about sexual intercourse. The problem is that the children always have lots of questions about it...It feels like I am revealing adult secrets...my voice automatically shuts off and I speak in a squeaky voice that I hardly recognise...

´Maneo: I am really afraid to talk about sexuality with children. I know most of the stuff that I have to teach but most of the time I ask other people to help me, especially when we discuss issues of sexual abuse and rape. I sometimes feel as if it is happening to me all over again once I talk about it...

The women teachers in this study have pointed out that their personalities dictate the teacher-selves they perform. Samaras, Hicks and Berger (2004, p. 908) have also observed this and thus argue that "our past experiences create hidden personal narratives about education, school, and schooling that have a profound and sometimes intractable impact on the way we teach our students." In agreement, Bullough and Gitlin (1995, p. 25) add that "knowing the past helps one to know oneself as an individual and as a representative of a socio-historical moment in time." Allender and Allender (2006, p. 15) sum these arguments up by pointing out that "unless we become conscientiously aware of what is driving our choices of behaviour in the classroom, we may find ourselves reverting to the ways of the teachers who taught us." Thus these Basotho women teachers also need to know what drives their choices in sexuality education classrooms so that they can improve their practice. Self-awareness that comes from reflecting on our past experiences is critical for teachers so that they can improve on their teaching. Thus being involved in this study has been an important part of professional development for these

women teachers. They were provided with a platform to critically reflect on their past and how it has shaped who they are as sexuality education teachers.

The women teachers' reflections have forced them to become aware of what drives their teaching of sexuality education and how they can improve. They have identified their personal dilemmas in having to teach about sexuality to children. One of the major problems they have faced with the implementation of the Lesotho LSE curriculum is that they have been assumed as being willing and able to teach about the deeply private issues of sexuality in the public arena of the school (cf. Baxen, 2005). Their personal dispositions in relation to this subject have not been taken into consideration. Khau (2009a) suggests that teachers should be considered as sexual beings who might personally find it difficult to teach sexuality education. This is an important issue that seems to have been overlooked in the planning and implementation of the Lesotho LSE curriculum.

The discussions in this section have highlighted situations in which the teachers are not afraid of others policing their teaching, but their own policing of themselves because of discomforts produced by their personal engagement with issues of sexuality. Motalingoane-Khau (2007b) discusses the influence of women teachers' adolescent sexual experiences on their teaching of sexuality education. She posits that the influence of teachers' sexual socialisation is powerful in how they handle teaching about sexuality. This is also true for the women in this study. Because of their personal sexual experiences, these women teachers police themselves in what they feel comfortable to say to children. With the high incidence of gender-based violence directed at women and girls in Basotho societies (Chaka-Makhooane *et al.*, 2000, 2002; Motalingoane-Khau, 2007a), many Basotho women have experienced some form of violence in their lives. Thus women teachers have a likelihood of bringing such experiences into their sexuality education classrooms, making it difficult for them to face the teaching as exemplified by ´Maneo above.

263

8.3.4 Issues of language in sexuality education

The group discussions in section 8.3.3 have also highlighted challenges of language for the women teachers. In this section I discuss the women teachers' challenge in terms of language in their sexuality education lessons. The group discussion that follows came about because of the women's constant reference to being uncomfortable to talk about some sexuality issues. They discuss situations in which they feel uncomfortable to say certain words or find difficulty in the choice of words that could bring forth their message without being offensive or vulgar.

´Mathabo: Why do you keep referring to 'not being able to talk…'?

´Mathato: For me I would say…like the picture that I chose…I cannot talk to children about the fact that "men are supposed to want it all the time". What would I say 'it' is? I know that 'it' refers to sex but …hei…

´Maneo: Honestly, I am afraid to talk about sexuality with children. I mean…sometimes I think it is easier to use English and not Sesotho…ehm…these Sesotho words…hei…they sound…

´Mathabo: Vulgar?

Chorus: Yah…heee…heee (nervous laughter)

´Matumo: You see their books are in English already so they can read the books and see what you are talking about. But when I think of the words in Sesotho…I can't…it is uncomfortable...like it is an insult…

´Mathato: Hmm. Just imagine telling them what 'it' in my picture means…*ho* [19]*kotana!* Shoo…it sounds bad… (Group laughter)

´Matsepo: See ´Mathuso's picture…eh… "Anyone can be sexy…" it sounds fine in English, but in Sesotho I am not even sure how to put it…even ´Mampho's picture…what is a hooker in Sesotho? Can you say it in class?

´Mathuso: You know sometimes using Sesotho words makes them keep quite. I think they get shocked that as a teacher you are using the words. I have tried it and, even though I am still afraid of what their parents might say, I think it is better to just 'call a spade a spade'…

Chorus: Easier said than done…heee…heee (nervous laughter)

´Mathabo: Have you ever tried using the Sesotho words in your classrooms like ´Mathuso?

´Matau: I only use some of the English words especially for the body parts…

´Matsepo: I also use English words because…eh…sometimes it is difficult to find the right words in Sesotho

Chorus: Yah…yah…true…very true…

As can be seen in these discussions, the women find a challenge of how to address some sexuality issues in their teaching because of the availability or suitability of the language.

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[19] *Kotana* is the common adult Sesotho word for having sex

In discussing some of the photographs that they had chosen, they talked about the challenge of not having enough vocabulary in Sesotho to address some sexuality issues (see Thetela, 2002). On the other hand they also talk about the fact that women are not expected to use 'sexual' language, that only men can use such language with impunity (see Bergvall, 1999; Tannen, 1990, 1994; Thetela, 2002; Uchida, 1992). Bergvall (1999) and Cameron (1998) have observed that women's language is perceived as deficient and indicative of women's subordination. This confirms what has been discovered by Penelope (1990) who argues that women are not allowed to use sexual slurs of their languages while men are permitted. She posits that a woman who dares speak the male dialect of her culture is marginalised and labelled outcast (cf. Gilbert & Gubar, 1985). With these women teachers, the challenge of marginalisation would come about from their families and social interactions within the school community whose norms they would have broken.

It is also interesting to note the preference to use English by some of the teachers. Using a second language removes the sex-talk from the immediacy that a first language places it. The use of English provides the women teachers with a mechanism of distancing themselves from the sensitive subject matter that they have to deal with in terms of sexuality education. This has also been observed by (Farahani, 2007) who studied Iranian-Swedish women' use of language to construct their sexual identities. However, even those women teachers who claim that using English would be better find it challenging to use the given names for the body parts or some sexual activities.

While the other group discussions were more open and interactive, the discussion relating to sex talk in the classroom was somehow limited. While the women always allowed each other to speak in turn, they seemed to be policing themselves not to say anything odd. The conversation shows the inter-subjectivity of the women's linguistic performance because what was permissible or intelligible for one woman to say was constrained by what had been said before. Thus it can be said that the women teachers co-constructed each other through their performances in their linguistic interaction (cf. Kotthoff &

Wodak, 1997). What each woman teacher uttered, worked in creating her identity as a woman. Any odd utterance would position a woman as the 'other'.

Identities are constructed culturally and hence related to socio-cultural discourses in terms of people's nature, the desirable moral order and power dynamics involved (Cameron, 1998). Thus, in line with the desirable moral order of their rural community, the women teachers are expected to use only the language permissible for women. ´Mathuso's utterance was regarded as odd in the above discussion. Her argument for the women teachers to use the given Sesotho names of sexual organs and sexual activities went against what the women teachers knew to be permissible for them as women. It can be argued that as the oldest member of the group and as a widow, ´Mathuso had nothing to lose by being positioned as 'other'. She is among those with the highest qualification in the group and holds a high position as HoD. Thus for her there are many issues that already position her as deviant and there is high likelihood that she has gotten used to being the 'other' in her interactions with the community. While she states that she worries about what the parents might say when she 'calls a spade a spade', she is taking the bull by the horns and doing it.

The discussions in this chapter have highlighted that the women's understandings of what sexuality entails and what they feel comfortable with in relation to sexuality education are as different as the women are different. While most of the recorded discussions reflect the women agreeing with each other on most issues, there is also evidence of deviation for some women. Even though there were differences of opinions and beliefs, they were not strongly emphasised within the group or in my presence. The only people who were, throughout the data production, free to voice their opinions were ´Mathuso and ´Matumo. These two women did not seem afraid to voice contradictory views to what the group was saying. They also were able to freely acknowledge their deviations from societal expectations.

8.4 The interconnectedness of the research findings

The focus of the research and the issues coming out of the study are intertwined and show their reciprocal interconnectedness and collective impact on effective teaching of sexuality education. Teachers' understandings and practice of sexuality education is related to their socialisation and positioning in society and is also connected to their own lived experiences of sexuality. Who teaches sexuality education influences how it is taught and how it is perceived and experienced. Allocating teachers who are not specialising in sexuality education to its teaching affects the teachers' presentation of the subject in terms of content and pedagogical skills. How and what is taught impacts the way sexuality education is seen and its significance in the curriculum. Teachers' values affect what, when and how they teach.

Within the broader context, patriarchy, poverty, gender-based violence, and HIV and AIDS also affect the practice of sexuality education. Patriarchy, poverty and gender-based violence are intertwined. A patriarchal gender order positions women as subordinate and perpetuates gendered stereotypes on gender roles, while also regulating and policing women's sexuality. In this climate, women teachers are positioned in their subordinate role as women thus denying them the authority of their teaching profession. Women teachers who go beyond the prescribed norms are subjected to some form of violence as a policing mechanism. Thus, women teachers operating within this context are not motivated enough to address value-laden and controversial issues such as sexuality education. Shortages of teachers could also mean appointing LSE to any teacher with fewer lessons irrespective of their specialisation thus impacting on the teaching. Additionally, unmotivated teachers would not do their best to address all aspects of LSE, meaning that the controversial sections will be left untouched.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented women teachers' photographs that illustrate issues of sexuality and explanations of why the women chose the particular pictures. I have discussed the explanations or photo-stories that have been provided by the women teachers and

highlighted their challenges in teaching about sexuality. This chapter argues that Basotho teachers' understandings of sexuality are influenced by their socialisation as well as their training. The argument raised by the women teachers is that they have not been well prepared for the challenge of bringing a private issue such as sexuality into the public arena of the classroom, and that their own personal sexual experiences have not been considered as important factors in their effective teaching when the LSE curriculum was implemented. I argue that within this context, these Basotho women teachers cannot be effective in teaching sexuality education. Thus this chapter, like the two previous chapters, also highlights the current im/possibility of woman teacher-hood within sexuality education classrooms.

The next chapter pulls together the threads that run through this study to present the thesis and conclusions of the study.

Part Four

Theorising the findings

A diagrammatic representation of the theorising
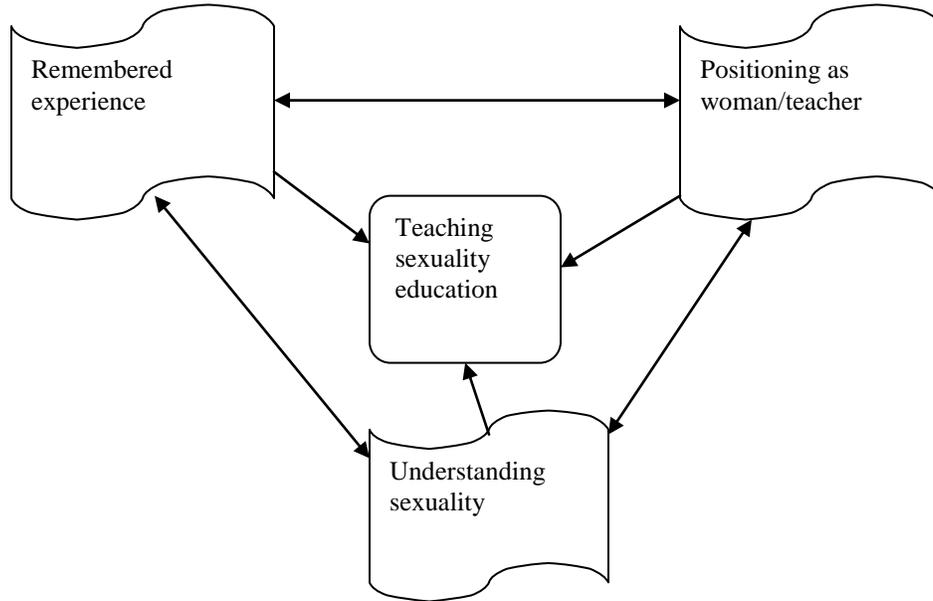
This is the last part of the study in which women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education are deconstructed and pushed into a higher level of abstraction. It argues for the unmasking of the philosophical underpinnings of the performances of womanhood and teacher-hood within sexuality education and puts forward the thesis of the study together with my conclusions.

CHAPTER 9

The end of the journey and new beginnings: Thesis and conclusions

9.1 Introduction

In this final chapter I firstly present a summary of the study. Secondly I discuss some conclusions made from this study, including how my thesis responds to the research questions and its contribution to knowledge. This chapter also highlights some unresolved questions and remaining issues. I then make some proposals for what the "action sensitive knowledge" (van Manen, 1990, p. 45) produced by this study may imply for educational policy and programming, and for future research on sexuality, HIV and AIDS. Such proposals, based on the findings and implications of this study, are made against the backdrop of the challenges that women teachers encounter, contextualised by the current HIV pandemic within a developing country. The purpose of my proposals is to serve as a basis from which strategic actions can be implemented to promote the status and practice of sexuality education in Lesotho schools.

9.2 Summary of the study

The aim of this study was to explore women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. Prior research indications point to the challenges faced generally by sexuality education teachers in developed countries and some African countries, while there are no studies of this nature, especially focussing on women teachers, in Lesotho. The research was deemed necessary especially due the current climate of patriarchy, poverty, gender-based violence and AIDS in Lesotho.

The research was conducted in one rural southern district of Lesotho. Two high schools based in two neighbouring villages of this district were used, taking four women science teachers from each school. Memory work, drawings, photo-voice and focus group discussions were used to produce data with the eight women teachers. Field-notes were used to elaborate further on the data produced. I was a participant-researcher in the sense

that I shared my stories with the women teachers in exchange for their stories. The field-work lasted for two months during the second semester of 2008.

There is a dire need for sexuality education in Lesotho schools due to the high prevalence rates of HIV infections among the youth, especially young women and girls. Additionally, the context of poverty coupled with unemployment, and the lack of gender-equity and the subsequent violence directed at women and children highlight the need for interventions such as Life Skills Education, which encompasses sexuality, gender, HIV and AIDS education.

The findings of the study indicate that sexuality education, which is being carried within the LSE curriculum, has not yet found a suitable niche within Lesotho's National Curriculum. The LSE does not have a comprehensive core of specially trained teachers and hence allocation of teachers to Life Skills Education is not necessarily based on teachers' expertise or qualifications, which ultimately limits the effectiveness of facilitation. Another indication from the findings is of the contestation among different stakeholders regarding the status and importance of sexuality education as part of the curriculum.

The findings also indicate the current im/possibility of woman teacher-hood in sexuality education. Women teachers' values appear to create challenges in their teaching of sexuality education, especially because of the value-laden interface between sexuality, gender, religion, diversity and human rights. The teachers are aware of the curriculum expectations but have difficulty with implementation. Thus what they believe should be taught in sexuality education and what and how they actually teach are incongruent.

9.3 Theorising and conclusions

> Producing awareness of the mechanisms that make life painful, even unliveable, does not neutralise them; bringing contradictions to light does not resolve them...
> (Bourdieu *et al.*, 1999, p. 629)

Bourdieu and colleagues (1999) argue that we cannot resolve contradictions by bringing them to light. However, doing so can help to make the conditions of life clearer for those leading lives which are embedded in contradictions. The purpose of this section is to highlight the contradictions inherent in woman teacher-hood within sexuality education classrooms, provide possible reasons behind them and to draw conclusions on what they mean. The first subsection discusses how the findings respond to the study objectives. The second subsection presents the findings in relation to the five considerations that drove the study and the conclusions that can be drawn from the theorisation.

I want to acknowledge that the conclusions presented in this section only serve to illuminate the experiences of Basotho women teachers within sexuality education classrooms. They are not meant for generalisations. I also want to acknowledge that my readings of the ways in which the women teachers in this study experience their teaching world and the meanings they make of their experiences are just one of the many possibilities that can be drawn from the data. Thus I acknowledge the biased influence of my being as a Mosotho woman science teacher and researcher on the interpretations, meanings and conclusions I have postulated.

9.3.1 Relating the objectives to the findings of the study

This study was framed around one key research question: *What are Basotho women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS?* The study aimed to achieve the following objectives:

- To describe women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools.
- To discuss how rural women teachers position themselves and are positioned as 'women' and as 'teachers' within sexuality education classrooms.
- To analyse the understandings, assumptions and perceptions of women teachers regarding sexuality in education.
- To deconstruct and theorise the understandings, practice and experiences of teaching sexuality education in Lesotho's public education.

The theorising done in this subsection is based on how the findings relate to the research objectives.

9.3.1.1 Women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education

This subsection highlights the gendered experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools and how such experiences translate into classroom practice.

The findings show that the women teachers have met challenges in teaching sexuality education in rural schools. Some of the challenges they have had to face relate to their own sexuality which creates challenges in the ways in which they interact with students and the school community. Teachers within sexuality education classrooms find themselves having to contend with their own desiring bodies as well as those of their students. While attention is being focussed on controlling the unruly desiring bodies, the teaching of sexuality education becomes a challenge. The troubling presence of desiring bodies within sexuality education has been observed by other scholars as well (cf. Baxen, 2006; Buthelezi, 2004; Khau, 2009a; Westwood & Mullan, 2007).

The presence of a female teaching body within a mixed sexuality education classroom has been found to create further tensions where women teachers are sexualised by their male students who reduce them to their powerless position as women and thereby undermine their authority as teachers. This finding confirms what has been observed in other studies on teacher sexualisation within sexuality education classrooms (cf. Britzman, 1991; Gordon *et al.*, 2000; Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 1995; Kenway & Willis, 1998; Lahelma *et al.*, 2000, Robinson, 2000). The sexualisation of the female teaching body makes it difficult for women teachers to concentrate on their teaching as they spent most of their time trying to avert the male gaze that is focused on their bodies.

The findings also reveal that these Basotho women teachers, who have been socialised within the discourse of childhood sexual innocence, find it difficult to challenge the norm. Knowing that their students need sexuality information and trying to protect their own innocence creates a contradiction in the pedagogical practice of sexuality education,

thus making it difficult for the teachers to teach about all the aspects of sexuality that their students need knowledge on. This finding relates to the following studies (cf. Bhana, 2003, 2007; Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Epstein *et al.*, 2003; Mitchell *et al.*, 2004; Renold, 2005). Despite their efforts in trying to protect students from what the community perceives to be inappropriate sexual knowledge, this study has shown that not being taught about issues of sexuality does not necessarily protect children from sexual harm; instead they become more vulnerable to sexual exploitation and violence.

9.3.1.2 Women teachers' positioning

In this subsection I discuss the findings relating to the positioning of women teachers within rural communities.

From the findings it can be argued that the women teachers in this study position themselves at different levels of power and agency as women and as teachers. Some position their womanhood as powerless, while they position their teacher-hood as powerful. This could be argued in terms of how their societies construct womanhood and teacher-hood, that the ways in which the women teachers see themselves reflect their socially constructed lived realities in rural communities. They see themselves in their nurturing role as mothers and wives, with limited agency regarding sexuality matters. This positioning has been observed in other studies which show the regulation of women's sexuality (cf. Ericsson, 2005; Kimmel, 2004), and defining of women's sexuality in terms of motherhood (cf. Chinweizu, 1990; Krais, 1993; Long, 2009a; Stratton, 1994).

However, some of the women see their woman self having the same power as their teacher selves, even though their agency is limited. They are able to exercise some authority within the school as teachers and in their families as well, even though they are still positioned as powerless by their principals, management teams and male relatives. This finding portrays the glass-ceiling that many women, especially in the public domain, are faced with in terms of decision-making (cf. Moorosi, 2006). While some African scholars have pointed to the power that African women have (Acholonu, 1995;

Chinweizu, 1990; Epprecht, 2000), the findings from this study show that this power is not overtly displayed in women's physical or linguistic interactions with their communities, and as such does not help women teachers exercise their authority.

9.3.1.3 Women teachers' understandings of sexuality

In this subsection I look at the findings which highlight the women teachers' understanding of the phenomenon of sexuality and how such understandings translate into classroom practice.

This study shows that while the women teachers have an understanding of what sexuality entails, there are differing levels of comfort in terms of what the women teachers can teach their students. The women have argued for the need of more content knowledge on human sexuality as well as further developed pedagogical skills. The findings, however, also show a certain level of self-censorship and policing by the teachers. There are some aspects of human sexuality which they stop themselves from going into. Thus, such aspects could be known to the teachers but they choose not to teach them, or are not motivated enough to do so because of their socialisation and *habitus*. This relates to what has been observed by education scholars who highlight the interconnectedness of teacher's socialisation and the teacher-self performed (cf. Allender & Allender, 2006; Bullough & Gitlin, 1995; Samaras, Hicks & Berger, 2004). It can therefore be argued from such findings that the levels of understanding of sexuality as a concept, displayed by these women teachers, are intricately intertwined with teachers' socialisation as well as how they position themselves and are positioned in their interactions with their society.

9.3.2 Relating the five considerations driving the study to the findings

In this section I address the linkages between the findings and the five major considerations that drove this study, namely: contextual, policy, academic, personal, and theoretical issues. I discuss how these issues come out in the findings and the resulting implications for Lesotho's education system.

9.3.2.1 Contextual and policy issues

Chapter 2 of this study addresses the HIV, gender, and sexuality education context of Lesotho. It discusses the subordinate position of women legally and in socio-economic settings. It also looks into the vulnerability of women and girls to HIV infections because of their lack of decision-making powers. Several policy initiatives, including education, have been put in place to reduce the numbers of new HIV infections amongst the Basotho; such as the Population and Family Life Education (POP/FLE) introduced in 2004 which was replaced by the Life Skills Education (LSE) system in 2007.

What is reflected in the findings is a situation where the teaching of LSE as a means of preventing new HIV infections among the youth of Lesotho is challenged. From the findings, we see women who are still expected, by societal norms, to be sexually pure and unknowing mothers and wives. This contradicts the teacher position in which these same women are expected to be knowledgeable in sexuality issues. We also see women who do not have much say in decision making in their schools and families. In general the findings show women teachers who, despite their education levels, are still reduced to their subordinate position as women through the existing patriarchy. Thus the gendered lives that the women teachers lead within their communities create challenges for their effectiveness in sexuality education. It can therefore be argued that the government of Lesotho has, as yet, not succeeded in using education to effect positive sexual behaviour change amongst its youth.

9.3.2.2 Academic, personal and theoretical issues

As a woman teacher and a scholar in gender studies and because of the study I conducted for my Masters degree (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b), I wanted to further explore how women teachers teach issues of sexuality and how their teaching is influenced by their lived experiences as gendered and sexual beings. I also wanted to explore the effectiveness of having the standalone LSE subject as a niche for sexuality education in Lesotho schools. Through this study, I wanted to address the knowledge gap on how teachers function as curriculum developers within sexuality education classrooms, especially in the context of a developing country, in order to propose a theoretical

construction that would influence education policy regarding sexuality education suitable for Lesotho.

The findings of this study reflect that women teachers teach only certain aspects of human sexuality and police themselves not to teach about those aspects that would force them to go beyond the realms of the socially constructed norm of womanhood (cf. Khau, 2009a; Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b; Oshi & Nakalema, 2005). While some women would venture outside the norm in their teaching, they are restricted by the structures of patriarchy that render them powerless. Thus the women teachers have limited room, in the syllabus, to manoeuvre in structuring appropriate lessons for their students because they are expected to deliver only what the decision-makers in education see as fitting for Basotho students.

We also see, from the findings, women teachers being restricted in what they can teach from their own experiences as gendered and sexual beings (cf. Khau, 2009a). The patriarchal gender order in Lesotho perpetuates gender-based violence which is often directed at girls and women. Women teachers who have had negative sexual experiences find it challenging to address issues of sexuality in classrooms (cf. Motalingoane-Khau, 2007a, 2007b). With the high numbers of Basotho women and girls subjected to male violence and the high numbers of women in the teaching field, it can be argued that many women teachers have been subjected to some form of violence in their lives. Linking this to the findings, it can be argued that the majority of Basotho women are rendered ineffective as sexuality education teachers. If the majority of teachers (women) are unable to effectively deliver sexuality education, then education cannot be used as a vaccine against new HIV infections. The implication is that there is a need for the curriculum and the context of delivery to be re-aligned such that the government of Lesotho can be able to effectively use the available workforce of women teachers to facilitate sexuality education.

Another issue visible from the findings of this study is the inherent lack of preparation for effective implementation of LSE. The contestation surrounding the teaching of sexuality

education indicates a lack of buy-in by cultural and religious institutions in Lesotho. Thus, I argue that within the current gender order in Lesotho it is going to be challenging to effect positive sexuality behaviour change among students through education, unless there is a complete overhaul in the gender dynamics. The findings show that the 2003 *Lesotho Gender Policy* has not produced any tangible changes in the interactions between men and women. Thus, there is still a need for Community Development Programs (CDP) aimed at conscientising and teaching men and women about issues of gender stereotyping and inequality and how to change them. With the parental and community buy-in that can be developed through such programs, Basotho youth would be socialised in an equitable society in which men and women are treated fairly and given equal opportunities. Such young people would be in a position to perform their sexualities differently in a manner that would give equal sexual decision-making powers to both partners in a relationship, thus reducing the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections.

9.4 The im/possibility of woman teacher-hood

In this section I present my thesis based on the findings and conclusions of this study.

In agreement with UNESCO's (2000) view on woman teacher-hood, I posit that women teachers should be most effective in sexuality education. If womanhood is associated with mothering, affection and the body (Pillay, 2009) and sexuality education is also associated with the body and its desires (Paechter, 2004, 2006), then it means teaching about the body should come naturally for women teachers. However, the findings of this study have reflected the contradictions and challenges faced by women teachers in sexuality education. The contradiction in the positioning of womanhood and teacher-hood in this study is the major challenge against the possibility of woman teacher-hood in sexuality education. The teacher-hood that sexuality education requires goes against the womanhood that Basotho society requires.

I am arguing that the normalised womanhood the women teachers perform is a legacy of patriarchy that has been carried from generation to generation by women themselves.

This performance masks the power afforded to women by some discourses because they stand to gain a share in the patriarchal dividend. Connell (1995) talks of the patriarchal dividend as the benefits which men stand to gain through the subordination of women. I argue that, somehow, women also stand to gain in their own subordination and thus have a share in the patriarchal dividend. The complicity of women in their own subordination reflects what Connell has discussed as complicit masculinity in men. This kind of masculinity is that which does not take part in women's oppression but is aware of the ills performed against women. However, men who perform this masculinity do nothing to actively change the *status quo* because they stand to gain from women's subordination.

I argue that Basotho women, through the ages, have been aware of the ills that they perform and are also being performed against them. While some women will not actively subject others to subordination, they do nothing to actively change the situation of women in general because they also stand to gain from the subordination of *other* women. Older Basotho women who have the cultural and symbolic capital as existing holders of power and gatekeepers to the field of being and becoming women, block the entry for new players (see Chapter 2 for Basotho womanhood). Thus, policing of new players' conformity to the norms of femininity and normative womanhood is enforced by the gatekeepers, other women who are trying to secure their positions and status in the game. To remain part of the game, the new players have to ensure that they know the rules of the game and conform to them. Keeping each other in check regarding the rules of Basotho womanhood limits the performance of alternative and deviant scripts of womanhood, thus allowing the gatekeepers to remain in control.

Interestingly, when talking about women's power, Chinweizu (1990, p. 56) argues that "men may rule the world, but women rule the men who rule the world". I am in agreement with Chinweizu. If "women rule the men who rule the world" then by implication the actual rulers of the world are women! Women, as mothers, bring up boys to become the men who are oppressing them and thus can also choose to bring them up differently. Having men who do not subscribe to women's subordination means that there is a chance that all men can be brought up to become gender-sensitive. Arguing thus,

however, does not mean I am denying the daily subordination, exploitation and violence that are directed at women and children. I am arguing that irrespective of such occurrences, women are not helpless victims awaiting their fate at the hands of men.

As the findings of this study have shown, within the current context of patriarchy and gender-based violence some women teachers have chosen to perform their womanhood outside the norms and have thus become effective facilitators of sexuality education. This shows that there is a fine line between the possibility and impossibility of women being effective facilitators of sexuality education. While most women teachers in this study are rendered ineffective sexuality education facilitators because of the violence and stigma directed at those who go against societal norms some have been able to go against the norm. All things being equal, there is a possibility of having very efficient sexuality education women teachers; while on the other hand, given the identities to which these women teachers subscribe, there is limited possibility of this being achieved within the context of gender-inequity.

The challenges and im/possibility of woman teacher-hood in sexuality education identified in this study can, however, be overcome. The use of the word im/possibility in this study highlights the thin line between possibility and impossibility. The fact that some of the women teachers in this study have been able to move beyond the discursive and material structures that limit their effectiveness shows that women teachers can be effective facilitators of sexuality education despite their objectification as women. With attention being paid to the recommendations that follow, sexuality education can become a strong force in reducing the numbers of young people dying each year of HIV and AIDS thus increasing the workforce and hence the struggling economy of Lesotho.

9.5 Recommendations

The recommendations offered in this section relate to the subject of sexuality education specifically and how understandings regarding this subject area and its teaching can be improved. They also relate to general considerations that have to be made in order to facilitate effective sexuality education classrooms.

At the present moment, attempts need to be made to assist teachers to see Life Skills Education as a whole, and each aspect of it as equally important irrespective of content sensitivity. Such attempts can include dissemination of information through distribution of brochures on Life Skills Education focussing on the different aspects such as diversity, sexuality, HIV and AIDS, gender and human rights. Whatever materials are developed need to be checked by the Ministry of Education and curriculum specialists to ensure that the material is correct.

There needs to be more support given to teachers who are currently teaching the subject in schools through in-service training workshops and mentoring programs. Such workshops could be used to improve teachers' content knowledge, pedagogical skills and motivation levels, while also addressing issues of buy-in from school management teams. Models of best practice should be made available so that teachers can see how others are managing to effect sexuality education in their schools. Another support possibility is through partnerships between neighbouring schools or the formation of clusters which could work together on best sexuality education practice and sharing of content knowledge.

Content training workshops should be organised in ways that embrace sexuality in its totality, moving beyond the boundaries of heterosexuality. Curriculum specialists and teachers should be able to address issues of sexuality in a sex-positive manner which moves away from moralistic teachings. This strategy would require partnerships between the Ministry of Education and agencies that deal with human sexuality, for example LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans-sexual) organisations, so that these agencies could provide the necessary expertise for training mentor-teachers and subject specialists who would then train teachers in schools. There would also be need for partnerships with universities in other African and Western countries so that Lesotho teacher educators could engage in exchange programs which would broaden their horizons in terms of human sexuality.

Despite these, I still argue that sexuality education should be taken out of the LSE curriculum so that it can be timetabled, thus given its own teaching time, and be examinable so that teachers and students can give it the necessary attention. While being carried in other subject areas sexuality education gets skimmed over in preference of areas that are not so sensitive or value-laden (cf. Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b). There is a need for sexuality education to be clearly defined and understood such that all stakeholders in education can have a common understanding and interpretation. This would be an important first step in reaching a consensus about what sexuality education entails in order to lay a foundation for deeper understanding and practice of this subject matter. With sexuality education as a subject area on its own, specialised teachers would need to be trained so that they can drive the implementation of this important subject. Teacher training institutions and other institutions of higher learning would also need to incorporate sexuality education as a specialisation for degree purposes.

Advocacy strategies would also be important in improving the status of sexuality education within Basotho communities. There should be bursaries available for teachers to train as sexuality education specialists. Universities and teacher training institutions also need to start campaigns to encourage prospective students to specialise in sexuality education. Having trained as sexuality education teachers, there should be concerted efforts to ensure that such teachers are remunerated and promoted along the same lines as all other specialisations.

Of urgency would be *Lipitso*[20] around the country in which the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare together with the Ministry of Education would collaboratively address the public on the need for sexuality education in schools so that there is a common understanding of what children will be taught in schools. Such *Lipitso* would also help in demystifying issues of sexuality within the nation. The traditional initiation school promoted the shrouding of sexuality with mystery. This needs to be deconstructed in a manner that would be respectful of traditional practices while also addressing the importance of sexuality education for present-day Basotho youth.

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[20] *Pitso* means formal public gathering. *Lipitso* means many gatherings.

For wider impact, sexuality education needs to become a bigger government initiative which is not only limited to schools. There should also be centres that would provide informal but appropriate sexuality support for the youth as well as adults. It has been observed that having information does not necessarily translate to behaviour change. Thus, to ensure positive behaviour change among the youth, further support is needed.

All these suggested actions have huge financial implications for a developing country such as Lesotho. However, I argue that there is a possibility of achieving a sexuality education program relevant to the needs of Lesotho with the right partnerships between the Lesotho government and United Nations agencies (such as UNAIDS and UNICEF), Lesotho universities and universities in other countries, government ministries, the Ministry of Education and higher learning institutions, neighbouring schools, religious and cultural institutions.

9.6 Limitations and unresolved issues

Having asserted such conclusions and recommendations, I cannot, however, ignore the tensions and unresolved issues within this study. These should be given some attention. Firstly, I have to recognise that although the study was carried out with a feminist research agenda in mind, it is limited in the extent to which it can respond to the demands of feminist approaches, such as the emancipation of the oppressed. It is a study by a woman, about women and to a large extent for women. It takes women's lives seriously and accords importance to their everyday realities, the tensions and contradictions within them. It also challenges the patriarchal structures, systems and discourses of education and advocates for a woman teacher-centred perspective on gender, sexuality and education. However, this study is not necessarily one that can mobilise women to act.

This study was on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in two rural secondary schools. It was limited to a sample of only a few women teachers who teach sexuality education in two secondary schools. This left out unheard voices of other stakeholders in education (such as women teachers in other rural schools, male teachers,

principals, learners, parents and policy makers) who could have added another dimension to the study. As such, it cannot be generalised across Lesotho or to other contexts but raises significant issues and ideas that could be further explored in different contexts and/or on a larger scale. By providing a clear and detailed account of how I went about the study, I hope to offer some ideas and inspiration to others who are interested in undertaking similar work.

I am also aware of the emotion evoked through the drawings of the woman self for the participants. I also want to highlight the challenge of researcher emotional involvement when dealing with sensitive topics. My engagement with the research participants' drawings forced me to relive memories of a past I wished to keep locked up. I realised that all my research training had not adequately prepared me for handling the participants' emotional difficulties whilst also dealing with mine. Thus, it is of importance for others researching into sensitive topics to ensure that they are prepared for the emotional demands of research and that they have made adequate preparations for professional support in case it is needed.

Despite this, I want to acknowledge the effectiveness of drawings in dealing with sensitive topics such as sexuality education and bringing to light issues that would not have easily come out through the interviewing process. The platform created by the drawings for the women teachers to reflect upon their being was a unique opportunity in the lives of the participants that forced them to come face-to-face with their lived realities. However, I want to highlight that this face-to-face encounter with oneself can lead to either constructive or destructive decisions. While research for social change is good, it is also important for researchers to be aware that not all change could be good for the participants. Through participation in this study, one woman teacher decided to divorce her husband. As a researcher and a woman teacher I cannot guarantee that divorce would be the best option for her. But because the notion came to her through interaction with me, I feel responsible for her wellbeing. The challenge is that I do not have any say in her final decision.

9.7 Implications for further research

This section presents ideas emerging from this study which could be further explored to contribute to scholarly knowledge on woman teacher-hood in sexuality education in developing countries.

The study was based on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in two rural secondary schools. As such it was limited to a sample of only a few women teachers who teach sexuality education in two secondary schools. This left out the unheard voices of other stakeholders in education. These are possible areas for further study. It would be interesting to find out how male Basotho teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools, or how teachers in general experience the teaching of sexuality education in urban Lesotho schools. Would the experiences of men be different from those of women? Would urban schools provide different experiences from rural schools? What would be the implications of these issues for sexuality education in Lesotho?

While this study provides only a glimpse into women teachers lives as sexuality education facilitators, these findings highlight a need for a bigger study which would provide a general view of how Basotho women teachers function as sexuality education facilitators. The field of teaching in Lesotho, as with many other countries, is feminised and because of this there are more women than men (cf. Bhana, 2003; Lesko, 2000). Thus it would be important to explore the effectiveness of women as teachers of sexuality education in order to find out whether, in its current state, sexuality education in schools can be used to prevent further spread of HIV among students. This would provide insights into how the current education policy can be restructured to provide a context conducive for a sexuality education that would produce the desired behaviour change in Basotho youth.

There is also a need for further research to explore teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in other developing contexts, especially within African communities, in order to understand how colonialism, modern media, Christianity, Islam and the

subsequent patriarchy have shaped femininity, masculinity and sexuality discourses in Africa. It would also be interesting to explore women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in developed countries in order to understand whether the femininity, masculinity and sexuality discourses for developed countries are different from the developing world and what the implications of this would be for sexuality education in African countries.

The hegemony enjoyed by Christian moral teachings within the sexuality education curriculum has created challenges for effective teaching. Thus it would be important in the context of Lesotho to find out from Faith community leaders the type of sexuality education they believe would be beneficial for the Basotho nation. It would also be important to find out from traditional leaders and healers the kind of sexuality education they envisage for the Basotho. This would bring to light important issues that could be used to shape a sexuality education curriculum that would be sensitive to Basotho traditions, as well as Christian values, while still serving the knowledge needs of the country.

Research from other contexts shows that science teachers are the ones who are mostly willing to teach sexuality education. This is also true in the case of Lesotho. It would, however, be interesting to find out how teachers from other specialisations would handle the teaching of sexuality education and whether they would be more or less effective. It has been argued that science teachers tend to privilege scientific mechanics of sex and reproduction over the social aspects of sexuality education. How would the teaching of sexuality education differ if it were done by a Language Education specialist, Religious Education specialist or a school counsellor?

There is further need for teachers to reflect on their teaching practice in order to find ways of improving on it. This calls for more reflexivity in teachers who research their lived experiences of teaching. As Dewey (1938, p. 76) argues, when teachers reflect on their experiences they take an important first step toward "transforming those experiences into a guiding philosophy, a set of personal beliefs, a repertoire of actions to be drawn

upon in the future." For Dewey, we are educated when we are able to reconstruct and reorganise experiences such that they can be used to shape the course of our future experiences.

9.8 Conclusion

This study explored women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools and how the gender dynamics that characterise rural Lesotho villages play out in the teaching. In Chapter 2 I have presented the historical context of the study using Foucault's notion of genealogy. This chapter has reflected on the hegemony enjoyed by the health and moralistic discourses within sexuality education from pre- to post-colonial education in Lesotho. Local, regional and international literature on sexuality education debates, female sexuality, gender and education, women teachers' lives as well as research on HIV and AIDS in education, has shown the challenges of woman teacher-hood in developing countries (see Chapter 3). This review helped to contextualise the research within existing relevant knowledge by analysing and understanding the predominant debates on the topic and identifying gaps in the literature where this particular study could make a contribution.

The theoretical framing of this study employed an eclectic amalgam comprising Dewey's philosophy of experience, Bourdieu's theory of practice and feminist post-structural theories with particular reference to Butler's concept of performativity (see Chapter 4). These were used as analytical tools to excavate the meanings within the stories of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. The chapter has also presented and discussed the central tenets of post-structural thinking and how they have played out within this study, linking them to feminist post-structural ideas on gender as a special lens to look into the socially constructed realities of life. An outline of Bourdieu's central concepts of capital, field and *habitus* highlights the importance of structure and agency in social practice. Chapter 5 has presented the challenges of researching sensitive and taboo subjects such as sexuality and the emotional upheavals involved. Data was produced through memory work, drawings, photo-voice and focus group discussions.

Chapter 6 argues that woman teacher-hood within rural Lesotho sexuality education classrooms is problematic. The experiences presented by the women teachers show the centrality of bodies in the teaching of sexuality education and the challenges this poses to their effective teaching. The physical body with its sexual desires does not follow any normative scripts, while the education setting requires disciplined bodies (Paechter, 2004). Bodies that desire are not disciplined and thus teaching about sexuality means bringing disorder to the schooling setting. While women teachers try to police and discipline their bodies and those of their students within the sexuality education classrooms, the efficacy of their teaching gets negatively affected.

Chapter 7 has highlighted the dynamics of discourse and power in the positioning of women teachers as powerful within the school context as teachers, while simultaneously being positioned as powerless women within a rural community. It also highlighted how women teachers position their womanhood differently as powerful in some situations. The women teachers have revealed the socially constructed versions of Basotho womanhood and teacher-hood. Through their drawings, the women teachers highlight the challenges of woman teacher-hood in sexuality education. Thus the argument raised in this chapter is that the identities that the women teachers subscribe to and are heavily invested in, being mothers and wives, render them ineffective as sexuality education teachers. The normative woman self in Basotho communities is expected to be sexually unknowing and pure. Supposedly, purity cannot mix with sexuality education if it is to be effective. Therefore, maintaining their status as "ladies" and performing normalised womanhood inhibits the women from being effective sexuality education teachers.

The last findings chapter (Chapter 8) argues that Basotho women teachers' understandings of sexuality are a result of their socialisation and training. The women teachers argue that they were ill prepared for the challenge of bringing a private issue, like sexuality, into the public arena of the classroom. In addition they argue that their own personal sexual experiences have not been considered as important mediating factors in their effective teaching when the LSE curriculum was implemented. Within this

context, Basotho women teachers are not effective in teaching sexuality education and thus this chapter also highlights the current im/possibility of woman teacher-hood within sexuality education classrooms. What is reflected by the three findings chapters is that Basotho women teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education as challenging because of factors such as their own sexuality and sexual experiences, their womanhood and motherhood, religious and cultural restrictions, and limited training and support.

This concluding chapter (Chapter 9) has presented the conclusions drawn from this study and presents some recommended actions that can improve the status and teaching of sexuality education. In this chapter I have argued that within the current context within which sexuality education is being taught in Lesotho, there are limited possibilities for women teachers to be effective as sexuality education teachers or for sexuality education to have the desired impact on Basotho youth.

The effectiveness of teachers in sexuality education is dependent upon different stakeholders. This study is therefore a call to stakeholders to rethink the need for sexuality education in Lesotho so that there can be a common understanding regarding the need to address the factors that impede effective delivery of the subject in schools.

Postscript

Looking back at the path travelled

No journey is ever completely smooth. Each journey has its ups and downs, where we learn to slay dragons even if we get scorched along the way. This journey into women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education proved to have its fare share of challenges.

Being a participant researcher in this study and sharing my experiences with the participants forced me to come face to face with my 'dragons and ogres' in relation to my sexuality and how I handle issues of sexuality in my personal and professional lives. This journey has left me with more questions in relation to sexuality and sexuality education. I question whether there will be a time when issues of sexuality will cease their taboo status and whether teachers, especially in developing countries, will one day effectively teach about sexuality, HIV and AIDS with little or no censorship. How easy is it for teachers to design sexuality education lessons that are sex-positive, focussing on relationships, desire and the pleasures of healthy sexuality while at the same time being inclusive of all sexualities? With sexuality being the core of human existence, why is it the most hidden aspect of humanity? I believe that this is not the end of the journey for me. More explorations await me within the field of human sexuality.

Through positioning myself at the centre of inquiry, I was able to reflect on my practice as a woman science teacher and identify how I could best improve my practice. The women teachers in this study were also faced with themselves as sexual beings and women science teachers. They placed their own experiences at the centre of their inquiry and had to analyse what their experiences mean to them as women teachers tasked with the teaching of sexuality education. We all made ourselves vulnerable by bringing our private lives into the public domain with the aim of studying our practice as teachers of sexuality education.

Smyth (1996, p. 47) points out that "when teachers write about their own biographies and how they feel these have shaped the construction of their values, then they are able to see

more clearly how social and institutional forces beyond the classroom and school have been influential." We saw the ways in which we have been shaped by our culture, our gender, our institutions and our profession, but we also realized that each of us had learned to write her life in unique ways that came from her personal experience of the world. We began to appreciate our own stories better by sharing each others' stories. As we listened to these stories, we not only heard echoes of our own stories, but saw new meanings in them. Through these experiences we have gained "new possibilities for writing our lives differently" (Clandinin 1993, p. 2).

When adventurers embark upon a journey, their travels and escapades are not unique because they resonate with those of others who undertake their journeys along different routes and to different destinations. The journey into our experiences as women teachers reveals memories of experiences which are not unique to Lesotho. They reflect what happens to many women as they negotiate between their womanhood and the sexuality scripts dictated by society. As mentioned earlier, Nash (2004, p. 22) argues that writing a personal narrative means looking deeply within oneself "for the meaning that just might, when done well, resonate with other lives; maybe even inspire them in some significant ways".

It is my hope that telling our story as Basotho women science teachers will prove inspirational to other women teachers whose experiences resonate with those reflected upon in this thesis. Van Manen (1990) argues that each person gets touched or moved by story and therefore actively searches for the storyteller's meaning by reflecting on their own stories. In line with this argument, this work could be helpful in initiating self-reflection by the readers as they search for the meanings we make of our stories. Thus they would be able to reflect upon and assess their own experiences, assigning their own meanings and understandings to them and hence be able to learn from the particular experiences.

LaBoskey (2004, p. 843) also argues that we are better able to control the impact of our memories on our teaching by reflecting upon and interrogating them. This journey which

engaged only female teachers highlighted the importance of single sex groupings when dealing with taboo subjects. It helped us as women teachers to reflect on the ease of teaching sexuality education in co-educational rural classrooms while negotiating the constructions of proper womanhood within communities. It is my hope that the story of our journey will also motivate other teachers to learn from their own experiences by remembering their own stories of teaching and learning, and finding ways of making such experiences useful in their current practice.

By examining the relationship between our memories, our social understandings and actions, my participants and I were able to get a clearer picture of our woman teacher-hood in relation to the teaching of sexuality education. Interrogating our memories, understandings and positioning has been useful in identifying the stumbling blocks in our practice and finding ways of using our experiences in our teaching. Using memory work, visual methods and self-reflection in the manner that we have done is useful in motivating ordinary classroom teachers to take action on/in their teaching and learning world and thus furthering memory work and visual studies.

As Dewey (1938/1963, p. 76) argues, when teachers reflect on their experiences they take an essential first step toward "transforming those experiences into a guiding philosophy, a set of personal beliefs, and a repertoire of actions to be drawn upon in the future." Remembering, reconstructing and reorganizing experience in a way that adds to the meaning of experience and increases the ability to direct the course of subsequent experiences *is* education.

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<u>Appendix A</u>   *Litolobonya songs*

<u>Song 1</u>

Mong´a monna ha a loana

Le mo joetse

A nke chefo

A ipolae

Ke kena kene

Ka mahetla

Ke ja mafura

A letheka laka

When the jealous wife starts fighting

You should tell her

To get some poison

And commit suicide

I am busy enjoying

The fruits of my hard work

Having sex with her husband

<u>Song 2</u>

Mong´a monna ke sono

Taba li teng

Ha ke mo sheba ua nts´onyetsa

Taba li teng

The jealous wife is here

I think she knows about our affair,

When I look at her

She looks at me with anger

P.O Box 11012

Maseru 100

Lesotho

4th July 2008

Dear Participant

I am a Doctoral student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. My research topic is **"Women teachers talk sex: A gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS."** The study focuses on how women teachers understand and experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. I will be conducting my research using group discussions, memory work, collages, drawings and observations. You will get a copy of the questions and prompts a day prior to the data production activity so that you have an idea of what to expect. You will be observed in class while you teach about sexuality. The other methods will hopefully be done during weekends.

Confidentiality will be highly guarded and depending on the choice of each participant, pseudonyms will be used. The participants' permission to audiotape all conversations and group discussions will be requested and I will personally transcribe each session and give you a copy of the transcript. I might need follow-up interviews with you so that we could discuss further about the topic and issues arising from your responses.

All materials that have been part of the study will be kept safely and I will not use them for any other purpose without prior permission from yourself and the other participants. If at any time you feel that you wish to withdraw from the study, you are free to do so without any form of disadvantage for you. You are not obliged to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with. Even after the story has been written, I will discuss

with you whether the material that is written is what you meant. If you feel uncomfortable with any part of the story, it will not be used. All the costs for your participation in the study will be borne by me (transportation and food). There are no known risks and/or discomforts associated with this study. I am hoping that your participation in this study will help you reflect on your teaching of sexuality and HIV/AIDS education and gain strategies of improving your teaching on these issues.

I would like, therefore, to request your participation in this study. Please feel free to inquire at any moment should you require further information. My contact details as well as those of my supervisor on this project are provided. If you agree to participate in the study, please indicate that you are informed about the study and understand its intention by giving your consent in the form of a signature below. A copy of the signed letter will be given to you to keep.

_____

I understand the purpose of the study and hereby give my consent to participate.

Names _____

Signed_____   **Date**_____

Yours truly,

Mathabo Motalingoane-Khau (Ms)   Proff. Deevia Bhana

078 246 6549/+266 58796352   031- 260 1169

khaum@webmail.co.za   bhanad1@ukzn.ac.za

P.O Box 11012

Maseru 100

Lesotho

4th July 2008

Mohlomphehi

Ke moithuti oa University ea KwaZulu-Natal, boemong ba Doctorate. Ke lakatsa ho fumana hore na matichere a Basotho a basali a ruta joang ka taba tsa thobalano le koatsi ea bosolla hlapi likolong tse maloting. Ke rata hape ho fumana hore na ba ikutloa joang nakong eo ba rutang bana likaroloana tse fapaneng tsa boithuto bona ba tsa thobalano. Ke tla botsa lipotso moo re qoqang le matichere, ke tla shebella ha matichere ana a ruta ka likolong tsa bona. Re tla boela re sebelise le li-tsoantso, hammoho le hore ba arabe pampiri-potso. Bohle ba nkang karolo batla fumana lipotso letsatsi pele ho ho puisano hore batle be be le leseli la hore puisano e tla ipapisa le eng. Lipuisano tsa rona litla ba ka meqebelo 'me litla nka hora feela.

Litaba tsoohle tsa boithuto bona etla ba lekunutu, 'me mabitso a batho ba nkang karolo ha ana ho sebelisoa. Ke tla ba reha mabitso asele ho pata mohlala. Lipuisano tsa rona litla hatisoa ka tape recorder ha u lumela. Ke tla ngola tsohle tse hatisitsoeng ka bonna 'me ke u fe tsona ho li hlahloba. Ke tla hloka ts'alo-morao ea lipuisano tsa rona hore re shebisane hore na ho na le litaba tse salletseng. Thepa eohle e tla sebelisoa boithutong bona e tla bolokoa moo ho notletsoeng, 'me ha ena ho sebelisoa lebakeng lesele, ntle le tumello ea hau. U bolokollohing ba ho se nke karolo boithutong bona neng kapa neng ha u utloa u sa phutholloha. Lits'enyehelo tsa lijo le ho palama makoloi litla pataloa ke nna.

Kahona ke u kopa ho nka karolo boithutong bona. Ha u ena le lipotso tse ling u ka ntetsetsa kapa ua letsetsa mosupisi oaka. Linomoro tsa rona liteng lengolong lena. Ha u lumela ho nka karolo boithutong bona ke kopa u bonts'e boikano le boitlamo bahau ka ho

ngola mabitso le ho tekena mona. Ke tla u fa kopi ea lengolo lena ha u le tekenne hore u le boloke.

_____

Ke utloisisa sepheo sa boithuto bona, 'me ke fana ka tumello ea hore ke tla nka karolo ho bona.

Mabitso _____

Tekena_____   **Letsatsi**_____

Oa hau ts'ebetsong

Ms Mathabo Motalingoane-Khau   Proff. Deevia Bhana

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Women teachers talk sex: A gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS

Guide for memory writing exercise

Memory guide

- Reflecting on your experiences of teaching sexuality education, can you please recall any particular episodes or events pertaining to your teaching that caused a shift or change in your practice?

- Please write about one such memorable experience that was critical for you as a woman and teacher. Please include as many details and as much dialogue as you can remember so that the reader will have a sense of the interactions involved in the event. Do not worry about spelling and grammatical mistakes. Just write what comes to mind as it comes. Write your story in the first person. When you feel you have written all there is, then re-write your story in the third person using your name or a pseudonym.

- What impact do you think this particular experience has had on your personal and professional self?

- Prepare to share your narrative and reflections with the other women teachers.

Women teachers talk sex: A gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS

Focus group discussion guide *(for two different sessions)*

Resources

Tape recorder, cassettes, batteries, pens, paper, tables and chairs, flip-charts, marking pens, paper glue (extra cassettes, batteries and stationery)

Preparation

Ensure that the tape recorder is working and that there will be little or no disturbance during the workshop so that the recordings will be clear. Ask for permission form the participants to record all the discussion sessions and be prepared to take notes if permission is not granted. The chairs should be arranged around the table to allow for group discussion

Session 1 Memory work

Use the memory accounts written in the third person to guide discussion during this session. Participants should have read the different accounts so that they can talk about the different experiences recorded in the memory accounts. Start with your reflection on these experiences.

Session 2 Visual methods

Lead the discussion on the visuals that the participants have produced. Participants should share their collages and drawings together with the reasons why they chose the particular pictures. This discussion should be on how the pictures speak to the participants in relation to their view of sexuality, and how the drawings represent the participants' view of how they are positioned as women and as teachers.

Appendix F   **Drawing Prompt**

Women teachers talk sex: A gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS

Drawing prompt

In the space provided, draw a picture that represents your view of your teacher self as well as your woman self. There are no good or bad drawings just draw. Below each drawing explain why you have chosen this representation and what it means to you. (*Sebakeng se fanoeng koano, etsa setsoantso se bontsang hore na u ipona joang ole mosali hape ole tichere. Tlasa setsoantso se seng le se seng hlalosa hore na u se khethile hobaneng le hore na se bolelang ho uena*.)

Drawing 1 (*Setsoantso sa pele*)
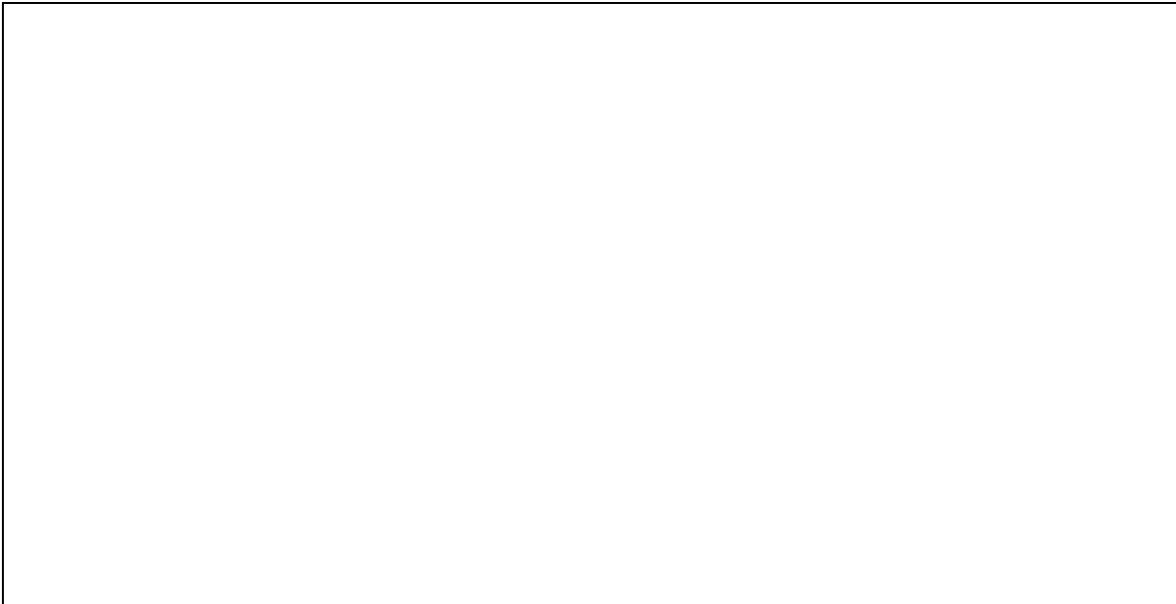
Explanation (*Tlhaloso*)

_____

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Drawing 2 (*Setsoantso sa bobeli*)

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Explanation (*Tlhaloso*)

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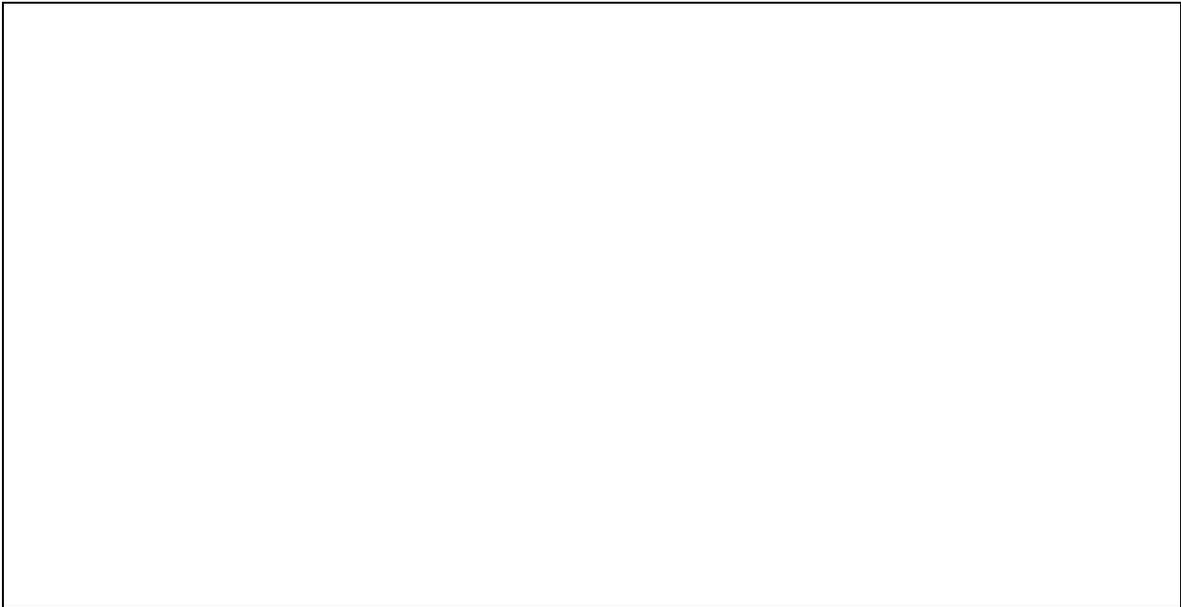
Photo-voice Prompt

Women teachers talk sex: A gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS

Photo-voice Prompt

Use the provided magazines to select pictures that speak to you about sexuality or those that depict your understanding of sexuality. Paste your picture in the space provided and write your explanation below the picture. (*Manamisa setsoantso sa hau mona ebe u fana ka tlhaloso ea sona sebakeng se fanoeng ka tlase teng*)

Explanation (*Tlhaloso*)

P.O Box 11012

Maseru 100

Lesotho

28th August 2008

The Principal Secretary

Ministry of Education

P.O Box 47

Maseru, 100

Lesotho

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Permission to conduct research in rural secondary schools in Quthing District

I am a Doctoral student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. My research topic is **"Women teachers talk sex: A gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS."** The study focuses on how women teachers understand and experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. I will be conducting my research using group discussions, memory work, photo-voice, drawings and observations.

Confidentiality will be highly guarded and depending on the choice of each participant, pseudonyms will be used. The participants' permission to audiotape all conversations and group discussions will be requested and I will personally transcribe each session and give them a copy of the transcript. All materials that have been part of the study will be kept safely and I will not use them for any other purpose without their prior permission. The participants will be free to withdraw from this study at any time if they do not feel comfortable without any form of disadvantage to them. There are no known risks and/or

discomforts associated with this study. I am hoping that their participation in this study will help them reflect on their teaching of sexuality and HIV/AIDS education and gain strategies of improving their teaching on these issues.

I would like, therefore, to request your permission to undertake my research in two secondary schools in the Quthing district. My contact details as well as those of my supervisor on this project are provided. Your expected consideration is appreciated in advance.

Yours truly,

Mathabo Motalingoane-Khau (Ms)   Proff. Deevia Bhana

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P.O Box 11012

Maseru 100

Lesotho

4th July 2008

The Principal

Bahale High School

P.O Box 478

Quthing, 700

Lesotho

Dear Mr. Motsamai

           Re: Permission to conduct research in Bahale High School

I am a Doctoral student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. My research topic is **"Women teachers talk sex: A gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS."** The study focuses on how women teachers understand and experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. I will be conducting my research using group discussions, memory work, photo-voice, drawings and observations.

Confidentiality will be highly guarded and depending on the choice of each participant, pseudonyms will be used. The participants' permission to audiotape all conversations and group discussions will be requested and I will personally transcribe each session and give them a copy of the transcript. All materials that have been part of the study will be kept safely and I will not use them for any other purpose without their prior permission. The participants will be free to withdraw from this study at any time if they do not feel

comfortable without any form of disadvantage to them. There are no known risks and/or discomforts associated with this study. I am hoping that their participation in this study will help them reflect on their teaching of sexuality and HIV/AIDS education and gain strategies of improving their teaching on these issues.

I would like, therefore, to request your permission to undertake my research in your school and work with four of your women teachers who teach Life Skills education. My contact details as well as those of my supervisor on this project are provided. Your expected consideration is appreciated in advance.

Yours truly,

Mathabo Motalingoane-Khau (Ms)   Proff. Deevia Bhana

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P.O Box 11012

Maseru 100

Lesotho

4th July 2008

The Principal

Makoala High School

P.O Box 247

Quthing, 700

Lesotho

Dear Mr. Moeletsi

        Re: Permission to conduct research in Makoala High School

I am a Doctoral student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. My research topic is **"Women teachers talk sex: A gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS."** The study focuses on how women teachers understand and experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. I will be conducting my research using group discussions, memory work, photo-voice, drawings and observations.

Confidentiality will be highly guarded and depending on the choice of each participant, pseudonyms will be used. The participants' permission to audiotape all conversations and group discussions will be requested and I will personally transcribe each session and give them a copy of the transcript. All materials that have been part of the study will be kept safely and I will not use them for any other purpose without their prior permission. The participants will be free to withdraw from this study at any time if they do not feel

comfortable without any form of disadvantage to them. There are no known risks and/or discomforts associated with this study. I am hoping that their participation in this study will help them reflect on their teaching of sexuality and HIV/AIDS education and gain strategies of improving their teaching on these issues.

I would like, therefore, to request your permission to undertake my research in your school and work with four of your women teachers who teach Life Skills education. My contact details as well as those of my supervisor on this project are provided. Your expected consideration is appreciated in advance.

Yours truly,

Mathabo Motalingoane-Khau (Ms)   Proff. Deevia Bhana

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Appendix K   **Interview Schedule for women teachers**

Women teachers talk sex: a gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS

Interview schedule for Basotho women teachers

I am a Doctoral student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am conducting interviews to explore how Basotho women teachers understand and experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural school. This interview is anonymous and I will not disclose your particular responses to anyone without your consent. You are free to stop the interview at anytime if you feel uncomfortable. I will respect your wishes and not capture your partial responses for use in the study. The information from this interview will only be used for the study.

If you agree to participate in the **interview,** please indicate that you are informed about the study and understand its intention by giving your consent in the form of a signature below.

I understand the purpose of the study and hereby give my consent to participate.

Names _____

Signed_____   **Date**_____

Yours faithfully

Mathabo Motalingoane- Khau (Ms)   Proff. Deevia Bhana

078 246 6549/+266 58796352   031- 260 1169

khaum@webmail.co.za   bhanad1@ukzn.ac.za

Resources

Tape recorder, cassettes, batteries, pens, paper, table and chairs, (extra cassettes, batteries and stationery)

Preparation

At the respondent's home arrange to have a table and two chairs for interview purposes, in a room where there will be little or no disturbances. Test the tape recorder before commencing with the interviews

Recorded interview conversation guide

Welcome the respondent and tell her that you would like to talk to her about her experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. Tell the interviewee that she will get a copy of the interview report. Ask for her permission to tape record the conversation. If she does not agree, have a pen and some paper ready to record the conversation as you talk.

If she agrees, turn the recorder on and say:

I am_____, I am talking to _____who is a woman teacher at _____ in Lesotho. It is _____ [day, date and time]. Our interview will hopefully last for one hour.

Ask the following question: **Could you please tell me your experiences of teaching sexuality education in a rural school**

Use the following themes and expand on them to explain as necessary, using your own experiences of teaching sexuality education in a rural school. Probe the responses in order to understand the experiences of the teacher and the meaning she makes of them.

Themes for guiding memory retrieval
- Sections that are easier/difficult to teach
- How she does the teaching

- Excitements, anxieties and tensions when doing the teaching (feelings and emotions)
- Children's reactions to the teaching
- Reactions of the school community (Principal, other teachers, parents)

Appendix L   **Drawings of the 'woman' and 'teacher' self**

Being a teacher I am salt of the
I am used to spice everything and
I am used by the whole community +
parents, children and government. To me,
shows that a teacher is somebody that is
nothing can happen and be fine without a tea
relation to sexuality, teachers are regarded as people not
pupils will life Skills, how to take care of themsel
having sex, have save sex.

Drawing 2 (*Setsoantso sa bobeli*)

HE

Explanation (*Tlhaloso*)

I view a teacher like a vul[ture]
Vulture is a very briliant [
It usually teaches its young
how to fly so that they can
able to get food for themse[lves]
Similarly, the teacher use di[fferent]
methods to provide student[s]
apporopriate life skills so that th[ey]
be able to fit normally in the[ir]

Drawing 2 (*Setsoantso sa bobeli*) Societies.

CELEB SNOGS

CUDDLE
No sign of a fight from Danny K and Lee-Ann Liebenberg. Sigh...

TONGUE
Jacques Terrebl and girlfriend C Slee got steamy

LIP-LOCK
Kuli Roberts and her new man, Coleman, are still smitten with each other

EXCLUSIVE

Pah Melda
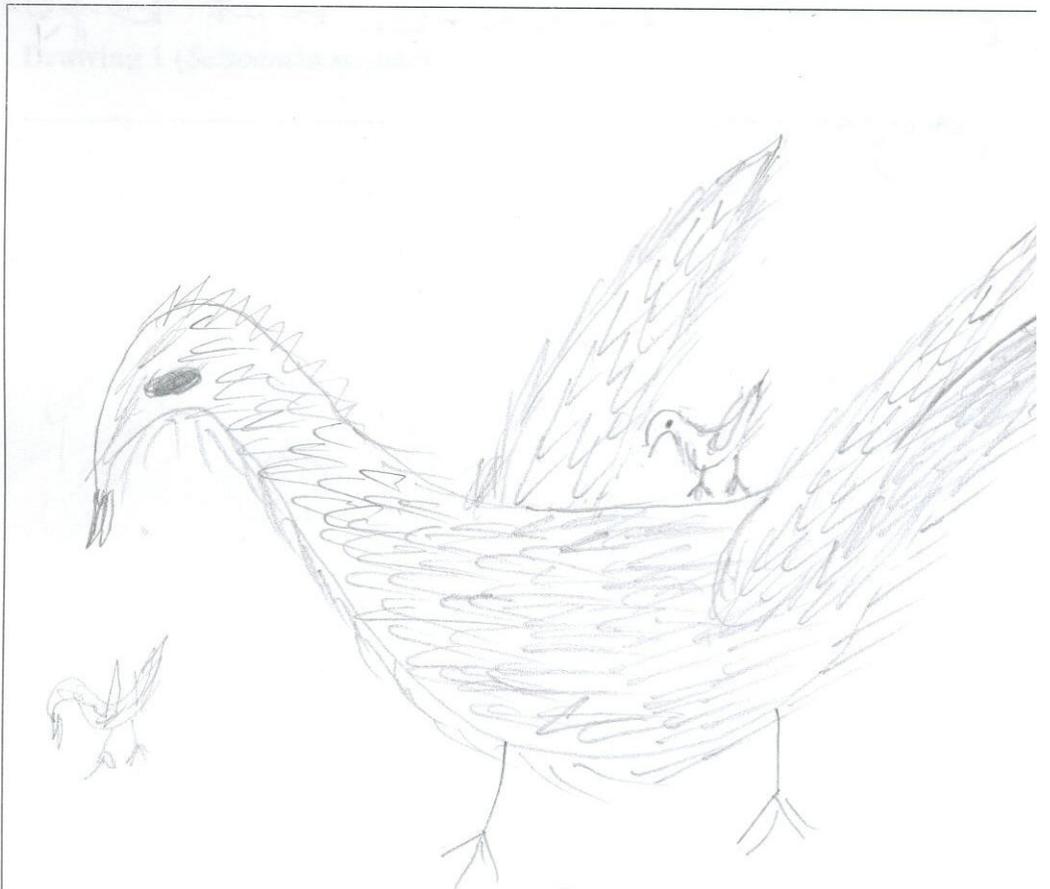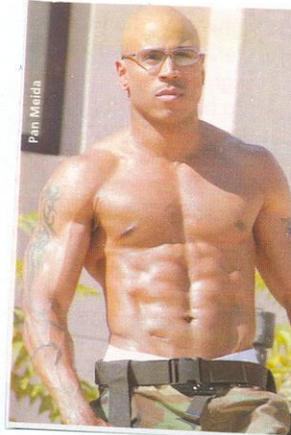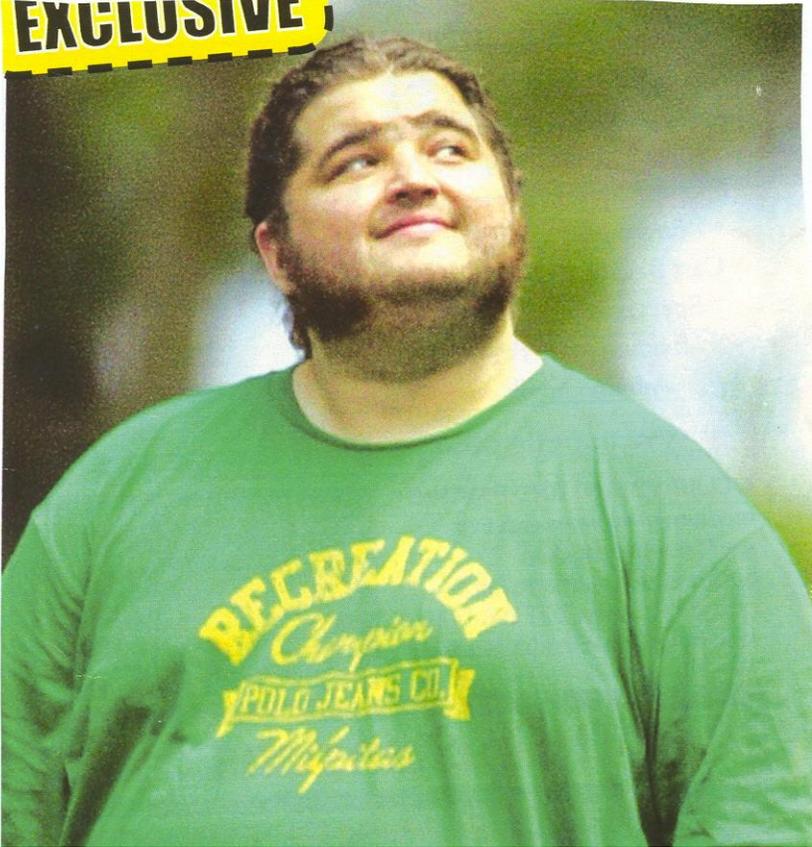
Meet RACHEL's
New Toy Boy

Forget your personal trainer. And while you're at it, you might want to ditch the treadmill. According to Kerry McCloskey, author of *The Ultimate Sex Diet* (Berkley Publishing Group; R138,56 on Kalahari.net), your man might be the only fitness resource you'll ever need.

Her philosophy is simple: more passion burns more calories. You and your guy can step up your fitness regimes simply by increasing the frequency and intensity of your lovemaking. We don't know about you, but that's a plan that we think we can stick to! Here are seven positions for workouts that are as pulse-pounding as they are pleasurable:

LOSING WEIGHT NEVER FELT SO GOOD!

"Armed with this new knowledge, I continued my secret diet...Amazingly I lost a total of 23 pounds..."

I Loved

THE ULTIMATE Sex DIET

THE SECRET SCIENTIFIC FORMULA FOR A SLIMMER, HEALTHIER, MORE PASSIONATE LIFE

KERRY McCLOSKEY
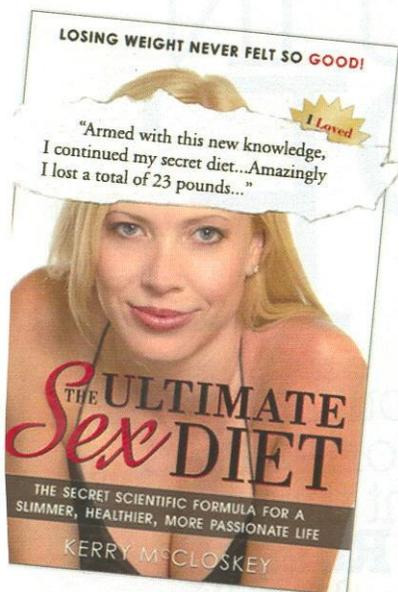
1. Crouching Tiger, Aroused Dragon

Both partners will quickly realise why the Crouching Tiger has great pleasure and orgasm potential. In this position, the woman does a sexy squat above the man… This is the perfect chance for her to use her PC muscles to "catch" his member and clench him tight. The woman can then support herself by putting her hands anywhere on his body for support and then move herself up and down. It also allows the woman to have better control

up and down motion may create different sensations than the regular woman-on-top position in which she is lying down in a straddle, moving back and forth. Of course, she will be in better control of her orgasm. If she allows a deep penetration, she can stimulate her G-spot more often.

More shallow penetration will touch the edge of the vaginal opening, which is still a pleasurable sensation. Additionally, if the woman leans back, her clitoris can be stimulated. In terms of muscle tone, this position will work her inner thigh and calf muscles. Meanwhile, to get a better view, the man should lift his head and contract his stomach muscles.

Maintaining this position as long as possible will give his abdomen a hard workout. He should feel the tension and clench tighter as it starts to burn. He can even reach forward and caress his partner's body and add to everyone's pleasure.

2. Down Doggy! Good Doggy!

This erotic, animalistic position is very similar to the usual doggy style, with a few slight changes. After the man enters from behind, as in the regular doggy position, the woman leans down and supports her weight on her elbows, rather than staying on all fours, while the man lifts one bent leg forward, rather than kneeling on both knees.

This is highly erotic for the woman because it places direct pressure on her G-spot, which is on the anterior (tummy side) vaginal wall, intensifying her climax. The woman can also manoeuvre the penetration by slightly arching her back or raising herself a bit. Meanwhile, the man will feel extraordinary sensations in his private parts.

This position is also appealing for the change of pace involved in not always having to look at each other's face. The woman will feel the tension in her triceps while making love in this position and the man will work his thighs when his leg stays raised. He should switch legs halfway through to hit the G-spot from a different angle.

3. Humpty Bumpty

In this position, the man is sitting up while the woman is sitting on him with her legs raised in the air in a straddle. She holds onto his neck with her hands while he manoeuvres her back and forth. This will

legs from the support he is providin his partner.

4. Wheelbarrow Of Fun

The woman lies on her stomach o with her legs slightly open and her slightly off the edge. The man stan her at the end of her bed and lifts h up toward him, until he is able to e from behind.

The woman then bends her legs wraps them around him, locking h together at the ankles, while the m her with his hands and rests her on thighs. This will tone the triceps ar back. You can also try this on the f you're really talented, you can try around the room while in this pos

5. Fatal Attracting

This position is reminiscent of the in the movie *Fatal Attraction*, when Close is sitting on the counter whi Michael Douglas are engaged in w Doing it spread-eagle on the table your man faces you to thrust from creates mega heat in a minimal am of time.

"He's sure to come quickly beca plunges deep," says Anne Hooper of *The Great Sex Guide* (Dorling Ki R90 on Kalahari.net). "Plus, men g the novelty of doing it somewher them, (since) out of the bedroom no-holds-barred.

6. Let's Get Crazy

This position is a great workout f woman's stomach and buttocks. lying on her back, the woman ext legs straight in the air, slightly spr her rear lifted off the ground. The bends down in a slight squat to e working his quads, and when usi arms for support, he works his tri

7. T-Rific!

The woman lies on her side, whi man kneels and straddles her bot perpendicularly (ie., at a right ang forming a terrific "T") and then en Her top leg remains extended up gently supported by the man. W correctly, this can be a great posit deep penetration, while exposing clitoris for manual stimulation. T

Appendix N   **Life Skills Education** (2007, p. 49)

Scope and sequence chart for Sexual and Reproductive Health- Primary School

Standard 4	**Standard 5**	**Standard 6**	**Standard 7**
Knowing sexual parts of one's body	Sexual abuse within the community	Changes during adolescence	Premarital sexual relationships
Caring for one's body	Reporting sexual abuse	Myths and misconceptions about changes during adolescence	
Protecting one against situations that may lead to sexual abuse			

Scope and sequence chart for Sexual and Reproductive Health- Secondary School

Form A	**Form B**	**Form C**
Importance of abstinence during adolescence	Teenage pregnancy	Support services available to victims of sexual abuse and teenage pregnancy

Population and Family Life Education (2004, pp. 30- 39)

Sexual Reproduction, Health, HIV and AIDS

Theme	Sub-theme	Knowledge and understanding
1. **Reproductive health**	Human anatomy	- Define reproductive health - Name the reproductive parts of males and females - Describe the functions of reproductive parts - Describe the process of conception
	Adolescence and puberty	Describe physical, emotional and psychological changes at puberty and adolescence
	Early and delayed child bearing	- State the acceptable age of childbearing for male and females - Describe the prevalence of early child bearing in different communities
2. **Reproductive tract infections, STI's, HIV and AIDS**	Reproductive tract infections	- Define RTI's - Mention RTI's and STI's
	Common types of STI's in Lesotho	- Describe common types of STI's in males and females in Lesotho - Describe causes, signs and symptoms, treatment and prevention of STI's
	HIV and AIDS in Lesotho, regional, and global perspective	Differentiate between HIV and AIDS

		• State modes of HIV and AIDS transmission • Describe the status of HIV and AIDS in Lesotho, regionally and globally • Describe multiple infection in HIV and AIDS • Describe home-based care and support of HIV and AIDS infected and affected persons
3. Family planning	Methods of family planning- male and female	• Describe traditional, natural and modern methods of family planning
	Male and female participation	• Explain the importance and ways in which males and females can participate in family planning
	Reproductive and sexual rights	• Define human reproductive rights and sexual rights including people with special needs • Identify sexual and reproductive rights for both males and females

Appendix P   **EDITOR'S COMMENTS**

Comments on the piece:

General

1. I really enjoyed reading this piece and it was nice getting back to some research on sexuality and gender. I really think your methodology and literature analysis was thorough and reached appropriate depths of analysis I rarely see in papers. My only concern, and it is minor, is that in the sections where you received feedback from your participants... I would have liked to have seen more analysis from you on their responses and discussions... I know you did analyze at the end of each section, but I felt like there could have been a bit more analysis of their reactions and feelings towards their drawings and photo's under each of their responses. But then, having said that, I did not feel like you failed to pick up on any major indicators or directions of thought, so I might only want more in those areas because I enjoyed reading it so much.

2. Biological sex is determined by the male, so I'm curious as to how women and the community would respond to realising that?

3. Age-Mates is a bit unclear... It doesn't give me a clear indication of the ages of the students or the teachers in each situation... and it also sounds funny in my head, which means, as a reader... we get stuck on it and it breaks the flow of the reading. I think you should give an indication as to what ages Age-mates include in each instance.

4. It seems you made a conscious decision to refer to the women in your study as WOMEN, but then you would often refer to men as "males". In some ways, the reader then understands all the gendered implications and positioning of "women" but when "male" creeps up it depersonalises and objectifies them. It is difficult to other and in othering, to create a sense of identity for your participants, when you do not create the other to compare against. For consistency reasons... and because it indicates a judgement on your part... I think you should explain why you choose to use women throughout

instead of "female". Part of this, as well, is to indicate why you would use "male" instead of men.

5. Be careful not to repeat your title phrases to many times. "Women teachers teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS" is a mouthful and it makes the reader trip over the phrase each time they see it. Also, in terms of writing strength... repeating phrases too many times can sometimes make a reader loose interest because they feel as if you have nothing new to say, and it makes them feel as if they have already read the information you're trying to share so they begin to pay less attention. In many cases, I reworded or removed that phrase, so you will have an indication of how to do it in future if you get stuck behind a long sentence. Also, try avoiding titles in future that repeat words like "teachers teaching".

6. One language concern I did have, and you will notice where I have said it in the piece... was the use of phrases and words such as "unruly", "innocent", "pure". The use of unruly especially, seems to indicate that you believe a woman's body is uncontrollable, rebellious and generally needs to be disciplined. In a way, the message you are sending with that one word, is that women's sexuality is negative when it is not constrained and controlled... and I am not sure if that's what you were trying to communicate. A similiar point then is, the use of "innocent" and "pure" indicate that sexuality -a healthy sexuality-, do not include expressions of innocence and purity. The churches understanding of innocent and pure might not include sexuality, but mine certainly does... and I was a little unsure if you were saying that the perception of language and purity need to change to include sexuality, or that sexuality is what happens when innocence and purity are lost.

Be especially careful of quick, loaded phrases that trip off the tongue easily when you write, especially when phrases have double meanings. In one instance where you talk of the students having sex in the class room... you mention later that the girl was taken advantage of and "taken for a ride". The first image to pop into my head was the sexual position they were in, which made my first association humorous instead of the concern you were trying to create. Another example was "climax of the marriage" when you were

referring to the divorce, but it immediately reminded me of the sexual issues you discussed at length earlier. Generally, if you are talking about sex, try stay away from alternative meanings of certain phrases like "climax" unless you are deliberately trying to be humorous or ironic.

Style

1. Your writing shows two very distinct styles... the first is your narrative voice which carried the tone of the voice I remembered. In this style, you need to be careful not to use too many descriptive phrases that are over used in writing today... things like "slaying dragons", "pick up and dust off"... your writing style is naturally strong and you speak with confidence and authority... phrases like that only serve to remind me of the other people who have said the same thing. If you want to develop a creative style, use new phrases that you have worked out for yourself... it will make you unique and make you stand out as a writer. It will also make other writers want to quote you more in their own work.

2. Your second style, your academic voice, is strong, eloquent and thoughtful but sometimes it pulled away from the comfortable tone you were creating, by getting lost in the academic jargon. Although this is a PhD paper, so jargon is a necessity, be careful not to jump too much from a relaxed, personal tone of your one style, to the strong, high-intellectual tone of the academic style. It might confuse the reader. You did well to use both styles in your PhD, it really gave character your piece. It is possible, however, to write an entire paper without the comfort academic jargon brings. Writers such as bell hooks, regularly argue against the use of heavily loaded jargon. The choice is yours though... your writing was one of the few times I had seen a comfortable and authoritative understanding of the jargon you were using, so it definitely doesn't detract from your voice.

3. There are a few consistent errors in your language usage. For example, you repeatedly say "make to become", "make to contribute to". It automatically turns your phrases into passive sentences, which makes them longer, but also moves the point of the sentence to

the wrong place in the sentence structure. Don't use "make to contribute to"... instead use "contribute to". The reason I mention this one specifically, is because during your translations I saw the same grammatical error in every single one of the participants' responses. In publishing academic papers, seeing that kind of consistent error come through, in what should be untouched extracts from your participants language, throws doubt onto the writer themselves. It makes it appear as if you have invented the participants' responses. It is also one of the ways we identify plagiarism. In your case though, it concerns me mostly because it creates passive sentences where there should be none and it weakens some of the really powerful sections in your article.

4. Stay away from the use of the word "very". It cropped up a lot in your work and Its one of those words which creates exaggeration and redundancy, neither of which you want to be known for.

I think that was about it.

As I have said before, this is a strong piece and I think you have done well in your research. I wish you all the best in future and hope you look to publish this PhD once its back from the examiners. If you do, let me know, I might be able to help with that.

All the best of luck!
CHRISTINE

Preface When we embark on a research journey we take a lot with us. And even if we think we can "pack lightly" and leave a substantial part of ourselves behind at home or at the office- our biases, social location, hunches, and so on- we cannot. What we can do, however, is know the contents of the baggage we carry and how it is likely to accompany us on the research journey from beginning to end (Cole & Knowles, 2001, p. 49) The journey to my present interest in sexuality and sexuality education began in Quthing where I was born. My father was a prison officer and my mother was a housewife. As a young girl from a poor family I was always in awe of the beautiful dresses that the other girls would wear and how pretty they looked. When we were playing in the village square, I was always aware that the boys wanted to chase only the pretty girls in beautiful dresses. I wanted to be chased by boys too but I did not have beautiful dresses and hence did not look pretty. When I was eight years old, my curiosity was always aroused by one particular game that we played in the evenings called boleke[1] which is a version of hide-and-seek. The older boys and girls would go hiding together and never come out. I would ask why it was difficult to find them and I was told that when the older boys and girls went hiding together it meant that they were going to do ntho-tse-mpe (bad things)[2]. Did they tell me what 'bad things' was? No. I asked my older brother who told me that if my mother heard me asking such a question I would be in big trouble. If the big boys and girls were doing 'bad things', then I wanted to do 'bad things' too. It could not be that bad if they were doing it everyday in the evenings. One evening I ran after a couple that went hiding in a maize field. I had no idea what to expect, but I was curious. They did not know that I was hiding just a few feet away from them. The girl just pulled up her dress and removed her panties. The boy climbed on top of her and started moving up and down. "So this is what 'bad things' is!" I said to myself. It did look bad as I looked on and I told myself that maybe it was not so bad for older girls and boys. One of my peers had told me that even mothers and fathers do 'bad things'. I could not believe this because the only thing I saw happening in our house was my father beating my mother almost every time when he came home in the evening drunk from the village. I remember asking myself if my parents ever had time to do 'bad things' if they

were always fighting. I remember thinking that maybe my mother did not know how to do 'bad things' that was why my father was always beating her. My mother finally had the strength to leave my father, though they never divorced, and found a job in Maseru as a domestic worker. Thus my high school was done in a prestigious school in Maseru where children from well to do families attended. I was in this school because I had performed well in my primary school studies. In those days the school fees for the whole year of high school studies was ZAR100.00 (about US$10[3]). I was always sent out of class for non payment of school fees as my mother could not afford them on her domestic worker's salary. Sometimes my teachers would contribute to pay my fees because they appreciated my good performance. I did not have the fancy gadgets and clothes that the other girls had in my class. I could not fit in with the other girls because I could not talk about the latest television craze because we did not have a television set at home. I could not sing with them the latest hit songs on radio because our small radio was always out of batteries. 3**I did not have** a

boyfriend **because I** was **not** popular. The only thing I could do was be my best in class. I always topped my class in every subject. This brought me the reputation of the 'ice queen' which became one of my names. I supposedly did not have the same feelings and fantasies that other girls my age had. They were wrong, however, because I had also wanted to be popular and be chased around by boys, only I could not attract their attention because I did not have the right clothes or the right attitude. I had a lot of questions about being attractive to boys and the games that boys and girls played. At this point I knew something about sex from my biology teacher; however the kind of questions I wanted to ask were not allowed in class. I will never forget the day when: I was in a biology laboratory, in my first year of high school. I needed to use the toilet, but my teacher refused. There I was standing next to the table with my legs tightly crossed to stop any accidental flow of urine. Then I felt this strange tingling feeling between my legs. I pressed harder, afraid that the urine would come out. I felt my heartbeat increasing, the tingling feeling between my legs intensified and I got this warm pleasant sensation at the pit of my stomach. I felt as if I had exploded. I uncrossed my legs ready to see urine flowing to the floor, but there was nothing. I felt guilty as if I had done something wrong; yet I felt nice and warm inside. I had this nagging feeling that what I had experienced was wrong and that it should not have happened in the classroom. But if it was wrong, then why did it feel so wonderful? I remember asking myself why I felt so guilty, and what had really happened to me. I needed to ask someone about it but I felt ashamed to say anything to anybody. How would I explain it? I just ran out of the laboratory to the toilet without the teacher's permission. I never got the chance to ask anybody about it. Nonetheless, my curiosity was highly aroused. I needed to know what the feeling I had gotten meant and how I could get it again. I remember that the same day when I got home, I rushed to the bedroom and closed the door. I stood next to a bed and crossed my legs again, the same way I had done in class. The same tingling feeling emerged. I crossed my legs tighter and the feeling intensified and exploded in me. I just stood there amazed! What was happening to me? I looked myself in the mirror and I could see my rapid heartbeat at the base of my throat. I felt really good about myself. The one thing I told myself was from then on, nobody should ever see me doing "that", whatever it was. Though it felt so wonderful, I could not get rid of the shame I felt afterwards. From that day onwards, I managed to find some 'alone time' when I would do this "thing" which I had no name for, or explanation of. By the time I was in my third year of high school, I had

350

improved my technique and I could do it lying down, beneath the cover of my blankets. This has always been my best kept secret. I never told even my best friend because I did not know what to say and also I did not want to lose her respect for me and our friendship because of something I could not explain (Motalingoane- Khau, 2007). I am not sure why I felt so much shame when I did my "thing". All I know is that I grew up in a context where everything to do with the genitals was regarded as shameful and hence I appropriated this status to what happened to me. I have never been able to ask my mother about this experience and she has never heard of it. If I had asked her, she would have assumed that I was already sexually active with boys and that would have warranted a severe beating. My curiosity, however, led me to start reading romance novels, especially the Mills and Boon series. I read about a lot of issues pertaining to sexuality and physical attraction and arousal. I wanted so much to try out my new knowledge, but because I had no boyfriend or a girlfriend that I trusted enough to talk to about sex I had to practice everything I learnt on myself. I learnt how to touch myself and knew where it felt good to touch. I developed a wonderful relationship with my body and I loved touching myself everywhere in a bid to discover which parts of my body were sensitive. Towards the end of my high school I got tired of being labelled as the ice queen. I was tired of not being able to talk to other girls about boyfriends and how it felt when having sex. I decided that it was time to lose my virginity. This is what happened: One day, after our last Form 5 examination paper was done, I phoned the rich boy with whom I had danced on 'farewell' night. I asked him to go out for a movie with me the following Saturday. After the movie he drove me home. I then gathered enough courage while in the car to tell him my plan: that I wanted to lose my virginity and I needed his help. I was tired of being the only virgin in class. You should have seen his face. He became purple! He asked me if I heard properly what I had said to him and whether I was drunk. I told him I was sober and I had though about what I asked him to do. "Why me?" he asked. I told him that I thought he would do a 'good job' of it. I remember the relief on his face as he started laughing. He told me that I should wait for one month and if I still felt the same way then he would do it. A month went by quickly and he was the first to call me. He asked if I still wanted to go ahead with my plan, and I told him "Yes". He then told me that we had to find a place to do it. He volunteered to pay for a motel room. We agreed on a date and time. When the day approached I felt anxious and scared of what I had put myself into. The day arrived, a Saturday morning in early December 1988. As I was getting ready to leave my home, the radio was playing Betty Wright's "Tonight is the night" (that you made me your woman, you said you'd be gentle with me and I hope you will. I'm nervous and I'm trembling waiting for you to walk in, I'm trying hard to relax, but I just can't keep still). I sang along with the song in my sixteen year old voice and my excitement was getting the better of me. I remember my brother asking me why I was so excited and I told him we were having lunch at a girlfriend's house. I arrived at our rendezvous and I found him waiting for me, immaculately dressed. I nervously greeted him and we walked to our room. When we got there, he started undressing and told me to do the same. He wanted us to be over with it before we both could change our minds. As we lay naked beneath the sheets he asked me if I was using any birth control, and I was not using any. He asked what I would do if I got pregnant and I just told him that I would not get pregnant. I do not know why I believed that I would not get pregnant. I just wanted to lose my virginity. I would worry about being pregnant afterwards. I started kissing him and he responded. We touched each other and got ourselves in the mood. When we finally did the thing, I asked myself "Where is the pain they usually talk about?" At that moment I did not care about the pain, I was having fun. When it was over, he hugged me and thanked me for giving my virginity to him.

351

When we left the motel I felt triumphant. I was no longer a young girl. I was a woman (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007). Because I did not know what to expect from having sex ,except the pain my friends had talked about, I can not say whether my sexual debut was a good encounter or not. I only knew that I wanted to get rid of my virginity and I felt good knowing that I had done so. I had my first 'real' boyfriend when I was doing first year Bachelor of Science Education at the National University of Lesotho. I had never really had any lover except the time when I lost my virginity. This was the real thing. I fell so hard in love that my world revolved around his feet. I worshipped the ground he walked on. He must have been special because he broke the mettle of the 'ice queen'. Everything I learnt about sex and romance I learnt with him. I thought my curiosity around issues of sex and sexuality would stop. However, with everyday came new questions. I was always asking myself "is this the best that it can be?" I had no point of comparison except what I read in the novels about orgasms. In my curiosity I bought some help- yourself books on sex and read more about the pleasures of a good sexual relationship. Four years later I graduated as a Biology and Chemistry teacher. I married this love of mine and we had a baby girl. Then my sexual world fell upside down. We just did not connect anymore. He started sleeping out, drinking more and becoming violent. If I tried to initiate sex I was told that there are other men outside who are looking for women like me who had no shame. I felt cheap and sad. Instead of the loving man I had married, I was now staying with a rapist who could only have sex with me if he was raping me. He would make sure that he passed abusive comments and then if I responded he would beat me up and force himself sexually on me. I blamed myself for the change in our sexual life. I thought that I had done something that had upset him. I even thought that maybe childbirth had affected my vaginal muscles and hence my ability to pleasure him, or that the Caesarean birth scar made me unattractive. I was ashamed to talk to my mother about the sexual stress in my marriage especially because I did not know what had gone wrong. I bought more books to read up on sex and how to make it more exciting. However these caused more problems in my marriage as I was told that they must have been bought for me by my lovers and we had a big fight over the books. The culmination of these problems occurred when: [4]One day in April 1997, I had a fight with my husband and I decided to spend the night at my mother's house. The following morning when I got to my house, my husband refused to let me in. I could sense that there was something wrong. When he finally decided to let me in, he forced me to have sex with him right there and then in the lounge. I told him that I was not ready but he pretended not to hear me. He managed to penetrate me and continue with the sexual act as I lay there like a corpse, mortified by what was happening to me. When he was through, I wanted to go to the bathroom to clean myself of the act. He tried to stop me but I managed to pass him. That is when I saw her, another woman lying on my bed with nothing on. I could not believe my eyes. I knew her. I became nauseous, my vision got blurred and my knees could not hold me. I had to hold on to the door to steady myself. The bedroom smelled like a cheap motel room with stale cigarette smoke and empty beer bottles all over. I felt so dirty and cheap. I wished I could disappear or erase what had just happened to me in the lounge. Why did he force me to have sex with him while he had obviously spent the whole night with this other woman? He could not tell me why he had done what he did, and at that moment I knew that my marriage was over. I started wondering whether he had used condoms with her because he never used them with me. I asked myself why I had never had the courage to demand that he use condoms. Was I HIV positive? Am I going to die and leave my daughter? All these questions were running through my mind as I left my house for good, with uncontrollable tears streaming down my face (Motalingoane-Khau, 2006). I filed for

divorce and I was granted sole custody of my daughter[5]. I had to get to terms with the blame I had always laid on myself for the sexual abuse I endured in my marriage. What hurt me most was the fact that he had been the only man I had known sexually (except, of course, the one I gave my virginity to) and loved. I eventually realised during professional counselling that I was not to blame. However, I could not relate well with men anywhere. I hated every man for what my ex-husband had done to me. Even my male colleagues and male students had problems working with me. My interest in sex education was sparked even more as I taught biology to high school boys and girls and I could see myself in their questioning faces. I realised that they could also have, just as I had felt as a child, a lot of unanswered questions about their own sexuality. When I raised my thoughts with some of the women teachers I worked with, I realised that they felt the same way and had many questions themselves. The knowledge I had gained from my self-help books was useful in helping answer some of the questions that the women teachers had. I began to realise the dangers of growing up in a culture of sexual silence as we discussed some issues that could have helped some of the women teachers avoid dangerous situations, but which they had never known about. I began holding regular Friday afternoon sessions with my women colleagues to discuss issues of our sexuality, and sometimes the male members of staff would join in the discussions. These sessions were interesting as the men and women would talk about their sexual anxieties and shared experiences of good and bad sexual encounters. This made me realise that the students also needed some kind of forum in which to get their worries and questions addressed. I started an AIDS club in which senior students, as peer educators, would assist junior students with their questions and I would help out as necessary. Reports that I received from the peer educators confirmed my suspicions that the students did have many myths and misconception regarding their sexuality which they got from the media and their peers. They also confirmed that students needed more correct information to help them make informed choices about their sexual lives. My quest to try and make things better for my students, by becoming a better teacher, started with this yearning for sexuality education which is sex-positive, norm-critical and inclusive of all sexual identities and preferences. I thus decided to further my studies and get more information on how I could effectively facilitate the teaching of sexuality education in my classrooms. My journey into researching sexuality education started with a Masters in Education project titled: 2**Understanding adolescent sexuality in the memories of four female Basotho teachers: An auto/biographical study** (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b), in which I explored the memories of adolescent sexual experiences of four female teachers. These teachers also reflected on how these experiences had shaped the kind of sexuality education teachers they are today. The journey continues and thus the current project. Now that I have revealed and acknowledged the contents of my baggage (see Cole & Knowles, 2001), the hunches and biases that might accompany me through this research journey, I want you to come along and join me as I delve into how women teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools 1**in the age of HIV and AIDS in Lesotho.** Come along, you are invited... ---------------------- [1]This is a game for children, which was played mostly in the evenings. The other children all go hiding and one of them would search for the others

who are hiding in different places. Each time a person was found, her name was called out and then the searcher had to step on a tin can, which was used as the central point for the game, to show that the found person does not deserve to hide anymore. However if the person whose name had been called out could run faster that the searcher and reach the tin can before, then she could kick the tin can out of the centre and then go hide again. [2]When I was growing up, children were taught that sex was 'bad things'. This name is still used even today to denote having sex. This is the context in which it is used in this thesis. [3] This is at an exchange rate of ZAR9.82 to US$1 (February 24, 2009). [4]This story appears in a published article: Motalingoane-Khau, M. (2006). "Should I celebrate Nairobi +21?" 1**Being a woman in the age of HIV and AIDS in Lesotho. Agenda, 69,** pp. 111- 118. [5]My ex-husband always doubted the paternity of our child and thus I refer to her as my daughter alone, thus the emphasis.

Part One Contextualising the journey In this first part I introduce the focus, purpose and rationale of the study and the key questions that drove the planning of this journey into the gendered experiences of women teachers teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. I also provide a glimpse of the history of sexuality education in Lesotho to highlight the common paths that have been taken in the past. This part is rounded off with an exploration of the literature to show who else has taken the journey into sexuality, HIV and AIDS in education. This is done to ensure that this study is designed to fill the knowledge gaps not addresses in other studies. CHAPTER 1 The Journey begins 1.1 Introduction AIDS has been recognised worldwide as a disease negatively skewed against young people. Young adults of ages 15- **3 25 account for** more than **half of new HIV infections,** with about 6,000 of them getting infected daily (UNAIDS, 2008). According to the UNAIDS report, the country with the third-highest HIV prevalence rate in the world is Lesotho with young adults being the worst affected group. Within the age group of 15 – 25, 14.1% of young Basotho women are infected compared to 5.9% of young men. In Lesotho, as in many other countries, HIV is spread mainly through heterosexual sexual activity, and this puts women increasingly at risk of infection in the context of gender inequality (Family Health International, 2002; Harrison, 2005; Patton, 1990; Peltzer & Promtussananon, 2003; Whiteside & Sunter, 2000). Unequal power dynamics that are embedded in the patriarchal gender order in Basotho society restrain women's ability to adopt preventative behaviours against infections, leading to women's vulnerability to STI's and HIV. According to Patton (1990) women and girls in rural areas do not have the social and economic power to decide on sexual matters. They do not have any equality in sexual partnerships and hence are unable to challenge unsafe sexual practices (cf. Long, 2009b). Basotho women also face the same challenges (Motalingoane-Khau, 2006, 2007a), even though there are few gendered qualitative studies undertaken on sexuality and HIV infection in Lesotho. Of intervention work in relation to STI's and HIV infection, sexuality education is considered one of the most effective and efficient means to curb

transmission among young people (Chege, 2006; Kimmel, 2004, Malcolm, 2002; UNAIDS, 2003). Schools all over the world have a role to shape the opinions, attitudes and behaviour of young people. Because schools can reach many young people with information, **basic school education can have a powerful effect** on the prevention of HIV and AIDS. However, the epidemic itself is hindering **efforts to educate young people in developing countries** because **pupils and teachers are taking time off to care for** sick **family members and** are themselves **dying as a result of AIDS** (Chege, 2006; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Pattman & Chege, 2003). Making informed sexuality choices requires young Basotho students to have sexuality education lessons which will equip them with the necessary skills. The effectiveness of comprehensive sexuality, HIV and AIDS education prevention programs has recently emerged (Bruess & Greenberg, 2004; Hargreaves et al, 2008; James et al, 2006). In Lesotho it becomes that much more important to focus on sexuality, HIV and AIDS education in rural schools because rural areas are economically deprived and more often than not are geographically inaccessible. This makes them ideal locations for the rapid spread of the AIDS pandemic as awareness messages and information take longer to reach them and to take root. It is also more difficult for rural populations to access education as well as medical assistance in cases of illness and infections. The gender relations that characterise rural communities also prove to be a challenge in moving from gendered stereotypes to more equitable practices. Understanding the gender relations characteristic of rural schools and communities can help in the exploration of how these relations can be transformed so that teachers can be in a position to effectively facilitate sexuality education. In order for the teachers to be able to address issues of HIV and sexuality in their classrooms, they have to be in touch with their own sexuality and their own lived realities in relation to HIV and AIDS. They also need to be knowledgeable on HIV and AIDS. By virtue of being women, women teachers are expected by schools and communities to be carers and nurturers even in the school setting. This places women teachers at the vanguard of the pandemic regarding the assistance and care of children and colleagues who are affected or infected by HIV. I am however not denying that male teachers also have the potential to care for the infected and affected (see Bhana et al, 2006; Morrell et al, 2009). This study, however, focuses only on women teachers in rural schools and how they experience the teaching of sexuality education (SE) in relation to their 'woman' and 'teacher' selves. Exploring women teachers' understandings of sexuality education and their experiences of teaching sexuality education can help us understand what drives their handling of sexuality education and HIV and AIDS education. This is affirmed by Baxen and Breidlid (2004) and Baxen (2006) who argue for the acknowledgement and exploration of teachers' lives and experiences as important drivers in the teaching of sexuality, HIV and AIDS education. 1.2 Purpose and rationale of the study There are five considerations driving the rationale and motivation of this study. They relate to contextual, policy, academic, personal, and theoretical issues. Firstly, Lesotho has a very high rate of HIV infections especially among the age group 15- 25 years, most of them still in schools with a majority being girls and young women. It was reported that in 2000, 25% of Lesotho's workforce died of AIDS related deaths (USAID, 2005). For a developing country, this becomes a problem

because Lesotho's development depends on a healthy and educated workforce. In a bid to reduce new HIV infections among the youth, the government of Lesotho in 2004 introduced sexuality and HIV and AIDS education as cross- cutting issues to be infused or integrated into existing subject areas (International Bureau of Education, 2003) through the Population and Family Life Education (POPFLE) framework. This was done despite the fact that Kann et al (1995) had already argued that the integration approach had not met with any success. Their study at the Centre for Disease Control in America shows that the model of integration in schools may simply mean 'watering down', diffusion and occasionally confusion of the intended messages. Based on how a number a number of schools were addressing health issues, they concluded that there is a strong case against integration model. UNICEF (no date) thus encouraged member states to adopt the "carrier" or "separate subject" strategy of dealing with sexuality issues. They support the teaching the essential knowledge, attitudes and skills within one subject. In accordance with this argument, Life Skills Education (LSE) was introduced into the Lesotho National Curriculum in 2007 as a niche for sexuality education and HIV/AIDS education. With girls and young women being more vulnerable to HIV infection due to biological and socio-economic factors (Long, 2009b), it is important to find out how women teachers as carers and nurturers understand, approach and experience the teaching of sexuality education in a bid to stop further infections especially among their girl students. This study illuminates, in a way, the type of sexuality education that is happening in Lesotho schools, especially rural schools, and how and why women teachers within this context play out in the effectiveness of sexuality education. Secondly, the policy change from integration and infusion of sexuality education into existing subject areas, to Life Skills Education as a niche for sexuality education is a reflection of Lesotho's search for effective strategies for the facilitation of sexuality education for Basotho youth. Given that few studies have been undertaken since the call for infusion and integration (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b) and none since the introduction of Life Skills Education, there is need for a study that explores the understandings regarding sexuality education and how teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education in their classrooms. Ladson-Billings and Tate (2006) argue that education scholars must undertake research that speaks to the pressing issues related to education, and that education research must be in the public interest. Drawing on these arguments, this study addresses the understandings and practice of sexuality education as a public issue affecting Lesotho's national education. Thus, the study is timely and relevant to the current debate on the role of sexuality education in public education for the reduction of new HIV infections in society. The third consideration is academic, arising from the work that I carried out for my Masters degree on the adolescent sexual experiences of female Basotho teachers and how these influenced their handling of sexuality education and HIV/AIDS education in urban secondary schools (Motalingoane- Khau, 2007b). Suggestions from this study were that further research should explore: firstly, how women teachers teach about issues of sexuality; secondly, how the teaching of sexuality education is influenced by women teachers' lived experiences; and thirdly, how women teachers are themselves influenced through the experience of teaching sexuality education, most especially in rural schools. This study is constructed around these questions and issues. It was the debate surrounding who should teach sexuality education, how and when it should be taught and to whom that forced the government of Lesotho to opt for sexuality education as a subject to be infused and integrated into existing subject areas. Following the example of other Southern African countries, Lesotho introduced Life Skills Education, a standalone subject, as the niche for sexuality education and HIV/AIDS education, thus ensuring that there

will be teachers specifically assigned the teaching of the subject, other than in the past when every teacher was expected to teach about sexuality and none did (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b). This new standalone subject has the role of enhancing the knowledge and HIV/AIDS awareness among the youth by developing their coping skills in order for them "to confront issues of parental loss, recognising situations of risk and minimising high-risk behaviour that could lead to becoming infected with HIV" (UNICEF, 2007, p.3). This study thus extends the academic work on sexuality education and offers me the opportunity to partake in the national sexuality education curriculum debate. In addition, academic work in both local and international literature on sexuality education highlights the debate on what should be taught as sexuality education in schools. This debate is, however, on sexuality education as a stand-alone subject and not carried within another learning area, and how it is being taught, if at all, in schools (Epstein, 1997; Jones & Mahony, 1989; Measor, Tiffin, & Fry, 1996; Renold, 2005; Westwood & Mullan, 2007; Wolpe, 1988), and teachers' lives and experiences as key mediating factors in the teaching of sexuality and HIV/AIDS education (Baxen, 2006; Baxen & Breidlid, 2004). There is, therefore, a gap in the literature on the debate around teachers as curriculum developers within sexuality education classrooms, how they do the actual teaching and how they experience the teaching of sexuality education. This study serves as a platform for my participation in the global debate about sexuality education and to make a contribution to knowledge by addressing the gap in existing literature on sexuality education, significantly so from an African context. The fourth consideration relates to my personal experience as a woman teacher and novice teacher educator. As a young science education graduate, my first teaching job was in a rural school where I taught biology. I faced a lot of challenges addressing only the mechanics of sex as required by the biology syllabus. The taboo nature of sex made it difficult for me to freely discuss sex, reproduction and development with my students. When I was assigned to teach Guidance and Counselling in the same school, it became even more difficult for me to address issues of sexuality where I had to include the social aspect of sex. I am at the moment teaching a Bachelor of Education Honours group in Gender and Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I have to teach them about issues of gender, sexuality and HIV/AIDS and how to address them with their learners in schools. While most of this group are adults, it is still a challenge for me to talk freely to them about sex and sexuality. It is through reflecting on these experiences that I have come to ask myself how other women teachers actually teach about sexuality, how they understand and experience the teaching of sexuality education especially in rural schools. This study is a way of strengthening my professional competence as a woman teacher and novice teacher educator by advancing my knowledge and understanding of the cutting-edge debates on the theory and practice of sexuality education in the age of HIV and AIDS. The fifth consideration relates to the theoretical construction underpinning the curriculum of sexuality education. By exploring the understandings on sexuality education and how women teachers experience teaching it in rural schools, this study proposes a theoretical construction that should inform the policy and decisions regarding sexuality education appropriate for a developing country like Lesotho. Thus, it could be of benefit to both professional teachers, teacher educators and educational leaders; thereby helping in developing and improving the provision of sexuality education suitable for the educational needs of Lesotho. 1.3 Statement of broad problems and issues to be studied The debate on who should teach sexuality education, how and when it should be taught and to whom, has created a problematic situation in understanding the role of sexuality education in public education. By focusing on women teachers' understandings, practice and experiences of teaching sexuality education in

rural schools, this study seeks to partake in the current sexuality education debate on who should teach, how and what should be taught. Since its inception (sexuality education) in 2004 and the policy change in 2007, few studies have been undertaken (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b) to understand how and why sexuality education is being enacted at school level in Lesotho schools. Curriculum has been described as a hotly contested space and battleground for many competing influences and ideologies (Apple, 2004; Chisholm, 2005; Darling-Hammond, 1998; Kelly, 1999; Schwab, 1969). It has also been argued that what is taught in schools is a convergence of interests of diverse social actors who press their own agendas on the school depending on their value orientations (Christie, 1999; Cornbleth, 1990; Fullan, 1993; Glatthorn, Boschee, & Whitehead, 2006; Lawton, 1980; Marsh & Wills, 1995; Sutton & Levinson, 2001; Thomas, 1983). This study draws on these notions in order to understand how women teachers understand, practice and experience the teaching of sexuality education in relation to their social contexts and the contestation surrounding sexuality education in Lesotho's national curriculum. 1.4 Research focus The focus of the study is to explore how Basotho women teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools, and how and why these experiences influence their understanding and practice of sexuality education in the classroom. The women teachers are considered in their capacity as curriculum developers within their sexuality education classrooms. Specifically, the purpose of this study is to provide a thick description of the experiences of rural women teachers within sexuality education classrooms in the context of HIV and AIDS, the practice of sexuality education by women teachers in rural schools, and the underlying reasons for the choices women teachers make regarding their practice of sexuality education. According to Patton (2002), a thick description presents details of the context and emotions, including the social forces that join people to one another. He argues that a thick description brings out the important events and experiences that are meaningful and significant in people's lives. Thus, women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education and their influence on the practice of sexuality education within rural school classrooms are the unit of analysis for this study. 1.5 Objectives of the study By engaging in research into the teaching experiences of a few women teachers I hope to shed some light on the gender dynamics involved in women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in the age of HIV and AIDS in rural schools and how such experiences translate into practice in classrooms. I engage in dialogue with women teachers rather than just studying them as subjects. This is a move away from traditional forms of research which have denied women the voice to talk about their concerns and be constructors of meaning concerning their lived realities and how these can be transformed (Ezzy, 2002; Jayaratne, 1993; Mies, 1993; Roman & Apple, 1990). The study, therefore, seeks to achieve the following objectives: • To describe women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools • To discuss how rural women teachers position themselves and are positioned as 'women' and as 'teachers' within sexuality education classrooms • To analyse the understandings, assumptions and perceptions of women teachers regarding sexuality in education • To deconstruct and theorise the understandings, practice and experiences of teaching sexuality education in Lesotho's public education The key research question for the study is: • What are Basotho women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS? To facilitate a deep exploration of this question, a sub-set of interrelated key questions were asked: 1. How do women teachers position themselves and are positioned as 'women' and as 'teachers' within sexuality education classrooms? 2. How do women teachers understand and practice sexuality education? It is hoped that through these key questions, this study would create a new

body of information, make a contribution to knowledge by proposing a theoretical construction that should inform curriculum policy in sexuality education and propose recommendations about good practice in sexuality education. Despite the efforts by the Lesotho government through the curriculum, sexuality education is still closeted in schools and communities, and open sex talk is still taboo. The intention of this study therefore is to make a contribution to knowledge that may guide the re-designing and effective implementation of sexuality education in Lesotho schools through the Life Skills Education (LSE) curriculum, in order to reduce the confusion and contestation within sexuality education. In addition the study may be used for guidance in the development of future policies regarding sexuality, HIV and AIDS in education. This study encourages women teachers, schools, and the community to talk about sex in a manner that reduces further spread of HIV and AIDS among Basotho youth. The interaction between the participants in this study may help to expel some of the beliefs and values that have always informed the contestation surrounding sexuality education. In the same manner, male teachers and women teachers from other contexts may get inspired to relate stories of their own experiences of teaching about issues of sexuality and HIV through this study. My main hope is that through this study I will open up channels of communication so that different social actors within the Lesotho education system can start to talk constructively about sexuality and HIV in the education of Basotho children. This study also aims to add to feminist scholarship by understanding women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. My understanding of the phenomena within this study as a woman teacher, feminist researcher and a mother will help me work together with schools, parents and education officials so that we are better equipped to facilitate open sex talk between all social actors for the prevention of new HIV infections among Basotho youth. 1.6 The research setting According to Cole and Knowles (2001), there is an undeniable interconnectedness between our lives and our environments. There is a need for researchers, therefore, to have a deep understanding of the environments within which their participants' lives unfold. The context of one's life is an important point of reference against which we can understand people's lives and experiences. For these reasons, I describe the contexts where the lives and experiences of the women teachers unfolded. I present the country of Lesotho and the Basotho people as a Nation. I provide a picture of Lesotho in relation to the national gender situation, family, religion and school environments and how women teachers as sexuality education facilitators fit into the picture. 1.6.1 The country of Lesotho Lesotho is a constitutional monarchy headed by King Letsie III with the assistance of a prime minister. From the 2007 elections, the 18 government ministers comprise 6 women ministers while among the 5 deputy ministers 3 are women. The 33 member Senate has 12 women representatives. The ministries headed by women are the ministry of education, ministry of gender and youth affairs, ministry of health, ministry of local government, ministry of law and constitutional affairs, and the ministry of tourism. These women ministers lead in some key ministries that can, if handled properly, lead to the improved status and health of Basotho women and girls. The representation of women in government is a new initiative within the governance of Lesotho. However, women's representation in the country's governance does not necessarily translate the elected women ministers being able to push women's agenda (Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005). Studies show that the advancement of women's participation in governance has not made much progress in advancing women's issues to date (Gaskell & Taylor, 2003; Molyneux & Razavi, 2002). Despite this fact, Lesotho has a constitution that embraces non-discriminatory policies and has ratified several conventions to this tune. However, Lesotho operates within two legal systems namely

customary law and the modern legal system, and this creates a complexity for progress in driving women's agenda because under customary law women remain perpetual minors (Mapetla & Nkhasi-Tuane, 2003). 1.6.2 Lesotho in the global world This section presents how Lesotho relates to the global world and how its participation in global conversations has influenced policy formulation and practice within the education sector and the country as a whole. The United Nations (UN) marked the period 1975- 1985 as the decade for women of the world and in 1985 the Nairobi International Conference on women's issues followed. These periods marked a heightened international concern for the low status of women globally (Lephoto, 1995; Naidoo, 2002). The 1995 UN World Conference on Women and the resulting Beijing Platform for Action Statement, and the UN convention on children's rights in 1989, have all had a particular impact on the shaping of national and international development policies relating to girls and women. The Beijing Platform for Action (UN, 1995) includes strong statements about women's empowerment. Women's empowerment is seen as possible through attention to critical issues such as poverty, health, violence, armed conflict, education and training, and the girl child. The attention given to girls' education internationally through the CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action indicates the importance of girls' education in promoting gender equality in society as a whole. The rights of women and girls are inextricably intertwined. Educated girls grow up to be active and influential women who can shape future society. Additionally, empowered women are better equipped to protect the rights of their daughters and sons, especially in education, health, and safety arenas (Kirk, 2003). Additionally, the Dakar Framework for Action (resulting from the World Education Forum in Dakar in April 2000) has become more insistent about the need to take concrete steps to address the evident gender disparities in education. The six goals outlined in the Dakar Framework have become international Education for All (EFA) targets (UNESCO, 1990). International donors have increased financing, technical assistance and monitoring attention to these targets, to ensure that developing countries have the necessary resources to achieve them. In countries such as Lesotho where enrolment for girls is relatively high, the quality of education may be more of a concern. In this case, some of the important ways of encouraging girls not only to come to school, but also to stay in school and to achieve good results have been identified as gender-sensitive curricular, pedagogies and materials. Lesotho, like other African states, has ratified some major conventions of the United Nations such as the 2**Education for All (EFA),** the **Millennium Development Goals (MDGs),** the (SADC) Addendum on the Eradication and Prevention of Violence against Women, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. According to Gaskell and Taylor (2003), CEDAW is a treaty that is among the most powerful legal tools in policing countries to uphold standards with regard to women's issues. Lesotho's ratification of these treaties shows the country's interest in improving the status of Basotho women and girls. While other African countries face the problem of low girl- child enrolment in schools, Lesotho faces the opposite. The numbers of boys that enrol in schools in still below that of girls and this is a gender gap that has to be addressed by the government, while at the same time addressing the quality of education for all Basotho children. It is however noteworthy that despite the high enrolments of Basotho girls in schools, the numbers of girls who remain in school to complete their education is still very low compared to the numbers of boys. 1.6.3 Educational attainment in Lesotho According to the Bureau of Statistics (2001) about 15 percent of the Basotho population aged 6 years and above had never attended school in 2001. This was partly because in some localities

schools were few and very far from residential areas. In the rural mountainous areas of Lesotho, some communities or villages did not have any schools at all and thus children had to walk long distances to get to school. Depending on the weather, children sometimes had to wade across overflowing streams and rivers or climb hills and mountains to get to their schools. The time involved and the physical strain in walking to and from school could amount to several hours each day thus making it difficult for the children to learn effectively at school or to attend daily. Some parents preferred to postpone the enrolment of their children in school till they were a bit older and more able to bear the journey to school. Thus children in rural areas started school later than children in towns and lowlands. The proportion of people who had never been to school was considerably higher for males than for females. According to the Bureau of Statistics (2001), school attendance was lower for males than for females for two main reasons. Firstly, Basotho custom required young boys to herd their families' cattle, sheep and goats, not only as part of their socialization as males, but also because households depended on the produce and income from these animals. Secondly, for over a century, the mines of South Africa had offered ready employment for many Basotho men. Formal educational qualifications were not required for one to be employed in the mines and thus the men felt that education was not important in their lives. Thus educational participation of Basotho males was kept lower than that for females by these two factors. Young boys herded their families' livestock until adolescence, and then they were old enough to be employed in South African mines. From my personal experience I can argue that the income from working in the mines was good and provided the Basotho miners with a better standard of living than many of their counterparts back home in Lesotho, who went to school and obtained formal qualifications. For many rural Basotho men therefore, their whole lives revolved around cattle herding and working in mines. Formal education had little or no place in their life. This means that males in rural areas had a lower rate of school attendance than rural females. There has been an improvement in male school attendance in rural areas. This might have been a result of the government introducing, through the Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre, programmes and innovations that enable herd boys to go to school or to enrol in special correspondence courses that enabled them to combine animal herding with schooling. This also involved building schools in rural areas and making schools more accessible by introducing free universal primary school education (Bureau of Statistics, 2001). Another factor was the shortage of employment opportunities in the South African mines and the retrenchment of thousands of Basotho miners working in South Africa. Mine work was no longer available as ready employment opportunity to illiterate Basotho youth (Campbell, 2001). The major contributor to rural boys' refusal to attend school has been removed by the decline in employment opportunities in the mines and hence more and more rural Basotho boys have begun to see formal education as providing better prospects for employment and escape from poverty. Even though Lesotho is among the few countries in the world where school attendance is higher for females than for males, girls' attendance declines between the ages of 13- 18years as a result of a several factors. The drop- out rates have increased in recent years because of HIV and AIDS. Parental illness and death due to AIDS leaves children with no financial support to attend school and most young girls have to play the role of bread-winner or take care of sick parents and siblings. Adolescent girls also drop out of school because of pregnancy or marriage-related reasons, with "23 percent of girls and 4 percent of boys quitting school either to get married or because they were forced to get married" (Bureau of Statistics, 2001, p. 193). Although school attendance for girls is high, the level of education completed by girls is not very high. The provision and access to education in

362

Lesotho have been badly affected by HIV and AIDS, and thus the government responded to the pandemic through a National Strategy that stresses the need for involvement of young people in the battle against HIV and AIDS. Despite the relatively high literacy rates for Basotho women, it is still the case that women find themselves in low paying and low privilege positions in the job market, with the few educated men taking the leadership and decision-making positions (Lephoto, 1995; Mohlakoana, 1998). This is also true of the teaching profession in which most Basotho women are teachers in the primary schools, with few of them being principals. The high schools are dominated by male teachers especially in the traditionally masculine disciplines such as mathematics, science (physics and chemistry) and technology, with women science teachers mostly dominating the biological sciences. 1.6.4 Basotho Nation This section provides a glimpse into what constitute the Basotho people, their way of life and their constructions of being. This will be helpful in understanding the positioning of the women teachers within this study as Basotho women and teachers. The Basotho nation is ethnically homogenous with one ethnic language, Sesotho. Although Lesotho is known for the homogenous nature of its people, differences do occur in practices from one part of the country to another, between families and individuals (Lephoto, 1995). Basotho are a patriarchal nation with a belief in the power, privileges and superiority enjoyed by men. This system supports the subordination and inferior status of women and is also supported by traditional customary law which positions women as perpetual minors. Despite this, Basotho women are renowned for their habit of forming and joining clubs, organizations and associations. Whether they formed groups for weeding, harvesting or collecting firewood, Basotho women were always a communal community that enjoyed working together amidst song and laughter. The communal spirit still exists among modern Basotho women. However, few of these groups and organizations work towards redressing the gender imbalances that are prevalent in the country. Instead, women within such structures seem to perpetuate their own subordination. Due to the patriarchal practices of the nation, discrimination against women persists in several areas, even though Lesotho has signed and ratified CEDAW. In general, women's representation is insignificant in key political positions. Women in Lesotho constitute eighty percent of the unskilled labour force (Lephoto, 1995) and tend to occupy certain feminine fields and are rarely found in science and technology or other predominantly male professions. Due to the imbalance of power relations between men and women, women's sexuality is highly controlled from girlhood into womanhood (Lephoto, 1995). The pride of having a virginal bride makes the controlling of adolescent sexualities important for Basotho families. A virginal bride brings pride and honour to the father who will be receiving the bride price, and to the mother who will be praised as having raised her daughter well. A girl who gets pregnant before marriage is therefore a disgrace to her mother who gets blamed for not teaching her daughter well. Such a girl cannot easily get married unless she marries the man who impregnated her; and even then the number of cattle for the bride price is significantly reduced (minus six cattle). More often than not, such marriages are forced and unwanted marriages which seldom last (Lephoto, 1995; Mokobocho- Mohlakoana, 2005). As a result of the control over the sexuality of women, any expression of sexuality by teenagers is still frowned upon (Lephoto, 1995). Where expression of sexuality has led to pregnancy, the pregnant girl may experience different forms of abuse and ridicule. Depending on the context, the girl may have nasty experiences at home, church and at school. Early pregnancy impacts more negatively on the schooling of girls than that of boys. Schoolgirls who become pregnant are forced to leave school while the school boys who impregnate them are allowed to stay on at school. Although this discriminatory practice is undergoing review and

pregnant girls are being allowed to stay on at school, fear of ridicule and health problems associated with the pregnancy compel girls to leave school while the boys stay on. As a sign of abhorrence of premarital pregnancy by Basotho communities, children born of unmarried girls are given derogatory names such as Moramang (Whose son is he?), Motsoahosele (the one who comes from the wrong place), Matlakala (Trash), or Molahlehi (the lost one). While this practice is slowly fading away, it is still dominant in some areas of Lesotho (Mturi &Moerane, 2001). The stigmatisation of teenage pre- marital pregnancy in Lesotho was exacerbated by the Christian beliefs that Basotho people adopted as their way of life. 1.6.5 Basotho and religion The Basotho people have always been a religious community, with deep beliefs in the supernatural and the presence of an almighty Molimo (God) who provided for everyone, with the assistance of the Balimo (gods, ancestral spirits). Basotho people believed in their spiritual healers being able to communicate with departed spirits on their behalf and pass on their requests for health and a better life. If the Balimo were said to be angry then they had to be appeased by the slaughtering of an animal. A feast had to be made in their honour and all the food prepared, especially meat and alcohol, were said to be lijo tsa Balimo (food for the ancestral spirits). Basotho people also believed in the after-life and thus they believed that the Balimo felt cold and needed blankets. Thus the skins of the animals which were slaughtered for the Balimo were said to be blankets which they can use in the after-life. Basotho people prepared their corpses for another life. A male corpse would be buried holding some seeds in one hand and fighting tools in another, so that he would be able to defend himself along the way and to have seeds to plant when he got into the after-life. The corpse was sent off with the words: "Tsamea o ee ho re lokisetsa..." (Go and prepare the place for us). Thus the Basotho way of life prior the arrival of the missionaries was guided by their beliefs in Molimo and Balimo. The arrival of the missionaries in Lesotho in 1833 brought with it several changes to the traditional Basotho way of life. The missionaries brought with them Christianity which had its own ways of being and doing things which were in opposition to traditional Basotho ways of being. The one thing which was common to both ways of life was the subordination of women (Lephoto, 1995). The influences of the two cultures in the lives of Basotho are so inextricably interwoven that it is difficult to separate them. Because of the missionaries, Lesotho is now predominantly Christian. The major denomination is the Catholic Church which also owns the majority of schools and health facilities. The gender order of the Catholic Church, which is patriarchal, is reflected within the church's institutions and schools. Basotho Catholics are guided by the doctrines of the church such as prohibiting the use of contraception and condoms. On the other hand, Basotho people also hold on strongly to the dictates of their culture and traditions which also prohibit the use of contraception and free sex talk. This means that religion and culture have are influential in shaping gender and sexual identities for the Basotho. The arrival of formal education through the missionaries made it impossible for the traditional Sesotho education as carried out in the initiation schools to continue. Christianity and formal education undermined the traditional education and regarded it as paganism. Due to the fear of burning in hell that Christian religion has instilled in Basotho people, only a few still practice the traditional initiation school education. Most of the Basotho nation does not want to be associated with the supposedly pagan and heathen practices of their culture (Polonyana, 1993). Mission education was highly supported by the colonial rulers during Lesotho's term as a British protectorate. The mission school teachers' first duty was being evangelists as most of them were the missionaries themselves. The teacher identity came second (Lephoto, 1995). Almost all the early preachers in Lesotho were known as the Reverend-teacher. Although there

have been developments divorcing evangelism and pedagogy, in some situations the practice still persists. The above issues still have a bearing on how formal education is run in Lesotho today. Lesotho schools today are still largely managed by the church (Catholic Church, Lesotho Evangelical Church, Church of England), while the Ministry of Education is responsible for determining the curriculum. The National Curriculum Development Centre together with subject panels develops the teaching and learning materials. The Ministry provides in-service training for school managers and administrators in order to improve their skills. The government, through the Teaching Service Department, pays the salaries of qualified teachers in government schools and in government approved mission and community schools. Unqualified and extra teachers within schools are paid by the proprietors. Zapulla (1997) argues that education has always been a means of transmitting culture in a society. The role of schools for transmission of values is universal even though the values transmitted may differ from context to context (Cornbleth, 1990; Fullan, 1993). In the Lesotho context, the values and morality within schools are those identified, represented and approved by the church. The role played by the church in Lesotho's education context results in the protection and advancement of schools that view and advance issues of morality from the perspective of the church. The education system in Lesotho therefore continues to place value on the church's perspective of what is right or wrong, often with little regard given for Human Rights as a basis for morality. Even schools that are not owned by churches are strongly influenced by the practices of church-based schools. The church's philosophy is that it is unacceptable for young people to be taught about sex because sex is only for marriage and procreation. The Catholic Church vocally prohibits the teaching of children about contraception and its usage as the church does not condone contraception among its members. Therefore pregnancy out of wedlock warrants punishment and this is done through expulsion from school, the church and sometimes from families. Most girls end up in forced marriages to guard against the disgrace of premarital pregnancy. 1.6.6 Location of the study While the previous sections provided a general idea of Lesotho and the Basotho people, this section specifically deals with the particular context where this study unfolded. It aims at providing a vivid picture of the context in relation to the participants. Two rural high schools within the Quthing district in the south of Lesotho were the base for this study. The selected schools are in remote villages that are not easily accessible because of poor road infrastructure. Figure 1.1 shows an example of a homestead to be found in one of the villages. Almost all the homesteads have the typical thatch roof hut and a modern corrugated iron roof house. The thatch roof huts are mostly used as kitchens and the sleeping area for the children. In front of the huts are usually built cooking areas where dried cow dung and firewood are used to heat three-legged cooking pots. Typically the corrugated iron roof houses were built by the Basotho men who were employed in the mines as a sign of advancement and improved economic status and as such were special. Basotho people called such houses heisi, which is a corruption of the Afrikaans word for house (Huis). In the villages, homesteads that have corrugated iron roof houses are still regarded as those of rich people, even though the corrugated iron is now being replaced by clay tiles. Each homestead also has a kraal for keeping live-stock. The size of the kraal depends on the size of the livestock. In many of the homesteads in Bongalla village, there are some cows, sheep, pigs, goats and free range chickens. Horses and donkeys are used as a means of transport. Cattle, on the other hand, are the most important animals in Basotho culture. There are several Sesotho sayings that highlight the value that Basotho place on cattle. An example is "khomo ke molimo o nko e metsi[1]" A big herd of cattle is a sign of wealth in the villages, especially if they are dairy cows. In these

365

villages the women and girls still go to natural springs to collect water for household use and to the rivers for doing their laundry because there is no running water except for a few public taps; and such places become the meeting zones for women to share the latest stories and gossip. The peculiarity of the chosen district is that according to the Bureau of Statistics' (2001) Lesotho Demographic Survey, this is the district in which the highest proportion of Basotho girls had never been to school and it also had the second highest proportion of males that had never been to school. According to the report, Quthing district had the lowest overall literacy levels for both males and females. [pic] Figure 1.1 A typical homestead in Bongalla[2] Village Quthing is one of the relatively mountainous and remote districts of Lesotho. The majority of rural families in this district depend on subsistence farming and livestock rearing. Figure 1.2 shows the map of Lesotho to highlight the different districts. |Figure 1.2: Map of Lesotho | |[pic] | http://www.googlemaps.com (Accessed 28/04/08) 1.7 Organisation of the thesis The thesis has nine chapters. The first chapter provides an introduction and background to the study describing the general problem area, defining key research questions and assumptions, outlining the importance of the topic, the research approach, and the study's contribution to knowledge and its limitations. Chapter two presents the history of sexuality education in Lesotho using Foucault's notion of genealogy. It discusses the trends and changes across different eras starting from pre to post-colonial curriculum reform in sexuality education. Factors that shaped the curriculum policy change are discussed and the contestations within the sexuality education curriculum highlighted. Chapter three presents a comprehensive review of related literature; while Chapter four discusses the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study with a description of the paradigm, epistemology, frame of inquiry and the theories and core concepts used. Chapter five discusses the research methodology with a discussion on the methodology, context, sampling, data production and analysis techniques, design limitations, trustworthiness, and ethical considerations of the study. Chapters six, seven, and eight discuss the data analysis and presentation of research findings on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. The ninth chapter is the thesis chapter. It presents the summary and thesis together with conclusions of the study, with an emphasis on the findings and their contribution, recommendations, and suggestions for further research. ---------------------- [1]This saying literally means "cattle are gods with a wet nose", but the meaning attached to it is that when you have cattle you have everything, because cattle can be used as food in many traditional functions such as weddings, funerals and traditional rituals. Cattle are also used for carrying heavy loads and for paying the bride price during marriage negotiations. [2]Pseudonym

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Chapter 2 Journeying into the past: Lesotho Sexuality Education curriculum history 2.1 Introduction The previous chapter presented the rationale, focus and context for this study which explored women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. This chapter presents the history of sexuality education in Lesotho using Foucault's notion of genealogy. It discusses the trends and changes across different eras, starting from pre to post-colonial curriculum reform in sexuality education. Factors that shaped the curriculum policy change are discussed and the contestations within the sexuality education curriculum are highlighted. The concept of genealogy has been used to explain the changes that have taken place in the history of sexuality education curriculum in Lesotho, the possible reasons for such changes and the power structures shaping the change. Borrowing from Foucault's (1972) concept of genealogy, the chapter discusses the historical route of sexuality education in Lesotho prior the arrival of the missionaries, followed by a discussion of sexuality education from the time Christian missionaries introduced formal schooling to the present, when sexuality education is taught within the Life Skills Education (LSE) curriculum. Then, the LSE curriculum is discussed as a niche for sexuality, HIV and AIDS education and a battleground of competing influences and ideologies. Lastly, the chapter illuminates the contradictions between the LSE curriculum and some of Lesotho's national goals of education. The key concern of this chapter is to present a history of sexuality education in Lesotho as a framework within which to explore women teachers' experiences and understandings regarding the sexuality education curriculum policy. This framework is shaped by "a conception of policy as a politically, socially and historically contextualised practice" (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 3). Consequently I present the history of sexuality education in Lesotho within its historical and socio-political context. 2.2 Genealogical Analysis The concept of genealogy (Foucault, 1972) is used in this chapter to trace the history of sexuality education curriculum theory and practice in Lesotho's education system. Genealogy is concerned with tracing "the historical process of descent and emergence by which a given thought system or process comes into being and is subsequently transformed" (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 45). According to Vincent's (1995, p. 187) description, genealogy "exposes the motives, pressures and power underlying our supposed rationality." The supposed rationality can be a given thought system or process (Olssen et al., 2004) in any field of knowledge. For Foucault (1972),

367

all disciplines, thought systems or processes, are discursive formations reflecting particular ways of thinking. These discursive formations "are shown to be congealed sets of preconceptual, unrationalized elements which constitute a society's regime of truth" (Vincent, 1995, p. 187). A genealogical analysis seeks to expose such regimes of truth. It is with this aim of exposing the regimes of truth within Lesotho's sexuality education curriculum that the notion of genealogy is used in this study. The goal is to trace the historical process by which sexuality education started and has subsequently changed in Lesotho. As Olssen et al put it, genealogical analysis: aims to explain the existence of transformation of elements of theoretical knowledge by situating them within power structures and by tracing their descent and emergence in the context of history…(2004, p. 47) A genealogical analysis has been employed to illuminate and trace hegemony in sexuality education curriculum and to locate the study within a historical and socio-political context. Grace (1995, p. 3) comments on the importance of understanding the setting of a social phenomenon under study by arguing that: Many contemporary problems and crises in education are, in themselves, the surface manifestations of deeper historical, structural and ideological contradictions in educational policy. I also argue that the sexuality education curriculum change is in itself a manifestation of the contradictions within the educational policy in Lesotho. Such contradictions are embedded in the moralist and liberal ideologies within sexuality education. Thus, this study recognises the importance of a historical and socio-political context in the construction of knowledge about any social phenomenon. Slattery (2006, p. 66) rightly observes that the "meaning of events cannot be separated from their context, just as the knower cannot be separated from the known". Similarly, the meanings, understanding and experiences of the sexuality education curriculum within this study cannot be separated from their Lesotho context. This study has acknowledged the impact of a socio-historical context in confining or enabling meanings and actions through the use of genealogical analysis (Thompson, 1990). Ball (2006) warns against presenting research findings on policy without taking into account the historical realities informing the phenomenon under study. The argument is that, considering the historical background helps to outline the processes involved in reforming a policy. It is a form of context-building, providing a bigger picture through which readers are given a good vantage point of the research findings for them to render their critiques (Ball, 2006). Context-building enables readers to have a perspective from which to judge the claims being made by the researcher regarding the data (Constas, 1992). Thus, this chapter provides an outline against which the theoretical, conceptual and methodological issues raised in this study should be understood. Drawing on Lawton's (1980) notion that the decision-making involved in knowledge production and its distribution in society and relates to politics of the school curriculum, the history of sexuality education in Lesotho has been analysed to illuminate what the politics of teaching about sexuality in schools have been. The substantial claim is that sexuality education in Lesotho has been marked by hegemony of the moralistic Christian faith discourses over liberal sex education ideologies. What follows is a genealogical analysis and discussion of sexuality education in Lesotho. 2.2.1 Pre-Missionary Sexuality Education in Lesotho There is little written about the traditional practices of Basotho people because the Basotho are an oral society that passes history and wisdom from generation to generation through telling stories. Thus most of what appears in this section is from stories told. I have recorded only what people felt free to discuss and what is taught in Lesotho schools as part of Basotho cultural studies. Traditional education for Basotho children was both formal and informal. Formal education was through the initiation school (Mturi & Hennink, 2005) which was the "responsibility of the elders, local leaders and traditional doctors in the villages" (MoE, 1982, p. 1);

while informal education was through the socialisation of children as they grew up in the home. The traditional education system aimed at producing individuals who were socially responsible and committed to serving their societies and families (Mohapeloa, 1982). Young boys herded the lower animals such as sheep and goats until they graduated to herding the higher animals such as cattle, horses and donkeys. It was unacceptable for young boys to spend a lot of time with their mothers during the day. They were expected to leave the house and join other boys to learn how to become men. During this time, young boys were taught about and played several games that were sexual in nature. An example of such a game is tšipho[1] whose movements were an imitation of the mating ritual. Basotho boys walked around naked until such a time when they were grown up enough to realise they were naked and would then look for a piece of cloth to cover the groin. Once they had done this then the parents would provide their sons with clothes to wear. Upon reaching adolescence, young boys were expected to join the traditional initiation school where they would be taught how to become real men who could fight for their chief and protect their families. During the initiation period the young men were then taught about sex and what to expect from their women. The young initiates gave themselves names (beginning with the prefix Le-) that reflected their behaviour, their personalities, or clan-names, (e.g. Lefosa, one who hits off target). The initiates sang mangae and lithoko (praise-poems) in which they celebrated their new names during the graduation ceremony, and such names became known to the whole community. However, the initiates were also given private names which could be only known by those who were in the same cohort (Guma, 2001). Upon graduation from the initiation school, the young men were expected to choose brides from the village girls, preferable those who had been initiates, and get married as soon as possible. The immediate marriage was to prevent the initiates from practising their newly found sexual skills out of wedlock. This was the time when they were also expected to join the men at the chief's kraal to learn about the governance of the society and other male issues. As for young girls, their place was in the house with their mothers. Basotho women were the keepers of knowledge on family histories and traditional practices. They were expected to teach their daughters how to become good women who could take care of a household and raise children. Young girls practised their skills by serving their brothers and through games such as playing house. There are several activities that served to socialise young Basotho girls into adult female roles and relationships. When they played house, they had rag or clay dolls with which they practised taking care of babies and pretended to cook for them. When I was still a young girl we used to have a big setup of pretend houses built from stone and boxes. The older girls would be mothers and fathers while the younger ones would be the children of the 'families'. At 'night' the mothers and fathers would have pretend-sex according to how they had seen their parents doing it. There would be interesting arguments of "Ntate oaka le 'me oaka ha ba etse joalo, ba etsa tjena..." (My mom and dad do not do it like that. This is how they do it...). The implication was that every other child had somehow seen their parents having sex. Sometimes we would play very "elaborate mock-weddings" to celebrate marriage, mostly in girl- only occasions because the boys were always out herding the livestock (cf. Gay, 1986, p. 97). I remember that, as a young girl, playing in the mock- weddings I never got the chance to become the bride, to my dismay, because I was always the lead singer in the wedding procession. Basotho girls also engaged in mummy-baby relationships through which they practised and experienced the nurturing aspects of being mothers or being mothered. An older girl would be the mummy and a younger girl would be the baby. The attractiveness of the baby or mummy was the basis on which they were chosen. The duty of the mummy was to protect

369

the baby and cater for her needs, while the baby was expected to run errands for the mummy. One of the expectations in these relationships was intimacy. The mummy and baby would kiss and cuddle, or sometimes fondle each other in a manner leading to arousal or even orgasm. These relationships were, however, not labelled as sexual, but innocent fun for girls (Gay, 1986; Kendall, 1999). According to Kendall (1999), these relationships between girls and women were not regarded as sexual because there was no penis involved. She argues that the Basotho women she worked with considered sex only that which includes penile penetration. Girls were also taught how to pull their inner labia at an early age before they could start having their menstrual periods. It was believed that menstruation hardened the inner labia, making it difficult for them to elongate upon pulling (cf. Arnfred, 2007; Parikh, 2005; Tamale, 2005). Aunts and other younger women taught girls how to pull the inner labia. Girls were told that if they did not elongate their inner labia they would not get married or if they got married they would not be able to please their husbands sexually and hence loose their love. It was said that elongating the inner labia increased mocheso (heat) in the woman and this made sex more pleasurable for the man (Gay, 1986). The intriguing fact about the pulling of the inner labia was the fact that girls assisted each other with the pulling, thus engaging in what I would call mutual masturbation among the girls. This practice is evidence that female sensuality was encouraged while at the same time it was restrained through prohibiting girls from eating eggs, offal and other high protein foods because it was believed that such foods would heighten the girls' mocheso, causing them to desire sex. Thus these two practices show that female sensuality was never denied. It was encouraged in some cases and at the same time restrained. When a young girl started having her menstrual periods, it was a time of celebration because she was grown up and ready for marriage. In some clans the girl was dressed in a thethana[2] and her body covered in red ochre. Another young girl would accompany her to the well. The menstruating girl would have a clay pot on her head and when they got to the well the other girl would fill the pot on the head until it overflowed onto the bearer. The overflowing water would mix with the red ochre and run all over the young girl symbolising the red of the menstrual blood. The girls would then walk back to the village among ululations of the village women who would acknowledge that the girl was now a young woman. In other clans, on the day of the first menstrual period the young girl was seated on a heap of manure for all people to see. The symbolism was that like the fertility of the manure, the girl was also fertile and ready to produce children. The village men ands boys were thus made aware by such functions that the girl was a young woman who should be respected. This meant that the girl was no longer expected to play any of the sexual games that Basotho children played (Sekese, 2002, p. 30), lest she get pregnant. Such a girl was ready for marriage and had to be prepared for marriage through the initiation school. Young girls attended the traditional initiation school where they were taught about sex, how to become good wives and to please their men sexually. During the initiation period, young women were given masculine names of their ancestors as a symbol of achievement (Sekese, 2002). They were deemed as being 'almost' as brave as men, thus the masculine name. The names were formulated by attaching the male prefix Ra- to their maternal uncle's name (e.g. Ramakalo, uncle's name being Makalo), or to nouns and verbs that conveyed qualities such as adeptness, speed, and skilfulness. For example, a girl initiate could be called "Ralebelo", meaning "one with great speed." These names were known to and used only by those who had been in the same initiation cohort or had been involved in the initiation rites. What actually happened during the traditional initiation ceremony was labelled as koma[3] and was never revealed. Any initiate who dared talk about it was supposed to be killed

before they could corrupt the innocence of those who had never been to the traditional school. This was partly because anyone who had never been to the traditional initiation school was treated as a perpetual child despite their age, and hence did not need to know about adult issues such as those taught at the school. If a person who had never been to the initiation school was heard talking knowledgeably about the initiation rituals, such a person was immediately taken to the initiation school and forced to join. Basotho youth played tenye and sephumula (Sekese, 2002, pp. 45- 46), which were used as a platform for choosing marriage partners. In these games boys and girls would sing and dance together. If a boy fancied a certain girl, he would remove his necklace and give it to the girl. If the girl was also attracted to the boy she would then accept the necklace. There were some games, such as selia-lia (Sekese, 2002, p. 45), where girls made their own choice of boys and gave them artefacts to keep as tokens of their love. These games were only played among boys and girls because it was not expected that girls would choose other girls, or boys choosing other boys. The expectation was for opposite sexes to attract. To some extent, some of the games were sexual in the sense that the boy and girl who had attracted each other would touch each other, embrace and kiss. However, according to Sekese (2002, p. 46), people were more disciplined in those days and hence the games did not go beyond simple kissing. This traditional education system was abandoned with the emergence of missionary education which is discussed in the next section. 2.2.2 Sexuality Education under missionary control This section highlights hegemony within Lesotho's sexuality education. The concept of hegemony is used to denote the domination of churches in the teaching of sexuality education in Lesotho schools. This entails sexuality education based on moralistic and health discourses at the exclusion of other ideologies, or giving a privileged space in the sexuality education curriculum to moral and warning teachings over other aspects of human sexuality. The desire to dominate has the potential to lead to contestation in any sphere of life (Fairclough, 1995). This is no exception in the field of curriculum theory and practice, commonly described as a hotly contested space (Apple, 2008, 2004; Cary, 2006; Kelly, 1999). Thus the desire of the churches to dominate the school curriculum led to a lot of contestation regarding the form of sexuality education suitable for Basotho children. The arrival of the first missionaries in Lesotho in 1833 brought with it formal education which replaced the traditional ways of learning. The traditional initiation school and the traditional practices of preparing young boys and girls for marriage were significantly reduced. Formal Missionary education took the place of traditional initiation and many traditional practices were prohibited as pagan practices. Missionary education did not leave a space for the incorporation of traditional Basotho practices because the main aim of formal schooling was promoting Christianity, and this led to a conflict of interest between Christianity and traditional belief systems (Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). Thus the rationale behind teaching Basotho to read and write was to ensue that they could read their bibles (van Den Berge, 1984). The syllabus used therefore left no space for adaptation to local traditional practices. The missionary education entrenched Christian values and morals among the Basotho nation while undermining traditional Basotho practices. Fitting into the Christian way of life, demanded an increase in literacy levels among the Basotho and this led to an increase in the numbers of missionary schools and a reduction in traditional initiation schools (MoE, 1982). Some clans and villages stopped practicing the traditional ways of educating the youth about becoming men and women in the hope that formal education would do so. However, the formal missionary education did not do much to teach Basotho children about their sexuality except where they were taught about the 'birds and the bees'. The missionaries portrayed sex as an evil act if it was not done for procreation and thus

their teachings on sex were about the ills of sex and how dangerous it was to one's wellbeing. The church privileged its moral and value structure regarding sexuality over other sexuality discourses. Thus moral education enjoyed hegemony within the missionary schools' sexuality education curriculum. This kind of teaching was prevalent in church schools and because most schools in Lesotho are church owned, it became a countrywide practice. For example, the ethos of the Catholic Church prohibits the teaching of sex education because it includes teaching about contraception and abortion. Contraception and abortion are prohibited by Catholic doctrine and thus cannot be taught about in Catholic schools. In terms of education in general, some Christian missionaries believed that their African converts did not need a sophisticated way of life or sophisticated ideas (Ansell, 2002; Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). They, therefore, advocated education that would sanitize the African ways of life but keep them simple. They used education as a means to an evangelical end (MoE, 1982). The main aim of this education was to lead the converts to steady sober Christian ways of living. 2.2.3 Sexuality education under colonial rule While Lesotho was under British protection, the British did not involve themselves actively in providing education for the Basotho, but left it under missionary control (MoE, 1982; Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). However, the British Colonial government provided the churches with grants to run the schools. In 1909 the responsibilities of government and churches, and management policies for schools were outlined in an Education Act which brought with it the need for uniformity in syllabuses and school inspection (Clarke Commission, 1946). Thus the curriculum that ensued allowed for Basotho children to be taught about personal hygiene, the mechanics of sex, reproduction and development in animals within the science syllabus in schools. The social aspects of sex such as relationships, desire, sexual identities and pleasure were not part of the syllabus and hence were not addressed. The fact that the schools were owned by the church made it difficult for the government to enforce its wishes on the education system. The missionaries continued to privilege their moralistic teachings of sexuality to the exclusion of any other aspect that was not in line with their agenda (Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). The difference in ideological positions between the colonial government and the Christian missions was also reflected in the fact that the missionaries resented government control that interfered with their mission aims (Ansell, 2002; Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). What they wanted from the government was only financial assistance to help in the running of the schools. 2.2.4 Post-colonial sexuality education Even though Lesotho became an independent state in 1966, the government continued 1**to give the churches substantial powers over education.** The post independence government found it difficult to extricate Lesotho's education system from the control of churches (Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). Despite this, Bohloko (1982) argues that providing services for the citizens is the responsibility of the government. This led to the government aiming for more control of the education system and schools despite the resistance from churches as proprietors. This section, therefore, illuminates the post-independence changes in Lesotho's sexuality education curriculum and the influence that churches continue to exert on education. Jupp (1996) and Nieuwenhuis (2007a) point out that documents can be used to shed some light on the phenomenon under study. In this study, policy documents on HIV and AIDS and sexuality education were analysed. These included the Population and Family Life Education Framework (POP/FLE), which was used for the infusion and integration of sexuality education into existing subject areas

in 2004; the LSE syllabus, which came into effect in 2007; and teaching support materials. This information has been helpful in providing a background for gaining a better understanding of the government's expectations in relation to women teachers' understandings, practice and experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. Marshall and Rossman (2006, p. 107) observe that, "for every qualitative study, data on the background and historical context are gathered" in order to understand the social phenomenon under study within its context. Thus, the documentary data generated has been used to construct the historical and socio-political context, presented here, within which the research participants' experiences are to be understood. 2.2.4.1Curriculum change in Lesotho's sexuality education After independence in 1966, educational programs which needed to be supported within poor African countries were identified by the United Nations and other donor agencies, and they supplied foreign expertise and funds (Ansell, 2002). This supported education focused less on the country needed for its children to attain their true potential, and more on educating and training workers who would supply the international markets with goods and services. This led to several African states including Lesotho being brought into economic colonisation (Ansell, 2002; Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). According to Muzvidziwa and Seotsanyana (2002), a big national conference was held on education in Lesotho in 1988 with the aim of 1**transformation and restructuring of the education system.** The **government wanted to** gain **control of** schools in order to implement an education system that would be appropriate for the Basotho nation. The government's aspirations through the conference failed, despite the backing of donor agencies, because church proprietors refused to cooperate in giving up control of schools. Chivaura (1998, p. 66) argues that African countries need "to empty the European-oriented content of syllabi in our schools, colleges and universities, and introduce an educational content that will instil in our people a sense of pride in their own culture and identity as Africans." However, the educational curriculum after Lesotho's thirty years of independence still continues to undermine the empowerment and liberation of people by not rooting the teaching subjects in Basotho culture. This argument is supported by Zlotnik (1986) who points out that true education strives to develop in students an understanding of their culture, history, and where they are going in life. True education teaches students to appreciate humanity and lead meaningful lives. Muzvidziwa and Seotsanyana (2002) also argue that: globalisation means that nations like Lesotho are being integrated within the ambit of global markets and value systems not at their own terms but at the dictate of powerful western nations whose vested interests, be they economic, cultural and political, are to further the interests of these powerful nations at the expense of the weaker nations... (p. 13) Despite these criticisms, as Lesotho became part of the global world and participated in global debates on health and sexuality, the government of Lesotho reviewed its curriculum with the aim of making it to better serve its nation, and proposed the Population and Family Life Education (POP/FLE) Framework in 2004, which was to be integrated across the curriculum. This framework contained issues of sexuality, family and population dynamics. Every teacher was expected to infuse or integrate cross-cutting issues such as sexuality and HIV and AIDS into their lessons. This became problematic as teachers did not include these issues in their teaching, assuming other teachers were covering the work. Table 2.1 shows part of the POF/FLE framework on Human sexuality which was part of the topic of Sexual reproduction, HIV and AIDS. | Theme |Sub-theme |Knowledge and | | |

|Understanding | |4. Human Sexuality |Sexual abuse |Define sexual abuse | | | |Describe different | | | |forms of sexual abuse | | | |Identify groups of | | | |people who are | | | |vulnerable to sexual | | | |abuse e.g. people with| | | |disability, children, | | | |women, prisoners, the | | | |elderly and herd boys | | | |etc. | | |Personal Hygiene and |Describe the | | |Sexuality |importance of personal| | | |care and cleanliness | | | |of sexual reproductive| | | |organs of males and | | | |females | | | |Explain the norms | | | |related to sexuality | | |Sexual Orientation |Define sexual | | | |orientation (sexual | | | |inclination/ | | | |preference) | Table 2.1 Sexual Reproduction, health, HIV and AIDS (Adapted from the Lesotho 2004 POP/FLE framework pp.38- 39) It is interesting to note that under the theme of human sexuality the first issue is that of sexual abuse. This, in my opinion, reflects the negative and moralistic teachings of the church on sexuality (highlighting the negatives aspects more than the positive). This sub-theme serves as a warning to children that they should be wary of their sexuality because it could lead them into trouble, or place them at risk of being sexually abused. The sub-theme following this one also deals with warnings and dangers. Issues of hygiene involve warnings about diseases that could infect one if she is sexually active and not keeping herself clean. The whole section of sexual reproduction, health, HIV and AIDS in the framework of POP/FLE has no section which deals with pleasurable sexuality and desire. This kind of approach paints a scary picture of sex and sexuality for children. This makes it easy for children to believe everything portrayed by the media showing human sexuality as pleasurable and fun. The syllabus and teaching of sexuality education clearly shows how the curriculum serves the interests of the elite and how schools perpetuate the beliefs and values of those in power- in this case the church. The contestation around sexuality education and HIV and AIDS education is testament to the fact that the curriculum is the battleground for competing ideologies (cf. Ingham, 2005). The government of Lesotho opted for sexuality education as a subject to be infused and integrated into existing subject areas using the POP/FLE framework. However, following the example of other southern African countries and with funding from UNICEF, Lesotho introduced LSE, a standalone subject, as the niche for sexuality education and HIV and AIDS education in 2007, thus ensuring that there will be teachers specifically assigned the teaching of the subject, other than in the past when every teacher was expected to teach about sexuality and none did (Motalingoane- Khau, 2007b). Workshops for dissemination and training were held country-wide for teachers who would be responsible for facilitating LSE. The LSE syllabus shows what should be taught to Basotho children from primary school Standard 4 to Form C. In Table 2.2 and 2.3 I only show the syllabus for Form A to Form C (Grade 8- 11) for Sexual and reproductive health and Dealing with HIV and AIDS respectively. |Form A (p. 4) |Form B (p. 19) |Form C (p. 34) | |Importance of |Managing sexual |Support services | |abstinence during |feelings during |available to victims | |adolescence |adolescence- |of sexual abuse | |Resisting negative |importance of |Support service | |pressures during |peer and other |abstinence |available to teenage | |pressures during |Activities that may |parents and victims of| |adolescence |help one to abstain |sexual abuse | | |Reporting sexual abuse| | Table 2.2 Sexual and Reproductive Health (Adapted from the Lesotho 2007 Life Skills Education syllabus) |Form A (p. 12) |Form B (p. 26) |Form C (p. 41) | |Ways of HIV |Factors promoting the |Support service given | |transmission |spread of HIV and |by |HIV and AIDS |AIDS- lack of |organisations (UNAIDS,| |prevention |knowledge and poverty |World Vision, Red | |Prevalence of HIV and |Prevention of HIV |Cross, WHO, UNICEF, | |AIDS at national level|infection- abstinence |Churches) | |Impact of HIV and AIDS|Stigma and |Voluntary counselling | |discrimination |and testing services | | |Support services | | | |available for people | | | |infected and affected | | | |by HIV and AIDS | Table 2.3 Dealing with HIV

374

and AIDS (Adapted from the Lesotho 2007 Life Skills Education syllabus) The introduction of the LSE syllabus got mixed reactions from the society. Church leaders were notable in resisting the change. More specifically, the LSE policy created controversy and contestation among churches as stakeholders in education and the Ministry of Education as policy-makers. Beyond this, the LSE curriculum can also be seen as a surface manifestation of "deeper historical, structural and ideological contradictions in educational policy" (Grace, 1995, p. 3) in Lesotho. This implies that the LSE curriculum policy reflects Lesotho's heritage of missionary and colonial education in relation to issues of sexuality. The LSE syllabus has no section dealing with sexual orientation, an important aspect of adolescent sexuality which is not understood by Basotho communities. This could be because Christianity and Basotho tradition deem heterosexuality as the only appropriate option. Thus the influence of the moral teachings of the church is visible in the absence of teachings on homosexuality in the LSE syllabus. While Basotho communities argue that homosexuality does not exist among their people, this does not deny the fact that there are many homosexual individuals within Lesotho who are not free to 'come out' and enjoy their sexual identity (Epprecht, 2000; Gay, 1986; Kendall, 1999). The teachings of the church on homosexuality are that it is an evil existence which is a curse on those who practice it. The argument is that in the story of creation, God created all animals male and female and no other animal ever mates with its own sex. Reddy (2005, p. 6) argues that "for the majority of our societies, African homosexuals constitute 'improper' bodies and homosexuality a 'subversive' pleasure". Thus homosexual individuals are regarded as more detestable, immoral and baser than animals. This view to homosexuality makes it difficult for homosexual Basotho individuals to be honest about their sexual identities for fear of being labelled as outcasts. Jeffreys (1991) has argued that heterosexuality is the eroticisation of gender inequality. He states that: Heterosexual desire is eroticised power difference…so heterosexual desire for men is based on eroticising the otherness of women, an otherness, which is based on a difference in power…Women's subordination is sexy for men and for women too… (pp. 299- 302) The LSE syllabus is also silent on healthy and pleasurable sexuality. Jolly (2007) and Ingham (2005) argue that promoting sexual pleasure in education can contribute to empowering sexual minorities who may have been subject to social expectations that sexual pleasure is not for them. They, however, observe that sex in developing countries has been associated with risk, vulnerability, ill-health and violations of rights. It has never been associated with pleasure and love. It is seen as something to be controlled and contained (cf. Correa, 2002; Klugman, 2000; Petchesky, 2005). Despite this, Jolly states that "the pleasures of safer sex can also be promoted to reduce HIV/AIDS transmission and improve health." (2007, p. 3). Tamale also argues that: …when we go beyond conventional research paradigms on African sexuality (which primarily focuses on reproduction, violence and disease) to explore the area of desire and pleasure, we gain deeper insights into this complex subject matter… (2005, p. 18). The absence of sexual pleasure in sexuality discourses in Lesotho means the perpetuation of the church's moralistic teachings on sex for procreation only. With schools not being able to teach children that sex should be pleasurable and that safer sex could be even more pleasurable because risks are reduced, young people follow perverted messages from the media and engage in risky sexual practices. The syllabus does not mention condom usage even when dealing with prevention of HIV infections. The emphasis is on abstinence throughout. Abstinence is a major teaching of the church in relation to adolescent sexuality. Children who are taught only about abstinence do not learn about their bodies enough for them to understand its desires, hence they become vulnerable to infections and pregnancies. The church condones sex within a

heterosexual marriage, and only for procreation. Thus the church, especially the Catholic Church, argues that children do not need to know about sex and contraception because they are not adults or married. The basis of this argument is that teaching children about sex would make them want to practice it thus leading to early sexual activity and promiscuity (Guzman, 2003; Izugbara, 2005; Lewis et al., 2001). The belief is that children are sexually innocent and should be protected from any corrupting sexual knowledge. This discourse is predominant within developing as well as developed countries (Bhana, 2003, 2007, 2009; Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Epstein et al., 2003; Mitchell, Walsh, & Larkin, 2004; Oshi & Nakalema, 2005; Reddy, 2003, 2005; Renold, 2005). The challenge of preaching abstinence only for adolescents is that it is not realistic in this era of sexual abuse, HIV and AIDS. For example, firstly, an adolescent girl could choose to abstain, but get raped and thus abstinence could not help her against infection (Leach, 2002). Secondly, with the increase in numbers of parents and guardians dying of AIDS, adolescents find themselves having to resort to risky practices such as prostitution to support their families and thus knowing about other ways of preventing HIV infection (such as proper condom usage) could save their lives. Thirdly, whether we want to acknowledge it or not, children are sexual beings too. Not teaching them about their sexuality and all it entails does not mean they are clueless or ignorant. Today's generation of children is born within a media system that often bombards them with messages based on sex, sexuality and body image. What they do not get from the media they get from their peers and more often than not, such information is perverted or full of misconceptions. Lastly, children today experiment with sex at a young age, with the age of sexual debut as early as nine years (BoS, 2001); and hence teaching about abstinence only to such children does not make sense. While we wish that they could wait until marriage to indulge in sexual intercourse, the reality is our classrooms are filled with sexually active youngsters who need to know how to care for themselves so that they do not get infected with HIV and other sexually transmitted infections. Slattery (2006, p. 66) observes that "all interpreting and bracketing of events must be directed toward a synthetical, integrated understanding". The main claim of this section is that the heritage of the Christian missionary work in education continues to impact the present LSE curriculum policy. Since the inception of formal Christian missionary education, the Church's moralistic teachings have enjoyed hegemony within the education system by excluding traditional teachings and other educational discourses. The Church, as proprietor, supports and funds abstinence-only teachings within its schools. The present LSE curriculum still reflects continued hegemony by giving a privileged space to the Christian moralistic teachings. The church's demand for abstinence-only sexuality education manifests its unwillingness to allow other human sexuality discourses equal space in the school curriculum. Slattery (2006, p. 83) offers a solution to this problem by suggesting that: Curriculum development in the postmodern era must include…autobiographical testimonies of many people from all religions, spiritualities, and cultures to help us understand - not convert or condemn - the rich diversity of our community. Thus, drawing from Slattery (2006), the primary concern of sexuality education curriculum theory and practice in Lesotho should be about informing, not condemning the learners. Sexuality education should be "meaningfully connected to current events, life experiences, and personal autobiographies" (Slattery, 2006, p. 86) of Basotho learners and teachers. 2.3 Contestation in Lesotho's sexuality education curriculum There is still no agreement on how to describe the pedagogical strategies and processes that constitute school-based 'sex education' (UNESCO, 2007). In some places such as Lesotho, using terms that relate to sexuality in the program is perceived as being overly explicit for educational stakeholders. However, the UNESCO (2007)

report shows that using other labels for sexuality education provide an opportunity to completely ignore the discussion of sex. As demonstrated in the previous section, the government of Lesotho moved from population and family life education to life skills education in a bid to avoid unpleasant reactions from educational stakeholders such as parents, politicians and the church. However, as UNESCO has argued, the Life Skills Education curriculum in Lesotho has provided an opportunity for teachers to ignore discussions of sex altogether. This is evidenced by the silences of the syllabus on many crucial issues pertaining to human sexuality. Despite evidence that sexuality education can reduce the incidences of unintended pregnancies and STI's (including HIV) (Kirby et al., 2006; Kirby et al., 2007; Rogow & Haberland, 2005; Ross, Dick & Ferguson, 2006; Singh, Bankole, & Woog, 2005; Stone & Ingham, 2006), Lesotho has not yet given priority to sex, relationships and HIV education in its formal curriculum. Thus, this section discusses the contesting spaces within the Lesotho sexuality education curriculum and why sex, relationships and HIV education have not been prioritised in the formal curriculum. Whilst contestation is inevitable in any curriculum policy change due to different ideological positions of social actors (Glatthorn et al., 2006; Kelly, 1999), resistance to the sexuality education curriculum policy change was in some way influenced by the history of education in Lesotho as reflected in the previous sections of this chapter. It reflected a space where the government's educational ideologies were in conflict with those of the churches as important stakeholders in education. While the government was in search of sexuality, HIV and AIDS education suitable for Lesotho's developing society, the churches wanted sexuality education that served their religious agenda - the promotion of Christian faith and the sanctity of marriage and the heterosexual family unit (Bhattacharyya, 2002). As Lawton (1980) observes, a controversial curriculum is a reflection of the politics regarding knowledge distribution in society. Thus the contestation surrounding sexuality education in Lesotho has been in relation to which knowledge about sexuality should be distributed in schools and who should make such a decision. Barrow and Woods (2006) argue that, for any subject to be included in the school curriculum, it has to contribute towards the school curriculum aims in a unique way. This reason illuminates the complication faced in deciding which knowledge should be included in the school curriculum (Fullan, 1993; Garfinkel, 2003; Gergen, 2003). This has also been true for the inclusion of sexuality education within the national curriculum of Lesotho. Sexuality education has a lot to contribute to the development of a healthy, HIV free Basotho nation, despite the challenges that still face its inclusion and practice within the school curriculum. Apple (2008, p. 241) offers the following comment in relation to the nature of education as a whole: Education must be seen as a political act. To do this, we need to think relationally. That is, understanding education requires that we situate it back into the unequal relations of power in the large society and into the relations of dominance and subordination – and the conflicts to change these things – that are generated by these relations. This argument offers an understanding of the political nature of education, and has been applied to the understanding of sexuality education in Lesotho. The argument that I raise is that the contesting spaces reflected in the understandings and experiences regarding the sexuality education curriculum should be situated within the unequal power relations as well as relations of dominance and subordination in the education system of Lesotho. Thus, the genealogy presented in this chapter reflects that such unequal power relations have characterised the overall history of education in Lesotho from the time the missionaries introduced formal western education to the present. 2.4 Conclusion This chapter has presented the historical context of the study. I have detailed the history of sexuality education in Lesotho using Foucault's notion of genealogy. I have also analysed and discussed the

trends and changes from pre to post-colonial curriculum reform in sexuality education. The aim of presenting the genealogical analysis of Lesotho's sexuality education curriculum has been to create a framework against which the understandings and experiences of the participants should be interpreted and understood. Through this chapter, I have highlighted the hegemony enjoyed by Christianity in Lesotho's educational system and hence the sexuality education curriculum. ---------------------- [1]Tŝipho was played by boys in the fields as they herded the livestock. It involved holding onto the ground with both hands and raising the buttocks and feet off the ground, while following this with the up-and-down mo꞉ ꞉ꞏꙨ꙼꙲vement of the buttocks. [2] Thethana is a bead skirt that was the traditional Basotho dress for girls. This bead skirt sometimes was just long enough to cover the pubic region and part of the buttocks. [3]According to Paroz (1993, p. 184), Koma means initiation secret, or a special song sung during the night when boys are being initiated.

CHAPTER 3 Who else has taken the journey? Literature Review 3.1 Introduction In the previous chapter I detailed the history of sexuality education in Lesotho using Foucault's notion of genealogy and discussed the trends and changes from pre to post-colonial curriculum reform in sexuality education. This chapter builds on the history by presenting literature on sexuality education and female sexuality in Lesotho. Few studies have been conducted on sexuality education, female and adolescent sexualities in Lesotho. There are even fewer studies that document teachers' perceptions, understandings and experiences of facilitating sexuality education in Lesotho schools. The only place where female and adolescent sexualities are discussed is within the context of unwanted teenage pregnancy. However, several studies have been conducted in other Southern African countries that are useful. This literature review framed by the question, 'How may my readings on sexuality education, female sexuality, and women teachers' lives in other countries inform studying the lives of women teachers within sexuality education classrooms in rural Lesotho schools?" This question was chosen to guide the review because of the paucity of literature within the context of Lesotho in relation to sexuality education and women teachers' lives. This review of local and international literature is on sexuality education debates, female sexuality, gender and education, women teachers' lives as well as research on HIV and AIDS in education. The aim is to contextualise the research within existing relevant knowledge by analysing and understanding the cutting-edge debates on the topic and to identify gaps in the literature where this study can make a contribution. 3.2 What is sexuality? According to Holland et al (1999, p. 458) sexuality entails "people's sexual identities in all their cultural and historical multiplicity". They state that according to their understanding, sexuality does not only involve sexual practices. It involves people's knowledge and beliefs about sex, especially what people think is natural, proper and desirable. In agreement, Weeks (2003) argues that sexuality is a product of culture and nature and not simply about physical drives or genetic imprinting. Thus for Weeks:

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 to be linked together (Weeks, 2003, p. 7). Machera (2004, p. 167) also describes sexuality as being "constantly reshaped through cultural, familial and political relations which are conditioned through prevailing social organisations of gender, race and class relationships". Judith Lorber, on the other hand, describes the constructionist view of sexuality thus: All sexual desires, practices, and identities not only are generated but reflect a culture's views of nature, the purpose of life and procreation, good and evil, pleasure and pain; the discourses about them are permeated with power... (Lorber, 1994, p. 56) Based on the ideas of these different scholars, I would argue that we socially construct and sustain our sexuality through language. Thus if sexuality involves what people know and believe, then it means that sexuality is indeed a problematic concept with no easy answers to the challenges it poses. I am, therefore, in total agreement with Carole Vance (1984) who argues that sexuality is an invention of the human mind. Despite the challenges inherent in trying to define sexuality, the meanings referred to in this section form the basis of the understanding of sexuality employed throughout this study. 3.3 Sexuality education debate Sexuality education in schools has been an issue of intense debate in relation to the teaching and learning strategies employed. While schools are acknowledged as important in the production and regulation of sexual identities they, however, prohibit any expression of sexuality within their premises (Epstein & Johnson, 1998). "Sex education is always about what a particular government chooses to permit the school to say officially about sexuality and what or whom must remain silent…" 2**(Epstein, O'Flynn & Telford, 2003, p. 51),** In addition, there **is a** growing awareness among scholars (Glatthorn, Boschee, & Whitehead, 2006; Iannaconne, 1983; Marsh & Wills, 1995) that what is taught in the classroom is influenced by demands from several and often conflicting social actors who express their collective or individual views about the kind of learning children should obtain in schools. These views vary according to social actors' specific value orientations (Christie, 1992; Cornbleth, 1990; Sutton & Levinson, 2001). Thus, Kelly (1999, p. 167) describes curriculum as "the battleground of many competing influences and ideologies." As such, the sexuality education curriculum is not neutral but a hotly contested space and is a battleground for contesting societal ideologies. The reality of what actually happens in schools shows that if at all sexuality education is addressed; it is not done effectively (Epstein, 1997; Epstein & Sears, 1999; Jones & Mahony, 1989; Measor, Tiffin, & Fry, 1996; Renold, 2005; Wolpe, 1988). Bhana et al. (2006), Morrell (2003) and Pattman (2006) argue that in many South African schools there is a culture of silence, because of the taboo nature of sexuality, which causes the inability and unwillingness of teachers and learners to personally reflect on issues of gender and sexuality. They argue that such a culture undermines AIDS prevention initiatives and places learners and teachers at risk of HIV and AIDS. Experiences of teachers being sexualised by their students have also been documented as creating challenges for effective teaching of sexuality education (Aapola & Kangas, 1996; Cunnison, 1989; Lahelma et al., 2000). In Canadian schools, Coulter (1995) has observed that it is not uncommon for male students to make nasty comments in relation to women teachers' bodies, how they are dressed and how they move. These kinds of comments are also common in Finnish schools (Kivivouri, 1997). This situation contributes to teachers' fears of addressing issues of

sexuality within their classrooms. This means that while schools and teachers remain silent, students learn about their sexuality from the informal 'hidden' curriculum, particularly in the "social culture of the school" (Lesko, 2000 p. 76). Studies conducted in African countries by Mirembe and Davies (2001), Biersteker and Hermanus (2003), Dunne (2008) and Dunne et al (2005) have explored the 'hidden curriculum' in schools and support Lesko's argument about how it encourages gender polarisation in the formation of sexual identities. Sexuality education programs existing in schools are silent on sexual pleasure. They place more emphasis on the risks, girls and women's vulnerability and violation of their rights. Such programs position women as victims and men as perpetrators of violence (Correa, 2002; Fine, 1988; Forrest, 2000; Ingham, 2005; Jolly, 2007; Klugman, 2000; Petchesky, 2005). Thus sexuality education becomes dangerous as it deals with the things that the school both explicitly and implicitly wants to exclude (Paechter, 2004, 2006). Fine (1988) and Thompson and Scott (1991) also discuss in some detail the 'missing discourse' of desire and female pleasure in school sex education. They note that female desire and pleasure do not play a significant part in the official discourses of the classroom even in sexuality education classes where sex is to be spoken about (see also Forrest, 2000). Pattman's (2005) study also claims that the popular stereotype that positions girls and women as lacking desire and sexual agency makes it difficult for many girls and women to talk about their feelings. There is evidence that positive approaches to sexuality can help build confidence to make positive decisions, while stigma and scare tactics leave people feeling less able to assert themselves (Philpott, Knerr & Maher, 2006). In 'Pleasure and danger' Carole Vance (1984) argues that male sexual violence and the ideologies and institutions that justify it create challenges for women to pursue their own sexual pleasures. McFadden (2003) also argues that because of patriarchal concepts of women's sexuality as 'bad' or 'filthy' many African women are afraid of considering the possibilities for their own sexual pleasure. Pereira (2003), on the other hand, challenges McFadden's understanding of African sexuality. She points out that there is need for research to focus on African women and men's understandings of sexual power and pleasure by. Despite this challenge, she is in agreement with proponents of sexual pleasure in education. Arguing against McFadden's (2003) critique of African men as sexual oppressors, and Vance' (1984) argument on male sexual violence and its effects on female sexual pleasure, Ouzgane and Morrell (2005) posit that the multiple and diverse forms of masculinity and differences in power are ignored for Third world men. In agreement with Pereira (2003), they also advocate for African masculinities to be understood in their diversity in relation to sexual power and pleasure. Through these discussions, one can argue that adolescents schooled within discourses of the dangers and risks of sex grow up to become adults who are unable to fully appreciate their bodies and the pleasures inherent in them. This creates challenges for promoting safer sex practices as pleasurable in a bid to promote safer sex practices among the youth for HIV prevention. Another major concern is that girls and women are brought up to believe that being sexually active is to transgress the rules of femininity. The quest for sex transforms good girls into bad girls, hence most women and girls "accept the cultural standard of minimalism defined as fewer partners, fewer positions, less pleasure and less sex" by Kimmel (2004, p. 240). These rules of female sexuality and femininity are enforced by other women and men, and institutionalised in churches, the state and schools. This study sought to better understand how women teachers are implicated in the enforcement of gendered stereotypes in their teaching of sexuality education. The predominant discourse regarding childhood sexuality in the current literature is that of childhood innocence, in which children are constructed as desexualised and in need of protection from sexual knowledge

(Bhana, 2003; Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Epstein et al., 2003; Mitchell, Walsh, & Larkin, 2004; Reddy, 2003, 2005; Renold, 2005). This discourse has justified the silencing of childhood sexualities in schools and society at large, on the premise that once children know then they are no longer innocent. Thus it is a problematic discourse for the youth because they are denied the information they need to make informed decisions regarding their budding sexualities. Mitchell et al. (2004, p. 45) argue that "presenting young people as children and hence as unknowing and being unprepared for their own sexuality, in this era of HIV and AIDS, is as good as gambling with their lives". Epstein et al. (2003, p. 36) also argue that "the only education that requires deferment to parental wishes is sexuality education" and this points to the sensitive nature of the subject. In relation to all these arguments, Piot et al. (2008, p. 850) observe that if we do not reach young people with the right information before their sexual debut, "we could miss important opportunities to affect the course of the pandemic over the next generation." They argue for a sexuality education program that is age-appropriate and brings forth all sexual choices and possibilities. While most of the studies cited above focus on adolescent sexuality, van der Riet's (2009) study looks into preschool teachers' perceptions and constructions of childhood sexuality. She argues that most programs on sexuality education in South Africa target adolescents while preschool children are left out. Through a discourse analysis of a focus group discussion with eight preschool teachers, she highlights the major discourses that shape the teachers' constructions of childhood sexuality. Van der Reit (2009, p. 323) concludes that "younger children and some girl children were constructed as fairly 'asexual'; older children and boy children tended to be accorded 'sexual instincts'." She also posits that regarding childhood sexuality as dangerous creates challenges for teachers who feel they have to take charge of the situation and prevent the children from harm. In accordance with the discourse of childhood innocence, the teachers in van der Reit's (2009) study also believe that there are certain aspects of sexuality that children are not allowed. These perceptions and constructions of childhood sexuality in relation to young children and girls become a challenge when teachers have to teach about sexuality because they are in disagreement with young children exploring their sexuality. This study therefore explored how sexuality education is being practiced in Lesotho schools and how the discourse of childhood innocence is implicated in this practice. It also looked into how female sexuality discourses create im/possibilities for women teachers to practice sexuality education in rural schools. 3.4 HIV and AIDS in Lesotho This study focuses on the experiences of women teachers teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. In order to understand their experiences, we firstly have to understand the context of Lesotho in relation to the pandemic. 3.4.1 Lesotho's policy initiatives on HIV/AIDS According to UNAIDS (2005) Lesotho is among the highly affected countries in terms of HIV infection rates with a 23.2% nationwide prevalence. HIV and AIDS threaten the development and survival of the Basotho nation. Thus in 2000 HIV and AIDS were declared 1**a national disaster by His Majesty King Letsie III.** This lead to the development of the first National

Policy Framework (GoL, 2000). A revised National HIV and AIDS Policy came into effect in 2006 (National AIDS Commission (NAC), 2006). The revised policy framework is aimed at addressing the multi-sectoral implementation of national responses by providing appropriate coordination of interventions. Highlighted in the framework is the challenge of addressing the possible infection avenues. The framework also emphasises the government's commitment to ensuring universal access to prevention and empowering people who are vulnerable in order to ensure resilience. To signal its

commitment to the fight against HIV, Lesotho signed several declarations responding to the pandemic. Lesotho has prioritised MDG 6 which is about eradicating HIV and TB to become number one because it is a national priority. These initiatives show Lesotho's commitment to curb further spread of HIV and AIDS among its citizens. 3.4.2 Perceptions on HIV and AIDS Ranotsi and Worku (2006) point out that Lesotho is among nine sub-Saharan African countries with an urban prevalence rate of 28.9% among adults. They argue that the threat of HIV and AIDS to rural Lesotho populations is exacerbated by the return of retrenched rural Basotho men from South African mines. Family Health International's (2002) study showed that mineworkers and taxi drivers had very low knowledge in relation to HIV and AIDS. The study also showed that among all age groups condom use is very low, with a tendency for multiple concurrent partners (Family Health International, 2002, pp. 6- 14). Studies conducted by the Lesotho Planned Parenthood association (2002) and Family Health International (2005) show that Basotho children engage early in sexual activity before gaining any knowledge on issues of sexuality, hence the spread of HIV is alarmingly high among them. These studies argue for the youth to be educated about their sexuality and how to prevent new HIV infections. Akeke, Mokgatle and Oguntibeju (2007) write that religion has a significant bearing on Basotho people's knowledge, attitudes and beliefs in relation to the transmission of HIV in both positive and negative ways. They have observed that Catholic Christians frown at the use of condoms while all other denominations and religions in Quthing do not support pre-marital sex, sexual promiscuity or homosexuality. While knowledge about HIV was high among the inmates they interviewed, misconceptions and unfavourable attitudes to people living with AIDS are still high. Thus the stigmatisation and subsequent marginalisation of people affected or infected with HIV is a big driver of transmission among Basotho. 3.5 Researching HIV and AIDS in education It has been acknowledged that education has a significant role to play in the fight against HIV and AIDS (Kelly, 2002, p. 1). One of the challenges for education, however, is that many of the teachers are themselves infected with the virus. Particularly high prevalence rates of infection in rural areas and amongst younger teachers in South Africa were revealed in the Education Labour Relations Council's (ELRC) report (2005). Overall, the HIV prevalence of teachers is found to be similar to that of the general population (ELRC, 2005, p. 128). The implication is that the knowledge and skills that teachers have about HIV is not contributing to behaviour changes around sexual activities, or that there is a general knowledge inadequacy. The report, therefore, recommends that teachers should be equipped with skills for personal negotiation of safer sex (p. 132), and skills for educating learners about HIV and AIDS. I do acknowledge, however, that being able to negotiate safer sex does not necessarily prevent one from being a victim of sexual abuse. O'Donoghue (2002) highlights that school AIDS programmes should stress participatory teaching and learning methods and life-skills training. He highlights that teachers and curriculum developers need training and guidance in participatory techniques. The challenges highlighted in these studies are also relevant to Lesotho despite the fact that there are hardly any studies done on HIV and AIDS within the education sector. Kelly (2002) advocates comprehensive programmes that empower participants to live "sexually responsible, healthy lives" (p. 5) and warns that in this regard, programmes should be "speaking with one voice" (p. 11) and work across all sectors of society. James (2002) argues for the importance of contextually relevant HIV prevention programmes to ensure their effectiveness. Additionally, Chetty (2000) points to the fact that health and sexuality are private concerns and this is reflected in institutional cultures and their responses to HIV and AIDS. He raises an important question of how a private practice such as sexuality can be made into an issue of public

debate and action whilst being sensitive to the cultures in which our institutions are rooted. However, it is noted that good leadership is important in the ultimate success of any institutional policy. Scholars highlight the need for policies that are gender sensitive (ASWE, 2001; Chetty, 2000; Ennals & Rauan, 2002; Kelly, 2001). The fact that women are more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS has been well researched but ways of reducing the level of threat to women are still not well developed. Castle and Kiggundu (2007) built on this argument in their study looking at the vulnerability of marginalised groups to HIV and AIDS. They argue that fresh approaches to HIV and AIDS prevention are needed for the youth as well as adults. Coombe (2003b), on the other hand argues that policies and planning are not translating into effective implementation. She also posits that responses at community-level are problematic because they are under funded or ill-managed, even though some of them are effective. She raises an important issue saying "Little has been done to interrogate planning assumptions about the effectiveness of teachers as counsellors, sexual advisors and mentors during this crisis" (Coombe, 2003b, pp 84- 85). On presenting the preparedness of SADC countries for dealing with HIV and AIDS, Coombe (2003b, p. 89) indicates that: … only two of the thirteen countries surveyed are preparing pre- service and in-service teachers to teach Life Skills curricular, no teacher educators have been trained in HIV and AIDS issues and curriculum implementation, no countries offer counselling for learners or educators, and not one country rated as prepared to respond creatively to mitigating the impact of HIV and AIDS on the education sector. Concerns raised by Coombe and the 3**Association for the Development of Education in** sub-Saharan **Africa (ADEA)** that teachers are not adequately prepared for the extraordinary demands HIV and AIDS make on teachers appear to be endorsed by the findings of the ELRC in their report on the health of South African educators (ELRC, 2005). 3.5.1 HIV and AIDS in the classroom This review includes studies conducted in countries other than Lesotho as they serve to highlight the shortage of knowledge on what really occurs in classrooms during sexuality and HIV and AIDS education lessons. Although from studies done in countries other than Lesotho, this literature is relevant for this study as it highlights the shortage of studies that focus on what happens in schools during sexuality education and HIV and AIDS education lessons. Few studies pose questions about who the sexuality education teachers are or what happens during the teaching, and in particular how teachers experience the teaching of sexuality, HIV and AIDS (Baxen, 2005; Baxen, 2006; Baxen & Breidlid, 2004; Bhana, 2007, 2009; Bhana & Epstein, 2007; Morrell, Epstein, Unterhalter, Bhana and Moletsane, 2009). In the Lesotho context, no studies investigate what happens in classrooms when teachers teach about sexuality, HIV and AIDS. With HIV and AIDS prevalence being very high among school-going youth, it is important to interrogate and understand the conditions that are implicated in this state of affairs. Several studies have been conducted on school-going youth in order to establish the relationship between education and sexual behaviour. These studies highlight the ways in which gender power relations are played out in heterosexual relationships and the power dynamics that facilitate unsafe sexual practices, with most of the studies focussing on sexual harassment and coercion (see Bhana, 2005; LeClerc- Madlala, 2002; Morrell, 1998, 2000, 2003; Pattman, 2005; Scorgie, 2002; Silberschmidt, 2001; Wood & Jewkes, 1998). Other studies have looked into the social constructions of the pandemic and as such have examined the social and cultural practices that create challenges with regard to infection and prevention (see Buthelezi, 2004; Campbell, Foulis, Maimane & Sibiya, 2005; LeClerc-Madlala, 2002; Simpson, 2007). In particular, there is a shortage of work that focuses on teachers, either as

facilitators of sexuality, HIV and AIDS education (Baxen, 2005). Baxen (2005, p. 60) argues that in Akoulouze, Rugalema, & Khanye's (2001) study, teachers are "positioned as deliverers of an uncontested, already negotiated and agreed upon body of HIV/AIDS knowledge". She argues that teachers are assumed to be in the best position and able to teach about a private matter such as sexuality within the public sphere of the school (Baxen, 2005). Contrarily, Rivers and Aggleton (1999) have indicated a need to regard teachers as sexual beings who might have trouble teaching about sexuality. As Baxen and Breidlid (2004) argue, teachers' lives and experiences need to be explored as key factors in their teaching of sexuality education. At present, teachers are not forthcoming with their own experiences of sexuality and hence there is a strong likelihood that the taboo will go unchallenged. Another generation of children will grow up with little discussion and understanding of sex which will expose to unnecessary sexual risks. 3.6 Gender and education Understanding issues of sexuality, HIV and AIDS in education requires an understanding of the gender dynamics that are characteristic of school environments. This section discusses the importance of gender in education, especially for developing countries such as Lesotho. While gender issues may be a stated educational priority, education in developing contexts is itself rarely subjected to gendered analysis or to critical feminist investigation (Leach, 2000). There are few documented initiatives where teachers' own gendered experiences and issues are discussed. Stromquist (1996) is critical of the ways in which international agencies officially advocate gender equity, and attend to gender issues, whilst consistently ignoring contributions of feminist analysis. The agencies focus mostly on supplying education, and they assume that the education being supplied is neutral, unproblematic and uncontested. As Leach (2000, p. 336) writes, however, these agencies are failing to "understand, appreciate and act upon the powerful gender ideology embedded in all educational institutions, which along with the family, is the state's key agent of socialisation of the young." The Dakar framework for Action is an example of a very optimistic policy document in presuming that schooling will create positive change for individuals and future society. In contrast, Longwe (1998, p. 19) interprets conventional school systems as "a process of schooling for women's subordination". She argues that schools are "patriarchal establishments which are grounded in the values and rules of patriarchal society" (Longwe, 1998, p. 19) where women and girls are conditioned to accept male domination as natural. Jeffery and Basu (1996) also critique the traditional notion of schooling for girls as an effective contraception and express their doubt about the impact of education on women's autonomy. Their argument warrants attention, especially in the Lesotho context in which girls and women are schooled in bigger numbers than boys and men. Stromquist (1996) critiques the tokenistic approaches taken by governments and donor agencies where gender equity is defined and controlled through patriarchal, male-dominated networks. Stromquist also critiques the gender delusions and exclusions in relation to education and democratization. Although rhetorically relying heavily on the involvement and buy-in of teachers, Stromquist argues that donor agencies do not bother much with teachers' training needs, and they often exclude teachers from important conferences and other educational meetings. It may be hoped that the increased participation of women in education, may contribute towards changes in gender roles and relations and can therefore be a strategic initiative towards gender equality. However, the feminisation of the teaching profession in western contexts has not necessarily created stronger positions for women as educational leaders (see also Moorosi, 2006), nor has it necessarily brought about the strategic advances for women that might have been hoped for by feminist educators (Grumet, 1988; Miller, 1992; Walkerdine, 1990). Attention has to be given to the short term and long term implications of increasing female

385

participation in teaching, not only on girls' education, but for the system as a whole. Kirk (2005) argues that education policies that entrench stereotypical gender roles and promote traditional gender identities for women might be disempowering for both men and women. Subrahmanian (2002) questions the extent to which alternative schools in India that seek to address gender imbalances in current access to education do so in ways which exaggerate current patterns of inclusion and exclusion. She argues that women teachers who teach girls in alternative, non-formal, female-only schools risk being doubly disadvantaged. They are situated at the margins of an educational system that was developed by and for men (Paechter, 1998), and which has been slow to respond to changing gender roles and ideologies. Acknowledging and working with women teachers' own experiences of girls' education may provide interesting starting points for teacher development initiatives which promote quality education for girls and leadership for women teachers (Mitchell, 1995). An example might be the innovative professional development described by Bonder (1995), which is very much centred on the participants' own understanding s and experiences of gender relations. This allows them to name and explore their own multiple and shifting identities as individual women who teach, but are also mothers, partners, daughters and friends. Readings, discussions and activities in this professional development initiative are all related to the lived experiences, attitudes and ideas of the women teachers. These all aim to deepen understandings and then to develop strategies which acknowledge and challenge the interconnections of gender inequities in schools, homes and communities. As Stacki and Pigozzi (1995) write from their experience with an empowerment-focused teacher education program in India: Especially for female teachers in developing nations, curriculum must include a critical understanding of patriarchy, balancing traditional values of conventional societies with women's values and ways of knowing. Content should include analysing and discussing to better understand themselves and their societal situation; recognising the balance required to accommodate new definitions of men and women. (p. 18) As Stromquist, Klees and Miske (2000, p. 255) state, "It is not possible to isolate girls' education from the substance of politics of women's concerns." Yet this is exactly what can happen when programming, policy and thinking relating to girls and women are detached, and attention is focussed on practical policy measures. The conceptual, practical and strategic linkages between women teachers and girls' education have to be explored in more depth in different institutional and cultural contexts, in order to determine the relationships between women teacher empowerment and the empowerment of girls (Kirk, 2003, 2004, 2005). 3.7 Female bodies and education Goetz (1994) points out that female bodies matter a lot in development contexts. However, as Stromquist (1996), Leach (2000), and Kabeer and Subrahmanian (2000) observe, in the education sector these bodies are largely defined in male-dominated terms and conditions. In response to demands for equality, women and girls' bodies, especially in schools, have to be counted. Bodies and minds become separated in this counting process. As Kirk (2003) writes, attention to bodies in schools is generally focused on two domains, those of curricular intervention and of bodily regulation, protection and provision. The bodies to be regulated and protected are most often those of girl students and women teachers. Development agencies and organisations may be involved in initiatives related to both domains through, for example, support for life-skills and HIV and AIDS curriculum development, and through support for policy development to create safer schools. When it takes place at all, curricular attention to bodies and sexuality tends to be through didactic instruction on sexually transmitted diseases, HIV and AIDS and pregnancy prevention, often with a strong emphasis on abstinence (Mgalla, Schapink & Boerma, 1998). Although there are examples of work that engages young

386

people, to encourage them to speak openly about their bodies and their bodily feelings in South Africa (Walsh et al.. 2002), Uganda (Straight Talk Foundation, 2002), and South Asia (Seshadri, 2002), for example, much of this occurs outside of the formal school context. Stromquist (1996) reminds us of the controversial nature of even the most conservative curriculum programs on adolescent sexuality and the potential for conflict between parents, religious leaders and education authorities. Formal school curricular tends to address the body only in bio-medical terms (Mirembe & Davies, 2001), and is assumed to operate outside of the social context and behaves rationally according to information received. Little attention is given to whether such curricular are taught by male or female teachers. Educational policy attention to the body also occurs in relation to issues of student and teacher pregnancy, rape, sexual harassment and other forms of gender-based violence. As indicated by a number of recent studies (Human Rights Watch, 2001, Mgalla et al., 1998; Mirembe & Davies, 2001; Omale, 2000; Panos Institute, 2003), these issues are cause for concern. In many cases they warrant protective measures to be in place. The number and frequency of reported cases of sexual harassment and rape of female students by boys and male teachers in schools are, in some contexts, alarmingly high. With the high prevalence of HIV and AIDS among male teachers, the consequences of teacher abuse of girls can be even more serious. In South Africa it is estimated that one woman in six is in an abusive relationship, and that rape and assault are frequent features of intimate relationships (Mlamleli et al., 2001). Thus regulations have been developed on teachers' behaviours in relation to their students in order to maintain the moral and social order within schools and societies. These regulations stipulate that teachers, male and female, are not to have any sexual relations with their students irrespective of their ages, nor harass learners sexually or physically (see Gol, 1995; SACE, 2005). Teachers are expected to respect learner's rights and beliefs. They should earn learner's respect by using language that is not provocative and behave respectably. In the context of schools in sub-Saharan Africa, Makau and Coombe (1994) argue that the use of sexual harassment and sexual power over women teachers in relation to appointment, deployment or selection for training has to be stopped. Thus using Armatya Sen's (2002) framework of development as freedom, Correa (2002) calls for an education that aims to promote sexual rights. She argues for the affirmation of sexual rights along with eroticism, recreation and pleasure. Feminist scholars such as Kristeva (1982), Young (1990) and Oakley (1984), have critiqued the ways in which male-dominated discourses have problematised the biological nature of the female body as 'leaky'. Such discourses have attempted to control the constant fluidity of women's bodies and at pathologise the menstruating, pregnant, birthing or breast- feeding body of women. It might be argued that the control and regulation of the disorder that women and girls supposedly create is apparent in educational settings. Rules and regulations concerning specific female issues such as exclusion from school in pregnancy, may exist, and as such may be quite explicit in their discrimination against girls' and women's equal participation in education. Chilisa's (2002) study reports that national education policies in seven countries of sub-Saharan Africa force pregnant girls to leave school. Six of the countries have re-entry policies. However, as the example case of Botswana shows, re-entry policies ignore the gender dynamics that make it difficult for a girl to return to school after motherhood. Teachers' colleges in many African countries also exclude pregnant women or even bar entry to married women who are potentially pregnant. Kirk (2003) observes that in many cases, an explicit ban is not required as prevailing gender relations and the facilities provided make it impossible for mothers, or even married women to attend. Women teachers usually are placed in an uncomfortable situation in which they are subjected to

comprehensive control within hierarchical school structures, while also being expected to impose rules on student bodies (Sattler, 1997). As is the case in Mirembe and Davies' (2001) study of school culture in Uganda, equally disturbing for girls is women teachers' lack of attention to the safety of their bodies against sexual harassment at school. They report that: The [women] teachers themselves do not challenge sexual harassment in school but just choose to tolerate, thereby giving a helpless situation to the girls (Mirembe & Davies, 2001, p. 410). We should recognise, however, girls' harassment occurs within a context of hegemonic masculinity, where women teachers are also subjects of sexual harassment. As Goetz (1994) asserts, attention has to be paid to the gendered structuring and ideology of the organisations women are involved with and therefore to the schools in which women teachers are working in. UNESCO states that: A teacher is not just someone who stands up in front of a group in order to give a lesson; he or she should treat the boys and girls with patience, affection and care, preparing them to work for a decent standard of living, as well as reinforcing social role models that promote gender equality. Due to motherhood, and traditional family responsibilities, women are prepared to relate to children. This is undoubtedly a great advantage that relates to teaching. However, it is not enough. Professional training is required so that women may perform optimally in education systems. In traditional societies it is also important for female teachers to give parents greater confidence in sending their daughters to school (2000, p. 33). The "great advantage" which according to UNESCO, childcare and family responsibilities give to women teachers has to be questioned. Discourses of nurturing and caring may become in themselves regulatory mechanisms through which women's participation is controlled and limited to the classroom (Pillay, 2009; Rosen, 1999; Ruddick, 1989). At the primary school level, cultures of schooling intersect with cultures of the home and family (Unterhalter & Dutt, 2001) and in contexts such as Lesotho, gendered power imbalances in both family and school converge to create constraints for women. Women teachers, defined primarily in terms of their biological body, become equated with less-valued classroom-based tasks, whilst men's invisible bodies are associated with higher status and mindful activities such as management, supervision and policy development (cf. Pillay, 2009). Women in many developing countries including Lesotho are marginalised from leadership and management in education and from policy and decision-making processes. With a development planning approach that emphasises the need to train and upgrade women to work as caring, patient and nurturing teachers, the male domination of such a system remains unchallenged (Kirk, 2003). As the UNESCO statement points out: "professional training is required so that women may perform optimally in education systems" (2000, p. 33). It is the woman teacher who is incomplete and insufficient, not the system. Thus the deficit model of looking at women teachers within schooling systems creates challenges for many women teachers. While gender policy in education seeks to promote quality education for girls, often through the recruitment and placement of women teachers, Kirk (2005) points to an inherent paradox. If the gendered experiences of women teachers are bypassed in policy and training that focuses on apparently gender-neutral professional practice, the tendency will remain to homogenise the notion of teacher. An alternative gender and development approach in relation to women teachers may provide a more critical vantage point from which to explore the gender-based marginalisation, discrimination and limitations that women and girls experience in schools. It could encourage policy development which goes beyond mere recognition of men's and women's different roles and responsibilities in society, and which aims to shift imbalances in gender and power relations. 3.8 Women teachers This section deals with issues of being a woman and a teacher, two separate but linked identities, and how

teacher and woman shape each other in the construction of a woman teacher. I discuss the research on women teachers within a feminist framework, and how the female body is involved in the experiences of being a woman teacher. These studies were useful in my understanding of the positioning of the research participants as women teachers teaching sexuality education within the context of HIV and AIDS in rural classrooms in Lesotho. 3.8.1 Women teachers' lives Feminist scholarship insists that gender plays a significant part in the ordering of social structure and consciousness, while profoundly shaping the conditions of our lives, and as such gender cannot be excluded from any analysis of experience in any aspect of life. This is particularly true of a field of study that is tied to women's social and professional positions in public school teaching (Lather, 1994). Feminist scholars challenge dominant, male-oriented paradigms and argue for women's experiences of teaching and learning to be inscribed into the centre of educational theory-making. Feminist approaches also commit teacher-researchers to a consciousness of their own positionality and of the power of their own voice. Central to feminist analyses of schooling and teaching are the shifting power and gender dynamics and the complex realities of female teacher lives. They highlight the contradictions and paradoxes of lived experience. It is important to consider the multiple ways in which being a woman may shape teaching identities, how being a teacher may shape experiences of being a woman, and how these identities may overlap and/or contradict. Also to be acknowledged is how other aspects of individual identity, such as race, class, sexual orientation, religion and ethnicity, further shape gendered experiences of teaching (Kirk, 2004). A small number of feminist scholars have worked intensively with groups of women and men teachers to explore their lived experiences. Although these studies take place in western contexts (North America and Australia), their conceptual frameworks and methodological approaches to women teachers' lives make them highly relevant to studying women teachers' lives in a developing country such as Lesotho. Common to the scholarship of Munro (1998) and Middleton (1993) are frameworks that allow for the co-existence of agency and accommodation, action and resistance, power and powerlessness, and the interdependence of self-definition with external factors. Walkerdine (1990) points out the tensions and contradictions in being a woman teacher: an identity that commands respect (teacher) while at the same time speaking of subordination, marginalisation and repression (woman). Walkerdine suggests that any fixed, institutionally-determined position or subjectivity defined by the term 'woman teacher' is impossible. In agreement, Munro (1998, p. 1) explains that "to be a woman is to lack authority, knowledge and power. To be a teacher is to have authority, knowledge and power". Munro (1998) explores the life histories of three female educators in order to better understand how women teachers construct their selves both within and against dominant educational and cultural (androcentric) norms and discourses. Munro uses post-structuralist theorising to position women teachers as subjects of, but also creators of, educational discourse history. Through the complex and often contradictory stories of her interviewees, Munro argues that women's resistance does not depend on traditional conceptualisations of power as a product to be acquired, seized, or shared. She claims that while women may become victims of patriarchy, they can also become agents of its perpetuation and disruption. Munro's theorising therefore opens up spaces in which to envision women teachers and researchers as accommodating dominant discourses whilst simultaneously challenging them. A number of feminist scholars have taken an autobiographical, self- reflexive approach in order to better understand not only their own teaching selves, but also the teaching selves of other women. The theorising of scholars such as Middleton (1993), Grumet (1988) and Motalingoane-Khau (2007b) places women teachers' lives, and the knowledge

389

generated through their experiences of being mothers, wives, sisters and daughters, at the centre of pedagogical knowledge. This study borrows from such theorisation in order to better understand women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools, through their embodied knowledge as mothers, wives, sisters and daughters. Using a life history approach, Middleton (1993) focuses on the contradictions and complexities of women's educational experiences, interweaving her story with those of her participants. Reflecting on her own experiences as feminist educator and feminist activist, Middleton connects history, biography and social structure in order to examine master narratives of education from the inside out. From a feminist perspective she critiques education as a complex sociological field, shaped by multiple inequalities and power differences. She posits that hearing and valuing women teachers'stories, experiences and subjectivities within educational contexts, where female experience has been trivialised and female voices marginalised, is certainly challenging. However, by making visible the constructed nature of these voices, as well as of her text itself, Middleton challenges dominant and oppressive constructions of the female teacher. Additionally, through interrogating the perceived oppositional identities of being a mother and an academic, Pillay (2009) observes that regarding motherhood and work in the public sphere as 'balancing two lives' is limiting for women academics. She posits that this approach assumes that thinking and intellectual pursuits are a masculine terrain which has no room for emotion and nurturing. Ribbens (1994) also highlights that the inability of academic mothers to internalise their motherhood as part of their intellectual selves then their motherhood and scholarship would lose their social value. These scholars argue that if women focus on the differences between mother and academic, they will never achieve a wholeness of self. 3.8.2 The female teacher's body Grumet (1988) seeks to reclaim the teacher's body from curricular and pedagogical invisibility. Her writing on women teachers and women's education is infused with a strong sense of her own embodied self, as teacher, mother, wife and daughter. Her physical movements and the clothing she wears define and inform her pedagogy. The knowledge she generates through attention to such dimensions of lived experiences becomes important sources of curriculum theorising. Mitchell and Weber (1999) also disrupt the apparent social taboo that divorces the professional practice of teaching from aspects of self such as appearance, dress, body shape, sensuality, sexuality, desire, fantasy and emotions. They are nonetheless aware of how bringing these terms into discussion of teaching practice can place one on shaky ground, especially when issues of sexual abuse are at the forefront of the public mind. This is especially true in Lesotho where open discussion of issues such as sexuality, sensuality and the body is still taboo. On the other hand, as didactic approaches to teaching about the dangers of unsafe sexual practices to Basotho children were seen to be less effective than hoped for in the battle against HIV and AIDS, alternative approaches were taken. Despite this change in focus, Coombe (2003) still warns that preparing teachers to comfortably and effectively present and work on such body- focused topics as sexuality with children is a great challenge and one to which more attention has to be given. Scholars such as McWilliam (1996a, 1996b, 1999), and Paechter (1998, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2006) argue for placing women teachers' bodies at the forefront of teaching and learning theory. McWilliam and Paechter draw attention to the problematic ways in which male dominated thinking has led to the prevalence of mind/body dualisms and separations and the constant privileging of the mind over the body (cf. Damasio, 1994). In the education sector the human body is ever present even though not in connection with cognitive and mental activity. For students and teachers alike the body has to be controlled, regulated and managed, so that it does not interfere with the more important intellectual

activity. This sort of control and regulation occurs through physical education programs, uniform policy, and through confining children to sitting in desks. However, testimonies of female educators such as Grumet (1988) and Steedman (1987) assert the importance of bodies in processes of teaching and learning. In recent years feminist scholars of education have taken an increasing interest in the female teacher's body, in the embodied knowledge of female educators, and in applications of feminist theorists' understanding of the female body, of body performance and body-voice in the classroom context (see for example, Elbaz-Luwisch & Estola, 2001; Estola, 2003; Mitchell & Weber, 1999; Viser, 1999). McWilliam (1996a, p. 341) examines the "corpor/realities" of the lived experiences of the female teacher and insists on the physicality of the personal and professional knowledge. She draws on emerging feminist theories of the female body as a site and subject of discourse and of its role in knowledge production and reproduction. Her work reclaims the teaching body as a significant site of educational activity that is both cultural and political. When attention is focused on the body, however, McWilliam (1996a) highlights a paradox for the female teacher. Her "fleshy body" performing in the classroom is not only a "site" of educational knowledge, but also a "sight" for external male gaze. McWilliam (1996a) and Paechter's (2004, 2006) theorising asserts the importance of lived body experience in the classroom, but given the realities of many developing country and rural classrooms (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005), there are perhaps limitations to the extent to which their theories of pedagogical eroticism make sense in such contexts, and specifically in Lesotho rural classrooms. There are also important issues 4**of gender-based-violence in and around schools** to keep in mind. And yet to ignore the female teacher's body would be to ignore an important dimension of "women's teaching as embodied, lived experience" (Kirk, 2003, p. 26). Rather than deny the risky presence of female bodies, Kirk (2003) argues that it is important to find ways of defining corporeality that embrace the pleasure and the vulnerability of women's physical presence in sexuality education classrooms. 3.9 Women and patriarchy in Lesotho In order to understand women and sexuality in Basotho society, we have to understand the wider context of women's positioning in Lesotho. Sekese (2002, p. 196) states that "Mosali ke morena[1]" which translates to mean that a woman is a very respectable person. In the past, Basotho women were respected as mothers of the nation and as such even a King would not lay a finger on a woman. As a result, wife-beating and any abuse of women was not condoned at all. Any man who was found guilty of such a crime was punished by being severely beaten by other men and was also fined one cow (Sekese, 2002, p. 35). The respect that was given to women was not according to status or any social standing. By virtue of being a woman, even a servant woman was highly respected. This did not, however, remove the fact that women could not make any major decisions concerning their own lives or families without the consent of the husbands. Epprecht (2000) has provided a vivid picture of the nineteenth-century gender relations in Lesotho, showing Basotho women's social presence as having been subordinate yet oddly powerful. Women in other African contexts have also been notable for their strong personality and dominant character. They are at "the heart of the family, and hold many reins of family and community life" (Arndt, 2002, p. 28). Stratton (1994, p. 54) succinctly sums up the status of the African woman by writing: "contrary to what is often thought today, the African woman does not need to be liberated. She has always been free for many thousands of years." In agreement, scholars like Oyewumi (1999), Amadiume (1987), and

391

Nnaemeka (1998) observe that pre-colonial African societies did not use gender as an organising principle, despite the many forms of social inequities that existed. They argue that African societies adopted patriarchy because the process of state formation and religion. However, Bakare-Yusuf (2003, p. 10) argues that "women, both now and in the past, play pivotal reproductive and productive roles that facilitate patriarchal economic and productive dominance". While Lesotho has had a history of female resistance to male domination (Epprecht, 2000), it is still the case today that patriarchal patterns are wide spread within the society. These include male dominance of public positions, male domination of decision making in family contexts and the 'perpetual minor' position occupied by Basotho women within families. 3.9.1 Female sexuality in Lesotho Current literature addresses female sexuality in Lesotho mostly within discourses of unwanted pregnancy, where female sexuality is depicted as a moral and health problem. Several studies have been conducted on teenage pregnancy and its impact on the physical health of the mother and child, their psychological well-being, the economic impact and moral issues (see Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005; Motlomelo & Sebatane, 1999; Polonyana, 1993; Tau, 1994). Female sexuality in Lesotho is emphasised within the discourse of child- bearing, which relates a woman's worth to the number of children produces. Arndt (2002, p. 126) has also observed that "women's identity and the justification of their existence is rooted in their motherhood." She states that a barren woman is deprived of joy and spends her life hoping to raise children one day. The discrimination of women who are barren is often carried out by those women who have children. Thus Arndt (2002) also highlights and criticises woman-to-woman discrimination or gerontocracy which is characterised by the discrimination of daughters-in-law who do not fit into the mother-in-laws' expectations and requirements. Emecheta (1979), in her book "The joys of motherhood", critiques women's complicity in the gender specific discrimination which they suffer. To help us understand the situation of women in marriage, Butler (1990, p. 39) alerts us to the fact that "in marriage woman qualifies not as an identity but only as a relational term that both distinguishes and binds the various clans to a common but internally differentiated patrilineal identity." There is need for understanding the social constructions of female sexualities in order to address the power inequalities and disadvantageous contexts that make women and girls vulnerable. Hence there is need to interrogate the everyday lived experiences of women's sexuality and make them available through the language of research. Women and girls in Lesotho continue to be neglected and there is dire need to engage them in dialogue on their experiences. This will be helpful in contesting and deconstructing the socially constructed perceptions of sexuality, especially female sexuality. Understanding how women teachers view themselves as sexual beings in this study would help in understanding the choices they make in their practice of sexuality education. 3.9.2 Basotho womanhood and female sexuality This section deals with how the Basotho view womanhood in relation to female sexuality. The importance of this section is in relation to how the women teachers in this study see themselves as women and as teachers and how the interaction of these two identities is implicated in the effective handling of sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. Basotho men and women acquire new societal status through marriage (Ashton, 1967). Mohome (1972, p. 181) writes that in-laws avoid calling their new bride by her maiden name by giving her a "teknonymous" name. Since the Basotho communities are patrilineal, teknonymous names given to new brides are related to boys' names (Guma, 2001, p. 272). Basotho people place a lot of value on production of children within families as a way of upholding the clan and keeping the family name alive. According to Setiloane (1976, p. 34), "children are a gift of Balimo (ancestors)." In the past, when a young man wanted to

get married he was told to look for a woman with wide hips which were a sign that she could bear children. The expectation was that within the first three months of marriage, the woman should get pregnant with a son. Failure to have children was mainly attributed to God and Balimo being against the parents, while the birth of twins was a blessing from God and the ancestors (Ashton, 1967, p. 33; Mohome, 1972, p. 178). Motherhood, in this way, has always been an illustrious position within the Basotho nation. Being able to produce children positioned women as being closer to God and the Balimo, and by implication motherhood was regarded as a pure and wholesome identity. The attachment of motherhood to purity has been noted by scholars in other countries (Acholonu, 1995; Arndt, 2002; Emecheta, 1979; Kirk, 2003; Long, 2009a). In those days, a woman who bore a boy as her first-born was regarded as a good woman while having a first-born girl was a shame to the family and to the woman. However, the presence of any type of children within families was regarded as a sign of a woman's worth. Thus the Basotho gave young brides marital names that denoted the expectation of the family. Guma (2001, p. 266) writes that "the naming process among the Basotho society serves as a socio-cultural elucidation of the concepts of 'self', 'person' and 'individual'..." He argues that names are given to "symbolise individual life experiences, social norms and values, status roles and authority as well as personal attributes." Thus, most young brides, even today, are given names according to an expected baby boy. The names would then be Ma (mother of) followed by a boy's name. For example: Mathabo= Ma + Thabo, implying mother of Thabo. Such a name is an indication that the family is expecting the woman to have a baby boy who would then be named Thabo. If the first born child was not a boy, then the woman was expected to produce a boy, who would take up the name, almost immediately after the first child. In some families the first born girl would be given the name of the boy who had been expected. Some families would wait for the young bride to have a child before she could be given a marital name. Once the child was born then the woman would stop using her maiden name and assume a marital name in line with the name of her first-born. For those women who never got children, they remained with their maiden names forever. In such instances the maiden names were used to mock the childless women. Despite being married, childless women had no social standing. Thus citing Fortes (1973), Guma (2001, p. 277) emphasises that ...no matter how loved and admired an individual may be, if he or she fails to fulfil the ideal pattern of life and leaves no children, then full personhood has not been attained. This argument is exemplified within the Basotho where married women who produced only boys were the most lauded in the society, while those who produced only girls were also mocked and ridiculed. It was a common practice that women who produced only girls would go to traditional healers to seek help in getting a baby boy. It was a woman's fault if there were no boys in the family or no children at all. Even today when it is widely known that biological sex is determined by the man; women are still blamed for not bearing boy children. Thus, families would suggest to the husband that he should marry another woman who would produce children, especially sons. This practice still persists in some areas of Lesotho, despite advances in educational attainment and medical science. Thus a good woman among the Basotho was and still is one who can produce sons for the family. A woman's worth was and still is determined by the type and number of children she produces. The argument for having many children is that the woman should repay the bride price that has been given to her parents by producing many children, especially boy children. With the changes in the regulations surrounding the payment of bride price, the demands placed on women have changed in relation to child-bearing. However, it is still expected that a woman should produce some children for her to be a 'real' woman. This kind of womanhood places

393

female sexuality within the discourse of reproduction only. The worth of a woman's sexuality is in producing heirs for the husband. The question remains "What does is the relevance of a marital name to a Mosotho woman? What does it mean to have children?" Against the background provided by this related literature, I have engaged in dialogue with eight women teachers from rural secondary schools in order to collaboratively explore their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools in the age of HIV and AIDS, and to explore how they position themselves and are positioned as women and as teachers in rural communities in order to understand how such positioning is implicated in the effective teaching of sexuality education. This study presents a gendered analysis of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education as its original contribution. It also adds to feminist scholarship on the embodied and gendered experiences of woman teacher-hood. 3.10 Conclusion I have presented in this chapter a review of local, regional and international literature on sexuality education debates, female sexuality, gender and education, women teachers' lives as well as research on HIV and AIDS in education. To situate the study within the context of Lesotho, I have also presented a section on Basotho womanhood and female sexuality. The aim is to contextualise my research within existing relevant knowledge by analysing and understanding the predominant debates on the topic and identifying gaps in the literature where this particular study could make a contribution. Thus through this chapter, the paucity of literature on woman teacher-hood within sexuality education, especially within the African context, has been highlighted as the gap which this study aims to contribute towards filling. ----------------------- [1]Mosali ke morena literally means that a woman is a king.

CHAPTER 4 Mapping the journey: Theoretical and conceptual frameworks 4.1 Introduction In Chapter 3 I have discussed the current debates around sexuality and HIV and AIDS education. The aim is to contextualise this study within existing knowledge. I have also highlighted the paucity of knowledge on woman teacher-hood within sexuality education, a gap which this study aims to fill. This chapter is concerned with mapping the analytical route of the study. It discusses the theoretical and conceptual framework employed to describe, analyse, and theorise women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in Lesotho rural school in the age of HIV and AIDS. Some scholars (Lieher & Smith, 1999) make a distinction between a theoretical and conceptual framework. A conceptual framework is described as concepts and/or theories which work together to guide a study. A theoretical framework, on the other hand, is described as existing literature or a ready-made map for the study (Lieher & Smith, 1999). Ball (2006, p. 1), additionally, describes a theoretical or conceptual framework as "a set of possibilities for thinking with." For purposes of this study, I have used Ball's (2006) definition as a guideline. 4.2 Frame of inquiry The study is positioned within the feminist frame of inquiry which regards gender as an important part of human relationships and societal processes. Theoretically and conceptually, the study is guided by an eclectic amalgam of concepts that provides the study with a sense of direction (Blumer, 1969, p. 148). As Patton (1990, p. 67) puts it, "How you study the world determines what you learn about the world." Dewey's philosophy of experience has been employed together with post- structural feminist theories and Bourdieu's theory of social practice as the theoretical framing for the study. The following sections provide the conceptual context and theoretical orientation that guided this research on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. 4.3 Theoretical framework Attempting to answer the main question of the study, that is, exploring women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS led me to ask broader questions about how women teachers are positioned as women and as teachers and how this positioning is translated into social practice. The assumption was that teachers teach who they are and thus their particular subjective

positions influence how they teach. A fundamental principle on which this work builds is that identity is constructed in a complex interrelationship between structure and agency. Construction is defined by Butler (1993, p. x) as constituted within relations of power and is therefore an "effect of productive constraint". While my study is about sexuality education and woman teacher-hood, it is also about identity. Thus drawing on social theory offered a useful account of subject formation and subjectivity and their influence on constructions of social action. It also highlighted the interrelationship between structure and agency in subject formation. 4.3.1 Philosophy of experience This study focused on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. Dewey's writings (1934; 1938/1963) on the nature and forms of human experience provide a theoretical foundation for this inquiry into rural women teachers' lived experiences. Dewey's philosophy of experience has two principles - continuity and interaction- (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994, p. 417; Richert, 2002), which guided my narrative interpretation of the experiences of the women teachers. The principle of continuity claims that every experience borrows from those that have gone before and informs those experiences that will come after (Dewey, 1938/1963, p. 35). This principle was helpful in reminding me that every individual experience is shaped by our previous experiences. Thus, in making sense of the women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education, I had to be aware of the women's past and the future experiences that could be interwoven into these particular experiences. The premise of the principle of interaction is that every personal experience connects with the past as well as shapes the future. Each experience is a consequence of the interaction between a person and what constitutes her environment. A person's environment, according to Dewey (1938/1963), is made up by the interaction of personal needs, desires, purposes and capabilities that create experiences. Thus, the personal experiences of women teachers unfold "in an environment; not merely in it but because of it, [and] through interaction with it" (Dewey, 1934, p. 13). This principle was helpful in analysing the environmental influences which shaped the women's experiences of teaching sexuality education. Dewey's concepts of "educative" and "mis-educative" experience were used to explain and understand the experiences of rural women teachers and their positioning as sexual beings in their teachings of sexuality education. Dewey argues that education is a "development within, by and for experience" (1938/1963, p. 28). For Dewey, education, experience and life are part of the same cloth. However, he warns that not all experiences are equally or genuinely educative. Dewey purports that an authentically educative experience should leave open to stimuli and provide opportunities for development in new directions while also adding to the general quality of one's life. If, on the other hand, an experience hinders or distorts the development of further experiences, it is "mis-educative" (Dewey, 1938/1963, p. 25). Understanding whether their experiences of teaching sexuality education have been educative or mis-educative helped the research participants and I to reflect on how our past experiences have impacted on our conduct as women teachers in the context of the sexuality education classroom, and hence how we can improve our facilitation of sexuality education within rural Lesotho schools. Dewey's work as a constructivist however, does not explain the agency and structural conditions that are part of one's environment and how they are implicated in shaping experiences and hence social practice. Bourdieu's theory of practice provided the tools to get into this arena. The two theories work together in addressing the influence of one's environment and experiences in socialising one into particular sets of habitus. Dewey's concept of interaction highlights the interconnectedness of one's past to the future and this is in line with Bourdieu's 'structuring structures' of habitus. While Dewey argues for past experiences as being

important aspects of one's education, Bourdieu focuses more on the influence of past experiences on one's social practice. Thus, in this study exploring women teachers' experiences of teaching it is useful to look at their social practice of teaching in the light of what they have learnt from their past experiences. 4.3.2 Bourdieu's social practice theory In order to understand the social conditions and the positions from which the women teachers make meaning of their lives, I employed Bourdieu's theory of practice. I briefly describe three important concepts that form the basis of this theory, namely capital, field and habitus. These concepts serve as useful tools for exploring descriptions of the materiality and social conditions and positions within which these women teachers make meaning of their lives. Bourdieu's theory of practice is concerned with our understandings and explanations of interactions between contexts and the social actions that are practised within those spaces (Webb, Schirato & Danaher, 2002, p. 21). He argues that subjects act as agents in the construction and transformation of society, social practices and institutions. Thus according to Bourdieu, one cannot understand "social activity outside the action of the subjects" (Krais, 1991, p. vii). To Bourdieu (1990b) subjects modify and transform social practices through their activity. He proposes that people are constituted within and by the practices in which they participate. Bourdieu (1990a) believes that all action is driven by interest. He argues that "whether actors conform to norms or follow prescribed rituals is depended on their interests" (Swartz, 1997, p. 99). Thus their behaviour is not only shaped by "obedience to rules", but also their own vested interests in the practice (Bourdieu, 1990a, p.65). The implication is that in any situation, people do not necessarily follow rules or conform to norms but are strategic improvisers responding to the opportunities and constraints in different situations in accordance with their dispositions. Bourdieu (1977, p. 72) writes of his theory of practice as an "experimental science of the dialectic of the internalisation of externality and externalisation of internality." This means people internalise the external environment and conditions that shape their experiences and hence their habitus, and this in turn is externalised through the actions or practices that people get involved in which are in line with their habitus. 4.3.2.1 Field and habitus Bourdieu argues that field is "a structure of relationships between positions" (Cheal, 2005, p. 155). Postone et al., (1993, p. 5) posit that "the **2purpose of**

Bourdieu's concept of field is to provide the frame for 'relational analysis' by which he means an

account of the multi-dimensional **space of positions and the position taking of agents."** Positions result

from an interaction between the position one holds in the field in relation to their capital and habitus (Postone et al., 1993, p. 5). According to Bourdieu (1992) these positions have material effects on agents within any specific field. He argues that positions are constituted through power relations and that within any field, one would find a distribution of capital along lines of power and superiority, with superiority resulting from the amount of capital one has at her disposal (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). To Bourdieu, people play the game of life by considering the amount of capital available to them in relation to the capital available to others. In other words, those who have capital also have the power to validate what constitutes capital in a specific field. This also means that in order to participate in the game, those who have power and capital should cooperate with those who do not have them. Not everyone in the field is allowed to play. The concept of field distinguishes between legitimate players and those without access to the game and its rules. Economic or

symbolic capital accumulated in one field can be transposed to another. Therefore fields are not solely independent. The amount of capital one accumulates through life defines one's social standing as well as one's life chances. As such, capital produces class differentiation. The consequence is that agents endeavour to compete and gain various forms of capital in different fields. Competition thus becomes an inherent feature of the field since those operating in a specific field compete for capital. Those who have 'valued capital' make the rules and have access to play the game. Competition also exists between fields because "fields sometimes have to compete to be defined as a field" (Postone et al., 1993, p. 5). Thus class and capital are defining features within and between fields. 4.3.2.2 Capital Bourdieu (1971) argues that agents employ different strategies to either stay in the game, or transform the field by changing the rules of the game. Bourdieu (1992) argues that rules can be changed only when values associated with the type of valued capital are changed. Sometimes, those who do not have much investment work to undermine the capital of the dominant group and employ unorthodox strategies. Thus different groups compete in self-interest irrespective of their social class or status. Each competes for capital and does so in ways that are not obvious or explicit. Bourdieu (1990b) suggests that power refers to a form of worth associated with culturally legitimated and authenticated practices, tastes, dispositions, characteristics and competencies deemed valuable or worthy in a field. According to Bourdieu, capital offers access to power in a field during specified periods of time. As Cheal (2005, p. 156) suggests, capital refers to "a possession that gives individuals that ability to do certain things, such as exercising domination over others". People who have capital in the field have the power to validate and distinguish worthy practices. Therefore possessing capital means controlling other people's futures as well as one's own (Postone et al., 1993). According to Bourdieu (1984), capital functions to structure society. The unequal distribution of social, cultural, and economic capital makes this possible. Bourdieu & [1]**Wacquant, (1992,**

p. 119) argue that **social capital is: ...the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an**

individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less

institutionalized relations **of mutual acquaintance and recognition...** Social capital is acquired through

interactions and associations with other people who have social, cultural, and economic capital. Thus associating with those who possess economic or cultural capital increases one's own social capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Social capital therefore is impacted on by group membership of social networks. The mutual benefits provide sustenance for social relationships because they invoke feelings of gratitude, respect and friendship (Cheal, 2005). This interrelationship requires active participation by members within the network. Exchanges of benefits within social networks require resources. The more resources at one's disposal mean one's social capital is more viable. Therefore, those with economic capital have a better chance of acquiring social capital especially if their economic standing is coupled with social competencies and knowledge of "social relations" (Cheal, 2005, p. 158). A person has economic capital when she has access to financial resources that are easily translatable into money. Those with economic power are most of the time high on the hierarchical social ladder because economic capital is a key indicator used as the unit for class differentiation

(Bourdieu, 1984). Cultural capital is "the knowledge and tastes that are transmitted within families and schools, and that mark those who possess them as socially superior to those who do not" (Cheal, 2005, p. 158). For Bourdieu, cultural capital is an identifier of social class. Bourdieu argues that rather than promoting social change, educational institutions such as schools tend to reproduce existing social relations and inequalities. This is also supported by Connell (1993), who has considered how ruling class values have informed schooling within Australia. Webb et al (2002, p. 113) also talk about the "hegemonic view of schooling; a theory which suggests that the role of schools is to make students believe that the existing social relations are just and natural and in their interests." This theory encourages low achieving students to believe that they are just not 'cut out' for school and that they can compensate their lack of academic prowess by pursuing opportunities in other areas, such as sport. For Bourdieu, home and family life play a significant role in social reproduction, because the success of the child in acquiring the values, dispositions and cultural capital that characterise the school depends on the degree to which the habitus of the school fits that of the child's family. Bourdieu (1984) offers an elaborate explanation of how knowledge and tastes are acquired and mediated through socialization and education in Distinction. Families maintain class membership through making available to their offspring the means to continuing education and through a development of a taste of the finer aspects of life. Cultural capital is appropriated only by understanding the meanings associated with, for example, mathematical equations or literacy texts (Swartz & Solberg, 2004, p. 41). Acquiring dispositions and tastes is a lengthy process that requires investment of time. Cultural capital is also dynamic and requires interactions mediated by power relations in the cultural field. Bourdieu refers to symbolic capital as the "power of constructing reality" (1991, p. 166). Symbolic capital is defined as the "capacity to construct beliefs about the world and make them seem real" (Cheal, 2005, p. 159). In other words, symbolic capital is the embodiment of the other three capitals even though it is not dependent on any of them for its maintenance. In some instances, symbolic capital can take the form of reputation, prestige or fame and at other times it can be trust and respect associated with these symbols. Bourdieu (2000) also explains how struggle for capital operates in a field. Those in the field modify their expectations of what capital could be available to them. They make assumptions based on what he calls "subjective hope and objective chances" regarding whether or not the action is worth the risk. The effect is that they adjust their expectations basing themselves on how they are positioned in the field and how likely they think they are to change that position. If the profit might be low, chances that they will participate in the game are also low. They base their expectations and the likelihood of change on their social and family background, status and class. Therefore those with the least capital are less ambitious and less likely to participate in competing for capital in the field. They become more submissive and sometimes even fatalistic about their position. Agents with the least capital do compete in the field. In some cases, they experience a level of success or win, thereby increasing their value and affecting a change in their status. Bourdieu, however, suggests that the likelihood of such transformations occurring is low because children are already predisposed by their habitus. The habitus is expressed as the way individuals, through the influence of their experiences and contexts, engage in social practices (Webb et al., 2002). Thus habitus exemplifies how actions and structures relate and how the individual and society interact (Postone et al., 1999) in that agents recognize beforehand their lack of capacity to play the game and consequently expect failure as the inevitable outcome. Bourdieu (1977, p. 72) further argues that habitus is the "product of structures, producer of practices, and reproducer of structures." In addition,

Swartz (1997, p. 102) states that habitus is a "structured structure" deriving from the class-specific experiences of socialisation. It results from early socialisation experiences in which external structures are internalised. In other words, habitus generates desires and practices that correspond to the structures of earlier socialisation while at the same time setting the limits for action. Bourdieu (1977) observes that aspirations and practices of individuals and groups correspond to the formative conditions of their respective habitus. Thus habitus reproduces the attitudes and actions that are in line with the structures within which the habitus itself was produced. It is "necessity made into virtue" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 95). Bourdieu suggests that early experience is central in shaping later behaviour and values. To him, these early experiences mould an agent into a state that is difficult to change. However, Cheal (2005) argues that people can act inappropriately in the field if they have not modified their habitus through practice. This implies that for habitus to take root an agent has to practise those activities that constitute it. Additionally, Swartz (1997) posits that through habitus, individual action is shaped such that particular opportunity structures are maintained. In other words, it represents the generating of self-fulfilling prophecies in accordance with different classes. Actors' dispositions of habitus force them to practices in which they are likely to succeed or fail depending on their past experiences and resources. Thus aspirations and prospects are adjusted in relation to the chances of success or failure attributed to members of the particular class for a specific behaviour. Habitus directs action in accordance with anticipated consequences. In this manner, it legitimates economic and social inequality by providing an unquestioned acceptance of the fundamental conditions of existence. Bourdieu argues that social games or life games are not fair. Bourdieu believes that symbolic power is experienced when agents "voluntarily give up power, because they believe that the particular person has the power to do things" (Cheal, 2005, p. 161). Symbolic power is maintained in the form of perceived benefit for others and for the general good. In essence Bourdieu suggests that the distribution and redistribution of capital is regulated by symbolic capital. Because people believe that those who have symbolic capital have power, they give over their own power voluntarily. Symbolic power, therefore, exists "because the person who submits to it believes that it exists" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 192). Despite these arguments, Bourdieu agrees with Nietzsche (1966) in pointing out that people always act out of self-interest in any circumstance. He argues that every act is interest driven and that people have a 'will to power' (Nietzsche, 1966). All activities are informed by self-interest and are governed by the rules of the specific field in which the activity takes place, as well as the agent's place within that field. Another manifestation of symbolic power is through what Bourdieu (1990b) calls symbolic violence. Misrecognition is fundamental to understanding symbolic violence. Violence in Bourdieu's terms is understood as enforcing power in ways that cannot be explained in justifiable terms. This enforcement, however, is not forceful but rather operates through complicity. To Bourdieu, an agent is subjected to symbolic violence with her complicity. Thus agents can be given subordinate positions, denied access to certain public positions and spaces without them recognising this as violence. They take this as the way life should be. The relationship between misrecognition and symbolic violence can be seen in the way gender relations have been traditionally defined in terms of male domination. According to Webb et al (2002, p. 25), "patriarchy cannot be understood simply in terms of women's coercion by men". They posit that "gender domination takes place because women misrecognise the symbolic violence to which they are subjected as something natural." As a consequence, women become complicit in producing the very performances that work to mark their domination. They implicitly recognize the existence of hierarchy in the field but rationalise this as the

way the world is, as natural (Cheal, 2005; Webb et al., 2002). 4.3.2.3 Applicability to the study Bourdieu's theory of practice is useful in offering tools to explain social practice through the complex interaction between structure and the agent. Bourdieu explains social practice as the interconnection between "class habitus and current capital as realised within the specific logic of a given field" (Calhoun, et al., 1993, p. 6). He also provides a convincing argument of how power produces and is produced in fields of practice. Understanding the interrelationship between field, habitus and capital enables us to develop, according to Calhoun, et al. (1993), a reflexive approach to social life and it goes a long way in helping us understand the production of social structure. Bourdieu believes that examining human life is unproductive if it does not provide the chance for people to understand the importance of their own actions within and between fields. Calhoun et al (1993, p. 6) explain Bourdieu's illumination of the inequalities which are reproduced socially and culturally through investigating and analysing how dominated groups have a habitus which masks the conditions of their subordination. In applying Bourdieu's theory, therefore, I was able to identify and describe dominant structures, as well as explain how they are constituted. In addition, I was able to trace how rules in one field of practice get transposed or modified in another field. Importantly, I was able to describe how women teachers modify their behaviour in one field (teaching) as a result of the rules applicable in another field of practice (womanhood). In essence, Bourdieu's theory of practice enabled me to explain how these women teachers came to be who they are as well as describe the conditions that shaped their attitudes, beliefs and experiences. I was unable, however, to use his theory to tell the whole story since it could not offer insight into how teachers exercise agency to make choices outside a predetermined script. 4.3.2.4 Limitations in Bourdieu's theory of practice Bourdieu argues that people act out of self-interest and the capital available in the field. They reproduce positions and relations of dominance and subordination through misrecognition and through an embodied habitus. As already stated in the discussion above, such a lens is useful for developing the argument that early experiences shape identity. It is also useful in tracing how agents might act in complicit ways to reproduce hierarchical relations of power. However, agents are not always complicit. They often act to reproduce different sets of power relations. However, Bourdieu argues that an agent's actions maintain instead of transforming power relations and redistributing of capital. The resilience of habitus in his explanation becomes problematic. Habitus is understood as predisposing an agent thereby serving as a constraint in which chances for transformation are limited. He also introduces a different set of relations, between agents with power and agents without power. Regrettably, Bourdieu does not elaborate on how the processes of internalisation and externalisation become activated. Additionally, habitus is seen as resistant to change because Bourdieu sees primary socialisation as being formative of internal dispositions than subsequent socialisation experiences. His construction of habitus is problematic for feminists who are offended by the absence of a nuanced construction and description of gender in his work. Bourdieu's work underplays the masculinised constructions of social reality. McCall (1992, p. 848) provides a feminist critique of Bourdieu's work by arguing that women in highly stratified societies do not experience the taken-for-granted "fit" between dispositions and positions that Bourdieu's concept of habitus presupposes. Bourdieu also defines power as external to the individual, residing in structures that "press(es) on the subject from the outside" (Butler, 1997, p. 2). His concept of power foregrounds a subject who has very little space to manoeuvre outside the predetermined script because structures are imposed from the outside. Even though he describes an embodied subject, forms of embodiment are only relevant to him in as much as

they reproduce and maintain existing forms of power. For him, power informs and maintains the status quo. In other words, he does not account for how power forms the subject; how the subject depends on it for existence (Butler, 1997). He, therefore, leaves concepts of power that describe how subjects are formed through relations of power rather than only through power dynamics unattended. Such an omission leaves little room for agency. This is where feminist post-structural theories were employed for a conceptualisation of human beings as actively creating and shaping their realities instead of being passive victims of social structures. While I acknowledge the tensions between Bourdieu (a structuralist) and post-structural feminist theories, I am also aware of the opportunities these tensions have enabled me to look at women teachers' experiences as shaped by structures but not limited to the predetermined dictates of structures. I have been able to also reflect on the women teachers as actively shaping and being shaped by the power dynamics in their interactions with students and the rural communities. Thus employing these contradictory viewpoints allowed for a holistic exploration of the women's lives and experiences as teachers of sexuality education. 4.3.3 Feminist theories Feminist thinking allows for women's lived experiences to be scrutinised and the meanings they associate with the conditions of their lives questioned (Grumet & Stone, 2000). Thus post-structural feminist theories including Butler's notion of performativity have been used to bring forth the lived experiences of women teachers teaching sexuality education in rural schools. 4.3.3.1 Post-structural feminist theory The feminist post-structural theory has been used as the analytical framework for this study. The central tenet of post-structural feminism is the belief in the social construction of people's realities. A post- structural feminist analysis exposes women's daily oppression in societies and the daily interactions that perpetuate it (Lather, 1991). Post- structural feminism argues that humans actively participate in creating their realities rather than passively becoming victims of social reproduction. I therefore considered the women teachers as agents having the power to make choices in different situations. The post-structural feminist theory observes that experiences are situated. Thus it is important to acknowledge that individual experiences occur within a society where language, social structures and power relate to produce contrasting ways of allocating meaning (Jackson, 2001). In other words, as individuals interact with different discursive fields, certain values become deeply held such that the meanings that people make out of life become constant fields of conflict. Thus through interactions with each other and their environments, human beings become bound by norms and ways of doing that exist within a particular context. This is in line with Dewey's principle of interaction which posits that present experiences occur through interaction with one's environment. In agreement, Guerrero (1999) argues that the politicised nature of interpretations and meaning making is a product of power because the discourses and interpretations that are powerful gain their status from societal interactions. These arguments helped me understand how the women teachers made meaning of their woman self and teacher self in relation to their teaching. Self in this study is understood through the social constructivist conception of self as a continual process of self- construction through and by the influences of social life (Brown, 2004) and the dialogic view of self as "always engaged in relationships with others and the social context" (Mkhize, 2004, pp. 5- 18). The women teachers revealed the socially constructed versions of Basotho womanhood and teacher-hood. Through their activities and discussions as women teachers they have constructed the meaning of their positioning and made sense of their experiences as women teachers in a rural society. This theory was also helpful in providing an understanding of the construction, positioning and regulation of childhood and female sexuality through social institutions such as schools, families and the church. However,

the post-structural feminist perspective posits that people are neither passive recipients of socialisation nor are they biologically fixed or psychologically determined. People actively construct the world and shape their lives and those of others (Bhana, 2002). Hence, human experiences derive from power relations that are socially mobilised. Applied to this study, these notions highlight the fact that society constructs certain ways of being for women and the women teachers are expected to fit into the mould. Those in power such as husbands, chiefs, principals, and policy-makers socially construct the discursive spaces within which the women teachers live and experience their world. While this section deals with feminist post-structural thinking as an analytical tool for this study, it is important for me to also discuss post-structural thinking and how its tenets play out in this study. Post- structural thinking looks at discourse in terms of how it functions, where it is found and how it gets produced and regulated (Weedon, 1997). Foucault (1980) has argued that the subject is not a fixed entity, but that people are positioned and position themselves in discourse. Additionally, Burman (1994) states that discourse is a socially constructed framework defining the limits of what can be said and done. Thus, once a discourse becomes "normalised" it becomes a rule and hence limits what can be said and done. This enables certain groups of people to wield power in ways that will disadvantage other groups. Best and Kellner (1991, p. 26) argue that this is because discourses are "viewpoints and positions from which people speak and the power relations that these allow and presuppose." Thus discourse is embedded with power because of its ability to construct people in particular ways, or dictate certain ways of being normal (Davies, 1993). What is deemed right and normal is socially construed and produced in discourse. For example, sexual entitlement is rarely aligned with women because dominant discourses attach power to female sexual innocence and restraint, while for men power is attached to male sexual prowess (Jewkes et al., 2006; Kimmel, 2004). However, the constructions of female sexual restraint and male sexual prowess may not align comfortably with the lived sexual experiences of women or men. This is because identities are actively constructed and reconstructed, produced and reproduced, maintained and resisted through interaction with the social environment; and hence are not produced in rigid linear ways. Thus, while we may be positioned as powerless in one situation, we can also be positioned or position ourselves as powerful in other instances. This shows that power does not deny human agency, but allows different levels of possibility for the expression of agency. Foucault (1978) argues that power cannot **3be**

"acquired, seized or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is

exercised from innumerable points..." (p. 94). Different discourses position individuals as powerful or

powerless. It is through discourse that individuals can be subjected to power or for them to exercise power over others. Foucault (1978, p. 129) also compares power to a game. He argues that there is no evil in exercising power over others "in **3a sort of strategic game, where** things can **be reversed..."** Thus, just as in a game of chess, while one

player could seem to be having the upper hand, this state could easily be reversed. This implies that none of the players has the power to keep or hold on to. The women teachers in this study position themselves and are positioned through discourses that place them as subjects of power or active agents with power. Within the context of the rural school setting,

the teacher self is constructed as powerful, while the woman self is constructed as powerless. Women teachers in rural schools are therefore always circulating between the threads of the power net while negotiating, producing and reproducing their different identities. Foucault (1978) argues that power relationships are reversible, unstable and mobile and they can be modified. Thus power is not owned or possessed but is exercised in ways that produce and reproduce inequalities. Bhana (2002, p. 13) argues that there is no essential male or female. She posits that people are positioned as male or female by dominant discourses of gender which also provide the gender scripts to be performed by men and women. The possibility of different modes of subjectivity and creation of alternative discourse therefore exists. In support of this argument, Steinberg, Epstein, and Johnson (1997) observe that subjectivity comprises the ways in which we attribute meaning to our world, ourselves and others. They state that the discursive networks which organise and systematise social and cultural practice shape and regulate subjectivity. However, we are always faced with contradictory discourses in making choices about the meanings we give to our lives and other people's lives. Thus Steinberg et al., (1997) posit that: In gender relations it is not only the relations of power between men and women that are the problem; it is the way in which masculinities and femininities are constructed as separated categories that describe and circumscribe individual persons (p. 12). Based on the idea that every relation is fluid, one can argue that the problematic constructions of masculinity and femininity can be troubled. The fluidity of power and gender relations is evidence to the fact that the borders between femininity and masculinity are permeable and fragile, allowing for slip ups and the performance of alternative scripts. Applied to this study on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education, these ideas help in highlighting that while the women teachers within this study are subjected to particular constructions of femininity there are possibilities for shattering the fragile border between femininity and masculinity. Hence there are possibilities for active resistance and performance of alternative scripts. This framework was important for my study because it created spaces for challenging and unmasking issues that are taken for granted (Caputo, 1997; Derrida, 1976) through interrogating the socially and culturally constructed realities of women teachers' lives. As Atkinson (2003, p. 37) puts it, "The effect of a deconstructive approach is to question the assumed educational, theoretical or moral superiority of particular worldviews or dominant paradigms in educational research and practice." Thus, deconstruction helped me to challenge the sexuality education curriculum theory and practice so as to illuminate that a curriculum is not neutral but political, ideological, socially constructed and negotiated (Garfinkel, 2003; Gergen, 2003). It also helped in challenging the taken for granted social constructions of proper Basotho womanhood and teacher- hood. 4.3.3.2 Performativity Butler (1990, 1993) observes that the construction of identity is a performance, and that gender is a performance serving the interests of heterosexuality. Using this idea, she argues that gender is a "repeated stylisation, a set of repeated acts" (1990, p. 33). During the performance there are disruptions, challenges, resistances and violations of norms; which threaten the performance of normalised gender and sexual scripts. Within the context of this study, the concept of performativity created spaces for visualising women teachers' lives as a stage upon which they perform their gendered and sexual scripts. In any stage performance the actors/actresses can be subjected to the director's power while they can also actively decide how they perform and bring to life their given scripts. Thus, even in the lived experiences of the women teachers, there are spaces in which they are subjected to the dominant discourses of performing womanhood and teacher-hood while at the same time they actively challenge and resist the scripted performances. This means that, just

as in a stage performance, the women teachers can have slip ups in the performance of their gender, sexual and teacher identities. While this chapter has tried to bring together the theoretical underpinnings used to understand women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools, I have to acknowledge that even the different theories employed do not provide a complete and clear picture of the phenomenon under question. Each of the theories is limited to a particular way of seeing life and the limitations have been discussed for each theory. Bringing together these theories has, however, been helpful in complementing each other's limitations such that I could be able to look at different angles of the women's experiences. 4.4 Conclusion This chapter has presented the analytical toolkit used in this eclectic approach to research. The theoretical framing of this study employed an eclectic amalgam comprising Dewey's philosophy of experience, Bourdieu's theory of practice and feminist post-structural theories with particular reference to Butler's concept of performativity. These were used as analytical tools to excavate the meanings within the stories of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. I have presented and discussed the central tenets of post- structural thinking and how they played out within this study, linking them to feminist post-structural ideas on the importance of gender as a special lens to look into the socially constructed realities of life. Through these theories, I have discussed the possibilities for the performance of normalised as well as alternative gender, sexual and teacher identities, and the fluidity of power and identity constructions. A brief outline of Bourdieu's central concepts has also been provided in order to highlight how social practice can be influenced by structure and agency, and hence the women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools.

CHAPTER 5 Highlighting the path taken: Research design and methodology 5.1 Introduction The previous chapter looked

into the influences of power and discourse on how individuals perform their different scripts. It discussed the possibilities

for the performance of normalised as well as alternative gender, sexual and teacher identities by women teachers

teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. Additionally, the fluidity of power and identity constructions was

highlighted. This chapter discusses the processes employed in this qualitative inquiry which explores how Basotho women teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. Commenting on the work of qualitative researchers who process, analyse, organise, and present their qualitative findings in categories, Constas (1993) observes that the researchers make all sorts of choices in creating research studies and methods. However, Constas (1993) further argues that, for the most part, qualitative researchers are not good at sharing these decisions and the rationales for the presentations of their work. As such, their work becomes vulnerable to the criticism of method-reporting deficit (Constas, 1993). This chapter aims to avoid the method-reporting deficit, by discussing and justifying the choices made with regard to the research design, methodology and methods of data production and analysis. In part one I discuss the methodology while in the second part of the chapter I describe the actual data production procedures. I then go on to explore the ways in which I engaged in the analysis of the data. Finally, I include a section about my role as a researcher researching into the experiences of teaching about issues of sexuality, a domain which has been silenced in Lesotho so far, and how this has affected the ethical considerations of the study. Part 1 5.2 Research paradigm According to Baxen (2005), studies that have been conducted on sex and sexuality education have been primarily concerned with either making recommendations of what should be done in classrooms (see Bhana et al, 2006; Coombe, 2003) or how different methodologies could be applied to improve the knowledge base of learners (see Mirembe, 2002; Pattman, 2006). The researchers in these studies conducted research on teachers not research with the teachers who teach sexuality education. Against this background, I conducted my study as a collaborative peer inquiry into women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS by positioning myself at the centre of inquiry through reflecting upon and sharing my own experiences as part of the data. Thus my autobiography runs throughout the study. My decision to adopt a qualitative feminist approach and working with a small group to produce data in a variety of ways is supported by Geertz (1988) who has shown that qualitative approaches and engagements with small groups allow a researcher to do "thick and deep" (p. 10) work to gain understanding into how a few individuals perceive and experience a phenomenon. Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1993, p. 18) also emphasize how teacher-researchers often draw on "multiple data sources that can be used to confirm and/or illuminate one another." Additionally, Clandinin and Connelly (1994, 2000) maintain that narrative inquirers use a range of qualitative methods to engender and collect field texts that relate diverse aspects of researchers' and participants' experiences in the research setting. Feminist inquiry proposes equality and connectedness 3**between the researcher and the participants and** goes beyond knowledge production to promote social change through the use of knowledge, more importantly "knowledge about women that will contribute to women's liberation and emancipation" (Guerrero, 1999, pp. 16- 17). Explicitly feminist inquiry acknowledges and values "women's ways of knowing including the integration of reason, emotion, intuition, experience and analytic thought" (Guerrero, 1999, p. 15- 22; Thompson, 1992). Thus, the knowledge produced in this study will hopefully change the researcher and the participants' practice of sexuality education, and propose a theoretical construction that will inform the sexuality education policy for Lesotho schools that will be supportive of women teachers. Locating myself from the outset within feminist research methodology, I am aware

of my role as a researcher and producing the narratives of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools, while deconstructing traditional conceptions of truth and objectivity in my analysis. Since the study was exploratory, an open and flexible approach that has room for "progressive refocusing" (Geertz, 1988, p. 14) and which allows for inductive approach to interpretation was needed. Usher (1996) also outlines several principles of feminist research, which have relevance to my study, such as the significance of gender in the analysis and organisation of everyday interactions, deconstructing traditional truths and objectivity, as well as using multiple research methods. According to 15**Lather (1991, p. x) the** "ultimate aim of feminist research is action on the everyday world by women as subjects and objects of their own experiences." Feminist inquiry is characterised by looking at how the lens of gender shapes and affects our understandings and actions (Maguire, 1996; Reinharz, 1992; Ribbens & Edwards, 1998; Thompson, 1992). A feminist perspective was chosen for its suitability in this study because it acknowledges and values women's ways of knowing and allows for the integration of emotion. Further, a feminist orientation to research advocates for participatory methods that are in line with raising consciousness and researcher reflexivity, while at the same time engaging in the production of knowledge for change (Guerrero, 1999, p. 15- 22; Olesen, 2000; Patton, 2002, p. 130). My aim in this study was to understand how women teachers experience teaching sexuality education and the meanings they make of their experiences. I did not set out to change the women teachers' status quo, even though I acknowledge that their understanding of their personal and professional lives could be transformed through participation in the study. Feminist scholars have observed that women researchers choose to study topics that have relevance for them. Cotterill and Letherby (1993) highlight the value in using one's own personal experience in research (see also Smith & Watson, 1998; Stanley & 1**Wise, 1993; Ribbens & Edwards, 1998). My** choice for this **topic was** guided by my personal experience in relation the phenomenon of interest and it is important for my professional development as a scholar. Contrarily some researchers are against the use of 1**personal experience as data (see Kelly et al. 1994, pp. 29 – 32).** While I am no longer a practising classroom teacher, I reflected upon and shared my experiences of having taught sexuality education in a rural school in Lesotho and my current experiences of teaching about sexuality at university level. In undertaking the study this way, I align myself with Clandinin and Connelly's 1**(1994, p. 425)** argument **that** "personal experience methods permit researchers to enter into and participate with the social world in ways that allow the possibility of transformation and growth." They also argue that "when both researchers and practitioners tell stories of the research relationship, they have the possibility of becoming stories of empowerment" (Connelly& Clandinin, 1990, p. 4). Thus my participants and I told our stories in a bid to empower ourselves. Schratz and Walker (1995) also posit that if we are involved in qualitative research that helps us to become reflexive in our workplaces and practices, gain some insight into our perceptions, and awareness that others around us may perceive things

differently, we will gain a deeper understanding of our situations and this can result in change. These authors see research as social action resulting from "processes of individual and social reflexivity and reciprocity" (1995, p. 118). They consider that individuals gain understanding of themselves and others through social interaction and that this gaining of different perspectives can lead to social change. Their suggestion for methods or tools for doing research as social change include the use of memory-work, drawings, and photographs, which have been used in this study. Gitlin's (1994) call for research as social action and change in education takes the form of political activism that pays particular attention to where research is located and the power relationships set up between the researcher and participants. He argues for research to "be reconceptualised so that it can more powerfully act on some of the most persistent and important problems of our schools" (p. 2). His suggestion is that we should ask questions about how the context and relationships in our research affect our ability to make a difference in relation to education. According to Gitlin and Russell (1994, pp. 181-185), traditional research methodologies fail to bring about change because of their failure to recognise and incorporate the knowledge gained through lived experiences of teachers, or to promote self reflection. They therefore propose an alternative methodology "Educative research" in order to encourage "a dialogic process where participants negotiate meanings at the level of question posing, data collection and analysis" (p. 185), thus developing through this process the voices to question and explore issues and change practice because of gained insights. A common feature of these researchers interested in research as social action or change is their rejection of research solely as a product. They advocate for the active involvement of teachers or learners and their lived experiences in a process of research that empowers them through the knowledge that they produce. This study focuses on the lived experiences of the women teachers and it is hoped that their participation in the study would help them produce the kind of knowledge that would be empowering for them and other women who read their stories. 5.2.1 Methodology It is important to distinguish research methodology from research methods from the outset for purposes of this study. The term 'methodology' is employed here to denote an approach to data production or analysis whilst the term 'method' is used to denote a way or technique of data production or analysis (Best & Khan, 1993; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000; Swann & Pratt, 2003). There is, therefore, a marked difference between methodology as an approach and method as a technique or way of doing something. However, as observed by Swann and Pratt (2003), more recently the term methodology is sometimes, and rather confusingly, used in place of method. I have maintained the difference and used the term methodology for approach and method for technique for purposes of this study. A phenomenological narrative design was employed in this study (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Creswell, 2003). I label my methodology as phenomenological narrative because of "phenomenology's emphasis on understanding lived experience and perceptions of experience" 16(Patton, 2002, p. 115). This phenomenological influence has been used to drive the narrative inquiry in relation to the "experience of interest" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 124), which is the teaching of sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. Using phenomenology to explore the narrated lived experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools was one possible approach to overcoming the tendency of dealing with lived experiences in a banal way. However, van Manen (1997) points out that this has not been the case in all phenomenological inquiries. His critique is that thematic dimensions

tend to dominate the expressive dimensions of inquiry, and he argues for a balance between the two. My hope was to counter van Manen's critique by engaging aspects of phenomenology and narrative in this study. According to van Manen (1997, p. 353), bringing experience vividly into presence and phenomenologically reflecting on it is evocation. He continues by saying that a "text that creates evocation of meaning brings to immediate presence images and sensibilities that are so crisp and real that they in turn evoke reflective responses such as wondering, questioning, or understanding" (p. 354). To attain an evocative effect, the women teachers' storied experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools have been used diligently as data in the original voices of the participants. Narrative researchers such as Bruner (1990, 1996), Clandinin and Connelly (1994, 2000), Conle (2000a) and Elliott (2005) assert that sharing stories of experience actually create psychological and social realities in people's lives. In narrative educational research, story is used to bring the texture, depth, and complexity of contextualised, lived experiences of teachers, learners and researchers into view. The purpose is to discern significant narrative tensions and patterns that occur "along temporal dimensions, personal-social dimensions, and within place" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, pp. 128- 129). Narrative inquirers, often in collaboration with their research participants (see for example, Beattie, 1995; Clandinin, Pushor & Orr, 2007; Phillion, 2002), generate possibilities for new stories of action and development at the individual and social levels (Bruner, 1996; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Coles, 1989; Ritchie & Wilson, 2000). Narrative accounts of research also tend to explore the contextual and temporal dimensions of the research process (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, Clandinin et al., 2007; Conle, 2000a). Connelly and Clandinin (1990, p. 2) argue that narrative studies are used in educational research because of the claim that "humans are story-telling organisms who, individually and socially lead storied lives." At the same time, Lodico, Spaulding and Voegtle (2006, p. 270) posit that "phenomenological research is mainly interested in an individual's interpretation of her experiences." Thus they argue that a phenomenologist attempts to **understand the meaning of** an experience through **the** eyes **and** voice of the participant. **My interest in this study was** in both the meanings that the participants made of their experiences of teaching sexuality education and how they experienced their teaching worlds. I was also interested in the stories they tell of their lives as women teachers. Thus I found that drawing from phenomenology and narrative was a suitable endeavour. The phenomenological perspective has been used to capture the research participants' understandings and experiences of teaching sexuality education as a social phenomenon. Phenomenology helps to illuminate how research participants perceive a social phenomenon, how they "describe it, feel about it, remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others" (Patton, 2002, p. 104). People as social actors express meaning about the events in their social world in order to make sense of their world (Creswell, 1998; Haralambos & Holborn, 1991). They distinguish between different types of events, actions, objects, and people through language. This study has explored women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools, their understandings and choices regarding their pedagogic practice, and the meanings they make of their experiences. As observed by Lodico et al., (2006, p. 271): Wanting to understand the human experience and how experiences are interpreted differently by different people would certainly be an appropriate reason to conduct a phenomenological study.

410

The process of interpreting the world is subjective since it depends on the opinions of the observer. Therefore, the most that can be done through a phenomenological study is gaining an understanding of the meanings individuals give to particular phenomena. Haralambos and Holborn (1991, p. 20) argue that understanding the meanings employed by members of the society in their every day lives is the end product of phenomenological research. Thus my conviction that people tell their stories in words as they reflect upon life and explain themselves to others and live their stories in an ongoing text (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Day, 1993) prompted me to have a narrative dimension to the inquiry and analysis adopted in this study, so that the study could go beyond simply understanding the meanings the women teachers made of their experiences but to also understand how they experienced their world. It is for this reason that a phenomenological narrative methodology has been employed in exploring the understandings and experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. The intention was to explore how and why women teachers understand, practice and experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural school in the age of HIV and AIDS. 5.3 Data production methods This section presents the particular methods that were employed in this study and the reasoning behind the choice of each method and instrument used. 5.3.1 Memory work Memory work as a method was developed within the fields of sociology and psychology. It was formally labelled by the German sociologist and feminist scholar Frigga Haug and a group of other feminist socialists in the sixties (Schratz & Walker, 1995), and continues to evolve within a feminist context. Some of the key people associated with feminist approaches to doing memory work include Crawford et al (1992) in Australia and Mitchell and Weber (1999) in the Canadian context. Samaras and Freese (2006) have also used memory work in their studies of teacher development and they argue that memory work is a self-study method used to represent autobiographical inquiry with critical and reflective revisiting, and hence it is a situated inquiry. The pertinence of memory work is espoused by Mitchell and Weber's (1999) observation that memory work is an excellent method for gaining insight into childhood. In their book "Reinventing ourselves as teachers: Beyond nostalgia", Mitchell and Weber used memory work in a study with teachers to explore their experiences of childhood in relation to their identity and practice as part of professional development and to suggest how relevant memory work is in gaining insight into the experiences of teachers and students. They draw in particular on the systematic and deliberate approaches to memory work suggested by **Crawford et al (1992), Haug et al (1987),** Kuhn (1995) and Zandy (1995) and suggest ways in which teachers can work back through personal memories of school to make the past usable in their teaching. Haug et al (1987) have argued that memory writing helps us to explore new territories by offering us opportunities to transgress boundaries. **Kuhn (1995, p. 8)** also observes **that** "those who engage in memory work may be conscientised simply through learning that they do indeed have stories to tell, and that their stories have value and significance in the wider world." Berger and Quinney (2005) also observe that in telling our stories we rework and re-imagine the past. We reflect back upon ourselves and entertain what we have and could become. They argue that "what is included or omitted from our stories makes plausible our anticipated futures" (p. 5). This relates to Hampl's **(1996, p.**

411

270) argument **that** "memories of negative experiences, especially painful incidents, are the most vivid in our minds." This has been particularly true for this study because the women teachers were able to reflect on memories of experiences that could be labelled as having been negative or painful for them. According to [1]**Mitchell and Weber (1999, p. 56)** memories of grief can be put to good use. They posit that "retrieval of those memories can influence one's work both in the classroom and professional life generally." Berger and Quinney (2005, p. 10) believe that a compelling story connects personal experiences to public narratives and therefore allows society to "speak itself" through each individual. DeHay (1994) also brings up the fact that in remembering, we reclaim and protect our past which dominant cultures often suppress. This, according to DeHay, implies that "remembering is crucial in the process of gaining control over one's life" (p. 43-44). [1]**Mitchell and Weber (1999, p.** 9) state **that** "remembering is a nostalgic act", which can equip teachers with the skills to use their own schooling experiences in order to develop and improve their teaching. [1]**Allender and Allender (2006, p. 15) argue that** "unless we as teachers are conscientiously aware of what is driving our choices of behaviour in the classroom, we are likely to revert to the ways of the teachers who taught us." Samaras, Hicks, and Berger (2004, p. 908) also argue that "our past experiences of learning create hidden personal narratives that have a profound and sometimes intractable impact on the way we teach our students." Hence breaking away from ineffective pedagogies can help us discover our personal strengths. Using memory work in this study has helped the women teachers to reflect on their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools such that they could make those experiences usable in their present and future teaching of sexuality education. 5.3.2 Visual participatory methods Using visual and participatory approaches for research has become popular in the social sciences. A growing body of scholarship in education (see Karlsson, 2001; Mitchell, De Lange, Moletsane, Stuart, & Buthelezi, 2005; Stuart, 2006), is using image-based strategies in their research methodology. In this study I employed photos and drawings to produce data on women teachers' understanding and positioning in relation to sexuality education. My choice for these methods was driven by the fact that the trying out of visual participatory methods is itself an intervention, a way of taking action and bringing about social change (Schratz & Walker, 1995). Central to my choice of visual participatory methods was the knowledge that such an approach can be enjoyable, flexible and deeply engaging to each individual's unique understandings and experiences of teaching about sexuality. 5.3.2.1 Photo-voice Wang (1999) used photo-voice with rural women in China. Some scholars have also used photo-voice with children (see Ewald, 1996, 2001; Karlsson, 2001) and with trainee teachers (Stuart, 2006). These studies show that photo- voice can be used as a tool with participants to allow them to explore and engage with sensitive issues. Each participant's photograph represents a personal choice as well as a personal interpretation of reality (Goldstein, 2007), and therefore communicates that. The intention was for women teachers to be given simple point-and-shoot cameras to take photographs that depicted what sexuality meant to

them. However, the pilot project showed that this would 6**not be** feasible **because of the** sensitivity **of the** topic

and **the** ease **of** getting ready situations that depicted sexuality. Therefore ready made photographs from

magazines were used instead and the participants just chose the pictures that suited their project. The women teachers were given a prompt to use for choosing photographs that represented their view of what sexuality entailed and to write an explanation on why the particular photographs were selected. The purpose of using the photo-voice project was to get an understanding of how the women teachers understood the phenomenon of sexuality and how their understanding related to their teaching of sexuality education and the way they experienced the teaching. While I acknowledge that it was easier to use magazine photographs, I also want to highlight the influence of such media on the women teachers' conceptions of sexuality and my bias in the selection of the magazines used. I argue that if the women had produced their own photographs, they might have presented something seldom seen or discussed. 5.3.2.2 Drawings Drawing is a powerful technique for eliciting opinions and beliefs and generating discussion around an issue of interest (Stuart, 2006). Martin (1998) argues that drawings can offer an entry point and provide insight into the experiences and perceptions of the people producing the drawings. Schratz and Walker (1995, p. 77) observe that: Where photographs can take us behind the scenes and allow us to share witness with the researcher, drawings can take us inside the mind of the subject...the ways in which people draw things, their relative size and placement of objects for example can at least give us a starting point from which to ask questions. Drawings were used in this study to get the women teachers' representations of their women and teacher selves. The drawings were used to allow me to get inside the minds of the women teachers in order to explore how they saw themselves as women and as teachers. Each drawing was accompanied by a written explanation of how the women teachers saw themselves as women and as teachers of sexuality education. The drawings revealed powerful metaphors that showed women teachers' understandings of themselves and the meanings they made of their multiple identities. 5.3.3 Focus group interviews I chose to conduct focus group discussions with the women teachers to offer them a chance to talk about their memory accounts, drawings and photo- stories. Patton (2002, p. 405) argues that a good interview lays open "thoughts, feelings, knowledge, and experiences, not only to the interviewer but also the interviewee." He also attests that even though interviews may be intrusive in re-opening old wounds, they can also be healing. However, he warns that when interviewees open up and are willing to talk then interviews pose the risk of becoming confessions particularly under the promise of confidentiality (cf. Willig, 2001). I was therefore aware of these arguments as I conducted the interviews which also seemed to be very intrusive particularly concerning the issue of sexuality in the women teachers' lives. Focus group discussions were chosen for their ability to provide researchers with tools for understanding the experiences and opinions of participants that may not come out through individual interviews (Krueger, 1994). Krueger and Casey (2000) also write that because of human being are social animals, focus groups become enjoyable to participants. The aim was to understand women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education, how they taught about sexuality, HIV and AIDS in their lessons and how they positioned themselves and are positioned as women and as teachers. Focus groups are effective for collecting data from a number of people at the same time, without demanding a lot of structuring on the part of the researcher (Krueger, 1994; O'Brien, 1993). Focus groups

have also been hailed in promoting women's social justice issues by exposing and validating women's

everyday experiences of oppression, their collective resistance and strategies for survival (Madriz, 2000).

Additionally, Krueger (1994, p. 8) argues that "interactions among participants enhance data quality. Participants tend to provide checks and balances on each other, which weeds out false or extreme views." Within the African context groups are the basic units of social activity and hence this makes focus groups an ideal method of data production (Obeng-Quaido, 1987). Thus this method was also suitable in rural Lesotho. As mentioned in Chapter one, Basotho women are renowned for their communal practices and hence group activities are the norm, especially in the rural areas. Within the group, chances of getting information that might not come up in one-on-one discussions were improved. The women teachers had the opportunity to share their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools within an environment which was conducive because the groups were single-sex groups. This allowed them to openly discuss sensitive experiences which might not have come up in a mixed-sex group. 5.4 Developing and piloting the instruments All instruments designed for this study were piloted in Maseru, where I live, before using them with the rural school teachers. I worked with women teachers based in schools on the outskirts of Maseru. The women teachers were informed about the study, and the rationale for the different data production methods. The pilot exercise allowed for revision of some methods which were challenging with the pilot participants. It was problematic for the participants to take photographs that depicted their view of sexuality. They argued that it was not easy to get ready situations where they could just take the kind of photographs that would express their views. They pointed out that they would have to use staged photographs in order to get photographs that would be true to their views of sexuality. In line with this observation, I decided to give the pilot participants magazines so that they could choose photographs that represented their views of sexuality. This proved more workable and hence magazine photographs were used in the actual study in the rural schools. While I was aware of the power differentials between the pilot participants and myself, I was also aware that they could not be completely removed. I did my best to ensure that I reduced the feelings of unease among the pilot group. This group gave me an idea of the likely challenges that I could encounter by using the methods planned for producing data. 5.5 The research participants The study was conducted in two rural secondary schools within the Quthing district in the south of Lesotho. The selected schools are in remote villages that are not easily accessible due to poor gravel roads. The common mode of transportation between some of these rural villages is on horseback or using pick-up trucks which act as taxis. Participants for this study were purposively selected (Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Merriam, 1998). The participants were eight women science teachers (four from each school) who previously taught the infused version of sexuality education (POP/FLE) and are presently trialling the Life Skills Education curriculum. My selection of the participants was deliberate for this study. My choice was based on the participants' accessibility and specificity (Cohen & Manion, 2000). These participants were suitable in the exploration of how the sexuality education curriculum is being enacted within rural classrooms, specifically by women teachers. Cole and Knowles (2001) argue that participant

selection in the genre of personal experience is not aimed at population representativeness, but depth of information. They argue that working thoroughly and meaningfully with one participant is more important than ending up with sketchy understandings based on many views. Thus I worked with only eight teachers (biographical data) and myself (autobiographical data) to provide snapshots of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education and what happens in the sexuality education classrooms mediated by women teachers. Because of the limited scope of the study, the data produced can only be used to provide a glimpse into the private area of sexuality education. Figure 5.1 provides details of the profiles of the women teacher participants. In relation to the other villagers, the women teachers involved in this study had big modern houses with iron-sheet roofing and several rooms. The biggest was a three bedroom house with a spectacular view of the valley below the village. This house belonged to the widow whose husband had been working in the mines and who, as I am told, had managed to use her husband's payoff money from the mine to build the house. A big house in the village is a sign of wealth and social standing and thus the teachers I worked with in this study were regarded as comparatively well off. I had thought this issue would make the other villagers not to accept my presence in the village because I was associating with the supposedly 'well off', but it turned out that I was able to work my way into all spheres of village life and I was accepted by almost every villager I met.

Names	Age	Marital status	Teaching experience	Position at school	Educational qualifications
´Matsebo	37	Married	12	Disciplinary committee	Bachelors degree in Science education (B)
´Mathuso	39	Widow	14	Head of Department in Mathematics & Science	Bachelors degree in Science education (B)
´Maneo	36	Married	7	Entertainment committee	Diploma in Science education (B)
´Mampho	34	Married	10	Board Representative	Secondary Teachers' Certificate (Science) (B)
´Matau	36	Married	12	Disciplinary committee	Diploma in Science education (M)
´Mathato	34	Married	9	Sports committee	Secondary Teachers' Certificate (Science) (M)
´Matumo	34	Married	9	Head of Department in Mathematics & Science	Bachelors degree in Science education (M)
´Matsepo	36	Married	10	Sports committee	Diploma in Science education (M)

Table 5.1 Research participants' biographical information

The women teachers did not seem to have any problems relating to each other irrespective of their differences in qualifications and the positions held in school. They seemed to accept and respect each other's status without feeling disadvantaged. I cannot say with any certainty why this happened.

5.6 The schools For purposes of this study, the two schools will be named Bahale High School and Makoala High School. Figure 5.1 shows one building at Bahale High School, while Figure 5.3 shows two building blocks at Makoala High School. The names of the schools where the women teachers come from are indicated in brackets in the above table. Bahale High School is a co-educational Catholic school which serves several villages in the Quthing district. There are 500 students at this school and 25 teachers. 0f these teachers, 18 are women and seven are men. The principal and deputy principal are males while all heads of departments are women teachers. Although the Catholic Church is the proprietor, all the permanent teachers are paid by the government and the school only pays temporary teachers. The school provides lunch for the students daily. [pic] Figure 5.1 Bahale High School Due to long distances that students have to travel to get to school from their villages, there are some hostels that have been erected around Bahale High School which parents rent for their children so that they could be closer to school. Some students rent a room by themselves while others share a room to cut the costs and for security reasons. These hostels are useful in terms of

415

bringing the children closer to the school but also provide lots of disciplinary challenges for the school, the community and the owners of the buildings. One of the biggest challenges posed by the hostels has been unplanned teenage pregnancy and STI infections. With their newly acquired freedom in having their own rooms, the students get tempted to form miniature families where boys and girls would stay together without the knowledge of the parents or guardians. The hostel owners are supposed to monitor the wellbeing of their minor tenants but this has not been the case. Without proper adult supervision within the hostel dwellings, girl children become even more vulnerable to rape from their school mates as well as from the villagers who take advantage of the situation. Figure 5.2 shows some of the hostels next to Bahale High School. [pic] Figure 5.2 Hostels used by Bahale High School students On the other hand, Makoala High School is a co-educational community school which also serves several villages. Makoala High School has boarding facilities for the students and hence most students who come from far villages are housed at the school. There are 630 students enrolled in this school. 300 of them are boarding students with 180 girls and 120 boys. Students from nearby villages travel to and from school every day. Students who board at the school are only allowed to go home once a month. They are kept in highly regimented surroundings with strict rules around students' movements and activities in order to offer protection and to discipline them. This school has a big hall which is used as the dining area for the boarding students as well as the day-scholars. The students share the lunch meal, while the morning and evening meals are only for boarding students. Makoala High School has 30 teachers. There are 17 women teachers and 13 male teachers. The principal and deputy are male teachers and there is only one woman head of department. Permanent teachers in this school are also paid by the government. This school has a lot of non-academic staff that takes care of the boarding facilities and the feeding of the boarding students. These members of staff are paid by the school from the school fees, thus making the school fees more expensive for boarding students. [pic] Figure 5.3 Makoala High School 5.7 Ethical considerations There is a variety of scholarly opinion on ethical issues in social research. For instance, Sarantakos (2005, p. 16) observes that ethics in social research aim at making research more systematic and accountable through regulations on the access to information as well researchers' behaviour. Research ethics also "ensure that inquiry is conducted according to professional and ethical standards" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 16). For Wassenaar (2006, p. 61), the main aim of research ethics is protecting the participants' welfare. The theory of relational ethics proposed by Adler and Lerman (2003), on the other hand, points out that the researcher must actively care about and care for the researched and their rights, to ensure that there are no negative repercussions encountered by the research participants through the research or publication of its findings. Thus the central aspect of research ethics is protecting research participants from any harm. Sarantakos (2005) identifies three types of harm that can be experienced by the research participants, namely, physical, mental, and legal. This study therefore employed, as far as possible, the following four widely accepted ethical principles: nonmaleficence, autonomy and respect for dignity of research participants, beneficence, and justice (Wassenaar, 2006). It has also been acknowledged that research ethics should include issues of "scientific misconduct and plagiarism" (Wassenaar, 2006, p. 61). The principle of nonmaleficence argues that researchers should ensure that participation in a study should "not cause any harm to the participants either directly or indirectly" (Wassenaar, 2006, p. 67). In keeping with this principle, this study did not involve any physical harm (Sarantakos, 2005) on the part of the research participants. Furthermore, every effort was taken to ensure that the research participants are not subjected to any mental harm. There was no procedure that

416

would intentionally cause the participants "discomfort, stress of some kind, anxiety, or loss of self-esteem or embarrassment" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 19), even though I acknowledge that the subject matter of the study was very sensitive. In relation to the principle of autonomy and respect for participants' dignity, every effort was taken to make sure that there could be no legal harm done to the participants by not violating their right to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality (Sarantakos, 2005, p.19). In this study, I avoided any deception or misrepresentation in my dealings with the research participants by ensuring that they understood the purpose of the study and answering their questions regarding the study. The principle of justice in social research requires that research participants "receive what is due to them" (Wassenaar, 2006, p. 68). Thus all promises made to the research participants were kept during the course of this study in relation to their freedom to withdraw, their anonymity and confidentiality and safeguarding their interests (Denscombe, 2002). Anonymity has been achieved through use of pseudonyms when referring to the research participants, their villages and schools. The information they have provided is confidential and has been used only for purposes of the study. If any of this information has to be used for other purposes, the participants will be duly informed. The women teachers were cautioned not to reveal the contents of the group discussions or any part of the study to anyone who was not part of the study so as to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. I also ensured that I was seen talking to other women teachers who were not research participants so that my participants could not be easily identified by the school community. To safeguard the interests of the research participants, I was mindful of the fact that getting people to participate in research is both intrusive and obtrusive, involving personal interaction and requiring cooperation between the researcher and the research participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Thus the fieldwork was done during times which were suitable for the participants to still pursue their other daily activities. For example, the data was produced when school was out and the teachers had some time to themselves. I was ethically bound to respect the participants by behaving in a way that did not upset their private and public spaces. Denscombe (2002, p. 179) argues that: Social researchers need to be sensitive to the likely impact of their work on those involved. Whether research is done on people or whether it is done with them, there is the possibility that their lives could be affected in some way through the fact of having participated. There is a duty on researchers, therefore, to work in a way that minimizes the prospect of their research having an adverse effect on those who are involved. Informed consent was therefore sought from the District Education Official, the school principals, and the participants themselves. The instruments used were in English and Sesotho so that the participants could express themselves freely in the language they were more conversant with in order to avoid the participants misrepresenting themselves through using words they did not fully understand. Participants were also asked to read the transcripts to ensure that they were comfortable with what was in them and to give consent on the use of such material to avoid any legal implications. The participants will be given copies of the thesis so that they can have access to the interpretations and conclusions I have drawn from our collaboration. I am hoping that this will foster further reflection on their practice of sexuality education. Wassenaar (2006) states that research should benefit the research participants or the society in some way. This study has hopefully benefited the participants by helping them reflect on their understandings and practice of sexuality education as women teachers in rural schools. By virtue of having participated in this study it is hoped that the women teachers would become more efficient facilitators of sexuality, HIV and AIDS education and be in a position to challenge the status quo in terms of what constitutes Basotho femininities and

masculinities. By reflecting on how they position themselves and are positioned as women and as teachers, the women teachers are expected move away from performing normalized womanhood and teacher-hood in a bid to improve their personal and professional lives. This study is also expected to contribute to knowledge that can be used by the Ministry of Education, Lesotho, to better plan for effective sexuality education classrooms and to create conditions that are conducive for women teachers as well as men teachers to effectively facilitate sexuality education in schools. By understanding how women teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education, policy makers would be in a better position to design curriculum and pedagogical strategies that take into account the lives and socialization of Basotho teachers. The last ethical consideration relates to what Wassenaar (2006, p. 61) describes as plagiarism and scientific misconduct. To counter this, I have done my best to acknowledge all the information I have used in this study and have disclosed my research motivation, research design, methodology, methods and their logic. Part 2 5.8 In the field Because of the sensitivity of the research topic in relation to the context, I divided the data production into three stages which were the preparation phase, actual data production, and debriefing. I was aware that I had to gain the trust of my participants and to ensure that they were comfortable with being part of a study dealing with sexuality- a taboo subject in Lesotho. The preparation phase was designed specifically to get access to the women's trust and to build rapport. It was also an important stage for reducing the effect of power differentials among the participants and me. The debriefing phase was designed for purposes of getting rid of any anxieties that could have arisen during the process of the study. During the research process, I kept a journal in which I recorded my stories of my engagement with the research. Journaling is a data production method that is frequently used by teacher-researchers and researchers who adopt narrative approaches to educational inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Hamilton & Pinnegar, 1998; McCutheon, 1992). Reading my journal created an awareness of its importance in providing an unthreatening and intimate space in which to deliberate over my researching experience and to bring ideas into being (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994, 2000). It also became a record of the anxiety, frustrations and triumphs that I experienced during the research process: I am feeling really sad today. I am not sure how I will help the woman who wants to divorce her husband. Am I the right person to offer advice? How can I help her make an informed choice? This is really frustrating because I understand what she is going through...at least writing about my feelings makes it easier to work through them (Mathabo, Journal, 2009). 5.8.1 Preparation phase While I may be an 'insider' by virtue of being a Mosotho woman teacher, I have to acknowledge that in the context of my research (a rural village) I was somehow an 'outsider'. My divorced status was problematic in the rural context where: mosali o ngalla motseo (a woman never leaves her family but runs to the kitchen). The implication of this saying is that a good Mosotho woman should never get divorced despite the problems within the marriage. Another factor I took into consideration was my educational status which positioned me as having 'rebelled' against the belief that women do not need to be educated but need a good husband. I acknowledge that there are many educated Basotho women in the towns, but the rural areas still maintain that women do not need education but to marry well and raise a family. My status, therefore, made my motives questionable especially when dealing with such a sensitive issue as sexuality education with married women teachers and hence I had to reassure the school community as well as the participants that my intentions were noble. I used the opportunity of having an aunt (who has a good social standing) staying in one of the villages to get involved in community activities so that I could become 'part' of the village. An

opportunity presented itself for me one weekend when there was a funeral function for one of the prominent members of the village. I attended the night vigil and spent the best part of the night singing hymns as if my life depended on it. The congregation was impressed and the following day I was asked to lead the hymns for the burial ceremony. This occurrence allowed me to get to know many of the villagers and I used this opportunity to invite some women including my participants to a women's party- litolobonya[1] (cf. Arnfred, 2007). The litolobonya dance involves moving the waist and buttocks in a backwards and forward movement imitating the sexual act and the gyration of the hips to the rhythm of a song. My research participants from the neighbouring village were also present at the burial ceremony and thus they also got the invitation. I hoped that through this party I would be able to assure the women teachers that while I may be comparatively more educated and divorced, I was still a Mosotho woman who valued some traditional practices. My aunt usually holds such women's parties at her place and therefore this was not a strange occurrence for the village women. I **3had to** bear **the** cost **of the** refreshments for **the** party. Some of the women who attended this function enjoy traditional brews while other wanted modern alcoholic beverages. I had to pay some women to prepare the traditional brews as I was clueless on how to prepare them. This also proved to be an educational experience for me because the women who prepared the traditional brews were willing to show me how to prepare the mixtures. I believe they enjoyed seeing my enthusiasm to learn something that they were experts at and that despite my educational background there were some things I did not know. During this brewing session, they were the experts and I was the learner and this shifted the power differentials to some extent. Through this interaction the women teachers opened up and shared more of themselves. On the day of the function the women who had gathered at my aunt's place were curious to see whether I knew anything regarding the particulars of the dance and singing done during a litolobonya festival. For starters we sang the popular song which literally asks the women present in the room to identify themselves in terms of their marital status and the number of children they have. The words of the song are: Ipoleleng Basali[2] (Lead) Uena u mang? (Response) Ke ´na ´me ´Mathabo (Individual recital) Ea hahileng Maseru Ngoana oaka o mong Ke ausi Kananelo Efela ke Mosali Say who you are women Who are you? I am Mathabo I live in Maseru I have one child A daughter by the name of Kananelo I am indeed a woman All the women in the room were expected to recite their stories and after this the group acknowledged itself as being made up of real women. The real dancing and singing started and everybody showed their prowess. It was really refreshing to see how shocked the women were to see that I could sing and dance with the best of them. The only thing I could not do was to ululate and I was given some lessons on this in vain. I became a hit with the village women who were really impressed that I could join in this occasion. My divorced status never again became an issue with this group of women. While the women teachers had already agreed to participate in the study, they seemed to become more relaxed in my presence during this function. The litolobonya function seemed to cement their resolve to take part in the study. It also made our relationship to become more relaxed and the power differentials were reduced. The peculiarity of the litolobonya function was that most of the songs that were used were songs that told stories of infidelity and extra-marital relationships (see Appendix A). I was told that they are used to mock other women who believe their husbands were loyal to them. The gist of the songs is that if a woman could not satisfy her husband sexually then other women who knew how to perform sexually would take him away. The highly sexual dance that accompanies these

419

songs is suggestive of how the women in the group believe the sexual act should be performed to keep a man happy in the family. The litolobonya dance is intended to be both educational as well as humorous to create a favourable environment for women to learn some skills of being sexually pleasing to their husbands. The litolobonya dance and song gathering is one of the few places I know of in which Basotho women are free to acknowledge their sexuality and to freely talk about issues of sexuality among themselves. The supportive group environment allows for the women within such a gathering to lose their inhibitions and become as sexual as they can be through the dancing ritual. It also provides a relaxed environment for the women to share tips on how to better please their husbands sexually. However, the exclusion of unmarried mothers and childless women from the group is testament to the belief that marriage and childbirth are signifiers of good womanhood and that sexuality is only sanctified in heterosexual marriage. During the dance party I was able to arrange with my participants to meet them at their schools for the data production. The days that followed the litolobonya party became more pleasant as I felt less like an outsider and my interactions with the immediate school community had improved. 5.8.2 Dressing for research Almost as a matter of course, wearing, or seeing someone wear an item of clothing establishes connections and association between a particular garment and a particular person, event, experience or moment in time... (Weber & Mitchell, 2004, p. 257) Weber and Mitchell (2004) aptly capture the importance of clothing and the meanings that can be read into how one is dressed; thus the importance of dress in the 3**relationship between the researcher and** research **participants.** It became**important** for me during the research process to decide what to wear. I had to ensure that my dress code was suitable for a rural village and that it was the accepted code for adult women. I also had to ensure that my dress code made the women participants feel comfortable around me, that I was not dressed in a manner that would increase the power differentials between us. As a divorcee, I have been considered an easy sexual target by men and a threat by married women. Because of this, my involvement with the women teachers within the rural setting was delicate and thus my dress style very important. I had to assure them that my intentions were pure and that I was not after any man in the village. I also had to portray, to the men, a picture of respectability so that they would not think I was an easy target for their lust. I am mostly comfortable in a jean and T-shirt, with a pair of trainers. Within the context of the village, this kind of attire was not suitable for an adult woman and it was supposedly worn by 'loose' and immodest women who wanted to reveal their bodies. It was a great challenge for me to get out of my comfort zone and comfortable clothes in order to fit the context of the village. I had some modern European dresses which were not really suitable either because they were not the right length (I prefer my dresses to be knee-length). I realised that the only dress that would not raise any questions for me would be the seshoeshoe[3] dress. My mother had to make three new seshoeshoe dresses for me for the field-work because the ones that I owned were a bit short for the standards of the village. However, the new dresses came with another complication. I wanted them to look worn so that the participants would not feel threatened by them. I had to wash them several times before wearing, just to give them the worn look. The problem of the dress was sorted but what remained were the shoes. I could not wear any formal shoes with my seshoeshoe dresses because of the amount of walking that I had to do daily to get to the schools. I found myself in the most awkward position of having to wear a formal dress with trainers. I found myself hating everyday that I had to dress in such a manner. I had to have a shawl or a Basotho blanket for warmth depending on the weather.

This created another challenge for me because my aunt told me that I wore the blanket like a man. She had to show me how to wear the blanket with some semblance of grace. My aunt also told me that I walked too fast for a woman and I had to change. I usually walk fast in my jeans and T-shirt without any worries, but in a dress I felt really clumsy, especially when time was limited and I had to hurry. The dresses were too long for my short frame and they made walking somehow problematic. I felt awkward and unattractive and this did not help with my confidence at all. It took some getting used to before I stopped feeling bothered by my appearance. I believe that the women teachers I worked with were more comfortable in the dress code expected of them through prolonged practice. Everyday of the field work made me realise how torn I was between the desire to express myself personally, to be true to who I felt I really was inside and the desire to comply with perceived notions of how women teachers should look. I found myself asking questions similar to those asked by anthropologist Fred Davies regarding what to wear: Whom do I wish to please, and in so doing whom am I likely to offend? What are the consequences of appearing as this kind of person as against that kind? Does the image I think I convey of my self reflect my true innermost self or some specious version thereof? Do I wish to conceal or reveal? (Davies, 1992, p. 24) I did my best to please the participants and the village community with my choice of dress during the period of the field-work. My aim was to conceal my body so as not to appear sexually inviting and to blend in with the other women so as not to be seen as an outsider university student. The person I managed to portray with my chosen dress assisted a lot with the data production even though what I presented was not my true 'innermost' self. I am still not sure up to this moment as to how the villagers and my participants read my dress code and the meanings they made out of it. I am also unable to say whether the women teachers were dressing for the research just as I was, and what part of themselves they portrayed. The question still remains: in dressing for research does one dress to reveal their innermost self or to comply with common perceptions of being? 5.8.3 Memory writing A week after the preparation phase and having sorted out my dress code, I met the women teachers to start producing memory accounts of their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. [1]**Mitchell and Weber (1999), Crawford et al (1992), and Haug et al (1987)** argue that **writing** about **memory** should be detailed and done in the third person in order to create distance between the memory itself and the person reflecting on their lived experience. Each woman wrote her memory account individually during their free time. I believed that giving the women teachers time to think of their experiences and recording them individually would be beneficial for them to get into sensitive memories. While Mitchell and Weber (1999) talk of the benefits of collective remembering, I felt that it would not be appropriate for this study into women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools, even though the memory accounts would be discussed within the group. The guideline used by the participants to retrieve their memories [1]**was as follows: |Memory guide** | |Reflecting on **your** experiences of teaching sexuality education, [1]**can | |you please recall any particular episodes or events pertaining to | |your**teaching **that caused a shift or change in**

your practice? | |Please write about one such memorable experience that was critical | |for you as a woman and as a teacher. Please include as many details | |and as much dialogue as you can remember so that the reader will | |have a sense of the interactions involved in the event. Do not | |worry about spelling and grammatical mistakes. Just write what comes| |to mind as it comes. Write your story in the first person. When you | |feel you have written all there is, then re-write your story in the | |third person using your name or a pseudonym. | |What impact do you think this particular experience has had on your | |personal and professional self? | |Prepare to share your narrative and reflections with the other women|

|teachers | Table 5.2 Adapted from Motalingoane-Khau (2007) Nash (2004) argues that writing personal narratives means looking deeply into ourselves for the meanings which could, when done well, resonate with other people's lives with the possibility of inspiring them in considerable ways. Thus the memory writing exercise provided us with the chance to look deeply into ourselves as women teachers. However, relying on memory is challenging because what we remember and what we forget are out of our personal will. Some memories are given preference over others, hence individuals become unable to provide complete accounts of their lived experiences because "experiential accounts are never identical to lived experience itself" (van Manen 1990, p. 54). Despite this challenge, LaBoskey (2004, p. 843) argues that memory work is one of the self-analysis and self-transformation tools necessary for the improvement of teaching practice. She argues that whether our memories reflect the 'truth' or not, they are influential in the "construction of our identities, our current thinking and future behaviours" (2004, p. 843). In agreement, Crawford et al (1992, p. 39) posit that "memories contain the traces of the continuing process of appropriation of the social and the becoming, the constructing of self." As van Manen (1990, pp. 120-1) notes, anecdotal narratives function as experiential case material and hence are important for making pedagogical reflection possible. He argues that each person gets touched or moved by story and therefore actively searches for the storyteller's meaning by reflecting on their own stories. LaBoskey (2004, p. 843) also argues that by reflecting upon and interrogating our memories, we enhance our ability to control their impact on our teaching. 5.8.4 Using visual participatory methods The women teachers were given old copies of People magazine which they used to produce their photo-stories. I want to acknowledge my bias in the choice of magazine used by stating that People magazine is my favourite gossip magazine and I had many copies of it. The prompt was for the women to choose photographs that depict their understanding of sexuality or that speak to them about issues of sexuality. Plain paper and paper glue were provided for the women teachers to paste their pictures onto the plain paper. The next step was for them to write what each picture said to them about sexuality, or why they chose the particular picture. The women teachers brought their photo-stories to the workshop for discussion. Another prompt was provided for the women teachers to make drawings that depicted how

they saw themselves as women and as teachers. They were told that the emphasis was not on good drawings but on representation of how they saw themselves. They were given plain A4 paper and pencils for their drawings. Each drawing was accompanied by a written account of why the particular drawing was chosen and what it meant to the participant. The drawings and photo-voice projects were done in my presence after school at the different schools. The camaraderie characteristic of these sessions was exciting for me as well as for the women teachers. It felt as if we were back at pre-school cutting out pictures from magazines and creating our own stories. The women teachers enjoyed going through the magazines and they were quite upset that after creating their photo-stories the magazines would be destroyed. I had to assure them that I would bring them more copies of the magazines which they could keep for their own use. They told me that they thought using photo-stories would be a good way for them to work with their students and needed to know more about them. While I am not an expert on using photo- voice, I worked with them to show them how to choose photographs and create stories out of them as a way of passing on a message. What the women teachers liked most about using the photo-stories was the effect of visuals on kick-starting the thought process. They argued that by just choosing and cutting out the pictures, they were already creating their stories and becoming more aware of their own understandings about sexuality. If we had had more time the women teachers would have liked to try out using photo-voice within the group to learn more about using it as a teaching tool. The drawing sessions were even more exciting as the women teachers drew stick figures, gave the stick figures names of some people in the school community and made jokes about them. While drawing their representations of their woman and teacher selves, the women teachers lost the joy they had when they started. They stated that they had never had a chance to really reflect on what their lives meant as women and as teachers. Thinking of what drawing represented their woman and teacher selves forced them to face the realities of the social constructions of being a woman and a teacher and the inequality in the power afforded different identities. 5.8.5 Group discussions A one day workshop was organised at Makoala High School because it had a hall. Participants from Bahale High School were transported to the workshop. Participants brought their photo-stories and drawings to the workshop. These were presented to the rest of the group to open up the debate around sexuality education. The participants also shared their written memory accounts. Reflections on the memory narratives provided information on how women teachers experience teaching sexuality education in rural schools. The photo-stories provided information on the women teachers' understandings of what sexuality entailed in relation to their teaching, while the drawings provided information on how the women teachers saw themselves as women and as teachers and how this positioning influences their teaching. Discussions during this session were audio-recorded. A light lunch and refreshments were provided for the women teachers during the workshop. I led the discussion on the memory accounts by sharing my own story of teaching sexuality education in a rural school. During my presentation I could sense that the women teachers were shocked at what I was telling them. When I was through with telling about the experience they started asking me several questions in relation to the experience (see Chapter 6). One of the questions was "How could you get aroused by just thinking of a student's question?" I felt really awkward having to answer this question because the women teachers did obviously not comprehend what had happened to me. For them it was unheard of. I thought I had spoiled things for them by revealing such a story because I felt as if I was being judged as a 'bad' woman. However, I answered their questions to the best of my ability and eventually they started talking about their own stories which to me also seemed intense and sensitive. The

first woman teacher to open up was the widow, who to my thinking had nothing to loose by relating her story however sensitive unlike the other women who still had husbands. It could also be that the widow learnt to speak up for herself when her husband died, while the other women still wait for male voices to give meaning to their thoughts. During her talk the other women teachers started joining in and confirming some of her points as being true to their own experiences. This made it easier for the other women teachers to talk about their experiences too. Our stories showed how our teaching of sexuality education was affected by several issues pertaining to the societies in which we live and the cultures and traditions that govern them. The discussions on the drawings and photo-stories got the women teachers fired up to take action to better their situation. As we discussed the photo-stories the women teachers were able to identify the gaps in their knowledge of sexuality and how this affected the way they taught sexuality education in their classrooms. They started talking of ways in which they could improve their knowledge and practice of sexuality education. They made plans of steps to take to improve their teaching and I tried not to get too involved in these plans even though I promised that I could help in any way I could to implement their plans. The discussion on the drawings became a bit emotional as the women teachers reflected on the meaning of their lives as women and sexual beings within the rural family context. For some of the women teachers it seemed as if the study had provided them with the only opportunity they had ever had to reflect on who they were as women and the power dynamics embedded in being and becoming a Mosotho woman. The drawings on how the women teachers saw themselves as women also brought reflections on their personal lives which were traumatic. I was not prepared for such an emotional explosion. I could not help being emotional myself as these discussions forced me to reflect on my own experiences of having been married and the challenges I had faced. However, it was interesting to listen to how the women teachers commented on their position as teachers and how the power invested in this position contradicted their position as women, and how these two positions could be reconciled to create possibilities for them to better facilitate the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools. At the end of the one day workshop I walked home with some of the women teachers. This gave me an opportunity to experience with them the societal expectations on teachers. As we walked on home we were greeted with warmth and respect by the village people. Some parents were brave enough to even stop the teachers on the way and ask them to assist with social problems that did not have anything to do with teaching. I began to realise that in the village, a teacher was expected to be knowledgeable in every aspect of life irrespective of gender. An example of such an occurrence was when one parent said "Misi ngoana'ka fariki eaka e hana ho nka poho. Ebe nka etsa joang?" (My daughter, I need help with my pig that does not get pregnant. What should I do?). The women teachers were expected to give assistance in this matter just because they were teachers and therefore knowledgeable. Luckily one of the women teachers also had pigs and she told this particular parent where to go to get a good boar. The teacher position is prestigious to a point of becoming harmful to the teachers. The pedestal that teachers are placed on assumes teachers to be superhuman. As we were walking home, we stopped at a community tap to get some water to drink. There were some villagers collecting water and they let us fill our bottles first. Unfortunately as we were filling the bottles, one teacher who was suffering from flatulence broke wind loud enough for everyone near the tap to hear. The teacher was very embarrassed as we left the tap and one of the villagers said, behind our backs, "Le matichere a phinya tjee?" (Even teachers break wind in public?). While this statement was humorous, it still indicates much about the social construction of teacher-hood within the rural context. It was striking

that as we neared the homes of the women teachers, they seemed to change and become quieter. They dropped the leisurely pace that we had adopted from the school and wanted to hurry so that they could get home before sunset. This, they said, was so that they could not get into trouble with their in-laws and husbands. I am not sure if I was reading too much into the situation but the women teachers seemed to lose their joviality and appeared to become more depressed. The only people who carried on without any change were the widowed teacher and one other teacher whose husband was working away from home. 5.8.6 Debriefing The purpose of this stage was allaying any anxieties that could have surfaced during the data production stage and forging a way forward. We discussed and reflected on the research process with my participants especially on the feelings that participation in the study had evoked and on what our experiences of teaching sexuality education meant for us now and for the future. This discussion brought out some of the women's plans to challenge the situations in their personal and professional lives. One of the teachers talked of the fact that she was seriously considering divorcing her husband. We did our best to talk to her not to make rash decisions that she might regret. I felt bad about this turn of events as I felt responsible for inspiring this kind of feeling in this particular teacher. I felt as if my discussions on my marriage and how I had gotten out of it was the source of the divorce idea. While I felt good that the women teachers had had a chance to reflect on their personal and professional lives and considered ways of improving them, I was afraid of being responsible or blamed for any harm that could befall them. Because of the intensity of the discussions in this session, I gave the women teachers the contact details of a professional counsellor within the district in case they felt they needed someone to talk to about their personal challenges. It was interesting to find out that none of the women teachers had ever considered professional counselling for their personal problems before. They argued that in Basotho culture, personal problems should be solved within the family or by the extended family and village elders if such problems could not be resolved within the family. In relation to their professional lives, the women teachers acknowledged the fact that they needed extra assistance with improving their approach to and understanding of sexuality education. Thus I gave them the contact details for educational support services to consult when they needed support in dealing with any challenges experienced in their teaching of sexuality education. I also promised to help them in identifying relevant literature to help them in their teaching. 5.9 Working with data In this section I discuss and justify the data analysis process and methods employed. I discuss the analysis process and the challenges of translation within the study. Data analysis is described as a transformational process in which raw data is transformed into insights about a social phenomenon under study (Wolcott, 1994). In this study, the social phenomenon under study is women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in Lesotho rural schools. Inductive thematic analysis has been employed with the view to reporting the participants' interpretations (understandings) in themes generated from the data. 9**The importance of the** researcher's role **in the process of** data collection is stressed by several feminist scholars (Maynard & Purvis, 1994; Oakley, 1981, Reinharz, 1992). In agreement, Patton (2002), Nieuwenhuis (2007b) and Bartunek and Louis (1996), also argue that the impressions and feelings of the researcher are important in attempting to understand a particular setting and the people inhabiting it. Thus I was aware of my subjectivity and the influence of my world-view on working with the data at every stage of this research. Thus the women's perceptions and the meanings they

made of their experiences are presented in their own voices in the study. 5.9.1 **2Thematic Analysis Braun and**

Clarke (2006) argue **that** although **thematic analysis** is widely used in analysing qualitative data, it is poorly

demarcated and acknowledged in its own right as a method. In fact, it is debatable as to whether thematic analysis is a

method on its own or not (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Roulston, 2001). Scholars who do not recognise it as a

method mainly argue that thematic analysis just provides core skills, such as "thematising meanings" (Holloway & Todres,

2003, p. 347), and the process of thematic coding (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). As such thematic analysis can be used in

many forms of qualitative data analysis. Thus it is considered as the foundation for qualitative methods searching for

patterns or themes, such as conversation analysis, interpretative phenomenological analysis, discourse analysis, and

narrative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thus, scholars argue that it cannot be regarded as method in its own right

(Holloway & Todres, 2003; Ryan & Bernard, 2000). While Ryan and Bernard (2000) and Holloway and Todres (2003) do

not regard thematic analysis as a method, other scholars argue that it "should be considered as a method in its own

right" **2(Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.** 78). They observe **that the** only difference between thematic analysis and

the other qualitative methods is that these other methods stem from or are tied to a particular epistemological or

theoretical position while thematic analysis is not (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Despite that difference, thematic analysis has a

clear theory and procedure of analysing qualitative data. As such, it can and should be considered as a method of

qualitative data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Siedel (1998) contends that qualitative data analysis is as much an art

as it is a science, since the data generated have to **10respond to the research question** and be presented **in a**

way that makes sense. As such, data analysis is not simply a matter of revealing structures and patterns but is a

creative and personal process, guided by a rigorous analytical procedure (Siedel, 1998). Thematic analysis is also

described as "an inductive, thematic analysis" (Roulston et al., 2003). It is inductive because themes have to be generated

from the data. In this study themes have been generated from women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality

education in rural schools. In conducting inductive thematic analysis, I have rigorously followed the analytical procedure

proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) and Marshall and Rossman (2006). As noted, in the debate surrounding thematic

analysis, the phases are generic to all qualitative data analysis (Holloway & Todres, 2003; Ryan & Bernard, 2000). So,

whether thematic analysis is acknowledged as a method in its own right or not, it does not affect the procedure. It is along

this generic procedure that I have conducted thematic analysis of the qualitative data of the study. 5.9.1.1 Familiarising

myself with data There are five main "field texts" (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994, p. 418) used in this study. These are written

data from drawings, photo-voice stories, and field notes, **1transcripts of the audio-tape recorded1focus**

group discussions with the participants, and **written data from the memory work** exercise. **1Ely et**

al (1991) argue that having **audio-** taped **and** transcribed conversations allows researchers to reflect on events

and experiences such that they can supplement the details. Riessman (2002) also observes that the process of transcription is one excellent way of starting familiarising oneself with data. Commenting on the importance of transcribing as an aspect of thematic analysis, Bird (2005, p. 227) argues that transcription should be regarded as "a key phase of data analysis". It is also further argued that transcribing interviews is an interpretative act where meanings are created. It also involves making decisions on correcting the language during translation, thus changing the voice and expression of the participant (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Crotty, 1998; Gay, 1992; Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999). After transcribing and typing the data, I edited the transcripts by checking them against the recorded tapes. The aim was to ensure that the transcripts had retained the information from the verbal accounts of the interviews in a way which was true to the original accounts. Transcribing and typing of the memory work, drawings and photo-voice data were important tasks in familiarising myself with the data and helped me gain a deeper understanding of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Following the transcribing and typing, another aspect of familiarising myself with the data was what Marshall and Rossman (2006) describe as immersion in the data, which involved reading and re-reading through the data. Thus, I read and re-read through the data corpus, consisting of the transcriptions, typed copies of the drawings and photo-voice data, and the memory accounts. This enabled me to become intimately familiar with the data. The data sets were taken back to the participants for member checking and ensuring that they were comfortable with what was recorded, thus allowing them to change their statements if they felt the need. None of the women teachers changed their documented statements. 5.9.1.2 Generating Codes After familiarising myself with the qualitative data, the next phase was data coding. Coding data involves transforming raw data for the purposes of analysis. Based on my familiarization with the data, I started with open- coding. This is described as manifest content analysis (Gay, 1992; Sarantakos, 2005), where the data are opened for ideas, themes, categories, or patterns emerging from the manifest content. Open-coding is conducted "to identify first-order concepts and substantive codes" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 349). I coded the data by using highlighters and writing notes in and on the margin of the text, to mark ideas. Coding involved reading and re- reading, coding and re-coding the data. This was done to identify segments of the data that reflected some ideas about the understandings and experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. The importance of generating codes as an aspect of thematic analysis is acknowledged by Braun and Clarke (2006) who observe that codes identify data features that are interesting to the analyst. In addition, Boyatzis (1998, p. 63) describes codes as "the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon." Miles and Huberman (1994) acknowledge coding as an important part of data analysis, whilst Tuckett (2005) argues that coding helps the analyst to organise the data into meaningful groups. Thus, coding is a critical aspect of thematic analysis since it finally leads to the development of themes in the next phase of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Commenting on codes, Siedel (1998, p. 14) differentiates between codes as "heuristic tools and codes as objectivist, transparent representations of facts." Heuristic codes are used as tools to smooth the progress of further investigation of the data. As Siedel (1998, 17**p. 14)** observes, **in**"a heuristic approach, code words are primarily

427

representations "of the facts described in the data and can be treated as surrogates for the text, and the analysis can focus on the codes instead of the text itself" (Siedel, 1998, p. 14). In this study, codes have been used as heuristic tools about the understandings and experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. The codes have thus helped me to organise and develop 2**themes from the** data. **Braun** and **Clarke (2006, p.** 89) also discuss two types of coding namely: data-driven coding and theory-driven coding. The former leads to the development of themes that "depend on the data" and this can also be described as inductive or grounded coding. Theory-driven coding is done "with specific questions in mind that you wish to code around" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89), and can be described as deductive or theoretical, or a priori coding. The coding employed in this study was data-driven, inductive or grounded coding in the sense that the codes were generated from and not imposed on the data. It can be argued that coding was one phase of the research process where my role as a researcher, analyst, co-producer and manipulator of knowledge was critical. This is because what was coded as interesting features of the data depended on my personal interests and creativity. The data set was coded inductively by generating codes that had relevance to the key research questions within my subjective and bounded perspective. Thus, the same data could have been coded differently by different analysts (Bruner, 1996, Eisner, 1997; Hamilton & Pinnegar, 2006; Lyons & LaBoskey, 2002; Richardson, 2003; van Mannen, 1990). Thus Clandinin and Connelly (2000) warn that it is important for researchers to be mindful that how they conceive and enact their roles will influence the research process. They maintain that researchers must strive to be open and self-reflective about their roles when conducting research and research texts. I tried to code the data for as many potential interesting features as possible. Secondly, I coded the data inclusively by keeping a little of the relevant surrounding data as a way of remaining true to the context of the data and avoiding the common criticism of losing the context in the process of coding (Bryman, 2001; Gay, 1992). Thirdly, data extracts were coded in as many different ways as possible, so that some parts of text were un- coded while others were coded several times. At the end of this phase, all data extracts were pulled together within each code. 5.9.1.3 Generating Initial Themes Generating themes can be likened to the second level of coding by Sarantakos (2005, p. 350) described as "axial coding". At this level of coding the codes generated under open-coding were interconnected to construct higher-order concepts called themes. Sarantakos (2005) also describes this phase of generating initial themes as theoretical coding or latent content analysis. He considers it a more advanced level of coding than open-coding, since it involves interconnecting "first-order concepts to construct higher-order concepts" (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 350). Whilst open-coding just opens data to theoretical possibilities, axial-coding finds relationships between the first order codes in order to reach a higher level of abstraction. Sarantakos (2005) labels this task as generating initial themes since it involves identifying relationships between and among the generated codes in order to come up with themes on the social phenomenon being studied. The generation of initial themes was based on the generated codes, which led to the development of a thematic sketch on the experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. Leininger (1985, p. 60) argues that themes can be identified through "bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone." In keeping with my key research question I engaged

the codes to generate the themes reflecting women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. Patton (2002, pp. 457-458) differentiates between themes as "indigenous typologies" and themes as "analyst-constructed typologies". Indigenous typologies are those themes created, expressed and used by the research participants whilst the analyst-constructed typologies are those themes created by the researcher and grounded in the data but not necessarily used by the research participants themselves (Patton, 2002). Using the notion of themes as analyst-constructed typologies, I constructed an initial thematic map on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. Patton (2002), however, warns that the use of analyst-constructed typologies has the limitation of running the risk of imposing a world of meaning on the participants that better reflects the analyst's world than that of the research participants. To mitigate this limitation, for each theme I used data extracts with enough detail to remain true to the context 13of the study and perspectives of the research participants. As Terre- Blanche et al (2006, p. 321)

point out, the "key to doing a good interpretive analysis is to stay close to the data, to interpret it from a position of empathic understanding." 5.9.1.4 Reviewing Themes Reviewing themes involves the refinement of the initial thematic map (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Through this task, some of the themes generated for the initial thematic map could no longer stand as main themes and had to collapse into sub-themes. The guiding principles followed here were Patton's (2002) twin constructs of 'internal homogeneity' and 'external heterogeneity' of themes. These constructs respectively denote that data "within the themes should cohere together meaningfully, while there should be identifiable distinctions between themes" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 91). I reviewed the themes at two levels. I considered the 7validity of each theme in relation to my data, and also checked whether the generated thematic framework accurately reflected "the meanings evident in the data set as a whole" 12(Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 91). This was done by re-reading my entire data set to check for coherence between the themes and data sets and to identify any data in the themes that might have been missed during the earlier coding phase. 5.9.1.5 Defining and Naming Themes After generating and reviewing a satisfactory list of themes from the data, I defined and named them in a way they were to be presented as research findings. I also analysed the data within the themes to ensure the internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity of themes. Sarantakos (2005) describes refining themes as selective coding, which denotes the selection of higher-order themes with theoretical saturation and high explanatory power. 5.9.2 Language and translation This section deals with the challenges of language and translation during the transcription and analysis of the data on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in Lesotho rural schools. All the participants in this study were qualified science teachers fluent in English. However they preferred to use Sesotho in some situations. Where they had to address taboo issues, the women teachers preferred to express themselves in English arguing that it was difficult to say the Sesotho words. It was challenging to capture the actual gist of the Sesotho parts of the conversations during translation. I found that the translation made some of the utterances to lose their original emotion and passion. This was particularly so when the participants used Sesotho traditional sayings and proverbs which were a challenge to capture

their full meaning. It has been a challenging exercise, despite the fact that I am a native Mosotho, because the language used within the different regions of the country is particular to those regions. The greatest problem was the different dialects used in the different regions of Lesotho. I had to enlist the help of two critical colleagues to double check my translations and interpretations of the Sesotho sections of the data. 5.10 Positioning myself as a researcher Feminist scholars argue for the importance of the researcher's role in the process of data production (Maynard & Purvis, 1994; Oakley, 1981, Reinharz, 1992). In agreement, Patton (2002), Nieuwenhuis (2007b) and Bartunek and Louis (1996), also argue that the impressions and feelings of the researcher become an important part of the data to be used in an attempt to understand a setting and the people in it. To bracket off my understanding regarding sexuality education from the understandings of the research participants, a description of my position as a researcher is made here. Positionality in research is crucial in influencing how one looks at a phenomenon under study. Patton (1990) describes positionality as a form of self-reflection and self-examination which allows the researchers to gain clarity from their own preconceptions. Thus, it is important for me to put my assumptions upfront. My first assumption is that different people always seek to influence the conduct of education in the school depending on their world view. As such, I believe the inclusion of sexuality, HIV and AIDS education in the Life Skills education curriculum to be a reflection of certain elitist ideologies that can be explored and theorised. Secondly, different understandings and disagreements about curriculum change render the curriculum a hotly contested space, making it difficult to get the curriculum beyond bureaucracy into practice. Lastly, for any proposed change to take root the interested parties should have a sense of ownership of the change; and the proposed change should take into account the context in which the change is supposed to be effected. The same applies to the curriculum change in sexuality education. The duty of the public school is to teach children about their sexuality and how their choices can be implicated in their sexual well-being. Thus, the school is a vital space for the society to prepare children to make informed sexual choices and to live in harmony with people of different sexual orientations. Understanding human sexuality does not mean acceptance, endorsement or support of any unwanted practices. It does not mean promotion of promiscuity or perverted sexual practices. It means respect for others and an open mind (Weeks, 2003). As mentioned in the preface, I am a Mosotho woman science teacher interested in the teaching of sexuality education in Lesotho schools. I have taught biology in Lesotho high schools for twelve years and the biology syllabus requires that students be taught about the mechanics of sex and reproduction. This has over the years proven to be a big challenge for teachers. During the in-service training workshops that I have facilitated for Basotho biology teachers through the office of Science Inspectorate Lesotho[4], the topic of sex and reproduction was always one of the topics in which teachers needed assistance in handling. Despite several workshops equipping teachers with the content and pedagogical skills of facilitating sex education, there was always a problem with the topic. The teaching of sexuality education, which according to my personal understanding encompasses the social aspects of sex, has proven more of a challenge because it demands a more engaged approach dealing with relationships, sexual orientations, desire and pleasure. My work as a novice teacher educator has also shown that teachers are having problems with the teaching of sexuality education in other countries. While I believe in open sex talk in schools and communities, I am also a member of a society in which sex talk is still taboo. Thus I am very much aware of the influence of social constructions of sexuality in relation to masculinities and femininities on the teaching of sexuality education. While I had an idea of the challenges of

430

placing the self at the centre of inquiry, I was not prepared for the questions and the discomfort that sharing my story produced within the group. I found it unsettling when the participants were more interested in my experiences of having been a married woman and my divorce. It was even more problematic trying to answer their questions regarding my sex life during and after the marriage, which obviously did not relate to the research but which interested them all the same. I did my best to answer their questions because I needed them to also feel comfortable sharing their stories with me. However I was not prepared for reliving my marriage and the trauma I went through. The questions that I was asked by the women teachers forced me to relive some of the experiences which I had locked away in some dark room in my mind. I knew that I had to answer their questions because with each answer I gave they seemed to get encouraged to speak more about their own lives. The experiences were so vivid in my mind that it felt as if they were happening as I was relating them. I had never gone into any depth about my marriage experiences with any other person except a professional counsellor. Talking to these women teachers, other ordinary women like me trying to make their marriages work, made me feel saddened that they were not happily married women. At the same time I felt empowered that I had had the courage to get out of a dysfunctional marriage while they still felt bound to their marriages by factors such as culture and religion. The women teachers also had to relive some traumatic experiences which surfaced when we discussed their drawings of how they saw themselves as women. There was evidence of suppressed anger and frustration in some of the women. I did my best not to break down in front of the women as they told their stories because so that my vulnerability could not be exposed. I controlled my tears even though I felt I would burst. However, as I went to bed at night I could not control the emotions anymore. I cried myself to sleep feeling the pain that was reflected in the women's stories. It was more painful for me because I had been through it all and could relate to their pain. Sears (1992, p. 155) observes that "as we peer into the eyes of the other, we embark on a journey of the self: exploring our fears, celebrating our voices, challenging our assumptions, reconstructing our pasts." This has been true for me and my participants in this study. Looking into each other's eyes and listening to each story we explored our fears. I kept wondering how the women would cope after the data production stage was over. I had created a platform for them to reflect on their woman and teacher selves in a way that had transformed their thought processes, and thus I felt responsible that I had made them become more aware of the oppressive conditions in which they lived without providing any solution for them. While I subscribe to the concept of research for social change (Schratz & Walker, 1995), my experience with the women teachers in this study made me more aware that change could be negative or positive. My hope and intention was for the women teachers to be able to change their personal and professional situations for the better. But then how do I guarantee that the change does become positive, how do I guarantee that whatever decisions they take in relation to their lives do not become harmful to them? This is one of the risks I have had to face in researching a sensitive and taboo subject such as sexuality, which I am still not sure how to work through. On the other hand, Rager (2005) suggests self-care tips that researchers can use when dealing with emotionally taxing research, which I used. I recorded my emotions during the research in a journal and used peer debriefing to dispel **1anxieties that came**

up during the field work. I found myself relying on discussions with colleagues during cohort university research

seminars and talked about how being involved in the research had affected my personal and professional lives. Looking back on the journey we took, I do not regret conducting my study the way I did. It was an experience that changed my life as well as my participants' lives. Schratz and Walker (1995, p. 137) succinctly sum up my feelings by stating that "we cannot understand who we are except through social action, and we cannot engage in such action without inviting change. None of us is an island entire." Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 85) have also observed that "enhancing personal and social growth is one of the purposes of narrative inquiry." Thus I am less fearful of my sexuality and am much stronger today because of my interactions with the participants. 5.11 Is there a place for dreams in qualitative research? One interesting issue has been that during the fieldwork and the process of working with the data I had several strange dreams in which I saw myself being physically and sexually abused or in compromising situations respectively. The most vivid of these dreams are presented as follows: Dream A I dreamt I was cooking in the kitchen when my ex-husband came in from work looking furious. "You don't even ask why I am so upset. It seems I am not needed in this house. You have a man who is satisfying you heh!" While I was still trying to figure out what to say he slapped me across the face. I ran into the bedroom but he caught me and raped me. Then he walked out of the bedroom. As he walked out of the door he said "Let's see if he still wants you now!" "But where are you going?" I ask "Where I am needed and appreciated, that's where." He banged the door behind him and left the house. I woke up feeling scared and looked around at the unfamiliar surroundings of my aunt's house and I remembered that I was doing my fieldwork. "It must have been a dream" I thought to myself. A sigh of relief escaped my lips and I went back to sleep. This dream was significant in the research because it happened the night after we had discussed the drawings of the woman self. This discussion had been emotionally draining and we had cried a lot. The night of the dream is the night I had cried myself to sleep because of all the pain I had felt at reliving my traumatic marriage. Dream B I dreamt that I was sleeping stark naked and uncovered, in a ground floor bedroom with the windows and curtains open. Some strangers were passing by the window and commenting on my naked status and I could hear their comments in my sleep. I was however not affected by their comments. I told myself in the dream that there was nothing wrong with being naked because what they saw on me was the same for all women. I remember that when I woke up the following day I was shocked at the absurdity of the dream because I have never slept in the nude as far as I could remember. I even reflected on what happened during the previous day in order to have some sort of explanation on the dream. I asked myself "was it something I wore?" However I remembered that I had worn my typical clothes (a pair of jeans, a t-shirt and a hat), nothing revealing. I dismissed the dream at that moment because I could not relate it to anything that could help me to make meaning of it. The dream, however, stayed with me for the rest of that day. Dream C I was in a room with my sisters-in-law (my brothers' wives) when my lover came into the room and started kissing me. We continued kissing in the presence of my sisters-in-law who were shocked. Instead of stopping we continued to have sex right there in front of them as if we were the only people in the room. I had the most earth shattering orgasm I have ever had. In the dream I did not feel ashamed of having had sex in the presence of other people and I just told my sisters-in- law that it was a natural thing to happen to anyone. Strangely, I woke up immediately after this dream and found myself sweating profusely and out of breath as if I had been running. I was shocked at having had such a dream. I was asking myself "how could I even dream of having sex in the presence of other people? How could I be so uncouth?" Unfortunately I had no answers to these questions. I really felt uncomfortable

with this dream and thinking about it made me feel vulnerable somehow. I remember asking myself what could be the meaning behind the dream, but I fell asleep again and never bothered about the dream until I had another strange dream. Dream D I dreamt that I was having a bath in my flat on Edgewood campus. When I was through with bathing I could not find my towel or bath robe. They had miraculously disappeared. As I was searching for them, the walls of the bathroom suddenly disappeared and I was in full view of my flatmates and their visitors. I just walked out of the bathroom past them to my bedroom without even trying to cover up. I remember that after this dream I became really worried about the trend my dreams were taking. I started reading about dreams and their meanings. I found out that when one dreams of oneself naked it is because they are either in a position of vulnerability or they have exposed something that should have been kept secret (Hearne & Melbourne, 1999). I was surprised because I did not feel vulnerable and I did not think I had exposed anything that should have remained a secret. The truth of the matter only crystallised for me when I had a discussion with a colleague who related the dreams to my study. She told me that she thought the dreams were related to the private and taboo information on issues of sexuality that I was placing in the public domain. My emotional engagement with the research was highlighted through the dreams. I think my dreams reflect a part of me with the desire to not be ashamed of my sexuality or afraid of vulnerability and exposure, while in waking up the part of me invoked is that which is fearful and ashamed. I believe that the self reflected in the dreams is a self I want to be, while the self reflected in my waking up is the self which has been socialised to feel ashamed of sexuality. Thus with each dream, trying to emulate my dream self, I learnt to be more open with the women teachers and we explored our vulnerabilities together. 5.12 The place for emotions in qualitative research These dreams, for me, signify one level of the emotional engagement of researchers in their studies. Bohm (1985, p. 46) observes that "emotion and thinking are almost inseparable. They are just different levels of the same thing." Gilbert (2001), on the other hand, provides the following list of synonyms for emotion: feelings, sensations, drives; the personal; that which is intimate; personally meaningful, possibly overwhelming; being touched at a deeper level; something that comes from somewhere within ourselves; and that which makes us truly human (p. 9). The role of emotion in qualitative research has been widely acclaimed (Dadds, 1993; deMarais, 2004; deMarais,

& 4**Tisdale, 2002; Harris & Huntington, 2001; Jaggar, 1996, Kleinman & Copp, 1993; Maykut &**

Morehouse, 1994; Sciarra, 1999; Stuhlmiller, 2001). Sciarra (1999, p. 44) also argues that it is "inconceivable

how the qualitative researcher would accomplish her goal by distancing herself from emotions, because entering the meaning-making world of another requires empathy". Therefore Gilbert (2001) argues that researchers should expect a cognitive as well as an emotional connection with their participants and to be aware of how their emotional reactions come out in the process. In agreement, Maykut and Morehouse (1994, p. 25) observe that qualitative researchers should be able to "walk a mile in the other person's shoes". Other researchers (Day & Leitch, 2001; Lather & Smithies, 1997; Wolcott, 2002) also confirm that qualitative inquiry requires researchers to enter their participants' world and see the world through their eyes. The challenge for this type of inquiry in writing is presented by Tillman-Healy and Kiesinger (2001) who argue that: When studying emotional topics, we become what Behar calls "vulnerable observers." By confronting the joys and horrors of others' experiences, we face the joys and horrors of our experience. Because of this, we must ask

ourselves before embarking on such a project: am I prepared to take on another's full humanity and to explore and unveil my own? [My emphasis] (p. 101) I did not ask myself this question until I was already involved in the research project. I realised that the preparation I thought I had done for engaging in the research was not enough. Schratz and Walker (1995, p. 128) also highlight the fact that we often find ourselves "researching topics that touch our personal vulnerabilities in ways that are not immediately obvious to us when we begin." They argue that talking about our research often reveals our areas of greatest personal doubt. My engagement in this research also reflected my greatest personal doubt which was my failed marriage and the implications this had on my sexuality. Fineman (1993) adds that social interactions are shaped and lubricated by feelings. The expression of my feelings in this study lubricated my interactions with the participants as it allowed them to feel free to explore their own feelings regarding the phenomenon of interest. I do not think I could have ever been prepared enough for the emotional turmoil that arose in me due to my engagement in this study even though I was aware of the sensitivity and context of the research topic. I do believe, however, that with more training, preparation and support on the emotional aspects of research other graduate students could be assisted to avoid the challenges I faced. 5.13 Trustworthiness According to Nieuwenhuis (2007a), engaging several data production methods such as document analyses, interviews and observations can lead to trustworthiness. He also argues that having several investigators or peer researchers could also enhance trustworthiness. In this study, several data production methods were employed and the research participants were acting as co-researchers in order to enhance the trustworthiness of the study. Riessman (2002, p. 256) argues that personal narratives are "not meant to be read as an exact record of what happened", nor are they a mirror of the world. Thus, drawing on Mishler's (1990) notion of trustworthiness in social science research I have explicated my research process in a way that will give it the potential to serve as an accessible, credible resource that others might use to generate ideas or questions for their own inquiries or practice (Conle, 2000a, 2000b; LaBoskey, 2004b; Loughran, 2002; Nash, 2004). I have contextualised and balanced my inward focus through trying to point "outwards and towards the political and social" (Mitchell & Weber, 2005, p. 4). Therefore in this study, trustworthiness and not 'truth' is the key issue. Because qualitative research deals with changing realities, Richardson (2000) has proposed that crystallisation provides a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being studied. She argues that "reality emerges from various data gathering techniques and it represents our interpreted understandings of the phenomenon" (Richardson, 2000, p. 934). Thus, meanings described in this study are those that have crystallised from the data, and are presented such that the data and analysis present same emerging patterns. 5.14 Design limitations My study was a small-scale in-depth study that cannot be generalized across Lesotho or to other contexts, but it can raise significant issues and ideas that could be further explored in different contexts and/or on a larger scale. Qualitative data only allows for naturalistic generalisations, extrapolations, and transferability of research findings (Patton, 2002), or "fuzzy generalisations" (Swann & Pratt, 2003, p. 201), or context-bound generalisations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 2002). By providing a clear and detailed description of how I went about my study, I hope to offer some ideas and inspiration to others who are interested in undertaking similar work. Every study design has its limitations and there are always trade-offs to make due to limited resources, time, and 14**human ability** "to grasp the complex

nature of the social reality" **(Patton, 2002, p. 223).** The study was on women teachers' experiences of teaching

sexuality education in two rural secondary schools. As such it was limited to a sample of only a few women teachers who teach sexuality education in two secondary schools. This left out unheard voices of other stakeholders in education such as women teachers in other rural schools, male teachers, principals, learners, parents and policy makers, who could have added another dimension to the study. Given the constraints of time and money, I could not include them in this study. However these are possible areas for further study. 5.15 1**Conclusion This chapter has presented**

the methodology and **methods** used in**the** study. It highlights the challenges of researching taboo subjects

together with the emotional engagement in such studies. I have discussed, in this chapter, how I worked as a participant-researcher. One of the goals of this chapter has been to discuss and justify the choices made with regard to the research design, methodology and methods of data production and analysis. The next three chapters present the findings from the study. ---------------------- [1]Basotho tradition dictated that the women who helped when a child was born in a village should celebrate the birth of the child together with the new mother. This was usually done through a celebration called pitiki, where there would be song and dance and food to share. This was a woman only feast and men were prohibited to even think of entering where such a function was held. A man who was found at such a place was whipped by all the women, using sticks, until he begged for mercy. The litolobonya dance was introduced into the pitiki ritual by the late Queen ´Mamohato Bereng Seeiso after having witnessed a similar dance in one African country where she had paid a royal visit. Basotho women all over the country loved it so much that it became a central part of the pitiki celebration and the pride of many Basotho women. [2] Basali literally means women, but in this context it implies married women with children. [3] The seshoeshoe dress is the modern traditional dress for Basotho women. [4]The Inspectorate office holds in-service training workshops for teachers twice a year during school vacation. In these workshops, teachers are equipped with content and pedagogical skills as necessary. Resource persons from different educational institutions are used in such training sessions. I was trained as an in-service trainer for Biology teachers in Kenya in 2004 at a training programme organized by SMASSE (Strengthening Mathematics and Science in Secondary Education), funded by JICA (Japanese International Cooperation Agency).

CHAPTER 6 Remembered practice: Women teachers' memories of teaching sexuality education 6.1 Introduction The previous chapter presented the methods employed in producing data and outlined the successes and challenges of the journey into women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education. In line with Clandinin and Connelly's (2000, p. 128) argument that "narrative inquirers tend to begin with experience as lived and told in stories", this chapter and the next two chapters present the experiences of the women teachers as lived and told in stories of their own construction. This chapter presents the memory accounts that the participants recorded as critical incidences in their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. The accounts are presented in the first person as written by the participants to give them ownership and to value their voice in the stories they tell. The experiences presented by the women teachers show the centrality of their female bodies and the social constructions of normative womanhood, motherhood and teacher-hood in the teaching of sexuality education and the challenges these pose to their effective teaching. The common thread running through this chapter is that woman teacher-hood within rural Lesotho sexuality education classrooms is problematic. 6.2 Memory accounts The memory accounts were recorded individually by participants to a prompt that assisted them in memory recovery (see Table 5.2). The accounts are as different as the women teachers are different, but they highlight common issues in the experiences of these women teachers. 6.2.1´Matsebo ´Matsebo had just graduated from university with a Bachelor's degree in Science education. This happened during her first placement as a qualified teacher: I was an unmarried 20 year-old beginning teacher in my first year of teaching in a rural school in the Mohale's Hoek district. The class I was given was a repeating group which has failed Junior Certificate (JC) examinations. None of the old teachers in the school wanted to work with these students as most of them were too old to be doing junior certificate. As a new teacher in this school, I did not have much choice but to teach science to this group. The class C³ had been allocated a room far from the rest of the other classrooms, in what used to be a store-room because there was no other available space. Because they were repeaters, I only taught topics which they felt they needed further assistance with. The topic they enjoyed most in my science lessons was reproduction, especially animal reproduction. They did not care much for the lower animals. They wanted reproduction of higher animals, especially human beings. One day after I had presented a reproduction lesson focussing on the male reproductive system- production of sperm, masturbation and

wet-dreams, I realised that the boys in the class were quiet. I decided to leave the classroom and pretend to go to the staffroom. When I got outside the classroom I could hear laughter and screams of girls. I was too short to see what was happening through the window. I walked round to the lower windows of the classroom and I saw a crazy situation. One of the girls was sitting on top of a boy gyrating her hips and the other students were saying "they are doing it...they are doing it!" I could not believe my eyes. I got back into the classroom and demanded they stop what they were doing. The boy just looked at me and said "are you jealous it is not you getting it? You will have your turn later." They continued their act to the excitement of all the onlookers. I was angry that the girl had agreed to partake in such an activity in class. I also felt sad that she mistakenly thought having sex with the boy would get him to love her. Boys do not do that to girls they love. I decided that in all my teachings I would use this incident as an example and teach my girls to be confident, have self-respect and be assertive. I reported the incidence to the principal and the two students were expelled from the school. The disciplinary committee decided that they would be bad influence to the rest of the student body. 'Matsebo's problem in teaching in a class that has students the same age as her is also reflected in 'Maneo's discussion. 6.2.2 ´Maneo 'Maneo was still an unmarried young woman in her second year of teaching in a rural high school when she experienced a particularly troubling incident: My class had these big boys who were the football stars at the school. They were built in a way that made them look older, and they knew it. One day as I was teaching about sexuality, especially on love, relationships and desire something really strange happened. I found my eyes locked with those of one of the footballers. It was as if he wanted to hypnotise me, as if he was daring me to look away. I kept starring at him and he did the same. The rest of the class became aware of this and watched. This boy then said to me "madam, can you tell when someone desires you?" This was a challenge to me. I asked him why he wanted to know and he said he wanted to find out whether there is something one sees or feels when they are next to someone who desires them. I did not know then that this boy had sexual feelings for me. I responded to his question by saying that a person can see the mannerisms or actions of someone who is interested in them. I gave examples of people who do things to catch the attention of a potential partner. This is when he asked "what should one do to get your attention as a potential partner?" Hei! I was so shocked that I could not speak. The class was roaring with laughter. I needed to gain control of the situation and so I asked him if he was in a relationship and how it had happened. He told the class about how he had met the girls and felt interested in her, how he always walked her home and carried her books and how they finally got involved. I used his response to engage the class and asked them about their own relationships. What had begun as a disastrous situation became a lively lesson. Students discussed issues they felt were important in relation to love affairs. When the class was about over, the boy said "but you have not answered my question. How does a person get your attention?" I did not answer him but left the classroom. One of the students followed me and told me 'in confidence' that the boy is always saying to others that he loved me. It became really difficult for me to teach this class after all this. I had problems with what to wear as I thought maybe the boy was interested in me because of what I wore. I wore drab clothes on the days when I had to teach in form E[1]. I wore long floating dresses that covered everything. I felt really ugly in these dresses, but I felt safer in them. Since that year, I always make sure that I do not teach about sexuality in the higher classes. I only take form A to C (grades 8-10). I feel a lot safer with them. 'Mampho's story reflects the same issues as the previous two, but also highlights the fact that students are sexual beings and can be attracted to their teachers. The story also presents the challenges inherent in

such student/teacher relationships. 6.2.3 ´Mampho 'Mampho was in her early twenties, unmarried and in her first teaching post in a deep rural school: When I started teaching I was not yet married. Most of the students I had in the senior classes were within the same age group as me and a few of them were older than me. I am not proud to say I had an affair with the football star of the school. He was a tall and muscular goal- keeper. The whole student body was crazy about him and the other female teachers were jealous of our relationship. I never expected to be assigned to teach his classroom. I was nervous the first day I got into the classroom to teach about reproduction and development. I was worried about how he would react to my teaching. I started teaching about sexual intercourse and its mechanics. The other students kept looking at me and then him. I did not know that all the students knew about our affair. When I got to how fertilization and pregnancy occur, my boy asked "how come I have never impregnated you? Are you a woman or a man?" The class roared with laughter. I was so humiliated by this that I ran out of the classroom. I decided to tell my principal the truth of what happened and asked him to remove me from that class. I received a lot of scolding and moral stories about teachers having relationships with their students, but I was removed from the class. My stay at that school became a living hell and I had to apply for a transfer to another school. I do not like teaching about sexuality even in my current school because I feel as if the boys are undressing me with their eyes as I teach. I am married now, but I feel that I will never be truly free from what happened to me that day. I try to talk to the girls and tell them that if they become teachers, they should never fall in love with their students, though I never tell them why. It embarrasses me even thinking about it. The problem is that the society and the students see teachers as super-human. The sad part is we are also human with the all the feelings and desires which need to be attended to. 'Mampho's story highlights that teachers are also sexual beings with the same desires and feelings as everybody else. While 'Mampho's story shows a teacher expressing her sexuality with a student, 'Mathabo's story highlights the fact that teachers as sexual beings should be aware of their own sexuality and how it can play out in their sexuality education classrooms. 6.2.4 'Mathabo 'Mathabo was expecting her first child and she was teaching biology in a rural school. This is what happened to her: I was teaching a Form D (grade 11) class on reproduction and development and was seven months pregnant. As I was talking to the students I could sense that the interest of most of the students was on my bulging tummy. During the lesson one of the girls asked me whether it was possible for a woman to feel the movement of the sperms when a man ejaculated. I do not know what happened but thinking about a response to this question got me highly aroused, and the foetus in my tummy started kicking wildly. The students who were on the front table could see the bumps on the spots where the kicks were. One young girl asked me if she could touch me to feel the kick and I gave her permission to do so. She was excited to feel the kicks and told the rest of the class what it felt like. The commotion around the movements of the foetus made the class to forget about the sperm question and the focus was on how I felt when the foetus moved inside me. However, I have never been able to forget that question because it got me into an embarrassing situation of being aroused in a classroom full of students. I blamed it on hormones and the pregnancy and I felt really ashamed of myself. The thing is I could not even understand why I felt so ashamed when arousal is a healthy and normal thing to happen. I really felt lucky that my arousal was not visible to the students and it was easily averted by the kicking foetus. This incidence made me to be careful when I went into class to teach about sexuality issues. I always tried to get myself into the 'right' frame of mind so that I could never get affected by talking about sex and sexuality. However, I have always wondered how I would have felt had I been a man teaching and

getting an erection right in front of the class! ´Mathabo's story highlights the challenges of the unruly sexual body and how it can react anytime to stimulation. This shows that teachers have to ensure that they are in touch with their sexual bodies and what can affect them negatively in order to avoid embarrassing situations in classrooms. Unlike the previous stories, ´Mathuso's story relates how her adolescent sexual experiences were brought to the fore by students' questions in class and how this has made her a dedicated sexuality education teacher. Her story reflects teachers' fears of corrupting children with sexual knowledge. 6.2.5 ´Mathuso ´Mathuso was already married and living in the same village where her school was when this happened: I was teaching a Form D (grade 11) biology lesson focussing on sex, reproduction and development. As we discussed the human body and the reproductive system, I could feel that the atmosphere in the classroom was highly charged. All the students were listening attentively though there was some suppressed laughter. At one point a boy asked "Madam, every time when I pass the mill there are donkeys having sex. The female one always has its mouth wide open as if it is chewing something. Is it because it is feeling pain or because it is enjoying?" I have to admit I did not have an answer to this question then as I do not have it now. I was also angry at the boy who had asked because the class was waiting expectantly for my response. I said "it would be interesting to know what happens with donkeys my boy. Unfortunately I have never been a donkey and I do not know how they feel." I regretted this statement immediately because one of the girls then asked "but is it nice when people have sex?" I did not know what to say. I took a long time thinking this through and I said I would answer her the following day. I asked myself what would be the right thing to do. "Do I tell them that sex is good and fun or do I tell them that sex is bad for them because it brings diseases and unplanned pregnancy?" This made me think of when I was growing up, where I was always told that sex is painful and it is bad for young girls. I remembered how scared I was of talking to boys and being asked to be in a relationship. I wished I had been told when I was a girl that sex in a good relationship is good and enjoyable. The fear that had been instilled in me of sex made me an edgy bride and I was a problem for my husband as I did not want to consummate our marriage. It was only after severe scolding from my mother-in-law that I gave in. This memory helped in deciding what to tell my class the following day. I boldly stood in front of them and told them about relationships, love and desire and the joy of a good sexual relationship. It was magical! My students were not giggling but genuinely engaged and asked constructive questions. Even the boys did not tease the girls when they voiced their opinions. At the end of the lesson I was surprised when the class monitor stood up and thanked me for the information. He asked whether I would be willing to share the information with other classes because he knew they had the same questions but nobody to ask. I agreed to do this and since then I have never looked back. I do get scared of what other teachers, parents and the community might say, but so far I have not had any problems. The fear of leading children astray when teaching them about issues of sex and sexuality reflected by ´Mathuso also manifests in ´Mathato's story. 6.2.6 ´Mathato ´Mathato grew up in town. After getting married she had to follow her husband to his home district where she got a teaching job in a rural high school. This is the experience she remembers most vividly: I was teaching about safer sex practice in my class and telling my students how people can enjoy each other's company in a relationship without engaging in penetrative sex. My students were interested in this and asked a lot of questions about different ways of kissing and masturbation. We discussed some of the myths associated with masturbation such as one becoming blind, being infertile, and not being able to enjoy sex with a partner if one becomes used to masturbating. It was encouraging that the students were freely asking about what they

had heard from their brothers and sisters about sexual issues. The following day, early in the morning before starting with my lessons, I was summoned to the principal's office. I found two angry parents with the principal and I was told that it was in relation to my teaching that the parents were so angry. The parents were telling the principal that they do not approve of their children being taught such 'silly and bad things'. They told the principal that their children would learn about those things when they were ready for marriage, and that then they would go for traditional initiation. They said "Mathisa ana a rutang bana ba rona a fosahetse. A bua ntho lisele le bana..." (These women who have not been to the traditional initiation school are a bad influence to our children because they teach our children bad things). The implication was that I was not the right person to teach children about sexuality because I had not been to the traditional Basotho initiation school. What shocked me was that the principal agreed with her and said that he was also against the idea of teaching children 'such things' but the government demanded it. I had to apologise to the parents and promise that when I was teaching about sexuality I would send their children out of the class. Unfortunately for me, I was the only teacher who was teaching about sexuality and HIV at the school. There were other teachers who could do it but who had refused to do it. Maybe if the teaching was done by someone who had been through the initiation school the parents would have reacted differently. I felt trapped by the fact that as a teacher I had to teach the children what was required by the syllabus, but also I was seen as inappropriate for the job because I was not traditionally trained even though I had the academic qualification. I decided that I would continue teaching until all the parents complained. By the end of that session my principal told me that I had to stop teaching such topics. I was told that the school is a Catholic Church school and does not condone children being taught about sex and contraception. It was really bad for me because even when I was just walking in the village I could hear people giving me bad names and saying how I had no morals. This nearly cost me my marriage because my husband heard these stories and was not comfortable with them. The fact that he had been to the traditional Basotho initiation school and had married a woman who had not been there had always been a thorny issue. Having the whole community remind him of that again was almost too much for him. 'Mathato's story highlights a community's construction of a good sexuality education teacher as someone who has been to the traditional initiation school. Contrary to communities' belief on childhood sexual innocence as expressed in 'Mathato's story, 'Matau's story shows that sometimes denying children information on their sexuality and thus keeping them innocent could be harmful to them. 6.2.7 'Matau 'Matau was responsible for sporting activities in her school. This incidence happened during a friendly game between her school and a neighbouring school: One day when I was supervising netball games I saw students running from one side of the netball ground to another. They made a big circle on the other side and it seemed that what they wee looking at shocked them, I went to check what was happening. I was shocked to find that one of my Form A (grade 8) learners was giving birth. It was a mess. The baby was lying on the ground. There was blood flowing from the mother. You can imagine how I felt! I was so afraid that my bowels got loose immediately. I asked the learners to go back to their classrooms and to get other teachers to assist the young mother. Unfortunately the principal was absent that day. As a mother myself I knew what needed to be done and I managed to cut the umbilical cord with a nail clipper and tied it up. The girl was bleeding and we had no sanitary pads so I gave her my head scarf to use in place of pads. There are no ambulances in the village but we had to get the girl to the nearest clinic. We found a van that took her there. From that day I realised that a teacher is a nurse, doctor, parent as well as judge. After a week I visited the young mother. I asked

440

her to relate the story about her pregnancy. She told me that her boyfriend forced her to have sex and she was too scared to say no. Her boyfriend was twenty years old and this girl was only fourteen and she had believed everything he said. He had promised her that having sex would help her get bigger breasts and hips. I felt guilty because I had failed to do my job of teaching this young girl about issues of sexuality which might have made her more informed about having sexual intercourse. This experience forced me to change my attitude towards teaching about sexuality and HIV. I started to talk openly with my students and discussed about sex and relationships. I want my girls to be able to say no when they are faced with boyfriends who demand sex from them. This story poses the same problem as in 'Matsepo's story, the difference being the perpetrators of the sexual crime. 6.2.8´Matsepo ´Matsepo, as a newly married teacher in a rural school experienced what she feels is the worst experience any mother could ever face. This is what happened: Teaching about sexuality was difficult for me as a Mosotho woman. Sex in our culture is something that is respected and private. We do not talk sex with children. But one day I found that I had to tell the children the truth about issues of sexuality, HIV and AIDS for the sake of protecting their lives. I was teaching Form A (grade 8) and the children in this particular class seemed to be young compared to the other form A groups that I have taught. It happened that in my class there was a thirteen year old girl whose parents had separated and she was left staying with her father. Her mother had gone to South Africa in search of employment. Her father worked in the mines in South Africa and came home on weekends to buy food and pay for everything that his daughter needed. We all thought that he was a caring father indeed. The girl did not lack for anything. When her father was at work, this girl used to have a neighbour's children sleep with her at her house so she could not be afraid. One Monday morning this girl came to tell me that there was something she would like us to discuss. I did not think it was anything urgent so I told her to see me at break-time. She looked at me and started crying. I went out of the staffroom with her so that we could talk in private. She then told me that her father was at home and that he had had sex with her the whole weekend and her vagina was painful. She told me that the father said he was helping her so that she would not get sick and start bleeding from the vagina when she grew up. She said he did this almost every weekend when he was home. I did not know what to say or do. I just listened and looked at this young girl as she told her story. I told her that I had to inform the principal about her problem. The child was taken to the nearby clinic and it was found that she was pregnant and had a sexually transmitted infection. The girl had never seen her periods and she was already pregnant. I found myself guilty that if I had taught my students properly on the different adolescent stages in boys and girls and about other sexuality issues maybe this girl would have known that bleeding from the vagina was not a sickness that her father had to prevent by having sex with her. I was involved in moving the girl from her father's house to her maternal grandmother's house for safety. The principal and the chief decided that we should not let people know that the girl had been molested by her father because the father was well respected in the village. I tried to get them to see it from the point of the young girl in vain. The father was never reported to the police and the young girl was told to say she was impregnated by a boy. Her father continued sending money and stuff for her and the baby but never went to see the girl at her grandmother's house. I still feel guilty even thinking about this incidence because an innocent girl was taken advantage of because she did not know any better. I had not given her the information she needed that could have changed her life. I can say that since then I am a changed teacher. I do my best to give the children the skills and information they need in life. But I tell you, I will never trust a man enough to leave him with a baby girl any time soon!

441

'Matsepo and 'Matau's stories show that childhood innocence does not always translate to childhood safety from sexual abuse. The teachers had thought that they were protecting the children by not giving them the sexual knowledge they needed; however, this did not protect them from their abusers. Despite their fears, teachers do sometimes make informed decisions on what to teach their students regardless of the restrictions or demands of the community. This is evidenced in 'Matumo's story. 6.2.9 ´Matumo ´Matumo was a young graduate from a town experiencing her first teaching post in a rural school. This is experience stands out in her mind: One experience I will never forget was when ten girls in one class had fallen pregnant in my school. The principal called a parents' meeting and asked parents what should be done to make sure that the children do not get into such situations. The principal indicated that parents are also responsible for the education of their children and should talk to them about sex and its consequences. The parents expressed their concern with having to talk with their children about sex; that it was not in Basotho culture for such to happen. They argued that it was the role of the school to teach children whatever they needed to know. Some parents suggested that male teachers and fathers should meet in one room and the females also do the same. In our group the mothers pleaded with us teachers to teach the girls that they should pull and elongate the inner labia so that they can stop having sexual feelings towards boys. They argued that this practice had helped Basotho girls of previous generations to avoid pre-marital sex and pregnancy. They also highlighted that the elongation of the inner labia helped reduce the sensitivity of the clitoris and hence reduced sexual desire. It was interesting for me to hear all these issues coming from the women parents. There was no mention whatsoever about the children being taught about the modern contraceptives and other safer sex practices. What worried me from this discussion was how I would be able to tell my girl students to pull their inner labia when it would somehow affect their sexual functioning. I knew that it was a long-standing traditional practice for young girls to do this, but I had never been clear as to why it was being done. I had not done it myself as a young girl and I had no idea what to do. Eventually in my own lessons I decided that I would not teach about this practice, but I would continue teaching about the modern contraception methods and safer sex practices and ensure that my students knew where to access them. 6.3 Definition of terms In order to understand the experiences presented in this chapter, I discuss the definitions of the words woman and teacher, the two identities that are at play in this study. According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary a teacher is someone who helps others to learn something by giving them information about it, shows others how to do something so that they can be able to do it themselves, and makes people feel and think differently. On the other hand woman is defined as an adult female human, behaving and dressing in a way that people think is feminine. These definitions highlight the differences in what is expected of a woman and a teacher. The teacher is expected to have information that she can give others and skills that she can share with others so that they can do things for themselves and think differently. The woman is, contrarily, expected to mainly give birth to babies and behave in accordance with what people think is feminine. There is no reference to her thinking skills. According to Butler: …one is not born, but rather becomes a woman, it follows that woman itself is a term in process, a becoming, a constructioning that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end. As an ongoing discursive practice, it is open to intervention and resignification (1990, p. 33). This implies that becoming a woman can be performed and constructed and reconstructed differently to what is deemed normal. Thus one can become both a woman and a teacher despite the challenges inherent in this combination of identities. Chapter 3 of this study has presented female bodies in education, womanhood and

442

motherhood in the context of Lesotho, where I have discussed the social constructions and dominant discourses of womanhood and woman teacher-hood within developing countries such as Lesotho. 6.4 What do the storied experiences mean? These are memorable experiences for various reasons and they highlight the challenges that women teachers face in having to teach about issues of sexuality, HIV and AIDS within a context of sexual silence. Different meanings could be drawn from these stories depending on the lens one uses. These lived experiences portray women teachers experiencing the dangers and pleasures of female sexuality. The portrayals reflect the women as sexual beings who have to be in touch with their own sexuality and acknowledge its presence and influence in their personal and professional lives before they can be able to effectively teach about issues of sexuality. The women have the same desires and sexual feelings as any other human being and can be uncomfortable during sex talk due to their own experiences of sexual encounters. The male gaze that is often focused on the body of the woman teacher creates challenges which women teachers have to face in order for them to be able to effectively teach about sexuality in a classroom context. They find themselves being sexually objectified by their male students and this makes teaching difficult. From the biographical information in Table 5.1, one can argue that the women teachers started their teaching careers in their early to mid-twenties. Within the context of the rural villages, many students get into high school around the same age, thus being age-mates with their teachers. Some of the women teachers in this study have succumbed to their sexual desires and have found themselves in difficult situations in their classrooms because of the nature of their relationships with students. While relationships in and of themselves are not wrong, there are regulations regarding intergenerational relationships between teachers and their students which teachers have to abide by as discussed in Chapter 3. I discuss the storied experiences within the following five frames: teachers as sexual beings, teacher sexualisation by students, childhood innocence and teachers' fears, the dangers of silence and the contradictions between culture and the syllabus. 6.4.1 Teachers are sexual beings Teachers tasked with the duty of facilitating sexuality education have to understand themselves as sexual beings and how their sexualities have been shaped. Some of the women teachers in this study had to face challenges of having to acknowledge that their students are themselves sexual beings actively engaging in sexual activities while some of the women teachers had to acknowledge their own sexuality within their classrooms and face the consequences of their desiring bodies. A woman teacher as well as a man teacher cannot divorce her/his body from the teaching of sexuality education (Baxen, 2006; Buthelezi, 2004; Epstein et al., 2003; Khau, 2009a; Peltzer & Promtussananon, 2003; Westwood & Mullan, 2007) and hence it is important for teachers to acknowledge their own sexuality and to know how far they can go with the teaching so that they can make arrangements to get assistance in terms of addressing those issues they feel really uncomfortable with. The concern raised by 'Mathabo's story is that teachers have to be in touch with their own sexuality before they could be able to teach about issues of sexuality to their students. As teachers, we teach who we are and therefore our sexual orientations have a bearing on how we handle the teaching of sexuality education. Being aware of who we are as sexual beings can help us to accommodate other people with different sexual inclinations. Such an awareness can make it easier for teachers to freely talk about sexual identities other than those they occupy themselves with minimal prejudice. It can also help teachers to prepare themselves adequately for sexuality topics that might affect them negatively within a classroom setting. On reflecting upon her experience, ´Mathabo states that: ´Mathabo: This experience allowed me to reflect on my own sexuality and how it can play out in different situations. I had to learn about

what gets me aroused and how to manage the arousal. I reflected on what could affect me in my lessons on sexuality education so that I could be prepared for such an eventuality. It helped me to get in touch with my own sexuality and acknowledge it as part of who I am as a woman and teacher... Sexual arousal is a healthy part of human sexuality (Vance, 1984; Weeks, 2003; Wolf, 1997) and as illustrated in 'Mathabo's story, it can happen while one least expects it. Thus teachers need to know what can affect them to a point of arousal so that they are prepared for such an eventuality and have means of preventing it within their classrooms. Sexual attraction is another aspect of human sexuality that teachers have to be aware of. As illustrated in some of the stories, the women teachers found themselves teaching students who are their age-mates. This posed a problem of either the students being attracted to the teacher or the other way round. This illustrates that sexual desires are irrational and do not work in ways that appear logical (Ingham, 2005; Jolly, 2007; Kimmel, 2004; Machera, 2004; Vance, 1984; Wolf, 1997). 'Mampho's story presents a teacher who was actively engaged in a sexual relationship with a student and the challenges of such relationships in terms of setting boundaries between the sexual relationship and the teacher- student relationship. 'Mampho's experience made her hate teaching about sexuality, HIV and AIDS. She presents her fear by writing that: I do not like teaching about sexuality even in my current school because I feel as if the boys are undressing me with their eyes as I teach. I am married now, but I feel that I will never be truly free from what happened to me that day... ('Mampho) The women teachers highlight the challenges that young women teachers face in having to control their sexual attraction to their male students. They argue that a lot of male teachers have married their students without any brows being raised. Society endorses such relationships because they perpetuate the status quo of male domination. The male teacher remains the authority over the student wife. A different yardstick is used for women teachers because they are scorned for having sexual relationships with their students, let alone marry them. Such relationships are discouraged because they would be against the norm. The woman would be in a position of authority as the teacher and the husband would be dominated. As such, women teachers have to always be in control of their sexuality while male teachers have freedom to explore their sexuality even with their students. This highlights the double standard that is used regarding male and female sexuality. While men are applauded for sexual prowess, women are applauded for sexual restraint. Ericsson (2005, p. 141) argues that the idea of "problematic sexuality still resides in girls and the sexual behaviour of boys is seldom made an issue." This is also true in the way men and women are regarded as sexual beings. Kimmel (2004, p. 239) also argues that "men still stand to gain status and women lose it from sexual experience: he is a stud who scores; she is a slut who 'gives it up'". A woman teacher, especially in the context of Lesotho, becomes degraded by having a sexual relationship with a student because she has 'given it up' to a student. Additionally, Ericsson (2005, p. 135) points out that the bodies of women are portrayed as being "problematic and unruly", with a sexuality that is in need of constant surveillance and regulation. The female body has been constructed as problematic and needing protection from the male gaze. The unruly female body (Ericsson, 2005; Kirk, 2003; McWilliam, 1996b, Paechter, 2004) is constructed as a moral and social threat to society. Thus the Lesotho government has developed regulations on teachers' behaviours in relation to their students in order to maintain the moral and social order within schools and societies (Gol, 1995; cf. SACE, 2005) as discussed in Chapter 3. However, I would still argue that adhering to such regulations requires teachers to acknowledge their own sexualities and be in a position to control their sexual reactions so that they do not follow their sexual desires with students or within

444

school compounds. While 'Mampho also feared being sexualised by her male students, her story is different from ´Matsebo and ´Maneo's stories, presented in the next section, because they just felt uncomfortable with teaching their age-mates due to fear of being sexualised and objectified by the students. 6.4.2 Teacher sexualisation by students The stories related by the women teachers also highlight instances of teachers being sexualised by their students and the discomfort this causes the teachers. While these women teachers acknowledged their own sexuality, their upbringing did not allow them to think of learners as sexual beings too. Sex-based teasing and harassment are often regarded as natural for adolescents. Kenway and Willis (1998, p. 108) argue that it is an "adolescent mating dance" (see also Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 1995; Wolpe, 1988). Lahelma, Palmu and Gordon (2000) argue that gender, schooling and sexuality are concerned with processes and practices involving relations of power. Power and hegemonic masculinity are intertwined (Connell, 1995), with hegemonic masculinity being idealised and positioned as superior to femininity and other kinds of masculinity (e.g. homosexuality). Male students sexually harass their female teachers in a complex play of power where they try to portray hegemonic masculinity. Robinson (2000) has observed that teacher sexualisation by students does not fit the traditional roles of students and teachers within schools. Thus this behaviour challenges the 'normal' student-teacher dynamics within classrooms. 'Matsebo's experience made her realise that students were also sexual beings who could express their sexuality among themselves or project it onto their teachers. She was made to acknowledge that students needed more information to make the right choices regarding their sexual behaviour. She felt that the girl student in the episode was a naïve participant and thus she decided she needed to give girl students more information relating to love and relationships so that they could not fall victims to sexual manipulation. As a beginning teacher in a new school and village, she was doing her best not to go against the school's administration or the village community's beliefs. 'Matsebo also argues that the boy who was the culprit in this experience was her age-mate and thus the comment he passed about her "getting her turn" got her worried for her safety: I felt helpless because the students knew that I was his age-mate and the implication of his statement was disruptive to my being able to control the classroom. I tell you I was scared that the boy might try to rape me or thatthe rest of the class would not listen to my directive anymore... ('Matsebo) This episode made 'Matsebo to get scared of other boys in her classroom who were around her age. She states that she felt sexualised by the boys when she was in class or just walking around the school-yard: I was afraid to walk within the school compound to their classroom by myself after this incidence. I was more afraid of teaching about sex, HIV and AIDS in their class because I felt like the boys were thinking of me as a possible sex partner for them... ('Matsebo) These episodes show the various power relations that intersect. By virtue of being a teacher, the woman teacher is in a position of power in relation to her students. This power is challenged by male students who sexualise their female teachers (cf. Robinson, 2000). To prove their heterosexuality and masculinity, young school boys have also been observed to challenge women teachers' authority by treating them as women (see Walkerdine , 1981, 1990). Additionally, 'Maneo's experience also reflects the fact that learners are also sexual beings with desires and sexual feelings. The boy in 'Maneo's class was attracted to her despite the fact that she was his teacher. In 'Maneo's book it was unheard of for a youngster to be sexually attracted to an adult: ...this boy was silly. How could he be attracted to his teacher? I mean, I am a teacher and therefore a parent to him despite the age. I was wondering what he saw in me honestly... ('Maneo) 'Maneo's experience created difficulties for her to teach sexuality education in senior classes as there were chances that the

445

students could be the same age as herself. This confirms Lahelma et al.'s (2000) assertion that young teachers are more vulnerable to sexualisation than older ones. 'Maneo's greatest fear was attracting the boys and thus being sexualised by them. She felt that she had to cover up her body with drab and floating clothing to avoid attracting boys, with the hope that they would stop seeing her as a sexual being. Gordon et al. (2000) have observed that sexually harassed teachers often try to adopt a neutral embodiment in order to discourage further harassment from taking place. This becomes problematic because their work in public sphere places their bodies display all the time. 'Maneo's escape mechanism is not unique to her situation. Victims of sexual harassment and rape in other contexts have also been observed to cover up their bodies (Sharpiro, 1997; Ullman, 1996; Yamawaki & Tschanz, 2005). While teacher sexualisation by students is not peculiar to sexuality education classrooms (Lahelma et al., 2000), it has been noted that the intimate nature of sexuality issues creates a problematic environment for 'normal' classroom dynamics between students and teachers. Because the class discussion is already on issues of sex, it becomes easier for students to sexualise their teachers as they teach about sexuality than when teaching about other subjects such as mathematics (Aapola & Kangas, 1996). The subject matter by itself becomes problematic. Within classrooms where women teachers teach in mixed groups, especially in rural areas where students are much older than their urban counterparts, there is a greater challenge of teachers being sexually harassed by their male students. This implies that sexualisation of women teachers within classrooms is a regular occurrence in schools irrespective of the subject being taught. This habit of male students reflects the societal constructions of masculinity within patriarchal societies where male sexual prowess is lauded as integral to hegemonic constructions of masculinity (Campbell, 2001). With boys trying to prove themselves as men through the sexual harassment of girls and women teachers within schools, it is imperative for education officials to ensure that schools become safe sites in which girls and women teachers can learn and teach free from intimidation. Experiences of teachers being sexualised by their students have been documented by several scholars as creating challenges for effective teaching (Aapola & Kangas, 1996; Cunnison, 1989; Lahelma et al., 2000). Kivivouri (1997) from Finland and Coulter (1995) from Canada have also observed male students making loud comments on women teachers' bodies and what they wear. They also have been observed to comment on the ways that women teachers move. Despite these occurrences, Larkin (1994) argues that it is not every male in the educational setting that harasses girls and women. This provides some hope that all is not lost. Sexual harassment and teacher sexualisation by students warrants looking into by policy makers in order to create safe classrooms which are conducive for discussions on sexuality, HIV and AIDS. As evidenced in the following section, being sexualised by students is not the only fear that teachers face when dealing with the teaching of sexuality education. 6.4.3 Childhood innocence and teachers' fears One of the challenges to effective sexuality education is teachers' fears regarding society's beliefs in relation to childhood sexuality. Many societies still operate within the discourse of childhood sexual innocence (Epstein & Johnson, 1998) and Lesotho is no exception. Thus teachers are afraid of being labelled as the ones who corrupt children's innocence through sexuality education, despite the apparent need for such an education. These Basotho women teachers highlight the challenges that are peculiar to woman teacher-hood in relation to societal expectations on sexuality education. 'Mathuso states that she has fears about what other stakeholders within the school would think of her and her teachings on sexuality issues. She is afraid of what other teachers and the community might say about her conduct as a woman and teacher. Her students wanted to know

446

about sexual pleasure among donkeys and they wanted the teacher to address issues of sexual pleasure in human beings too. With parents believing in childhood sexual innocence, this was a challenge for 'Mathuso because talking to children about the pleasures of sex would be tantamount to promoting teenage and premarital promiscuity. 'Mathuso's experience in her classroom, however, forced her to reflect on her own adolescence and how she was denied the information she feels she would have benefited from as a young girl. This has made her decide that she did not want her students to face the same challenges that she had faced growing up without enough information on sexual matters. Despite her fears on societal disapproval, she argues that she does her best to teach sexuality education in a manner that her students will have correct information on which to base their decisions regarding their sexual behaviour. The apparent silence on sexual pleasure within the sexuality education curriculum of many countries is an issue of great concern. Sexuality education programs existing in schools are silent on issues of sexual pleasure, while emphasising risk and vulnerability and positioning women as victims of violence (Correa, 2002; Fine, 1988; Forrest, 2000; Ingham, 2005; Jolly, 2007; Klugman, 2000; Petchesky, 2005). Fine (1988) and Thompson and Scott (1991) have also discussed in some detail the 'missing discourse' of desire and female pleasure in school sexuality education. They note that female desire and pleasure are not part of the official discourses of the classroom; while male desire is positioned as dangerous to girls (see also Forrest, 2000). Thus Mathuso's experience of students needing to be taught about issues of sexual pleasure is not unique to her rural Lesotho context. It reflects what happens in sexuality education classrooms across the world and the challenges that teachers face in having to address sexual pleasure with students. Mathuso's story also refers to the "fun of a good sexual relationship". When asked about this during the group discussions she pointed out that she was referring only to heterosexual relationships. She argued that she could not teach about any other relationships because she did not have enough information about them. The other women teachers also agreed that talk of relationships in their schools and village is only about heterosexual relationships. While some of the teachers knew about the existence of alternative sexualities, they were not free to discuss them because of cultural and religious restrictions. This is because homosexuality supposedly does not exist in Lesotho (Epprecht, 2000; Gay, 1986; Kendall, 1999). Basotho people regard homosexuality as un-natural by arguing that all animals were created male and female so that male can be attracted to female, and not male to male or female to female. While Basotho people are becoming more open to different sexual identities and embrace sexual diversity, there are still tensions that need to be addressed in relation to homosexuality. The church also sees homosexuality as a sin because God placed a man and a woman in the Garden of Eden, not two men or two women. Thus teachers, as adults, are not expected to lead students to sin by addressing homosexuality in their teaching. As argued in Chapter 2, the LSE curriculum for Lesotho is silent on issues of homosexuality and sexual desire and pleasure, with emphasis on abstinence. This reflects the religious belief that sex is only good if it is done within a heterosexual marriage for procreation. Children in schools are not expected to learn about their sexuality because they are not ready for marriage and procreation. The fear of being labelled as leading students to sin thus makes it difficult for these Basotho women teachers to effectively facilitate sexuality education. The women argue that: 'Mathuso: Anyone who talks about sex is regarded as a bad person. It is even worse when you talk about sex with young children. Our children should not know about sex until they are ready for marriage...so anyone who talks to them about sex leads them astray... 'Maneo: Yes...any adult talking to children about sex is someone with no morals. As mothers we are not expected to talk

about sex with the students because we would put ideas into their heads... 'Matsebo: It is argued that only people who are about to get married need to know about sex...that children in school do not need this knowledge... 'Mathato: I think people still want children to go for traditional initiation and keep issues of sex a secret. We still live in communities that regard sex and sexuality as issues to be kept a secret or taboo... the names they give us for teaching it are horrible... The rejection of anyone who dares talk about sexual issues to children presents intergenerational sex talk as taboo (cf. Reddy, 2005). This is reflected in 'Mathato's story which also highlights the community's reverence of the traditional initiation school. This particular community believed that people who had been to the traditional initiation school were the only ones who were morally strong and could effectively address issues of sexuality within the community. This is reflected in this statement "Mathisa ana a rutang bana ba rona a fosahetse. A bua ntho lisele le bana..." (These women who have not been to the traditional initiation school are a bad influence to our children because they teach our children bad things). It is worth noting that in many Basotho communities, issues of sex are referred to as 'bad things'. By implication, children who are supposedly innocent should not have knowledge of bad things which might lead them astray. 'Mathato's story reflects the community's belief on good and bad womanhood and teacher-hood. For them, a woman who has not gone through the traditional initiation is not a complete or proper woman. 'Mathato was a deviant woman who had not gone for traditional initiation but western formal education. This positioned her as not fitting to teach children as her morals were suspect. In addition to this, 'Mathato argues that she was treading on thin ice in terms of her being accepted within the community and her marriage because of this fact. Teaching within the same community in which she lived posed a problem for 'Mathato because her personal and professional lives could not be separated. Within rural communities where everyone knows everybody, parents complaining about her teaching could cost 'Mathato her marriage and social standing. The principal asked 'Mathato to stop teaching about sexuality also on the basis of religion, arguing that the Catholic Church did not condone such teachings. Thus, apart from cultural norms, teachers also have fears of contradicting religious beliefs within their schools and communities when teaching about sexuality. Churches as the proprietors of schools have the biggest say on what is acceptable within their schools despite government policies. Teachers within church schools have the greatest challenge in addressing issues of sexuality because they stand a chance of being fired for supposedly leading students astray. The participants argue that within Catholic Church schools it is extremely difficult to go against the ethos. The Church, in its teachings, promotes the sanctity of marriage and the heterosexual family unit (Bhattacharyya, 2002) and thus excludes any other ways of being. Reverence of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary also enforces teachings of abstinence only such that girls can remain virgins until marriage. These create challenges when teachers have to teach about other aspects of human sexuality. These restrictions on who can teach, and what can be taught in schools do not prevent students from learning about issues of sexuality from other misguided avenues. The challenge is that the information that students get from their peers and the media is often perverted. Some students end up making ill-informed sexual choices which place their lives in danger. Mitchell et al (2004) have argued that, in this age of HIV and AIDS, we gamble with the lives of our children by portraying them as sexually unknowing and in need of protection from sexual knowledge. This is clearly illustrated in the next section. 6.4.4 The dangers of silence While teachers and parents are trying to protect children form sexual knowledge, children are vulnerable to making wrong sexual choices or being taken advantage of due to lack of information. 'Matau and 'Matsepo's

stories present situations in which young girls face consequences of having been protected from sexual knowledge. These are sad stories that reflect everyday occurrences in the lives of young girls. These stories are not peculiar to the context of a rural village but show the dangers that girls are exposed to daily without the necessary information for making informed choices in relation to their sexuality. Older boys and men often take advantage of young girls daily, and demand sex in return for money and gifts (Leach, 2002; Morrell, 2003; Silberschmidt, 2001). Despite the sad context of 'Matau's story, it forced her to become a better sexuality education teacher. She decided that she would teach her students everything they needed to know regarding their sexuality despite community expectations and beliefs. 'Matau's reflections on the incident show that while she had wanted to keep the children innocent to satisfy community demands, she had endangered the life of a young girl. Her concern is that if she had taught this particular girl about her sexuality, she might have escaped the pregnancy. The young girl was ignorant enough to believe everything that the boyfriend had told her because she did not know any better: I tell you, this girl actually believed that she would get bigger breasts by having sex. She did get them anyway, because she became pregnant...it is really sad to think she was made a fool and now she is left with a child to care for... ('Matau) In 'Matau's story the perpetrator is a boy while in 'Matsepo's story it is the father. This experience for 'Matsepo is one which she believes would incite every mother to murder. Because of it she changed her approach to teaching of sexuality and how she addressed her students in class. She became a better teacher who freely talked with students about issues of sexuality. However this experience has damaged her relations with men: I can say that since then I am a changed teacher. I do my best to give the children the skills and information they need in life. But I tell you, I will never trust a man enough to leave him with a baby girl any time soon! ('Matsepo) The girl in 'Matsepo's story had trusted her father enough to believe what he told her about having sex with him. Most perpetrators of rape and incest are known and trusted to their victims (Sharpiro, 1997; Ullman, 1996; Yamawaki & Tschanz, 2005). This creates a difficult situation for the victims to suspect foul play or to ask for help in time. 'Matsepo argues that if the child had known better about menstruation and other sexual matters, she would have refused having sex with her father or at least she would have talked to someone about it before damage was done. These two stories show that keeping children 'innocent' had not worked in their favour, but placed them in danger. Because of the silence around sex and sexuality, boys and girls start experimenting with sex while they do not have adequate knowledge. While teachers negotiate the thin line between satisfying the community and the demands of the curriculum, children end up becoming victims of circumstance (Block, 2001). Thus the teachers in these episodes found that they had to change their attitude and approach to teaching about sexuality in order to prevent similar incidences happening. The young girls in these two stories ended up with unwanted pregnancies, and thus the label o senyehile (spoiled goods). While children are expected to be sexually innocent, a pregnant girl is "delinquent" because her sexual activity becomes apparent (Ericsson, 2005, p. 131). Pregnancy makes it visible to society that a girl has been sexually active and hence devalued, while boys and men have no such worries. Pregnancy has, within the context of the rural village, reduced the chances for these two girls finding marriage or life partners. This is the inevitable eventuality for young girls in many communities. 'Matsebo's story, contrarily, shows a young girl participating in sexual intercourse with a boy within a classroom. While there is no mention of any other consequences of this act except expulsion from school for both students, 'Matsebo thinks that the girl was a naïve participant who was taken for a ride. She argues that a girl who had all the necessary information regarding her sexuality

449

would value her body and the act of sexual intercourse. She believes that the girl was led to believe that she was loved by the boy and that having sex in class was a way of 'proving' her love for the boy. This is another sad reality for many girls in different communities who are forced into sexual relationships on the pretext of proving their love for a boy who is, almost always, much older than the girl (Jewkes et al., 2006; Wood & Jewkes, 1998; Wood, Maforah & Jewkes, 1998). Young girls find themselves pressured into having sex out of fear of violence from boys if they refuse. Wood et al. (1998) have observed that girls who refuse to have sex are sometimes punished by being gang-raped. While we cannot argue that the girl in ´Matsebo's class had been threatened, we cannot also overlook the possibility. Another side of the coin could be that the girl was a willing participant who knew what she was doing. It is possible that the girl wanted her own sexual gratification (cf. Wolf, 1997), and actively decided to engage in sexual intercourse with the boyfriend within a classroom (see also Allen, 2003; Hunter, 2002; Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b). It is possible that the girl only regretted her actions after being expelled from school and realised the seriousness of her misdemeanour. While the three episodes discussed in this section are not exactly similar, they highlight the dangers of silence for girls. I would, however, argue that despite the incidences showing only the dangers that girls face in negotiating their sexual identities within a culture of silence, Basotho boys are also equally confused about their bodies and sexual identities (cf. Simpson, 2007) and require as much information as well. 6.4.5 Contradictions of culture and the syllabus 'Matumo's story presents a situation in which cultural practices are in opposition with the syllabus. Within the Basotho culture, labial elongation is a rite of passage for young girls. It is argued that elongating the inner labia reduces girls' sexual excitability and thus keeps them 'good' (Gay, 1986). This practice was used as a contraceptive measure and a way of regulating female sexuality. In addition to covering the vaginal opening, the elongated labia were supposed to increase a man's sexual pleasure by elongating the passage through which the penis passed, and was considered as the most effective way of "winning the favours of a husband" (Parikh, 2005, p. 134). The school community believed in this practice and wanted students to be taught about it at school to reduce the high rates of pregnancy. While the parents thought that elongated inner labia would be helpful for their daughters' sexual well-being, 'Matumo felt that it would not benefit them as it would reduce their chances of enjoying sex and thus decided against it. 'Matumo's experience with the parents allowed her to make an informed decision on how to handle her future teaching of sexuality education. She argued that it was not realistic for her to deny her students information on contraception and safer sex practices because the children were sexually active as evidenced by the pregnancy rates. This meant that they were having unprotected sex which was placing their lives in danger of contracting HIV. She is concerned that what she teaches in the school is not supported in the community and thus makes it difficult for the students to get the necessary assistance: ...you know, I just skim through the issue of labia elongation and not get into the details. If the girls ask questions I direct them to their parents at home. How can I teach about such a practice if it will make the poor girls not to enjoy sex? The problem is that the parents do not talk to their children about contraception and they are not willing to take their daughters to the clinics for help... ('Matumo) 'Matumo's concern is also shared by the other women teachers. They argue that their teaching becomes useless to students because the students get different messages from home: 'Mathato: You tell the students that diseases and pregnancy can be avoided through safer sex practices such as using condoms or practising non-penetrative sex and the parents and peers tell them something else. How can we be effective? 'Matsebo: That is so true. As long as we are giving different messages at school and at home,

we will never be able to get these children to practice safer sex. We want the children to have knowledge, but their parents want them to remain innocent... 'Maneo: When you are teaching you still think about what the parents are going to say to contradict your teaching. It is worse that the Catholic Church is not changing its view on teaching children about sex and contraception. They really need this information... 'Mathato: The thing is who to listen to...the children are in trouble because they are not sure whether to listen to us or to their parents. I would be confused too if I was a student... The overall concern for these women teachers is that as women they are expected to do different things from those that are expected for them as teachers and this places a lot of demands on them in trying to reconcile the two identities. Working and staying within the same rural community creates challenges for the women teachers because they have to ensure that at the end of the day when they get home, after teaching about such controversial issues, they are still acceptable as good members of the community. They feel that maybe if they were staying in a different community from the one where they are teaching, then it would be easier on them to freely teach about sexuality to the students because they would not have to meet them after school within the community (cf. Peltzer & Promtussananon, 2003). As community members and as women, they find themselves powerless in contesting the notions and discourses that are held powerful by the community members. Contrarily, they have the power and agency as teachers to shape the communities in which they teach and live and to decide what is best for the students they teach in schools. Within this context the women teachers find themselves having to perform certain scripts of good womanhood which contradict the scripts for good teacher-hood. Negotiating between the threads of having power and being powerless, they find that their teaching is negatively affected. They cannot satisfy the needs of the curriculum and the expectations of the society at the same time. So why are they not choosing one side to work with? Why do they choose to keep between the threads offered by the two identities? 6.5 Conclusion This chapter has presented the memory accounts of women teachers which reflect their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. The memory accounts have highlighted issues that affect women teachers within rural Lesotho sexuality education classrooms and how they enhance and inhibit their efficacy in facilitating sexuality, HIV and AIDS education. The argument raised in this chapter is that woman teacher-hood within rural Lesotho sexuality education classrooms is problematic. The experiences presented by the women teachers show the centrality of their bodies in the teaching of sexuality education and the challenges this poses to their effective teaching. The body with its sexual desires does not follow any normative scripts, while the education setting requires disciplined bodies (Paechter, 2004). Bodies that desire are not disciplined and thus teaching about sexuality is seen as bringing disorder to the schooling setting. While women teachers try to police and discipline their bodies and those of their students within the sexuality education classrooms, the efficacy of their teaching gets negatively affected. As discussed in Chapter 3, within the context of rural Lesotho and its patriarchal gender order, women as mothers are expected to be pure and sexually innocent. Purity and sexuality are perceived as not being able to mix (Arndt, 2002; Bhattacharyya, 2002) because sexuality is about bodies that are undisciplined, while purity is about everything clean and wholesome with virtue and morals. However, as teachers the women are expected to have sexual knowledge, information and skills which they should be able to share with their students. Thus, in negotiating the slippery ground between the perceived purity of motherhood, the supposed sexual innocence of womanhood and the all-knowing teacher-hood, the women fear the possibility of slip-ups. The eventuality of this is that the women's teaching of sexuality

education is negatively affected as they seem to align with idealised purity and innocence of motherhood and womanhood. The questions raised in this chapter are further dealt with in Chapter nine which advances the findings to a higher level of abstraction. The next chapter presents drawings on how the women teachers see themselves as women and as teachers. The discussion on these drawings brings to light the influence of women teachers' positioning on their teaching of sexuality education.

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CHAPTER 7 Being a woman teacher in Lesotho: How women teachers see themselves To be a woman is to lack authority, knowledge and power. To be a teacher is to have authority, knowledge and power (Munro, 1998, p. 1). 7.1 Introduction Chapter 6 highlighted the social constructions of womanhood and teacher- hood, the fluidity of the power dynamics in the women teachers' relations with the school and society and the problematic nature of woman teacher-hood within Lesotho's rural sexuality education classrooms. Building up on these arguments, this chapter presents data on how Basotho women teachers see themselves as women and as teachers and the implications of their positioning on their experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools. It highlights the impossibilities and contradictions embedded in woman teacher-hood. The data presented in this chapter is based on drawings made by women teachers in accordance with a drawing prompt as discussed in Chapter 5 and represented in Appendix F. The stories presented in this chapter represent the women teachers' analysis of the drawings of their woman and teacher selves. My discussion of their stories presents a second level of analysis. In line with Munro's (1998) argument, I discuss how the women teachers make meaning of their different identities and the power afforded each identity and how this creates im/possibilities for effective facilitation of sexuality education. Earlier versions of this chapter have been presented in two international conferences (see Khau, 2009b; 2009c). In the next section I present a summary of the types of drawings that the women teachers made. The aim is to provide a general picture of the drawings and to reveal the metaphors that derive from them. 7.2 The drawings This section presents a distribution of the different types of drawings made and a general discussion regarding the dominant types of drawings. The drawings have been divided into four categories: animals, inanimate objects, plants, and people. This has been done to find the relationship between the type of drawing and the self that it represents. The discussion presented in this section provides only a glimpse into my analysis of the drawings. |Type |Woman self |Teacher self | |Animal |Ant |Ostrich | | |Elephant |Sheepdog | | |Donkey |Vulture | | |Hen | | |Inanimate objects |Blanket |Salt | | |Chamber pot |Three legged pot | | |River | | |Plants |Fruit tree | | | |Potted green flower | | |People | |Army

commander | | | |Captain of a ship | | | |Shepherd | | | |Travel agent | Table 7.1 Drawings of the woman and teacher self

The above table shows the choices of the women teachers on how they see themselves as women and teachers. The portrayals are dominated by animal metaphors followed by inanimate objects. The majority of the animals and birds chosen are domesticated, while there is only one insect. When the women teachers were asked why they had portrayed themselves as animals, they stated that it just came to them. They chose the particular animals because of certain traits of the animal that reflected their own lives. They did not consider the chosen animals in totality in relation to their characteristics. Thus the reading of the animal metaphors should be at the level at which the participants have placed them. Any deeper relation of the animals with the selves they have been chosen to depict would warrant another study. For example, why is it that the only animal whose sex has been specified is the hen? There is also an interesting relationship between the choice of domesticated animals and the woman self. Were the women teachers subconsciously aware of the domesticated role they were expected to play as women and mothers within the private sphere of the home when making this choice, or was it a coincidence? Another interesting issue is that for ostriches the male is the one that broods, protects the eggs and generally brings up the young (Marcon & Mongini, 1991). What is the relationship of this trait of the ostrich to the teacher self that it has been chosen to reflect? These are important questions that can be explored further to uncover the hidden meanings of the chosen metaphors, but because of the limited scope of this study, this cannot be explored here. In relation to the inanimate objects, the women teachers argued that they had not considered the lifeless, unresponsive or inert nature of the objects they had chosen. They chose the inanimate objects based on their usefulness and importance in everyday life, which related to how they saw themselves and the roles they played. However, these characteristics have been clearly reflected in the women's explanations of why they chose the particular depictions, especially for the woman self. When asked about the choice of metaphors reflecting people's jobs, the women teachers highlighted the fact that they wanted jobs that reflected authority and power. They never thought of the fact that most of their people depictions reflect traditionally masculine jobs. It is possible that for them power still goes with masculinity and emulating masculine traits, hence their choices. The lack of people metaphors for the woman self is an important silence that, in my view, reflects the perceptions of the women teachers on their being as women in rural communities. While the women argued that they did not engage deeply with the choices of metaphors they made, the lack of people metaphors for the woman self could be argued out as a manifestation of the expected absence of women in the public sphere. In Basotho customary law women are regarded as children (Chaka-Makhooane et al., 2000; Khabo, 1995; Selebalo, 2002). A common argument in relation to children is that 'children should be seen and not heard'. If women are children, then by implication they should be seen and not heard. This relates to the performance of emphasised femininity (Connell, 2002) in which women are regarded as trophies, beautiful to look at while remaining powerless and silent in decision making. Thus it can be argued that the ways in which the women teachers construct and position themselves cannot be divorced from their lived realities within a hetero-patriarchal society. As stated earlier, the women teachers argue that they did not think beyond the representation of the particular self they wanted to portray due to time limitations. This was an unavoidable reality of the fieldwork because we could only use their free afternoons and this was limited only to the time when they were still within the school premises. Thus, the portrayals are open to several interpretations. For example, one thought that came to mind was that the dominance of animal metaphors could have been influenced by the

454

women's training in psychology where animals are mostly used to depict certain human traits. There could be several other reasons why the different metaphors were used and their effectiveness in telling a story about the self represented. I believe that the potential of the different metaphors to effectively paint a clear picture about the self represented is limited to the qualities of the chosen depiction. For example, in the metaphor of the 'potted flower' the discussion can only relate to the characteristics and qualities of potted flowers that the woman teacher is aware of. This leaves out those characteristics that could be hidden to the particular woman and thus limiting the possibilities of other interpretations. Thus, I acknowledge that the metaphors used have provided only a limited view to the selves that they portray. It is also important to note that the drawing prompt that the women teachers used to produce their drawings had no reference to metaphors. The women were requested to make drawings of how they saw themselves as women and as teachers and explain their choices of drawings. The use of the different metaphors as representations of the different selves was an unexpected novelty. It was most interesting that the women teachers saw themselves as other 'things' except their human selves. Does this imply that the women teachers are not comfortable with their bodies as women? Why do they choose other bodies to represent who they are? The point I am making in this section is that the portraits should be only read in relation to the explanations provided by the women teachers because this study aimed at understanding their experiences and positioning in rural schools. My aim was not to find a particular truth about the representation chosen and hence these portraits and their explanations are open to several readings depending on which lens one uses. My reading of them is not the only possible reading available. 7.3 Portraits of the woman self In this section I present some of the ways in which the women teachers see themselves as women. The portraits of the woman identity presented by these women teachers reflect the power dynamics involved in being and becoming a woman within the Basotho community. These depictions bring forth to light the dominant discourses in relation to normative womanhood and femininity and the regulation of female sexuality. Through these portraits we can read the women's lives and the challenges they face in negotiating the field of proper womanhood. 7.3.1 The chamber pot My woman self is a chamber pot (thuana[1]). A chamber pot is a container that people have in the bedroom and is used for urinating in at night. In the village, a chamber pot is kept under the bed, out of sight of visitors. Even at night when it is in use, people do not want it to be seen. They just use it and hide it again. In the morning, people try as hard as they can to make sure that they empty the chamber pot without being seen. Even when carrying it outside one has to hide it. It is a shameful thing to be seen, despite its important use. I see myself as a chamber pot because I think that my husband only thinks of me when he wants sex. I do not exist as another human being with feelings, views, needs and emotions. I have no say even in the sex itself. We only do it at night, in the dark as if we are hiding from someone. He jumps on and then he jumps off and he is through, while I am left wondering what happened. I am just like the chamber pot where he just deposits his sperms and goes off. You do not negotiate with the chamber pot when you want to urinate in it. You just do it. That is what my husband does to me. During the day I have no use to him whatsoever. I just tell him what is needed in the house and he goes with his sister to buy whatever they feel I need. He never travels anywhere with me. Even when we must go to a feast together, he would rather leave me behind to come on my own. Ke mosali, ke sala hae (I am a woman, I should stay at home). I am only good for the bedroom. I am expected to be there for him if and when he wants me and I should never query his decisions in anything in the household. 7.3.2 The elephant The elephant is a strong animal but which is also easy to tame. I have

read that when an elephant is young you can tie it with a small piece of string to restrict its movement. It gets used to the restriction of this small string to a point where even when it is grown up it cannot break free. It does not become aware of its own strength until it can get agitated or angry enough to try to break free. I see myself as an elephant because I believe that I am strong. I might not have physical strength like the elephant, but I do have emotional and mental strength. I have been brought up to believe that a woman should not aim for anything more than to get a good husband and produce children. That is the piece of string that has restricted me to a point where I have come to believe that I am powerless. The death of my husband made me realise just how strong I was, even though I was still restricted by the society on what it means to be a good woman. I had to listen to my husband's brothers decide my future and the future of my children. I kept quite and pretended to go along with their ideas. That was my strength because it made them to relax and think I was going to do what they wanted, and it gave me time to carry out my plans. My family wanted one of my husband's brothers to "care" for me and the children. But I knew that what they wanted was the money from the mines. I was also expected to have sex with him. I could not agree to that. Because I was not able to say no to the suggestion, I just kept quite and pretended to agree. I do, however, believe that just like the elephant I will one day break free of the string and become aware of how much power and potential I possess. 7.3.3 The Ant The ant is a small insect that lives in highly organised groups. It is so small that most of the time it can go unnoticed, especially if it is on its own. The only time an ant can get noticed is when it is in a group, because in the group it gains its strength. Though ants are small, they are smart enough to know that they should collect food and store it for the winter when there will be a shortage of food. They get their strength in the group and they do a lot of work together. I see myself as the ant because I am regarded as a worthless wife who cannot do anything of consequence in the family. I earn a lot less than my husband and he even makes jokes about my salary. This makes him very domineering in every aspect of our married life because he has the money. We never sit and discuss what needs to be done in the family. He decides when and how to use his money and tells me that I only have control on my own salary. I tried to use my salary to do things that I thought I needed in my family, but because of my meagre salary my attempts were in vain. This gave him a lot of pleasure as he teased and mocked me about it. He even teased me about my salary when I asked him to use condoms. He asked me if I will buy them from my salary because his salary was not for condoms. But I found my strength in other women in our Women's Association. I have achieved so much with my meagre salary because of the association that he and my in-laws have become jealous. He now mocks me on my achievements and accuses me of having a rich lover who is giving me money. Just like the ant which people can step on either intentionally or unintentionally, my in-laws and husband trample over me. I do not have the physical power to fight them, but I have the strength of the mind. I am collecting food for my winter which is approaching. I am not sure whether it will be winter for him or for me. I think it will be a winter for me maybe because when I do finally divorce him, I will be without the protection he is providing now. Socially I will be an outcast because I am not expected to run away from my marriage. My mother and father do not expect me to divorce and the church will not let me worship with them. I will, however, still be welcome in my association of women and my life will still go on. 7.3.4 The River I am personally afraid of big bodies of water such as dams, rivers and oceans. However, I love watching their beauty and the mystery of what lies beneath the surface of the water. I love watching a river as it forges its way across mountains and valleys creating its own path where there was none. When a river over-flows from a storm, it creates a new

path for the water to move along. Whatever happens, the water must keep moving. The only time that a river does not move is if it has dried up and died. When the storm waters come rushing through, the river just manoeuvres around the boulders and rocks along its path and moves along on its journey. If the obstacles within the path of the water are light enough, the water just carries them along so that they do not block its journey. If the water does not find its way through an obstacle, it finds a way around it. When I look at the water in a river, I see a picture of myself and my journey through life as a woman. I see myself as the water moving along and forging its way around the obstacles in my life. Just as the river water nurtures life within and along the river, I am also a caring mother, sister and daughter with the capability to nurture those around me. Despite the fact that my in-laws did not like the fact that my first child was a girl, I am a good mother. After my divorce I realised that I had internalised the doubts that my ex- husband and his family had had of my being a good and sexually pleasing Mosotho woman. I was afraid of getting into new relationships because I doubted my ability to perform sexually. In frustration I discovered that I could pleasure myself sexually and give myself some of the best orgasms I have ever had. Thus my sexual performance anxiety was no longer a boulder in my path of life. I found a way round it. As I discovered my body and the pleasures inherent in it, my confidence levels improved regarding my sexuality and the fact that I could be sexually pleasing to other people too. With all the challenges that I have faced as a divorced woman teacher and mother, I have been able to find my way around them. I have gone under, jumped over, and gone around the hurdles in my life as the river water does. Some of the challenges were light enough for me to shove aside and move on with my life's journey. When storms in my life threaten to over-flood my sensibilities, I let the emotions flow and find a way out so that my life keeps moving. Just as the river forges new ways where there were none, I also have the power to change the course of my life and the lives of those around me. Like the river, I can only stop trying new strategies and paths when I die. As long as I live I will always try to find ways around or through whatever obstacle placed in the path along my life's journey. I have been through so much in my short life that I really believe that I have the power to shape my life such that it takes any course that I put my mind to. 7.3.5 The Donkey A donkey is one of the most overworked animals in the world. In the rural areas it does all sorts of work without even being taken care of. You find that the farmer takes good care of his horse and brushes it and feeds it properly and builds a stable for it. Even if he has a donkey too, you will find the donkey sleeping out in the cold but in the morning the donkey will be out going to collect food for the horse and doing all the hard work. I see my woman self as a donkey because as a woman I am expected to do all the hard work in the family. I know people do not see it as hard work. They do not even see it as work at all. I am overworked and under-appreciated. I am taken for granted by my husband, my in-laws, and even my own children. I do everything for them even when I am sick. When they are [2]**sick I take care of** them **but** no one **takes care of me** even if **I am sick.** Even when I am lying in bed ill, they still ask me "what are we eating today?" I am everything for them, but unfortunately there is no one for me. You should see a donkey from the mill. It will be having big bags of maize and sorghum flour and the shepherds would also be riding on it. The poor thing just goes on with its heavy load while no one cares. The passers-by cannot even ask why the donkey is over-loaded. They take it for granted that a donkey can do it all. [pic] Figure 7.1 7.3.6 The fruit tree Figure 7.2 As a woman I see myself as a fruit tree. A fruit tree is

expected to produce fruits for the family to enjoy at the right season. In the village we do not care much for the fruit trees until it is time for us to get some fruits from them. This is how I see myself as a woman. In my family I am expected to produce as many children as "God has given me" to repay the lobola that was paid when I got married. Without my children I am nothing. I cannot be called a woman, a real woman. Another thing is my husband just sees me as a baby-making tool. I say this because even when we have sex he decides when and where. I can never ask him for sex. I wait for him. Even when I am not feeling satisfied with it I cannot tell him. I am lucky that my first child was a boy otherwise I would have been sent back home. Despite the fact that I have two children already, my in-laws keep telling me that I need to have more children. They argue that at least four children will have repaid their cows. They use culture as an excuse. They say that culturally a woman should have as many children as possible to show that she is a real woman. They put a lot of pressure on my husband that we should be having more children and he believes their arguments. I may be young enough to still have more children but there are other needs in life that one has to consider before filling a house with children. 7.3.7 The potted green flower [pic] Figure 7.3 A potted flower is placed in the house and taken care of as long as it is still green and appealing to those who look at it. The owner of the house waters it when she wants to and not when the plant needs to be watered. If the plant wilts, then it can be uprooted and thrown away, or even another plant can replace it without a second thought. The owner of the house can have as many plants as she wants as long as they still please her to look at. I see myself as a potted green flower as a woman. This is because a woman, like a flower, is expected to be beautiful and attractive to the husband. I have to look good so that my husband can feel proud that he married me, so that he can brag to his friends about his beautiful wife. I have to also be pleasing for the in-laws to look at so that they can be proud of their daughter-in-law. The problem is I do not have any say in the running of the house. I am just a decoration. My mother-in-law and her son make all the decisions in the house. Even some of the clothes I am wearing were bought in my absence by the two. How can a decoration complain of anything? Even sexually I cannot say anything to him about my needs. A good woman does not talk about sex. 7.3.8 The Hen [pic] Figure 7.4 My woman self is a hen. I have chosen a hen because I have been watching my chickens daily and seeing the life of a hen. The duty of the hen is to produce eggs and chicks. The hen does not decide when and where to have sex. The cock just comes by, jumps on the hen and rushes off after the next hen and can even have sex with the other hen in the presence of the previous one. I think I always hear my hens complaining that they did not have enough sex. I think they do try to complain by the noise they make when the cock jumps off, but the cock never listens. It is too busy chasing after the next conquest. When people look at my hens they only comment on the fat and round ones that they look good. A Mosotho woman, especially in the rural villages, is also expected to be big and round to show that the husband is a good provider. The slightest loss of weight is commented on in the most negative manner. I, thus, see myself as a hen because in my marriage I have no say in the numbers and spacing of the children. I am also expected to understand that my husband has needs which have to be satisfied, so I am not expected to complain about my husband's infidelity. When I am heavy with child or breast-feeding, my mother-in-law and my own mother just tell me that I should know that my husband is at another woman's house because he has needs. How about mine? Would they be happy to see another man in my house? Just like the cock, he can chase other hens but does not want to see other cocks after his hen. Unfortunately I have never seen a hen chasing a cock. Just as I said about my own chickens, the hens do complain but they are never heard. I have complained,

but do you see it helping? It is amazing that when a cock has sex with several hens per day people say it is a good cock; it is doing its job well. The same thing applies with Basotho men. If they have sex with many women then they are real men. With the hen, as long as it produces lots and lots of chicks then it is a good hen. A hen is never commended on having lots of sex with many cocks. This is also applied to Basotho women. They are expected to have no say in sexual issues. I do not think they are even expected to be sexual at all. A woman is only defined by the children she produces.

7.3.9 The Blanket As a woman I see myself as a blanket. A blanket is a possession that one can do whatever they please with. You can have as many blankets as you wish and they can never complain. If you do not take care of the blanket, it can't say anything. If you choose to wear another one, it still remains your blanket. It cannot walk out of the house. Because you pay for it, you can do anything you want with it. You can sleep on it, walk on it, sleep under it, wipe your feet on it, or even use it as a bed for your dogs. The duty of the blanket is to keep the owner warm and happy, protecting him from the coldness of the world outside. I am a blanket for my husband. He beats me when he wants, he cares for me when he wants and sometimes he wants to be seen with me in public when he is happy. Otherwise, just like a blanket, I am kept in the house and trampled on. Just like the blanket, my husband has several women in this village that I know of but I cannot complain to anyone. Who would listen to a jealous wife? When he is not with one of his other women then he comes to me for sex. We do it if and when he wants and he never uses any protection because he has "bought" me by paying lobola, just like a blanket is bought. I cannot refuse my husband sex even though I know that it is not safe for me. He would take me to his parents who would humiliate me in front of my relatives. A woman is not expected to say anything that relates to sex. Just like the blanket which cannot say anything to its owner, my husband does not expect me to say anything to him regarding our sexual relationship. Even if I feel that I need him sexually, I cannot say it. Even if I feel I am not happy with our sexual life, I cannot complain. I tried once and he beat me so much that I was hospitalised. He said that I must be having other men who are teaching me all these bad manners of asking for sex. He told me that a good Mosotho woman's job is to please the husband and to produce heirs. I am lucky that I have two sons; otherwise I am not sure what would have happened to me. Because of my sons, my in-laws value me as their mother but not as another human being. Sometimes when he comes home I wonder what he is going to do to me. Is he going to be friendly and jolly, is he going to insult me in front of my children, is he going to beat me or is he just collecting his clothes and going to another woman? Just like the blanket I cannot do anything about my situation. My mother told me that "Mosali o ngalla mots'eo" (a woman does not run away from her marital problems). Just like the blanket I think I will be in this marriage until I am worn out and of no use to anybody, then they will throw me out. That is what you do to an old blanket. You throw it away or give it to someone less fortunate than you who could need it. I do not think they would want to see me with anyone. They would just throw me out as a useless blanket. [pic] Figure 7.5 7.4 What do the woman portraits mean? These drawings and stories present powerful metaphors of women teachers' positioning as women within rural communities. They highlight the patriarchal gender order characteristic of Basotho communities. These Basotho women teaching within a rural community are expected to perform certain scripts of proper womanhood in order for them to be accepted as respectable citizens. While the stories explaining the portraits show that the women are aware of the oppressive conditions of their womanhood, they have been socialised to take them as their lot in life (cf. hooks, 1981). To highlight this, I will discuss the portraits reflecting the woman self within the following themes: women as mothers, passive

459

female sexuality and powerful womanhood. 7.4.1 Women as mothers All the portrayals of the woman self show that good womanhood centres on being a mother and nurturing family members. The explanations of the drawings representing the woman self highlight how Basotho womanhood is constructed in relation to bearing children, especially boy children. The women teachers see their worth as women being based on their ability to provide heirs for their husbands and keep the family name going. This is what they say: 'Mathabo: My in-laws were disappointed in me as a woman because my first child was a girl. They were planning for the child to be named Thabo after one of the grandfathers and thus they pestered me to have another child as soon as possible with the hope that it would be a boy. 'Matumo: My own mother told me that without boy children in the family I would be a disgrace to her as a mother. She wanted me to produce at least four children in order to prove that I was a real Mosotho woman. I was lucky to have had children in my marriage. It is painful as a woman if you are childless… 'Mathuso: Yes. It is like you are not complete, that you are abnormal. People look at you as if you are half human. I have seen the pain that barren women go through and the social ridicule that they are subjected to by those women who have children… 'Matsebo: I know. It is as if those who do not have children are being cursed by God and the gods. What is interesting in our Basotho communities is that it is never the fault of the man if there are no children in the family or if there are no boys. All the blame and ridicule is focussed on the woman. The man can even be advised to marry another woman who will give him boy children, even if he is the one with infertility problems… As discussed in Chapter 2 (2.5.2) Basotho people place a lot of value on women's fertility and ability to bear male children (see Ashton, 1967; Mohome, 1972; Setiloane, 1976). This is in line with the patriarchal gender order that is characteristic of Basotho communities. As wives, women are expected to secure the reproduction of the family name. The woman's body is thus objectified as a conduit for the passage of the child into the clan (Chinweizu, 1990; Stratton, 1994). Krais (1993) adds to this argument by writing that: Women are seen simply as receptacles for the male seed, passive vessels, a kind of safe place where the product of male potency may rest for a while and unfold its human potential... (p. 163) Arndt (2002, p. 126) states that "a barren woman is deprived of all joy" and spends her life hoping to raise children one day. Those women who have children perpetuate the discrimination of women who are barren by teasing and mocking them as abnormal women. Within the context of Lesotho, barren women are sometimes referred to as 'men' because they cannot get pregnant. This is an unfortunate situation for many Basotho women, especially because lack of children in the family is always blamed on the women irrespective of whether the problem lies with the husband. Once a woman has children, she is expected to take care of them in every way so that they grow up into healthy and productive citizens. Because of the colonial history of Lesotho and the lack of jobs for women in the public sphere, many Basotho women in rural areas did not find formal employment (BoS, 2001). Thus their job was taking care of the household and nurturing the family. It has been argued that women who have no opportunities to work outside the home do not have the same freedom of association as those who do. Thus, "women deprived of education are by implication also deprived of much meaningful participation in politics and speech" (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 47). The advancement of Basotho women into formal schooling and public jobs has created a lot of challenges to this setting of the household because women have formal employment and hence cannot take care of their families themselves. The need for women to find paid employment outside the family sphere has not met with agreeable response from rural communities as it has disturbed the gender dynamics in which the man should be the head of the household in every way (Arndt, 2002; Chinweizu, 1990). As exemplified by these Basotho

women teachers, women are subject to the double burden of family and profession. Arndt (2002, p. 29) argues that "despite their educational and professional accomplishments, women are often reduced to their role as wives and mothers and positioned as subordinate to men" (cf. Emecheta, 1988). Thus despite professional employment, women are still expected to be nurturers within the family. Because the nurturing role is performed within the private sphere of the home, it is not seen as work (Nussbaum, 2002). The value that women's work within the household adds to the economic standing of the family is disregarded because there is no financial value attached to it. This is why these Basotho women teachers are still expected to work in their homes when they get home from their teaching work, because working in the home is not work. The women argue that: 'Mathato: We are always there to take care of everyone including the in- laws. However, there is nobody to take care of us even when we get sick… 'Matau: That is so true…I was lying in bed sick one day and my mother- in-law came in to ask me what was for lunch. She did not even care that I was bed-ridden. She wanted me to get up and prepare something for her to eat. You would think she would be more understanding, but no… 'Matsepo: My husband wants to be treated like a baby even when he has a simple headache. You cannot leave him alone in the house otherwise you want him to die…I tell you just a simple headache, and to think the pains we endure as women… 'Mathuso: When I come home from work tired they want me to start cooking for them even though they spent the whole day at home doing nothing. I think my in-laws are crazy. How could they just sit at home and expect me to work after my professional work is done? My mother-in-law just tells me that looking after the family is the trademark of a good Mosotho woman. I wish I could just tell them that I am a teacher and not a housewife… Martha Nussbaum has argued that "women's work as nurturers and caregivers has been taken for granted worldwide" (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 47). She argues that "women are often burdened with taxing employment in the public sphere and the full responsibility for housework and childcare in the private sphere, leaving them no time for play and the cultivation of their imaginative and cognitive faculties" (Nussbaum, 2002, p. 45). This has created challenges for women's capabilities to be properly recognised and acknowledged. The same fate has befallen these Basotho women teachers. The discussions show that their work as teachers is not taken seriously by their families; hence they are not expected to be too tired to nurture their families when they get home. 7.4.2 Passive female sexuality The women present female sexuality within their rural context as passive, waiting for the advances of the man. They highlight how female sexuality is regulated within marriages and families among the Basotho. Their metaphors present female sexuality as good only in relation to heterosexual relationships and procreation. Otherwise it is something that should be policed and kept under control as it disrupts the moral and social order of society (Ericsson, 2005; Kimmel, 2004; McWilliam, 1996b; Paechter, 2004, 2006). The metaphors of the chamber pot, hen, fruit tree, potted flower, donkey and blanket depict a passive woman who waits for her man to make sexual advances. However, there are subtle hints of the women's desire for sexual fulfilment and need to make sexual advances which are not acted upon. Thus Basotho female sexuality is not completely passive but has some agency which the women as actors in the field of heterosexual marriage can strategically decide to use or ignore in accordance with their interests. The women state that: 'Mathato: We find ourselves waiting because we do not want to be given bad names. It does not mean that we do have the same sexual needs as the men. We just control them better that the men do... 'Mathabo: Why should women be the ones who have to control their sexual desires and withhold their sexual fulfilment? Is it part of being a good woman? 'Matsepo: If your husband could tell his parents or your parents about

461

you asking him for sex, you would be the worst wife. You are expected to just make movements and gestures as you go about your daily chores that will hopefully get him aroused enough to chase you to the bedroom…otherwise you just wait... 'Matau: It is not written anywhere that women should wait for the man. We just get it from our elders that a good woman should be there for the pleasure of the man. I do not think it is expected for women to have sexual desires or to enjoy sex… 'Matumo: In this village a woman who enjoys sex is a whore. I remember that we were talking with some other women in the staffroom about sexual pleasure. One woman was complaining that she has to force herself to keep quite during sex so that the husband cannot see that she is having fun. If you cannot have fun with your own husband then who are you expected to have it with? 'Mathabo: Good question. Why do you as women choose to pretend to be what you are not…that you do not desire sex with your husbands or that you are not enjoying sex? Chorus: It is not proper for a good Mosotho woman to do that! The chorus response of some of the women concerning proper Basotho womanhood and sexual pleasure paints a bleak picture of Basotho female sexuality. Male sexuality is constructed as actively in pursuit of sexual pleasure and fulfilment, while female sexuality is passive and women are positioned as victims of male sexuality (see Correa, 2002; Ingham, 2005; Jolly, 2007; McFadden, 2003; Petchesky, 2005). Inherent in the discussion, however, is the suppression of action towards female sexual fulfilment. These women actively choose to suppress their sexual needs in favour of being labelled as good women. They choose to be what has been described by (Kimmel, 2004, p. 240) as "ladies". They seem to have vested interest in gaining entry into the field of good womanhood so that they can acquire the capital that goes together with being part of the game (cf. Swartz, 1997). The question is what is it that Basotho women stand to gain by being labelled as 'good' women? On the other hand it can be argued that these women are forced into submission and to be 'good' women by the violence that can be directed at them if they choose to go against the norm. This has been exemplified in ´Mathuso's metaphor of the blanket where she argues that she once asked her husband for sex and was severely beaten and accused of infidelity. The fear of violence, I believe, forces many Basotho women to accept their situations in marriage; not because they want to but because they do not have the weaponry to fight against the gender-based violence that is taken as normal in their communities (cf. Chaka-Makhooane et al., 2000, 2002; Mosetse, 2005; Motalingoane-Khau, 2007a). As discussed in the previous chapter, different standards are used in relation to male and female sexuality. Kimmel (2004) argues that gender inequality is perpetuated by people's belief **3that men are more** sexually driven **than women.** Kimmel (2004, p. 240) observes that: **1...men**

will always try to **escalate sexual encounters to prove their manhood, and that women- or rather,**

"ladies"- either do not have strong sexual feelings, or that those they do must be constantly

controlled lest they fall into disrepute. With such a view, sex becomes a contest, not a means of

connection; when sexual pleasure happens it is **often seen as his victory over her resistance.** The

passivity expected of women in this study is also reflected in the metaphor of the potted flower where women are depicted

as trophy wives (cf. Connell, 2002). They should be beautiful, good mothers and wives, bear boy children and have good moral standing. This places a lot of pressure on women to be perfect. The perfect woman is expected to be an all-rounder who adds to the public image of her husband. Contrarily, the metaphor of the river shows that womanhood and female sexuality can be performed differently from the norm. This metaphor highlights the agency and choice that women can exercise in relation to their interactions with men. Inherent in this depiction of womanhood is the power that women have to shape and reshape, construct and reconstruct their sexualities to suit their interests. 7.4.3 Powerful womanhood While most of the drawings of the woman self depict women as powerless, there are inherent strengths reflected in some of them. These portrayals show that womanhood is not a completely powerless identity. The fluidity of the power of women is depicted in the metaphor of the river. This depiction shows the dynamics of negotiating between the threads of power in the every day interactions of women. These Basotho women keep shifting between being powerful and powerless depending on the situations they find themselves in and their investment in those situations. The strength portrayed in the images of the elephant and the donkey is also evident in the collective strength of ants. These images show that while women are depicted as weak in some instances, they are not always powerless. The women are aware of their inner strength while also being aware of the dehumanisation they endure. The metaphor of the ant shows that while more often than not women are invisible in social and political circles (Arndt, 2002; Moorosi, 2006; Unterhalter, 2007; Unterhalter & Dutt, 2001), womanhood is a powerful identity. Unterhalter and Dutt (2001) have observed that women who work together in collaborative schemes are able to draw collective strength to challenge gendered relations. This has also been evident in the women's arguments: 'Matumo: Women are good at organising themselves into groups. In my school we have a burial society which helps us when we have deaths in our families. We also have a saving scheme (stokvel) which helps us to get the things we want in our houses which our husbands are too stupid to see that we need them... 'Matsebo: I keep my husband and in-laws surprised every time. They think they will see me asking them for money to do the things I want, but I always get money and support from my friends in our stokvel. Were it not for this group, I think I would have left my marriage a long time ago... 'Matumo: Ya! They see us as weaklings who do not know what to do with money or how to take care of ourselves, but in my family if they really need money they always say "we know that 'Matumo has some money hidden somewhere." They always come to me for assistance, a mere woman... 'Mathato: That is true...we might not earn much but we know how to stretch our money so that our families get all the things they need. We can beat any man at that...all they know is how to earn lots of money and just throw it away on alcohol and linyatsi[2]. These arguments show that while these Basotho women may not earn much money, they have a gift for making their money go further. This helps them to survive on their small salaries even when their husbands abscond from their duty of helping out in maintaining the family. Working with finances is not the only strength that these women identify. They also point out that it requires super-human strength to be a mother, wife and daughter-in-law within rural communities. In many rural Basotho communities, there are several generations of a family living together in one compound or homestead. In a typical household, the daughter-in-law is expected to wake up before all the family members to collect water, prepare breakfast, sweep the compound and clean up after everybody has eaten. She is then expected to collect firewood so that she can prepare lunch. Sometimes she has to go to the field to collect some wild herbs, and crush some maize so that she can prepare a meal. The women teachers in this study have a better life because their households are different. While they

still live with their in-laws, they have modern amenities that make it easier for them to carry out their duties. Despite this, they still argue that for a woman to carry out all her duties shows that women are not weak: 'Matsepo: I wake up early every morning to clean the house and prepare breakfast for my in-laws. I also have to make sure that my children and husband are ready for school and work. Then I have to get ready for school...when I get there I am usually tired, but I have to teach those poor children... 'Mampho: Yes. Sometimes even when I am sick I have to ensure that I prepare for my husband to go to work. My children sometimes help me by making their own lunch boxes...but the man...then at night he wants sex! 'Matau: That is true...after all your hard work he does not care that you are tired, he just jumps on top of you and expect you to be happy. Anyway, we all know that when you see a man who is well taken care of, there is a woman slaving behind him. We make the men to be who they are and they know it, but they do not want to appreciate us for that. 'Mathabo: Yes. There is the saying that 'behind every successful man is a strong woman'. Why do you think women, with their strength, choose to be behind the man? Chorus: because that is our place... 'Matsebo: A woman's strength is seen through her husband's success. 'Mathabo: Why can't a woman's strength shine through her own success? What is wrong with that? Chorus: There is nothing wrong but it is not our culture... This discussion shows that the women teachers are aware of their strength and the power they wield within their families. It also reflects their socialisation into womanhood which taught them how to become good Basotho women. While they acknowledge that they do not have to operate from the background in their interactions with men, they actively choose to stay in the background and let their power shine through the men. This is what Bourdieu calls symbolic power. Bourdieu believes that symbolic power takes place when agents "voluntarily give up power, because they believe that the particular person has the power to do things" (Cheal, 2005, p. 161). Additionally, Bourdieu (1990b) explains that any action is only conceivable in self-denial. By implication, these Basotho women teachers through self- denial give over their power to men because they believe that it is the way things should be. However, for these Basotho women teachers it is not necessarily about believing that men should have power but about the patriarchal conditions of their existence which create certain fears for the women to challenge the status quo of male domination. This means that while patriarchy already favours women's subordination, the women are not helpless victims of circumstance but actively construct and reconstruct their realities through non-violent resistance (see Adjei, 2007). The implication is that the women can actively choose to cooperate with men only in actions which they deem good for everybody, while they non-violently fight against men's oppressive practices, as exemplified in the women's financial management strategies. Raising such arguments does not, however, erase the fact that in such interactions men might react violently to women's resistance. The overall implication, therefore, is that the women teachers are not limited by the structures of their habitus, but can, according to Foucault, use the power afforded them by certain discourses to their advantage. Foucault (1978, p. 129) compares power to a game. Thus, just as in any game, while one player could seem to be having the upper hand, this state could easily be reversed. This implies that none of the players has the power to keep or hold on to. He observes that "power is exercised from innumerable points..." (p. 94). Thus, this argument also holds for these Basotho women teachers in their interactions with men. These women teachers gain a sense of power from the way they construct themselves in relation to their husbands and children as mothers and wives. They see themselves as reliable, responsible, virtuous and able to keep their families together, thus the strong investment they have in these positions. On the other hand, these very same positions that give women a sense of power

464

prove to be also exploitative such that the women are positioned as powerless in relation to their gender and sexuality. This contradiction in the women's positioning exemplifies the fluidity of power in human interactions. Based on the idea that every relation is fluid, one can argue that the problematic constructions of masculinity and femininity can be troubled. The fluidity of power and gender relations is evidence to the fact that the borders between femininity and masculinity are permeable and fragile, allowing for slip ups and the performance of alternative scripts. This implies that while the women teachers within this study are subjected to particular constructions of femininity there are possibilities for shattering the fragile border between femininity and masculinity. Hence there are possibilities for active resistance and performance of alternative scripts. If exercising power over others is a strategic game and things can be reversed, if there are possibilities for these women teachers to perform their womanhood differently, then why do these Basotho women teachers choose to perform the normative scripts of womanhood and femininity? Part 2 7.5 Portraits of the teacher self This section presents how the women teachers see themselves as teachers. These drawings and their explanations highlight the difference in the positions of being a woman and a teacher. They show how teacher-hood is positioned within the rural society in relation to womanhood, and the power afforded the teacher identity. 7.5.1 The Sheepdog A sheepdog is used by farmers to help with guarding the sheep and other farm animals so that they are in order. If they wander off in the wrong direction then the sheep dog has to round them up and show them the direction. Sometimes the sheepdog has to bite the animals before they can take the right direction, but most of the time barking is enough to guide them. I see my teacher self as a sheepdog because I am also there to guide the students and round them up when they go the wrong way. We are on good terms most of the time, but sometimes I have to 'bite' them just like the sheep dog. A good sheepdog knows of the ravines and dangerous places that the sheep should not venture towards and thus stops them from going. A good teacher is also expected to know everything that can be either good or bad for the students and guide them accordingly. 7.5.2 The three-legged pot The three-legged cooking pot is used to cook food for many people. In the village these are the typical cooking pots. When all the three legs are working properly, it is easy to cook tasty food. Once one of the legs is broken then the pot needs to be supported so that it can do its job of cooking meals. My teacher self is like a cooking pot because all the children that pass through my hands are expected to be thoroughly cooked or prepared for life as members of society. Being supported by the parents, the government and the church makes my job of cooking the children become easier and thus we get good results. If one of these people is not helping me in the teaching of the children then the results become poor and thus the children are not properly cooked. Anyone of the stakeholders in the education of the children have to do their part so that the legs of the pot are all functioning and thus help the pot to cook good meals. Without the other legs, then the pot is no longer a three-legged pot. Unfortunately for me, the other legs in the three-legged pot seem to be against the proper functioning of the pot. There are things that I know that the children need to know about which I cannot teach because the other legs of the pot do not support me. 7.5.3 The Captain of a ship The captain of a ship is responsible for directing the ship with all its cargo towards its destination, by navigating through rough weather and stormy seas. The captain always has to know what lies ahead so that he can give directives on which route to take and when to put the sail up or down. With the watchful eye of the captain, the ship can get to its destination without any trouble. However, it is possible that the captain and the ship can become shipwrecked on the high seas. Thus only the strong and brave would survive to reach the nearest shore. Just like the ship captain, a teacher is supposed to guide

465

the learning of the students so that they can one day occupy their positions in society as responsible citizens. The teacher knows what lies ahead in life and in students' learning. She can guide the children to acquire the necessary knowledge to navigate in life and become successful. However, just like on the high seas there are several challenges that can impede the effective direction by the teacher. These days there are things such as HIV and AIDS which make life a challenge for youngsters and adults. The havoc wreaked by HIV in the lives of Basotho people is worse than any stormy sea. Only the strong and the brave get through the education system as winners, while the rest remain caught in the shipwreck. 7.5.4 The Army Commander My husband tells me that in the army the Commander is the big boss. You do not question the Commander in any order that you are given. You have to perform whatever task as you are told. You do not have to agree with the task or understand it much. You just follow orders. I see my teacher self as an army Commander. I expect complete control and discipline in my classroom. My students are not expected to talk back to me or to question my authority. I am the ultimate boss of my classroom. Unlike the army boss, I can never give my students tasks that could be harmful to them. However, I do give challenging tasks for them to perform so that they test their skills and endurance. Failing a task at first attempt is no excuse to give up. In my classes they know that you try until you get it right, otherwise you meet with the wrath of the Commander. 7.4.5 The Shepherd In the villages where we have a lot of livestock, the shepherd is important. A shepherd looks after the animals and makes sure that they get to green pastures to graze. He also has to find a drinking place for the animals to get water. The shepherd makes sure each morning that his flock is all out to pasture. If any of the animals meets with an injury, the shepherd has to take care of it. When the animals give birth in the field, the shepherd is there to assist them and deliver the young one. A good shepherd is known to all his flock by his voice. All he has to do is call and they will follow. My teachers self is a shepherd. I get my students to good knowledge and skills by teaching them and assisting them in challenging situations. I make sure that they know what lies ahead in life so that they can make the right subject choices that would relate to their future careers. I make sure that I know the interests of all my students so that I can offer them guidance accordingly. It is not an easy task but I try my best. Sometimes there are wild animals- such as HIV, drugs and pregnancy- that steal my students from my class. Like the good shepherd I do my best to protect the flock that is still with me by showing them the dangers that lie ahead. As a shepherd, one can never guarantee that taking the animals to the drinking spot will make them to drink the water. As such I cannot guarantee that the advice that I give to my students is being followed, or whether the lessons I give them fall on good soil. 7.5.6 Salt In the bible it is said "You are the salt of the earth..." Salt is used all over the world to season food. In the villages where there are no other fancy spices like those bought in town, just adding salt to a dish makes it tasty. Salt is an important part of the food that we eat because it also adds some minerals to the body. However, too much salt is also not good. My teacher self is like salt. I am used by the government, parents and the children to spice their education and thus their life. Just like the salt I can only spice the food into which I am poured. I am given orders by the government on what to teach and how to teach it. The parents also give me orders on what they want their children to learn. My power is limited by the fact that there are rules that sometimes hinder my work. I can impart my skills and knowledge only where and in what I am allowed to teach. [pic] Figure 7.6 7.5.7 Travel agent I love travelling so much that even when growing up I wished for a job that would get me travelling all over the world. I enjoy looking at travel brochures and what the travel agents put together about different places of interest so that tourists can have all the information they require before

making a decision to travel to any destination. The travel agent has all the correct information about different destinations and their suitability for different types of travellers. The travel agent can only recommend a destination to a client but the final decision rests with the client. I see my teacher self as a travel agent. As a teacher I have the correct information for my students about the subject matter and possible life paths or careers. I provide them with the information they need so that they can make informed decisions with regard to their futures. Those who decide to participate when I am teaching will be able to perform well in their examinations and move on to career paths of their choice. I give my students information in relation to career choices and opportunities and the pre-requisite knowledge. This makes it possible for them to choose careers that suit their personalities and capabilities. Most students make use of this information effectively and improve their life chances while others choose to ignore my instruction and do their own things. As a sexuality education teacher, I see myself providing my students with the necessary sexuality information as a basis for the choices they make in relation to their sexual behaviour. What they choose to do with the information that I provide is up to them. My job is to make it possible that they know about all the possibilities in terms of their sexuality, sexual identities, safer sex practices and having healthy pleasurable sex lives. Just like the travel agent, I cannot force my students to take a journey they do not want to take, or to travel along a path that is not to their liking. I can teach my students about safer sex but I cannot force them to adopt safer sex practices. I cannot say that some of the girls I have taught fell pregnant because they did not have enough information. I would rather say that they had the information, but chose to act out their sexualities in ways different to what I had recommended to them. A good travel agent can warn clients about theft hot-spots in certain destinations but if the client decided to display their valuables in public, they end up having their stuff stolen or place their lives in danger. A good teacher also provides trouble hot-spots for students in relation to their growth and body changes; however the students have the final say in what they do. 7.5.8 The Vulture I view a teacher like a vulture. A vulture is a brilliant bird. It usually teaches its young ones how to fly so that they can be able to get food for themselves. It carries its young ones on its back to teach them to fly. When it gets high up in the air, the vulture drops its young one so that it can learn to fly, meantime watching closely so that it can assist when the young one gets tired or is in danger. When this happens, the vulture comes in and carries the young one on its back to rest and safety before trying again to fly. Similarly, the teacher uses different methods to provide students with appropriate life skills so that they can be able to fit normally in their societies. The teacher cares for the students and encourages them to try again if they fail in their first attempt. She lets the students try things out for themselves and if they despair then she comes in and helps them. [pic] Figure 7.7 7.5.9 The Ostrich An ostrich is a big strong African bird that is protective of its young ones. It cannot fly but it can run fast. When its young ones are in danger, it can run as fast as the wind to protect them. I am told that sometimes the ostrich can just hide its head in the sand to hide from some things. It believes that with its head in the sand that enemies cannot see it, because it cannot see them. People who prefer to ignore their problems rather than try to deal with them are sometimes called an ostrich. I see my teacher self as an ostrich because I also try to ignore what I see happening around me with our children. I do care about my students, but my caring has now been limited by circumstances. I have been teaching for many years now about sex and reproduction but they are still getting pregnant in big numbers. The parents and the church are not happy with us for teaching the children about sex. I have been told in several different forums that I am corrupting the children. I want to have my peace of mind in the village too. So these

467

days I just look the other way. It is better not to care or to pretend it is not happening. I cared a lot and my spirit died with each of my students that got pregnant. I know that with getting pregnant is the risk of getting HIV. I now just teach only what is in the syllabus. What is in the syllabus I teach, but what the parents do not want their children to be taught I ignore. There is a lot that the children must know, but I do not feel free to teach them. It feels so much better, with my head in the sand, ignoring the problem as far as sex is concerned. [pic] Figure 7.8 7.6 What do the teacher portraits mean? The depictions of the teacher self reflect the socially constructed nature of teacher-hood within rural Basotho communities. They highlight the power vested in the teacher identity. Most of the portrayals show the pastoral care and guidance duty of a teacher as well as the power that a teacher has in shaping and reshaping the belief systems and lives of students. The teacher moulds students such that they can fit into their positions in the adult world (Block, 2001), and thus a sexuality education teacher is also expected to prepare students to fit into socially acceptable sexuality scripts. The major thread that runs through all the depictions of the teacher self is of power and control, even though the level of power and agency differ per depiction. Thus the teacher drawings will be discussed within this major theme. 7.6.1 Power and control Munro (1998, p. 1) argues that "to be a woman is to lack authority, knowledge and power. To be a teacher is to have authority, knowledge and power." However, people are not fixed but are positioning themselves and being positioned by others differently at the same time. This implies that people are engaged in a constant remaking of themselves and others. This also applies to the women teachers in this study. The way they position themselves and are positioned as teachers reflects the fluidity of their teacher identity. According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (Wehmeier et al, 2005), authority means having the power to give orders to people or being in a position of power; while control means having the power to make decisions or the ability to make somebody or something do what you want. Power, on the other hand, means the ability to control people or things or the authority to do something. From these definitions, I find no clear demarcation between the three words. Thus, it is possible that I have used these words interchangeably within this study. In the present discussion, power and control have been used to denote the authoritative position of the women as teachers. While eight of the teacher portraits reflect agency towards students' wellbeing, the ostrich shows a teacher who decides to hide from reality. From the discussions of the women teachers in relation to their drawings of the teacher self, the women present their beliefs regarding good teacher- hood. They portray a teacher who is in control of her faculties. The teacher has the information and skills to guide the students so that they make informed choices. The women point out that: ´Maneo: We have the lives of our students in our hands. Whatever we do in the classroom will reflect in how the students relate to their communities and how they live their lives outside the school. We can make them who we want them to be... ´Matumo: Ya. We can tell them anything and they would believe it because we are teachers and we are supposed to have all the right knowledge to give to students. However, it is not always easy to tell them about something like sexuality because the community does not want them to know about it... ´Mathuso: Being a teacher is difficult because there are many different stakeholders to please. Although we control what happens in our classrooms, we cannot force our students to do what we tell them to be right...it is still their choice at the end of the day...we just guide them. ´Matau: That is so true. We give them guidance and they choose what to do. I do believe, however, that we can be forceful enough in our teaching to show them the pitfalls of certain sexual behaviours if we want them to stop practising those... ´Matsebo: Yes. That is why I choose to pretend things are not happening. I have been

468

teaching them as forcefully as I can to warn them about the dangers of unprotected sex but they still get pregnant. Sometimes it is useless to keep preaching the same gospel if no one is hearing it... ´Mathabo: Your teacher selves present you as people who have the power to change the society. Is this happening in your communities? Chorus: No, not yet...because we are women... ´Matsebo: We do not have all the power a teacher should have because we are women and we still have to be under control...to be good... These discussions show the dilemma of woman teacher-hood for these Basotho women teachers. Despite being teachers and having all the control that goes with the field of teacher-hood, they are still seen as women (cf. Arndt, 2002, Emecheta, 1988) in their interactions with the school community. Their womanhood is used to put them in 'their place', thus reducing the power that they are afforded by being teachers. They are women and they are also mothers. As discussed earlier, motherhood is associated with purity and virtue (Acholonu, 1995; Arndt, 2002; Emecheta, 1979; Kirk, 2003). Mothers protect children from harm. Thus these women teachers are also expected to protect their students from the corruption of sexual knowledge. Even though they know that their students need this knowledge, the women find themselves choosing to abide by the dominant societal discourses on womanhood and as a result opt not to teach about some issues of sexuality, HIV and AIDS. While Paechter (1998) argues that knowledge is power, these women teachers seem not keen to assume the power afforded them by the knowledge they have in relation to issues of sexuality so that they make choices towards improving the knowledge their communities and schools have regarding sexuality, HIV and AIDS. One insightful comment by the women teachers was "we are women before we are sexuality education teachers." The implication of this comment is that despite the prestige afforded them by their qualifications and teaching positions, the most valued self for them is the woman self. Thus the woman self is dominant over the teacher self. One can therefore assume that the way these Basotho women teachers approach the teaching of sexuality education in their rural classrooms is largely dictated by the womanhood scripts that they are performing. This means that these women teachers cannot be effective in facilitating sexuality education because good women are supposedly sexually innocent and pure, and always protect their children from any form of corruption including sexual knowledge. Even those women teachers who claim to give their students the necessary knowledge regarding their sexuality still argue that there are certain points they cannot go beyond: ´Matau: Even though I am now a better sexuality education teacher than I was two years ago, I cannot say that I tell them everything. Some of the stuff I do not know myself and some of it is too sensitive for me as a Mosotho woman... ´Matsepo: I do my best to tell them everything that I can as a Mosotho woman...I mean things that I think they should know as children. There are some things that I still cannot say to my colleagues, let alone children... ´Matsebo: That is true for me too. It is still difficult for me to use the given Sesotho names for some body parts...English makes them sound better, like they are not vulgar. ´Mathuso: Yes. I have the same problem too. Sometimes when I am teaching, I look around to see who would hear me saying such things to children...or I speak in a low voice. As mothers there are some things that we should not say. These statements are testament to the fact that the women teachers feel that they cannot teach about certain issues pertaining to sexuality because they are women and mothers. The value placed on womanhood and motherhood in their communities is reflected in the value the women teachers themselves place on these identities. According to Bourdieu (1990b), every action is based on the agent's self-interest. Whatever people choose to do is because they have some interest or something to gain from the action. Most of these women teachers choose to privilege their performance of proper

469

womanhood because it serves their self-interest. While this interest is being served, the education of students in terms of sexuality, HIV and AIDS is compromised. 7.7 Understanding the women teachers This section addresses the interconnectedness of the lives and identities of the women teachers in this study. It brings forth the tensions and strains the women teachers face in working out their identity of woman teacher-hood. My aim is to highlight the relationships between the two aspects of the women's identity through the ways in which they construct themselves. The following table integrates the women teachers' biographies as well as the portraits of woman and teacher selves. While I was a participant-researcher in this study, my biography is not included in the table and discussions because it does not fit into some of the categories used for the other participants.

Names	Age	Marital status	Position at school	Educational qualifications	Woman self	Teacher self	
´Matsebo	37	Married	Disciplinary committee	B.Sc. Ed	Potted flower	Sheep dog	(B)
´Mathuso	39	Widow	HoD Maths & Science	B.Sc. Ed	Blanket	Three legged pot	(B)
´Maneo	36	Married	Entertainment committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	Donkey	Shepherd	(B)
´Mampho	34	Married	Board Member	STC(Science)	Hen	Army commander	(B)
´Matau	36	Married	Disciplinary committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	Elephant	Captain of ship	(M)
´Mathato	34	Married	Sports committee	STC(Science)	Chamber pot	Vulture	(M)
´Matumo	34	Married	HoD Maths & Science	B.Sc. Ed	Fruit tree	Salt	(M)
´Matsepo	36	Married	Sports committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	Ant	Ostrich	(M)

Table 7.2 Linking biographies with the woman-teacher identity 7.7.1 Powerful teacher and powerless woman This section addresses the contradictions embedded in woman teacher-hood. It discusses the contradictory positions occupied by the woman self and the teacher self, as well as the contradictions in terms of how the women see themselves and how they perform their woman teacher-hood. Three of the women teachers in this study hold the highest qualification of a B.SC in Education. These three women, ´Matsebo, ´Mathuso and ´Matumo also hold positions of power within their schools' management system. Despite this, it is interesting to note that these women portray their woman self through depictions of powerlessness as potted flower, blanket and fruit tree respectively. These depictions highlight a limitation in terms of agency. While the flower and the tree can have limited movement of their upper limbs, this movement is limited to the wind speed and direction of the wind around them. The movement of their roots is also limited to the availability of mineral salts and water in the soil where they are growing. The blanket, on the other hand, is totally dependent on being acted upon. It cannot do anything on its own and therefore has no agency. All three depictions of the teacher show that they have some power as change agents. Two of the teacher selves that they have chosen show limited agency. For example, for salt to be effective, there has to be another person who puts the salt into food or whatever that needs to be salted. The pot also needs to be used by somebody in order for it to cook food. Someone has to put food in the pot and light a fire beneath the pot before the pot can cook the food. The depiction of the sheepdog, however, shows a little more agency than the previous two because a good sheep dog knows when to round-up the sheep or to direct them away from danger even without the presence of the shepherd. But in the same vein, the sheepdog needs a shepherd to guide its movements so that it can do its work properly. The two other women who portray their woman teacher-hood in contradictory terms are ´Mampho and ´Mathato who hold the lowest qualification of Secondary Teachers' Certificate. These women also hold positions of power in their schools, especially ´Mampho who is a school-board member. These women chose the hen and the chamber pot, respectively, to portray their woman self while they chose the army commander and vulture respectively for their teacher

selves. The woman self portraits show a powerless woman with a limited level of agency. For example, even though a hen can run away from the unwanted advances of a cock, it can never approach a cock to initiate mating; thus limited agency. The chamber pot on the other hand can do very little on its own. It cannot stop someone from urinating in it. When it is full, it cannot empty itself except if someone knocks it over or takes it out. The teacher self for these women is portrayed in terms of more power, flexibility and agency. For example, the army commander is free to exercise full decision making powers in terms of how the army operates. The vulture also has total control of how it trains its young ones to fly in terms of when to let go and when to assist. These five depictions show a womanhood that is powerless and a teacher-hood that has power, though limited. In my view, these depictions contradict the powerful positions that these women teachers hold in their schools and the level of education they have. Being educated means having the social and economic capital that go with the education level (Bourdieu, 1990), however this capital is not helping the women teachers to exercise their authority. Despite the power inherent in their depictions of the teacher self, the focus group discussions show that the women are not able to exercise complete authority as teachers in terms of what to teach in their sexuality education lessons. One possible reading of this contradiction could be that these women teachers do not see themselves as being in complete control in their respective duties. It is possible that while they hold such positions of power, there are other people who make the final decisions for them. This is what has been labelled as tokenism by several scholars (see Connell, 1995, 2002; Gaskell & Taylor, 2003; Molyneux & Razavi, 2002; Moorosi, 2006), where women are given positions of power only for window-dressing purposes such that the institutions in question could be seen as being gender sensitive in appointing people to management positions. Thus, irrespective of their qualifications and positions of power, they are still positioned as the 'other', as women, in their interactions with men. 7.7.2 Powerful woman teacher The previous section presented contradictions in the depictions of woman and teacher and how the identity of woman teacher-hood is performed by five women. In this section I look at the depictions that highlight similarities in the position occupied by woman and teacher in the way these women see themselves. The three women in this section namely ´Maneo, ´Matau and ´Matsepo hold the second highest level of qualification, the Diploma in Science Education. While ´Matau holds a powerful position in school discipline, the other women hold positions of relative power in entertainment and sports respectively. The woman self portrayals chosen by these women are the donkey, elephant, and ant respectively. While the donkey and elephant are powerful animals in their own accord, the ant gets its strength in groups. All the three depictions, therefore, are portrayals of power and agency. For example, a donkey can decide to fall on its knees and not move an inch if the load it is bearing is too heavy, no matter how much one can try to coax it to move. Additionally, while the elephant can be trained to docility, it can also go against the directives of the trainer and do its own thing. Lastly, ants are renowned for their collective work and support for each other (Marcon & Mongini, 1991). I believe that the ants choose to work in groups because they know that they can do more work collectively. The teacher self portrayals chosen by these three women are shepherd, captain of ship, and ostrich respectively. These depictions reflect the women's agency in being able to choose the right path for their students. A shepherd and the captain of a ship both serve as guides to direct others, and hence can make decisions on which course to take. Additionally, the ostrich which is a powerful and fast-running bird is known for its tendency to pretend to be sick in order to divert the enemy from its young ones in order to protect them from danger (Marcon & Mongini, 1991). Thus these women teachers see themselves as powerful and free to

exercise their agency both as women and as teachers. Despite these portrayals which show a powerful woman teacher identity, where the women have power both as women and as teachers, it is worth noting that the focus group discussions show limited agency in terms of what the women can do as women teachers socialised within a patriarchal gender order. The power they allude to does not seem to allow them to exercise their authority in their interactions with the school community or their families. This, therefore, indicates that the gender dynamics that characterise the rural setting in which these women teachers perform their woman teacher- hood create a 'glass ceiling' which stops the women from being free to exercise their capabilities as best as they can (cf. Nussbaum, 2002). This state of affairs highlights the gendered lives that the women teachers lead within the rural communities and the inherent challenges of this situation on their effectiveness as sexuality education women teachers. In trying to understand the linkages between the women's portraits and their biographies, it is notable that the women's ages did not seem to be a deciding factor in the types of portrayals they chose. Two of the five women discussed in section 7.7.1are in their late thirties while three of them are in their early thirties. However, they all portrayed their womanhood as powerless and their teacher-hood as having power. The marital status of the women also does not seem to have any bearing on their choices, because while four of the women are still married, 'Mathuso is a widow. The women discussed in section 7.7.2 present a somewhat homogenous group. All are still married and are of the same age, 36years, and they portray both their womanhood and teacher-hood as powerful. Thus, I must acknowledge that the women do not present as homogenous a front as evidenced in the focus group discussions. They have differing views in relation to their teaching practice as well as their performance of womanhood. While some of the women are afraid of challenging societal beliefs relating to womanhood and sexuality, there are some women who have been able to do this effectively. In chapter 6, we saw women who decided to change their approach to teaching sexuality education despite the possible wrath of the village, so as to ensure that their students have the right and necessary sexual knowledge. This highlights one of the limitations of having group discussions. It is possible that some of the women teachers found themselves having to hide their feelings or views in order that they are not labelled by the other group members. While the all-female group allowed for free discussion on some aspects (cf. Madriz, 2000), it is possible that the women did not want to go against societal norms in discussing some sensitive issues, especially because even after the study is done they would still be living in the same community and being subjected to the same standards of being women and teachers. 7.8 Conclusion This chapter has presented portrayals of how Basotho women teachers see themselves as women and as teachers. It highlighted the dynamics of discourse and power in the positioning of women teachers as powerful within the school context as teachers, while being positioned at the same time as powerless as women within a rural community. It also highlighted how women teachers position their womanhood differently as powerful, and how this power seems to be masked in their performance of a particular womanhood and teacher-hood. The women teachers have revealed the socially constructed versions of Basotho womanhood and teacher-hood. Through their activities and discussions as women teachers they have reconstructed the meaning of their positioning as women and as teachers in a rural society. I have discussed the meanings that the women attach to their depictions and what implications these have on their effective teaching of sexuality education in rural schools. Through their drawings, the women teachers have highlighted the impossibilities of woman teacher-hood in sexuality education. Thus the argument raised in this chapter is that the women teachers in this study are limited in their effectiveness as sexuality education

teachers because of the gendered lives they lead which create boundaries on what is permissible for women and children. These boundaries somehow perpetuate the domination of the idealised woman over the teacher identity because it seems safer for the women teachers to conform to societal norms. The normative woman self in Basotho communities is expected to be sexually innocent and pure. Innocence and purity supposedly do not mix with effective sexuality education. Thus operating within this discourse and maintaining their status of being "ladies", the women are inhibited from being effective sexuality education teachers. The next chapter presents photo-stories that represent women teachers' understandings of sexuality and how these affect their efficacy in teaching sexuality education. ----------------------

[1]Thuana is a derogatory word used for chamber pot. A more welcome word for chamber pot is pitsana which means a small pot. [2] Linyatsi refers to extra-marital relationships. The 'other' man or woman in an extra-marital affair is labelled as nyatsi.

CHAPTER 8 What does sexuality mean to women teachers? 8.1 Introduction The previous chapter highlighted the dynamics of discourse and power in the positioning of women teachers as powerful within the school context as teachers, while being positioned at the same time as powerless as women within a rural community. It also highlighted how women teachers position their womanhood as powerful while masking this power by their performance of proper womanhood. Based on the women teachers' socialisation within a rural community, this chapter highlights women teachers' understandings of what sexuality entails. The chapter presents pictures that the participants selected from magazines. Each woman teacher was asked to select one picture, out of the collection they had made, which really spoke to them about issues of sexuality and say why they had chosen the particular picture (see Chapter 5). The aim of this chapter is not to evaluate or inspect the levels of knowledge that the women teachers have in relation to sexuality. It aims at exploring women teachers' understandings of what sexuality is about in an attempt to understand what they teach as part of sexuality education. I acknowledge that the use of one photograph per participant in the thesis is not enough to provide a clear picture of the women teachers' understandings of what sexuality entails. However, I was able to discuss with the teachers several of the pictures that they had chosen and hence the focus group discussions related to a whole batch of pictures and their explanations. I have only provided one picture, because of the space limitations in the thesis, to give the reader a glimpse of the kinds of pictures that the teachers were working with and the kinds of explanations that came forth in relation to their understanding of sexuality as a phenomenon. 2**It is important to** note **that** during **the**

focus group discussions, **the** women teachers had the magazines from which they had selected their pictures.

From the magazines they were able to discuss with each other the pictures which they did not choose and why these were left out. This provided a rich exchange of the possible pictures that were available and the choices that the women

felt they could not make. 8.2 Women teachers' representations of sexuality This section presents the photographs selected by women teachers as representing what sexuality entails. The reports that follow the pictures are the explanations that were written by the women teachers for their choices. These explanations highlight women teachers' understandings of the phenomenon of sexuality and what they believe should be taught within the sexuality education classroom. The purpose of the photo-stories was to understand women teachers' perceptions of sexuality and how these perceptions were implicated in their experiences of teaching sexuality education. The meanings I make of the women teachers' photographs and stories are just one reading of the many possible readings that can be made on the texts. I acknowledge that the meanings I make are biased and influenced by my being as well as the baggage I brought with me through the study. I also want to acknowledge the bias in the choice of the magazines from which the photographs were taken. I provided magazines from my personal collection and thus they were biased towards my personal preference. 8.2.1 ´Matau's picture Figure 8.1 I chose this picture because it says a lot about sex and why we do it as men and women. The findings from the two research reports are interesting for me as a teacher because some of the issues that are being discussed are completely new to me. However, I do believe that they are relevant to our sexuality. I knew some of the reasons why I had sex, but I never knew that there are so many other reasons for it. It is good to know what they are because then I could help my students get more information about them and hence make informed decisions. What I like about the picture is that it shows grown up people on a bed, not youngsters tumbling in the grass. This is what I believe, that sex was not made for young people but for adults, a man and a woman. However the picture also shows something that disturbs me often. They show a picture of a woman with a perfect figure, taking charge of the situation in the bedroom. This does not seem real to my village situation where we do not have such perfect women. It does also seem strange for a woman to be the one leading because our men in the village would never permit that. Leading a sexual encounter is a male thing and it shows power and dominance. It boosts a man's ego to be the chaser and not the chased. If a woman leads in sex then she becomes the chaser. It does not however mean that I do not approve of women initiating sex. I envy such women. I am, however, not sure if I would be allowed to teach boys and girls that any partner can initiate sex. Masturbation, orgasm, STI's, loss of virginity and cheating on a partner are issues that I can easily handle in the classroom. Students always seem to have a lot of questions around these issues and this picture has some interesting information about them. 8.2.2 ´Mathato's picture Figure 8.2 Wow! What a picture, what a question! I chose this picture because it depicts a situation that I can relate to and which many women never talk about. It is true that men are expected to always want sex and to be able to initiate it. Men are proud of being able to always want sex. For them it is a sign of manliness. A real man is expected to have lots of sex with as many women as possible and father as many children as possible. If this does not happen it means that a man feels inadequate as a man. I think many men place a lot of emphasis on their sexual prowess as a sign of manliness. Maybe our culture also promotes this kind of thinking. I know that I feel angry when my husband does not seem to be able to perform sexually. The first thing that comes to mind is that he was with another woman and is too tired to do it with me. If it happens that an erection fails him while we are preparing to have sex, he becomes sad and often to a point of violence. For some men, I know that their interest in sex gets lost through certain illnesses that cause a problem with their erections. For example, men who are diabetic often suffer from erectile dysfunction. This is important for us as teachers to teach our students about all the issues surrounding erections,

475

impotence and desire. However, I am not sure if I can talk to a mixed class about all these issues. Maybe if I used a picture like this one and asked the students to write their own views about the issue then it would be better. My problem is I do not think I would be able to answer the questions that might arise during a discussion on erections and desire. While I may be afraid to discuss about these issues, I am not denying their importance in the sexual lives of our students and the society at large. Some men believe that if they loose their sex drive then their women have bewitched them. For such men the common practice is for them to go to other women to see if they would be able to perform sexually with them. This puts such men at risk of HIV infection. When they eventually realise that they have a medical problem or are just stressed, they have already contracted sexually transmitted diseases which they pass on to their wives. 8.2.3 ´Matumo's picture Figure 8.3 I have chosen this picture because it shows something that is strange, a woman kissing another woman in a passionate manner. This is not a common practice in our village setting. We have been brought up to think of sex only between a man and a woman. I cannot even think of myself being so intimate with another woman. They are kissing and touching breasts, the perfect foreplay for sex. How are they going to have sex after they have aroused each other? How do they feel kissing each other like that? Is it normal? From the media we hear of such things happening. However, I do not think I would be in a position to talk about such a thing. I do not believe in it and thus I cannot stand in front of children and tell them that it is normal. I know that as I was growing up we had 'mommies' and 'babies', but it was only an innocent game where we just wanted to have someone to look out for us at school and to fight bullies for us. Anyway I think it was innocent, but I do not know what was happening with the other girls. I know that my mommy and I would sometimes kiss and walk hand in hand, but I think there was nothing sexual about it. In the Catholic boarding school where I attended it was against school regulations to have a mommy or a baby. We were told that it was a demonic practice and we would all go to hell if we did that. We were also told that girls who had mommies and babies never got married because they were not good women. Maybe the nuns were trying to tell us about homosexuality then, 3**but they did not** know

how **to** say **it. I** think I face the same problem as they faced then because I think I cannot teach about

homosexuality in my class. I do not know how it happens and what causes it. I do not know what really happens between two men who are lovers or two women. Thus I cannot tell my students what it is about. Maybe if I had more information on what homosexuality is about I would be able to teach about it. I also do not think that the school principal would be willing to let any teacher talk to the students about such an issue. I do not think parents even want to hear about it. Homosexuality does not exist in Lesotho, I think. Even if there are some people with homosexual practices, they must be doing it in hiding. So it is interesting to have such a picture that shows women involved in such a practice. I wish I could see a picture in which they were actually having sex. 8.2.4 ´Matsepo's picture Figure 8.4 This picture shows a woman who has been molested by her father since she was only four years old. I have chosen this picture because it made me feel sad thinking about the young girl who never knew the love of a father. As I looked at the picture I tried to figure out what goes on in the mind of a grown man who forces himself on a young child, especially his own flesh and blood. The woman in the picture has sad eyes that show that she has been through a lot of pain. However, I might not have seen the sadness in her eyes if I did not know the story behind them. So that is why I have included the caption on the story along

with the picture. What intrigues me about this picture and its story is how a father could invite other men to rape his own daughter. Where was the mother when all these were happening? What did the teachers do? Did the teachers not notice anything amiss about the child's interactions with others or her behaviour at school? Does it mean that there was no teacher that the girl trusted enough to talk to about her abuse? Unfortunately I cannot answer these questions, but they made me think about my own students and the kinds of problems they bring into the classroom. This picture made me remember a child that I was teaching some years back who got pregnant from her own father. Even though I do not condone what happened, at least that girl was older, she was already a teenager. A four year old is still a baby for God's sake! My resolve to be more pro-active in teaching about sexual abuse has been strengthened by this picture. I do not want any of my students to suffer that way if I can help it. I know parents are not happy in the village if we talk about children being sexually abused. They want to believe that something like that never happens in their village, or maybe it is something so bad that they want to wish it away. I think the best place to start when addressing sexual abuse would be with the parents and the whole community, but I do not see how this can be done when sex talk is still prohibited in our society. 8.2.5 ´Mathuso's picture Figure 8.5 This picture is significant for me because we can never talk about sexuality without addressing issues of body image. For me sexuality encompasses issues of relationships, desire, and sex. In order to form relationships there is need for one person to attract another. The attraction comes from the body image that one has. The three girls in this picture all have different shapes and sizes and it depends on the person looking to say who is the most beautiful. Different cultures value different things in the body of a person and this makes it important for students to be taught that "Anyone can be sexy." We do not all have to be skinny to be sexy. In our Lesotho context, a beautiful woman is a curvy, well rounded woman with a big behind. However, because of the media influence, our children aspire to be stick thin in accordance with what is considered beautiful in the Western perspective. This leads to a lot of eating disorders among the youth who are trying to be thin. Teaching about sexuality requires us to also teach about acceptance of our bodies and to appreciate what we have. I think this would be a good picture to use in class as an example for students to discuss what sexy means in their society and to them as individuals. I also teach within biology lessons about the ideal body weight in relation to height. I have to warn students of the dangers of being overweight or underweight. With the girls I have to make sure that they understand the relevance of a little body fat to assist in conception for those who would want to get children at a later stage. On a personal note, I do not think if I was a man I would be attracted to the fat woman. She looks too big and scary. So it means whatever I teach in the classroom is much influenced by what I believe in as a person. 8.2.6 ´Mampho's picture Figure 8.6 I chose this picture because I can relate to what the woman is going through. As married women we are always worried about whether our husbands are going to bring us the death sentence of HIV. Every time a husband leaves the house to go to work or anywhere, the wife is always wondering who he is with and whether he is using protection. The woman in the picture trusted her boyfriend and believed that they were going to be together forever. However the boyfriend was tempted by a hooker who infected him with HIV intentionally. HIV is an important aspect of sexuality because it is transmitted through sexual intercourse. I think teachers like the woman in the picture and we as rural women teachers should be able to acknowledge our own vulnerability so as to address the vulnerabilities of our students. I think that women who are married are more at risk of being infected by unfaithful partners than women who are in casual relationships. It is easier to negotiate the conditions of having sex with a boyfriend than

with a husband. If I had a boyfriend I would tell him that no condom, no sex. I know there are some women who are not married to their sexual partners, but who still have a problem making decisions or negotiating the conditions of sex. However, I still believe that it is better than in a marriage. In a marriage where the man has paid bride price for the wife, women find it difficult to ask for a condom. The men just tell us that they have bought us they will not use condoms in their own families. I wish I could be able to ask my husband to at least use a condom when he goes out. Unfortunately I cannot say that to him because, by implication, I would be saying to him he can go out with other women freely as long as he uses a condom. On the other hand I could get myself into serious trouble where he would say I was accusing him of infidelity and that I do not trust him. I do know that he is going out with other women but I cannot say it to his face. I think I could use this story as a case study for my students to discuss the possible feelings and reactions if they were the boyfriend who got infected by a hooker, or the girlfriend who could also be infected by the man she had loved and trusted. 8.2.7 ´Maneo's picture Figure 8.7 Falling in love is one of the wonderful things in life and it is part of celebrating our sexuality. I know that my students are always talking about falling in love and I am sure that some of them are not really sure what falling in love is about. Even I cannot say I know everything about what falling in love entails. These pictures are depictions of people in love, showing their love to each other in different ways. I chose this picture because it is my duty as a teacher to talk to my students about different types of love and how they can show each other love without engaging in sexual intercourse. It is imperative that young people can enjoy good relationships with each other without putting themselves in danger in this age of HIV and AIDS. For most youngsters falling in love means romance and happy-ever-after stories from novels. These things hardly ever happen in real life and it is our duty to warn them. For me, falling in love starts with seeing someone and feeling attracted to the person. If when you talk to the person you like what you hear then you start developing a deeper liking. Sometimes what you see makes you to develop lusty feelings which can be satisfied through sexual intercourse. I know that most men develop lust before they develop love, if they ever do. This is supported by a famous saying whose author I do not know. It says: Men give love for sex Women give sex for love The implication for me is that women and men never get to the same summit in their love relationships because their aims are different. The ultimate goal for the man is sex, while the ultimate aim for the woman is love. This is sad for young girls who get into relationships without being aware of this. They get into relationships and give their bodies to men because they want to be loved, while they do not know that once a man gets sex then he forgets about giving love. I have never heard of a man who is different so far. 8.2.8 ´Matsebo's picture Figure 8.8 The top pictures show pregnant women who also have other children, while the bottom picture shows a woman who will be having her first child. What interested me in the bottom story is that the woman says she is afraid to give birth, even though she never had any problem with the pregnancy. This is an important issue for me as a mother, a woman and a teacher. Pregnancy is one of the signifiers of unprotected sexual activity. What interests me most about pregnancy is that it is a "woman thing", a phenomenon that is unique to women. Pregnancy is good when it is within a stable relationship and it has been planned. However, it can become a disaster if it is unplanned and happens in a casual relationship where there is no commitment. This is where it can lead to un-hygienic backstreet abortions which, more often than not, are fatal. If abortion is not done, then a pregnancy could lead to an unwanted and early marriage for the girl to hide the shame of having been pregnant out of wedlock. When teaching about sexuality in the classroom I have to teach the students about pregnancy, how it happens,

478

childbirth and nursing the child. The girls do not really understand about pregnancy because each year more girls are getting pregnant. Maybe they use the "it won't happen to me" theory. However, I get worried because these days even ten year olds get pregnant. I do not understand what the rush into sex is about. It is like someone said sex will be out of fashion soon and hence everyone should do it before it runs out!! Maybe using a story of a grown up who is afraid of giving birth would shock some of the girls into rethinking their sexual activity. 8.2.9 ´Mathabo's picture Figure 8.9 I chose this picture because it reveals something that is hardly talked about in my culture- the fact that one can **1be a**

woman in a man's body or a man in a woman's body. People should be able to acknowledge who they really are and live happily, despite common beliefs. I believe that people have the right to be who they are in any body. Having a woman's body does not bind me to be a female. There are many Basotho girls that I know who are more masculine than some boys. The way they carry themselves and everything about them is male but their bodies are women's bodies. This places them in a difficult position because of the stereotypical divisions of boy/girl or male/female. I also have a friend who is a man even though everything about him is feminine. I think he is even more feminine than I am, but he is not free to be the woman that he is because of the society we live in and maybe the cost of changing his biological features to fit his real identity. This kind of picture could help in my teaching. I can use it as a case for students to discuss and make arguments for or against and state what their particular societies' responses would be to such a case. I think it would be helpful because I do not think I can just get into class and start talking about men in women's bodies and vice versa. Students would think I am mad and parents would literally kill me! 8.3 What can be read from the photo stories? The photographs and stories presented in this chapter are informative in terms of sexuality, each with its own angle. The descriptions of why the women have chosen these particular photographs are related to the women's perceptions of sexuality and what they feel comfortable to discuss with students. Table 8.1 shows the women teachers in relation to the kinds of photograph they have chosen. From the table it can be seen that age, education level or marital status were not deciding factors in the type of photograph chosen by the women teachers. In terms of the sensitivity of the subject matter being dealt with in each photograph, I would argue that both the young and the older women chose pictures that could be labelled as sensitive. For example, 39year old widowed ´Mathuso's photograph on sexy bodies could be as sensitive within the rural context as 34year old married ´Matumo's lesbian photograph or ´Mathato's photograph on the sex problem. However, it is possible that there could be some other underlying factors that influenced the women's choice of photographs and these would warrant a different study. It is interesting to note that the two women who are in disciplinary committees have chosen photographs that relate to common disciplinary problems in Lesotho's schools. From my experience as a teacher in Lesotho, I can say that teenage pregnancy and students having sex on school premises are some of the major disciplinary problems that teachers face (see also Mokobocho-Mohlakoana, 2005). It is possible that this choice was directed by the position these women hold in their schools, or it could have been just something they are interested in as women teachers. Highlighting these possibilities is my way of showing the multiplicity of readings that can be made of these photographs and why they have been chosen. My reading of these photographs is limited to the scope of this study and is definitely biased in line with my own worldview and personality;

479

and therefore should not be taken as the ultimate reading of what the photographs portray.

Names	Age	Marital status	Position at school	Educational qualifications	Magazine picture	
´Matsebo	37	Married	Disciplinary committee	B.Sc. Ed	8.8 Pregnancy	(B)
´Mathuso	39	Widow	HoD Maths & Science	B.Sc. Ed	8.5 Sexy bodies	(B)
´Maneo	36	Married	Entertainment committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	8.7 Fall in love	(B)
´Mampho	34	Married	Board Member	STC(Science)	8.6 AIDS scare	(B)
´Matau	36	Married	Disciplinary committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	8.1 Why have sex	(M)
´Mathato	34	Married	Sports committee	STC(Science)	8.2 The sex problem	(M)
´Matumo	34	Married	HoD Maths & Science	B.Sc. Ed	8.3 Lesbians	(M)
´Matsepo	36	Married	Sports committee	Dip. Sci. Ed	8.4 Incest	(M)

Table 8.1 The women teachers and their photographs choices

While the photographs presented cannot cover all aspects of human sexuality, they reflect some important sexuality issues to be addressed with students for them to make informed sexual choices. Some important aspects have come through in our focus group discussions of the pictures with the teachers. These are: limited training regarding some aspects of human sexuality, hetero-normative socialisation, teachers' personal discomfort in addressing some of the sexuality issues, and language challenges in sexuality education. These will be used as themes in discussing the women's photographs and stories. 8.3.1 Limited training As discussed in Chapter 2, workshops for dissemination and training were held country-wide for teachers who would be responsible for facilitating LSE which is the niche for sexuality, HIV and AIDS education in Lesotho. The duration of these workshops was only a few days, after which the teachers were expected to facilitate sexuality education within the climate of contestation between Churches as owners of schools and the Ministry of Education. Thus the general feeling of the women teachers in this study is that they have not been well prepared even though they are doing their best to teach about sexuality, HIV and AIDS. Their main concern is how to handle some of the sensitive topics which they feel are important. At the present moment, there are no specialised sexuality education teachers in Lesotho and the women teachers in this study were just chosen to teach it because of their background in biological science where they already teach about certain aspects of sex. However, the women are aware of the need to address sexuality in a holistic manner that embraces the socio- cultural and economic issues relating to human sexuality. They therefore highlight their lack of skills in delivering such an education because they were not trained to teach about those issues. The challenges highlighted by the women teachers in this study are testament to this fact. Westwood and Mullan's (2007) study also found that the major contributors to sexuality and relationships education in England were science teachers. They found that despite their specialisation in science, the science teachers also complained about lack of training for teaching about sexuality. This situation is reflected in Lesotho where most teachers who are willing to teach about sexuality education are also science teachers. While this study is not an inspectorial exercise or an evaluation of how much subject knowledge the women teachers have, reference to lack of, or limited, training is made in relation to the teachers' understandings of what sexuality entails as this has a bearing on how they handle the teaching of sexuality education. The women talked about the fact that the pictures they had chosen reflected what they knew regarding sexuality. If they felt that some representations were not related to sexuality they left them out. On the other hand, some of the pictures which they had left out were seen by the other women as representations of sexuality. Thus the picture portfolio of each woman teacher was evidence of her personal understanding of what sexuality is about. The discussion that follows was prompted by ´Matumo's picture of two girls kissing and ´Matau's picture of why people have sex: ´Matumo: I am being honest...I know

nothing about homosexuality except that one desires people of the same sex. I cannot go beyond that because I would not know what else to say... ´Maneo: Me too! I have been told that some homosexuals use oral sex...I do not know what falls under oral sex or how it is done. However, I am not sure if I would teach students about it if I had the information... ´Matsepo: As science teachers we have the biological knowledge of the human body and how sex happens. The sexuality part, where we are told to include all these other social issues, becomes difficult. We have not been prepared enough for this side of things. ´Matau: Yes. I can say stuff about the mechanics of sex, but I cannot tell children about desire and sexual pleasure for instance. Those are adult things and I have not been prepared to teach that to children... ´Mathuso: The government is really playing games with us...how can they say we have been trained after three days? We know nothing concerning how to talk about sexuality matters such that we give children the necessary information while also keeping our dignity as women and mothers... ´Mathabo: What kind of training do you think would prepare you enough to teach about sexuality? ´Mathuso: People need to specialise in this thing so that they can be prepared for all the problems and challenges that come with it. We are just science teachers...not sexuality and HIV specialists... ´Mathabo: If you got the formal training and specialised in sexuality, HIV and AIDS, do you think you would be able to teach effectively about sexuality without any challenges? Chorus: No. Not really... ´Mathato: Remember we are still women and mothers in the community... ´Maneo: But it would be much better. This discussion reflects the women's concern in relation to their preparedness to teach sexuality education. For them, their training is not adequate for effective sexuality education classrooms. This argument reflects what has been found by other scholars (see Buthelezi, 2004; Oshi & Nakalema, 2005; Westwood & Mullan, 2007). Buthelezi (2004) argues that teacher preparation should be broad enough to include how sexuality, HIV and AIDS are connected to other social issues such a human rights. She argues that teachers should have knowledge about the broader policy frameworks so that they can understand the perspectives of policymakers on sexuality, HIV and AIDS thus helping them attach meaning to the policies. Coombe (2003b) argues that there has been minimal preparation to ensure teachers' effectiveness as sexuality counsellors and student advisors in relation to sexuality, HIV and AIDS. The Association for the Development of Education in sub-Saharan Africa (ADEA) and Coombe's (2003b) concerns that teachers are not adequately prepared for the extraordinary demands that HIV and AIDS make on teachers appear to be endorsed by the findings of the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) in their report on the health of South African educators (ELRC, 2005). The concern therefore is who should ensure that teachers' knowledge of sexual health is updated and that they are adequately prepared for teaching about sexuality. The women teachers posit that having proper training would not necessarily make them better teachers of sexuality, even though they would be better equipped for teaching. They argue that they need more than information. They also need motivation and support from all stakeholders so that they do not have any fears of victimisation (cf. Buthelezi, 2004). Because of their personal discomfort and fears of being labelled as bad women and mothers, these teachers argue that sometimes they find themselves with no motivation and thus unwilling to teach this subject matter. These arguments provide very insightful and important information which could be useful for educational policy-makers, curriculum developers, institutions of higher learning, teacher training institutions and schools in general in order to facilitate effective sexuality education in Lesotho schools. 8.3.2 Hetero-normative socialisation Another aspect that comes through in the previous focus group discussion is the women's hetero-normative socialisation (see Epprecht, 1995, 2000; Gay, 1986, 1993; Khau, 2009d)

481

which creates challenges for them to feel comfortable with any sexuality that defies this norm. The discussions were also silent on individuals who are bisexual, trans-gender, transvestites, or trans-sexual. The women teachers highlight their discomfort in teaching about any issues that relate to any sexual identity outside heterosexuality. While they argue that they do not know much about what homosexuality entails, it can also be argued that their hetero-normative socialisation has instilled in them some level of homophobia (see Elder, 2005; Ellerson, 2005; Reddy, 2005, 2009). Working within a homophobic context creates fear in the women to address sexual identities that allude to homosexuality because they could be labelled as promoting this sexual identity (cf. Epstein et al., 2003; Eskridge, 1993; Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b). In line with the arguments raised in Chapter 2 on the hegemony enjoyed by Christian moralistic teachings in relation to sexuality and the hetero-patriarchal culture of the Basotho, it can be argued that these women teachers are limited by the discursive boundaries set by religious and cultural institutions on what is permissible within sexuality education classrooms. The implication, therefore, is that in addition to content knowledge on homosexuality and other sexual identities, there is need for training that would enable teachers to employ pedagogical practices that defy hetero-normativity. This then alludes to a need for teacher training programs that are norm-critical, sex-positive and inclusive of all sexualities (Bryld & Lykke, 2000; Davis, 1997; Lykke & Braidotti, 1996). This would enable sexuality education specialists and teachers to be able to practice an education that would not just tolerate sexual identities that fall outside heterosexuality, but be able to look at "the messy spaces where discourse and bodily material agency intersect and interact, and where boundaries between sex and gender are blurred in non-essentialising ways" (Lykke & Wijma, 2007).

8.3.3 Personal discomfort As has been discussed in Chapter 6, teachers are also sexual beings. This section also emphasises this point by discussing women's personal discomforts in teaching about sexuality. The discomforts highlighted in this section relate to the policing that the women teachers enact on themselves. As discussed in the previous sections, the women teachers experienced some personal discomforts in choosing the kind of pictures they felt comfortable in sharing with the group of women. They have argued that the discomfort is worse when they have to share sexual information with children: ´Matumo: The picture I chose…it shocked me at first, but I felt it was not too explicit for me to use in a classroom. That is why I decided to have it among my collection. ´Mathuso: My picture is also very easy to use because it only shows the face of the girl who was abused by her father. If the picture showed the situation of the abuse, I do not think I would have been able to choose it…it is relevant to my experience of having one of my students abused by her father…but I would not have used it if it was too sexually explicit. ´Matsebo: There is one picture that I did not choose which showed naked people kissing…it was, I mean…it made me feel awkward… ´Mathabo: What kind of picture would you consider to be too sexually explicit? ´Maneo: For me it is anything that shows the genitals or people touching each other's genitals…heee…heee…it is very embarrassing… ´Mathuso: I think I would also be uncomfortable with that, but I also do not want pictures of people kissing…that is too explicit for me, ehm…I mean I am uncomfortable with such things… ´Mathato: My picture shows people on a bed and I think it is fine because they are adults…I am comfortable with it, but I am not saying I can share it with children in a classroom…then I would be uncomfortable… One of the pictures under discussion shows different people kissing and it appears in Appendix M. Some of the women felt that it was too explicit, while others thought that it was a good picture to use with students. These women teachers argued that they had left out some pictures not because they were not representations of sexuality, but because they were too explicit

for their liking. Thus, while the chosen pictures reflect what the teachers know in relation to sexuality, they also reflect what the teachers allowed themselves to use. It is clear that the women were policing themselves in their choices of pictures in relation to their own comfort. The discomfort displayed in choosing certain pictures was said to be a reflection of the discomfort the women had in teaching about certain aspects of sexuality. These discussions show that the women teachers have differing levels of discomfort in relation to particular aspects of human sexuality. They have argued that their own experiences and socialisation have impacted on their comfort levels in relation to sexuality and hence affect how they approach teaching about such issues. The memory account presented by ´Mathabo in Chapter 6 (section 6.2.4) was also discussed in relation to the choice of pictures and personal discomfort. The discussion highlighted several personal discomfort issues. The women teachers point out that: ´Mathabo: This experience allowed me to reflect on my own sexuality and how it can play out in different situations. I had to learn about what gets me aroused and how to manage the arousal. I reflected on what could affect me in my lessons on sexuality education so that I could be prepared for such an eventuality. It helped me to get in touch with my own sexuality and acknowledge it as part of who I am as a woman and teacher... ´Matumo: The problem for me is not being aroused. The minute I start talking about certain issues of sexuality I feel as if I am naked and I start shivering. It is really uncomfortable especially talking about the female body and conception...I remember the trauma of giving birth to my first child... ´Mathato: That is scary. For me, I personally do not feel comfortable having sex with my husband, so I just do not want to talk about sexual intercourse. The problem is that the children always have lots of questions about it...It feels like I am revealing adult secrets...my voice automatically shuts off and I speak in a squeaky voice that I hardly recognise... ´Maneo: I am really afraid to talk about sexuality with children. I know most of the stuff that I have to teach but most of the time I ask other people to help me, especially when we discuss issues of sexual abuse and rape. I sometimes feel as if it is happening to me all over again once I talk about it... The women teachers in this study have pointed out that their personalities dictate the teacher-selves they perform. Samaras, Hicks and Berger (2004, p. 908) have also observed this and thus argue that "our past experiences create hidden personal narratives about education, school, and schooling that have a profound and sometimes intractable impact on the way we teach our students." In agreement, Bullough and Gitlin (1995, p. 25) add that "knowing the past helps one to know oneself as an individual and as a representative of a socio-historical moment in time." 2**Allender and**

Allender (2006, p. 15) sum these arguments up by pointing out that "unless we become conscientiously aware of what is driving our choices of behaviour in the classroom, we may find ourselves reverting to the ways of the teachers who taught us." Thus these Basotho women teachers also need to know what drives their choices in sexuality education classrooms so that they can improve their practice. Self-awareness that comes from reflecting on our past experiences is critical for teachers so that they can improve on their teaching. Thus being involved in this study has been an important part of professional development for these women teachers. They were provided with a platform to critically reflect on their past and how it has shaped who they are as sexuality education teachers. The women teachers' reflections have forced them to become aware of what drives their teaching of sexuality education and how they can improve. They have identified their personal dilemmas in having to teach about sexuality to children. One of the major problems they have

faced with the implementation of the Lesotho LSE curriculum is that they have been assumed as being willing and able to teach about the deeply private issues of sexuality in the public arena of the school (cf. Baxen, 2005). Their personal dispositions in relation to this subject have not been taken into consideration. Khau (2009a) suggests that teachers should be considered as sexual beings who might personally find it difficult to teach sexuality education. This is an important issue that seems to have been overlooked in the planning and implementation of the Lesotho LSE curriculum. The discussions in this section have highlighted situations in which the teachers are not afraid of others policing their teaching, but their own policing of themselves because of discomforts produced by their personal engagement with issues of sexuality. Motalingoane-Khau (2007b) discusses the influence of women teachers' adolescent sexual experiences on their teaching of sexuality education. She posits that the influence of teachers' sexual socialisation is powerful in how they handle teaching about sexuality. This is also true for the women in this study. Because of their personal sexual experiences, these women teachers police themselves in what they feel comfortable to say to children. With the high incidence of gender- based violence directed at women and girls in Basotho societies (Chaka- Makhooane et al., 2000, 2002; Motalingoane-Khau, 2007a), many Basotho women have experienced some form of violence in their lives. Thus women teachers have a likelihood of bringing such experiences into their sexuality education classrooms, making it difficult for them to face the teaching as exemplified by ´Maneo above. 8.3.4 Issues of language in sexuality education The group discussions in section 8.3.3 have also highlighted challenges of language for the women teachers. In this section I discuss the women teachers' challenge in terms of language in their sexuality education lessons. The group discussion that follows came about because of the women's constant reference to being uncomfortable to talk about some sexuality issues. They discuss situations in which they feel uncomfortable to say certain words or find difficulty in the choice of words that could bring forth their message without being offensive or vulgar. ´Mathabo: Why do you keep referring to 'not being able to talk…'? ´Mathato: For me I would say…like the picture that I chose…I cannot talk to children about the fact that "men are supposed to want it all the time". What would I say 'it' is? I know that 'it' refers to sex but …hei… ´Maneo: Honestly, I am afraid to talk about sexuality with children. I mean…sometimes I think it is easier to use English and not Sesotho…ehm…these Sesotho words…hei…they sound… ´Mathabo: Vulgar? Chorus: Yah…heee…heee (nervous laughter) ´Matumo: You see their books are in English already so they can read the books and see what you are talking about. But when I think of the words in Sesotho…I can't…it is uncomfortable...like it is an insult… ´Mathato: Hmm. Just imagine telling them what 'it' in my picture means…ho [1]kotana! Shoo…it sounds bad… (Group laughter) ´Matsepo: See ´Mathuso's picture…eh… "Anyone can be sexy…" it sounds fine in English, but in Sesotho I am not even sure how to put it…even ´Mampho's picture…what is a hooker in Sesotho? Can you say it in class? ´Mathuso: You know sometimes using Sesotho words makes them keep quite. I think they get shocked that as a teacher you are using the words. I have tried it and, even though I am still afraid of what their parents might say, I think it is better to just 'call a spade a spade'… Chorus: Easier said than done…heee…heee (nervous laughter) ´Mathabo: Have you ever tried using the Sesotho words in your classrooms like ´Mathuso? ´Matau: I only use some of the English words especially for the body parts… ´Matsepo: I also use English words because…eh…sometimes it is difficult to find the right words in Sesotho Chorus: Yah…yah…true…very true… As can be seen in these discussions, the women find a challenge of how to address some sexuality issues in their teaching because of the availability or suitability of the language. In

484

discussing some of the photographs that they had chosen, they talked about the challenge of not having enough vocabulary in Sesotho to address some sexuality issues (see Thetela, 2002). On the other hand they also talk about the fact that women are not expected to use 'sexual' language, that only men can use such language with impunity (see Bergvall, 1999; Tannen, 1990, 1994; Thetela, 2002; Uchida, 1992). Bergvall (1999) and Cameron (1998) have observed that women's language is perceived as deficient and indicative of women's subordination. This confirms what has been discovered by Penelope (1990) who argues that women are not allowed to use sexual slurs of their languages while men are permitted. She posits that a woman who dares speak the male dialect of her culture is marginalised and labelled outcast (cf. Gilbert & Gubar, 1985). With these women teachers, the challenge of marginalisation would come about from their families and social interactions within the school community whose norms they would have broken. It is also interesting to note the preference to use English by some of the teachers. Using a second language removes the sex-talk from the immediacy that a first language places it. The use of English provides the women teachers with a mechanism of distancing themselves from the sensitive subject matter that they have to deal with in terms of sexuality education. This has also been observed by (Farahani, 2007) who studied Iranian-Swedish women' use of language to construct their sexual identities. However, even those women teachers who claim that using English would be better find it challenging to use the given names for the body parts or some sexual activities. While the other group discussions were more open and interactive, the discussion relating to sex talk in the classroom was somehow limited. While the women always allowed each other to speak in turn, they seemed to be policing themselves not to say anything odd. The conversation shows the inter-subjectivity of the women's linguistic performance because what was permissible or intelligible for one woman to say was constrained by what had been said before. Thus it can be said that the women teachers co- constructed each other through their performances in their linguistic interaction (cf. Kotthoff & Wodak, 1997). What each woman teacher uttered, worked in creating her identity as a woman. Any odd utterance would position a woman as the 'other'. Identities are constructed culturally and hence related to socio-cultural discourses in terms of people's nature, the desirable moral order and power dynamics involved (Cameron, 1998). Thus, in line with the desirable moral order of their rural community, the women teachers are expected to use only the language permissible for women. ´Mathuso's utterance was regarded as odd in the above discussion. Her argument for the women teachers to use the given Sesotho names of sexual organs and sexual activities went against what the women teachers knew to be permissible for them as women. It can be argued that as the oldest member of the group and as a widow, ´Mathuso had nothing to lose by being positioned as 'other'. She is among those with the highest qualification in the group and holds a high position as HoD. Thus for her there are many issues that already position her as deviant and there is high likelihood that she has gotten used to being the 'other' in her interactions with the community. While she states that she worries about what the parents might say when she 'calls a spade a spade', she is taking the bull by the horns and doing it. The discussions in this chapter have highlighted that the women's understandings of what sexuality entails and what they feel comfortable with in relation to sexuality education are as different as the women are different. While most of the recorded discussions reflect the women agreeing with each other on most issues, there is also evidence of deviation for some women. Even though there were differences of opinions and beliefs, they were not strongly emphasised within the group or in my presence. The only people who were, throughout the data production, free to voice their opinions were ´Mathuso and ´Matumo. These two women did not seem afraid to

voice contradictory views to what the group was saying. They also were able to freely acknowledge their deviations from societal expectations. 8.4 Conclusion This chapter has presented women teachers' photographs that illustrate issues of sexuality and explanations of why the women chose the particular pictures. I have discussed the explanations or photo-stories that have been provided by the women teachers and highlighted their challenges in teaching about sexuality. This chapter argues that Basotho teachers' understandings of sexuality are influenced by their socialisation as well as their training. The argument raised by the women teachers is that they have not been well prepared for the challenge of bringing a private issue such as sexuality into the public arena of the classroom, and that their own personal sexual experiences have not been considered as important factors in their effective teaching when the LSE curriculum was implemented. I argue that within this context, these Basotho women teachers cannot be effective in teaching sexuality education. Thus this chapter, like the two previous chapters, also highlights the current impossibility of woman teacher-hood within sexuality education classrooms. The next chapter pulls together the threads that run through this study to present the thesis and conclusions of the study. ----------------------- [1] Kotana is the common adult Sesotho word for having sex

CHAPTER 9 The end of the journey and new beginnings: Thesis and conclusions 9.1 Introduction In this final chapter I firstly present a summary of the study. Secondly I discuss some conclusions made from this study, including how my thesis responds to the research questions and its contribution to knowledge. This chapter also highlights some unresolved questions and remaining issues. I then make some proposals for what the "action sensitive knowledge" (van Manen, 1990, p. 45) produced by this study may imply for educational policy and programming, and for future research on sexuality, HIV and AIDS in education. Such proposals, based on the findings and implications of this study, are made against the backdrop of the challenges that women teachers encounter, contextualised by the current HIV pandemic within a developing country. The purpose of my proposals is to serve as a basis from which strategic actions can be implemented to promote the status and practice of sexuality education in Lesotho schools 9.2 Summary of the study The aim of this study was to explore women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools in the age of HIV and AIDS. Prior research indications point to the challenges faced generally by sexuality education teachers in developed countries and some African countries, while there are no studies of this nature in Lesotho, especially focussing on women teachers. The research was deemed necessary especially due the current climate of patriarchy, poverty, gender-based violence and AIDS in Lesotho. The research was conducted in one rural southern district of Lesotho. Two high schools based in two neighbouring villages of this district were used, taking four women science teachers from each school. Memory work, drawings, photo-voice and focus group discussions were used to produce data with the eight women teachers. Field-notes were used to elaborate further on the data produced. I was a participant-researcher in the sense that I shared my stories with the women teachers in exchange for their stories. The field-work lasted for two months during the second semester of 2008. There is a dire need for sexuality education in Lesotho schools due to the high prevalence rates of HIV infections among the youth, especially young women and girls. Additionally, the context of poverty coupled with unemployment, and the lack of gender-equity and the subsequent violence directed at women and children highlight the need for interventions such as Life Skills Education, which encompasses sexuality, gender, HIV and AIDS education. The findings of the study indicate that sexuality education,

which is being carried within the LSE curriculum, has not yet found a suitable niche within Lesotho's National Curriculum. LSE does not have a comprehensive core of specially trained teachers and hence allocation of teachers to Life Skills Education is not necessarily based on teachers' expertise or qualifications thus limiting effectiveness of facilitation. Another indication from the findings is of the contestation among different stakeholders regarding the status and importance of sexuality education as part of the curriculum. The findings also indicate the current im/possibility of woman teacher-hood in sexuality education. Women teachers' values appear to create challenges in their teaching of sexuality education, especially because of the value-laden interface between sexuality, gender, religion, diversity and human rights. The teachers are aware of the curriculum expectations but have difficulty with implementation. Thus what they believe should be taught in sexuality education and what and how they actually teach are incongruent. 9.3 Theorising and conclusions Producing awareness of the mechanisms that make life painful, even unliveable, does not neutralise them; bringing contradictions to light does not resolve them... (Bourdieu et al., 1999, p. 629) Bourdieu and colleagues (1999) argue that we cannot resolve contradictions by bringing them to light. However, doing so can help to make the conditions of life clearer for those leading lives which are embedded in contradictions. The purpose of this section is to highlight the contradictions inherent in woman teacher-hood within sexuality education classrooms, provide possible reasons behind them and to draw conclusions on what they mean. The first subsection discusses how the findings respond to the study objectives. The second subsection presents the findings in relation to the five considerations that drove the study and the conclusions that can be drawn from the theorisation. I want to acknowledge that the conclusions presented in this section only serve to illuminate the experiences of Basotho women teachers within sexuality education classrooms. They are not meant for generalisations. I also want to acknowledge that my readings of the ways in which the women teachers in this study experience their teaching world and the meanings they make of their experiences are just one of the many possibilities that can be drawn from the data. Thus I acknowledge the biased influence of my being as a Mosotho woman science teacher and researcher on the interpretations, meanings and conclusions I have postulated. 9.3.1 Relating the objectives to the findings of the study This study was framed around one key research question: What are Basotho women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools in the age of HIV and AIDS? The study aimed to achieve the following objectives: ? To describe women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools ? To discuss how rural women teachers position themselves and are positioned as 'women' and as 'teachers' within sexuality education classrooms ? To analyse the understandings, assumptions and perceptions of women teachers regarding sexuality in education ? To deconstruct and theorise the understandings, practice and experiences of teaching sexuality education in Lesotho's public education The theorising done in this subsection is based on how the findings relate to the research objectives. 9.3.1.1 Women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education This subsection highlights the gendered experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools and how such experiences translate into practice in classrooms. The findings show that the women teachers have met challenges in teaching sexuality education in rural schools. Some of the challenges they have had to face relate to their own sexuality which creates challenges in the ways in which they interact with students and the school community. Teachers find themselves having to contend with their own desiring bodies as well as those of their students within sexuality education classrooms. While attention is being focussed on controlling the unruly desiring bodies, the teaching of sexuality

education becomes a challenge. The troubling presence of desiring bodies within sexuality education has been observed by other scholars as well (cf. Baxen, 2006; Buthelezi, 2004; Khau, 2009a; Westwood & Mullan, 2007). The presence of a female teaching body within a mixed sexuality education classroom has been found to create further tensions where women teachers are sexualised by their male students who reduce them to their position as women, thus undermining the women's authority as teachers. This finding confirms what has been observed in other studies on teacher sexualisation within sexuality education classrooms (cf. Britzman, 1991; Gordon et al., 2000; Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 1995; Kenway & Willis, 1998; Lahelma et al., 2000, Robinson, 2000). The sexualisation of the female teaching body makes it difficult for women teachers to concentrate on their teaching as they spent most of their time trying to avert the male gaze that is focused on their bodies. The findings also reveal that these Basotho women teachers who have been socialised within the discourse of childhood sexual innocence find it difficult to challenge the norm. Knowing that their students need sexuality information and trying to protect their innocence creates a contradiction in the pedagogical practice of sexuality education, thus making it difficult for the teachers to teach about all the aspects of sexuality that their students need knowledge on. This finding relates to the following studies (cf. Bhana, 2003, 2007; Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Epstein et al., 2003; Mitchell et al., 2004; Renold, 2005). Despite their efforts in trying to protect students from sexual knowledge, this study has shown that not being taught about issues of sexuality does not necessarily protect children from sexual harm; instead they become more vulnerable to sexual exploitation and violence. 9.3.1.2 Women teachers' positioning In this subsection I discuss the findings relating to the positioning of women teachers within rural communities. From the findings it can be argued that the women teachers in this study position themselves at different levels of power and agency as women and as teachers. Some position their womanhood as powerless, while they position their teacher-hood as powerful. This could be argued in terms of how their societies construct womanhood and teacher-hood, that the ways in which the women teachers see themselves reflect their socially constructed lived realities in rural communities. They see themselves in their nurturing role as mothers and wives, with limited agency regarding sexuality matters. This positioning has been observed in other studies which show regulation of women's sexuality (cf. Ericsson, 2005; Kimmel, 2004), and defining women's sexuality in terms of motherhood (cf. Chinweizu, 1990; Krais, 1993; Long, 2009a; Stratton, 1994). However, some of the women see their woman self having the same power as their teacher selves, even though their agency is limited. They are able to exercise some authority within the school as teachers and in their families as well, even though they are still positioned as powerless by their principals, management teams and male relatives. This finding portrays the glass-ceiling that many women, especially in the public domain, are faced with in terms of decision-making (cf. Moorosi, 2006). While some African scholars have pointed to the power that African women have (Acholonu, 1995; Chinweizu, 1990; Epprecht, 2000), the findings from this study show that this power is not overtly displayed in women's physical or linguistic interactions with their communities, and as such does not help women teachers exercise their authority. 9.3.1.3 Women teachers' understandings of sexuality In this subsection I look at the findings which highlight the women teachers' understanding of the phenomenon of sexuality and how such understandings translate into classroom practice. This study shows that while the women teachers have an understanding of what sexuality entails, there are differing levels of comfort in terms of what the women teachers can teach their students. The women have argued for the need of more content knowledge on human sexuality as well as pedagogical skills. The findings, however, also show a certain level of self-

policing by the teachers. There are some aspects of human sexuality which they stop themselves from going into. Thus such aspects could be known to the teachers but they choose not to teach about them, or are not motivated enough to do so because of their socialisation and habitus. This relates to what has been observed by education scholars who highlight the interconnectedness of teacher's socialisation and the teacher-self performed (cf. Allender & Allender, 2006; Bullough & Gitlin, 1995; Samaras, Hicks & Berger, 2004). It can therefore be argued from such findings that the levels of understanding of sexuality as a concept, displayed by these women teachers, are intricately intertwined with teachers' socialisation as well as how they position themselves and are positioned in their interactions with their society. 9.3.2 Relating the five considerations driving the study to the findings In this section I address the linkages between the findings and the five major considerations that drove this study namely: contextual, policy, academic, personal, and theoretical issues. I discuss how these issues come out in the findings and what the implications are for Lesotho's education system. 9.3.2.1 Contextual and policy issues Chapter 2 of this study addresses the HIV, gender, and sexuality education context of Lesotho. It discusses the subordinate position of women legally and in socio-economic settings. It also looks into the vulnerability of women and girls to HIV infections because of their lack of decision making powers. Several policy initiatives, including education, have been put in place to reduce the numbers of new HIV infections among Basotho; such as the Population and Family Life Education (POP/FLE) introduced in 2004 which was replaced by the Life Skills Education (LSE) in 2007. What is reflected in the findings is a situation where the teaching of LSE as a means of preventing new HIV infections among the youth of Lesotho is challenged. From the findings, we see women who are still expected by societal norms to be sexually pure and unknowing as mothers and wives. This contradicts the teacher position in which these same women are expected to be knowledgeable in sexuality issues. We also see women who do not have much say in decision making in their schools and families. In general the findings show women teachers who, despite their education levels, are still reduced to their subordinate position as women through patriarchy. Thus the gendered lives that the women teachers lead within their communities create challenges for their effectiveness in sexuality education. It can therefore be argued that the government of Lesotho has, as yet, not succeeded in using education to effect positive sexual behaviour change among its youth. 9.3.2.2 Academic, personal and theoretical issues As a woman teacher and a scholar in gender studies and because of the study I conducted for my Masters degree (Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b), I wanted to explore further how women teachers teach about issues of sexuality and how their teaching is influenced by their lived experiences as gendered and sexual beings. I also wanted to explore the effectiveness of having the standalone subject LSE as a niche for sexuality education in Lesotho schools. Through this study, I wanted to address the knowledge gap on how teachers function as curriculum developers within sexuality education classrooms especially in the context of a developing country in order to propose a theoretical construction that would influence education policy regarding sexuality education suitable for Lesotho. The findings of this study reflect that women teachers teach only certain aspects of human sexuality and police themselves not to teach about some aspects that would force them to go beyond the realms of the socially constructed norm of womanhood (cf. Khau, 2009a; Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b; Oshi & Nakalema, 2005). While some women would venture outside the norm in their teaching, they are restricted by the structures of patriarchy that render them powerless. Thus the women teachers have limited room, in the syllabus, to manoeuvre in structuring appropriate lessons for their students because they are expected to deliver only what the

decision-makers in education see as fitting for Basotho students. We also see, from the findings, women teachers being restricted in what they can teach by their own experiences as gendered and sexual beings (cf. Khau, 2009a). The patriarchal gender order in Lesotho perpetuates gender-based violence which is often directed at girls and women. Women teachers who have had negative sexual experiences find it challenging to address issues of sexuality in classrooms (cf. Motalingoane-Khau, 2007a, 2007b). With the high numbers of Basotho women and girls subjected to male violence and the high numbers of women in the teaching field, it can be argued that many women teachers have been subjected to some form of violence in their lives. Linking this to the findings, it can be argued that the majority of Basotho women are rendered ineffective as sexuality education teachers. If the majority of teachers (women) are unable to effectively deliver sexuality education, then education cannot be used as a vaccine against new HIV infections. The implication is that there is a need for the curriculum and the context of delivery to be re-aligned such that the government of Lesotho can be able to effectively use the available workforce of women teachers to facilitate sexuality education. Another issue visible from the findings of this study is the inherent lack of preparation for effective implementation of LSE. The contestation surrounding the teaching of sexuality education indicates a lack of buy-in by cultural and religious institutions in Lesotho. Thus, I argue that within the current gender order in Lesotho it is going to be challenging to effect positive sexuality behaviour change among students through education, unless there is a complete overhaul in the gender dynamics. The findings show that the 2003 Lesotho Gender Policy has not produced any tangible changes in the interactions between men and women. Thus, there is still a need for Community Development Programs (CDP) aimed at conscientising and teaching men and women about issues of gender stereotyping and inequality and how to change them. With the parental and community buy-in that can be developed through such programs, Basotho youth would be socialised in an equitable society in which men and women are treated fairly and given equal opportunities. Such young people would be in a position to perform their sexualities differently in a manner that would give equal sexual decision-making powers to both partners in a relationship, thus reducing the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections. 9.4 The im/possibility of woman teacher-hood In this section I present my thesis based on the findings and conclusions of this study. In agreement with UNESCO's (2000) view on woman teacher-hood, I posit that women teachers should be most effective in sexuality education. If womanhood is associated with mothering, affection and the body (Pillay, 2009) and sexuality education is also associated with the body and its desires (Paechter, 2004, 2006), then it means teaching about the body should come naturally for women teachers. However, the findings of this study have reflected the contradictions and challenges faced by women teachers in sexuality education. The contradiction in the positioning of womanhood and teacher-hood in this study is the major challenge against the possibility of woman teacher-hood in sexuality education. The teacher- hood that sexuality education requires goes against the womanhood that Basotho society requires. I am arguing that the normalised womanhood the women teachers are performing is a legacy of patriarchy that has been carried from generation to generation by women themselves. This performance masks the power afforded to women by some discourses because they stand to gain a share in the patriarchal dividend. Connell (1995) talks of the patriarchal dividend as the benefits which men stand to gain through the subordination of women. I argue that, somehow, women also stand to gain in their own subordination and thus have a share in the patriarchal dividend. The complicity of women in their own subordination reflects what Connell has discussed as complicit masculinity in men. This

kind of masculinity is that which does not take part in women's oppression but is aware of the ills performed against women. However, men who perform this masculinity do nothing to actively change the status quo because they stand to gain from women's subordination. I argue that Basotho women, through the ages, have been aware of the ills that they perform and are also being performed against them. While some women will not actively subject others to subordination, they do nothing to actively change the situation of women in general because they also stand to gain from the subordination of other women. Older Basotho women who have the cultural and symbolic capital as existing holders of power and gatekeepers to the field of being and becoming women, block the entry for new players (see Chapter 2 for Basotho womanhood). Thus, policing of new players' conformity to the norms of femininity and normative womanhood is enforced by the gatekeepers, other women who are trying to secure their positions and status in the game. To remain part of the game, the new players have to ensure that they know the rules of the game and conform to them. Keeping each other in check regarding the rules of Basotho womanhood limits the performance of alternative and deviant scripts of womanhood, thus allowing the gatekeepers to remain in control. Interestingly, when talking about women's power, Chinweizu (1990, p. 56) argues that "men may rule the world, but women rule the men who rule the world". I am in agreement with Chinweizu. If "women rule the men who rule the world" then by implication the actual rulers of the world are women! Women, as mothers, bring up boys to become the men who are oppressing them and thus can also choose to bring them up differently. Having men who do not subscribe to women's subordination means that there is a chance that all men can be brought up to become gender-sensitive. Arguing thus, however, does not mean I am denying the daily subordination, exploitation and violence that are directed at women and children within the context of patriarchy. I am arguing that irrespective of such occurrences, women are not helpless victims awaiting their fate at the hands of men. As the findings of this study have shown, within the current context of patriarchy and gender- based violence some women teachers have chosen to perform their womanhood outside the norms and have thus become effective facilitators of sexuality education. This shows that there is a very slippery ground between possibility and impossibility of women being effective facilitators of sexuality education. While most women teachers are rendered ineffective sexuality education facilitators because of the violence and stigma directed at those who go against societal norms, some have been able to go against the norm. All things being equal, there is a possibility of having very efficient sexuality education women teachers; while on the other hand, given the identities to which these women teachers subscribe, there is limited possibility of this being achieved within the context of gender- inequity. The challenges and im/possibility of woman teacher-hood in sexuality education identified in this study can, however, be overcome. The use of the word im/possibility in this study highlights the thin line between possibility and impossibility. The fact that some of the women teachers in this study have been able to move beyond the discursive and material structures that limit their effectiveness shows that women teachers can be as good facilitators of sexuality education as any. With attention being paid to the recommendations that follow, sexuality education can become a strong force in reducing the numbers of young people dying each year of HIV and AIDS thus increasing the workforce and hence the struggling economy of Lesotho. 9.5 Recommendations The recommendations offered in this section relate to the subject of sexuality education specifically and how understandings regarding this subject area and its teaching can be improved. They also relate to general considerations that have to be made to facilitate effective sexuality education classrooms. At the present moment,

attempts need to be made to assist teachers to see Life Skills Education as a whole, and each aspect of it as equally important irrespective of content sensitivity. Such attempts can include dissemination of information through distribution of brochures on Life Skills Education focussing on the different aspects such as diversity, sexuality, HIV and AIDS, gender and human rights. Whatever materials are developed need to be checked by the Ministry of Education and curriculum specialists to ensure that the material is correct. There needs to be more support given to teachers who are currently teaching the subject in schools through in-service training workshops and mentoring programs. Such workshops could be used to improve teachers' content knowledge, pedagogical skills and motivation levels, while also addressing issues of buy-in from school management teams. Models of best practice should be made available such that teachers can see how others are managing to effect sexuality education in their schools. Another support possibility is partnerships between neighbouring schools or formation of clusters which could work together on best sexuality education practice and sharing of content knowledge. Content training workshops should be organised such that they embrace sexuality in its totality, moving beyond the boundaries of heterosexuality. Curriculum specialists and teachers should be able to address issues of sexuality in a sex-positive manner which moves away form moralistic teachings. This strategy would require partnerships between the Ministry of Education and agencies that deal with human sexuality, for example LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans-sexual) organisations, such that these agencies could provide the expertise necessary for training mentor-teachers and subject specialists who would then train teachers in schools. There would also be need for partnerships with universities in other African and Western countries such that Lesotho teacher educators could engage in exchange programs which would broaden their horizons in terms of human sexuality. Despite these, I still argue that sexuality education should be taken out of the LSE curriculum so that it can be timetabled, thus given its own teaching time, and be examinable so that teachers and students can give it the necessary attention. While being carried in other subject areas sexuality education gets skimmed over in preference of areas that are not so sensitive or value-laden (cf. Motalingoane-Khau, 2007b). There is need for sexuality education to be clearly defined and understood such that all stakeholders in education can have a common understanding and interpretation. This would be an important first step in reaching a consensus about what sexuality education entails in order to lay a foundation for deeper understanding and practice of this subject matter. With sexuality education as a subject area on its own, then specialised teachers would need to be trained such that they can drive the implementation of this important subject. Teacher training institutions and other institutions of higher learning would also need to incorporate sexuality education as a specialisation for degree purposes. Advocacy strategies would also be important in improving the status of sexuality education within Basotho communities. There should be bursaries available for teachers to train as sexuality education specialists. Universities and teacher training institutions also need to start campaigns to encourage prospective students to specialise in sexuality education. Having trained as sexuality education teachers, there should be concerted efforts to ensure that such teachers are remunerated and promoted along the same lines as all other specialisations. Of urgency would be Lipitso 1 around the country in which the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare together with the Ministry of Education would collaboratively address the public on the need for sexuality education in schools such that there is a common understanding of what children will be taught in schools. Such Lipitso would also help in demystifying issues of sexuality within the nation. The traditional initiation school promoted the shrouding of sexuality with mystery. This needs to be deconstructed in a manner

493

that would be respectful of traditional practices while also addressing the importance of sexuality education for present-day Basotho youth. For wider impact, sexuality education needs to become a bigger government initiative which is not only limited to schools. There should also be centres that would provide informal but appropriate sexuality support for the youth as well as adults. It has been observed that having information does not necessarily translate to behaviour change. Thus to ensure positive behaviour change among the youth, further support is needed. All these suggested actions have huge financial implications for a developing country such as Lesotho. However, I argue that with the right partnerships between Lesotho government and United Nations agencies such as UNAIDS and UNICEF, Lesotho universities and universities in other countries, government ministries, the Ministry of Education and higher learning institutions, neighbouring schools, religious and cultural institutions, there is a possibility of achieving a sexuality education program relevant to the needs of Lesotho. 9.6 Limitations and unresolved issues Having asserted such conclusions and recommendations, I cannot, however, ignore the tensions and unresolved issues within this study. These should be given some attention. Firstly, I have to recognise that although the study was carried out with a feminist research agenda in mind, it is limited in the extent to which it can respond to the demands of feminist approaches, such as emancipation of the oppressed. It is a study by a woman, about women and to a large extent for women. It takes women's lives seriously and accords importance to their everyday realities, the tensions and contradictions within them. It also challenges the patriarchal structures, systems and discourses of education and advocates for a woman teacher-centred perspective on gender, sexuality and education. However, this study is not necessarily one that can mobilise women to act. This study was on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in two rural secondary schools. It was limited to a sample of only a few women teachers who teach sexuality education in two secondary schools. This left out unheard voices of other stakeholders in education (such as women teachers in other rural schools, male teachers, principals, learners, parents and policy makers) who could have added another dimension to the study. As such it cannot be generalised across Lesotho or to other contexts, but raises significant issues and ideas that could be further explored in different contexts and/ or larger scale. By providing a clear and detailed account of how I went about the study, I hope to offer some ideas and inspiration to others who are interested in undertaking similar work. I am also aware of the emotion evoked through the drawings of the woman self for the participants. I also want to highlight the challenge of researcher emotional involvement when dealing with sensitive topics. My engagement with the research participants' drawings forced me to relive memories of a past I wished to keep locked up. I realised that all my research training had not adequately prepared me for handling the participants' emotional difficulties while also dealing with mine. Thus it is of importance for others researching into sensitive topics to ensure that they are prepared for the emotional demands of research on their bodies and that they have made adequate preparations for professional support in case it is needed. Despite this, I want to acknowledge the effectiveness of drawings in dealing with sensitive topics such as sexuality education and bringing forth to light issues that would not have easily come out through interviewing. The platform created by the drawings for the women teachers to reflect upon their being was a unique opportunity in the lives of the participants that forced them to come face-to-face with their lived realities. However, I want to highlight that this face-to-face encounter with oneself can lead to either constructive or destructive decisions. While research for social change is good, it is also important for researchers to be aware that not all change can be good for the participants. Through participation in this study, one

woman teacher decided to divorce her husband. As a researcher and a woman teacher I cannot guarantee that divorce would be the best option for her. But because the notion came to her through interaction with me, I feel responsible for her wellbeing. The challenge is I do not have any say in her final decision. 9.7 Implications for further research This section presents ideas emerging from this study which could be further explored to contribute to scholarly knowledge on woman teacher-hood in sexuality education in developing countries. The study was on women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in two rural secondary schools. As such it was limited to a sample of only a few women teachers who teach sexuality education in two secondary schools. This left out unheard voices of other stakeholders in education. These are possible areas for further study. It would be interesting to find out how Basotho men teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education in rural schools, or how teachers in general experience the teaching of sexuality education in urban Lesotho schools. Would the experiences of men be different from those of women? Would urban schools provide different experiences from rural schools? What would be the implications of these for sexuality education in Lesotho? While this study provides only a glimpse into women teachers lives as sexuality education facilitators, these findings highlight a need for a bigger study which would provide a general view of how Basotho women teachers function as sexuality education facilitators. The field of teaching in Lesotho as in many other countries is feminised, thus there are more women than men (cf. Bhana, 2003; Lesko, 2000). Thus it would be important to explore the effectiveness of women as teachers of sexuality education in order to find out whether, in its current state, sexuality education in schools can be used to prevent further spread of HIV among students. This would provide insights into how the current education policy can be restructured to provide a context conducive for a sexuality education that would produce the desired behaviour change in Basotho youth. There is also a need for further research to explore teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in other developing contexts especially within African communities in order to understand how colonialism, modern media, Christianity, Islam and the subsequent patriarchy have shaped femininity, masculinity and sexuality discourses in Africa. It would also be interesting to explore women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in developed countries in order to understand whether the femininity, masculinity and sexuality discourses for developed countries are different from the developing world and what the implications of this would be for sexuality education in African countries. The hegemony enjoyed by Christian moral teachings within the sexuality education curriculum has created challenges for effective teaching. Thus it would be important in the context of Lesotho to find out from Faith community leaders the type of sexuality education they believe would be beneficial for the Basotho nation. It would also be important to find out from traditional leaders and healers the kind of sexuality education they envisage for the Basotho. This would bring to light important issues that could be used to shape a sexuality education curriculum that would be sensitive to Basotho traditions as well as Christian values while still serving the knowledge needs of the country. Research from other contexts shows that science teachers are the ones who are mostly willing to teach sexuality education. This is also true in the case of Lesotho. It would, however, be interesting to find out how teachers from other specialisations would handle the teaching of sexuality education and whether they would be more or less effective. It has been argued that science teachers tend to privilege scientific mechanics of sex and reproduction over the social aspects of sexuality education. How would the teaching of sexuality education differ if it were done by a Language Education specialist, Religious Education specialist or a school counsellor? There is further need for teachers to reflect on their

teaching practice in order to find ways of improving on it. This calls for more reflexivity in teachers who research the lived experiences of their teaching selves. As Dewey (1938, p. 76) argues, when teachers reflect on their experiences they take an important first step toward "transforming those experiences into a guiding philosophy, a set of personal beliefs, a repertoire of actions to be drawn upon in the future." For Dewey, we are educated when we are able to reconstruct and reorganise experiences such that they can be used to shape the course of our future experiences. 9.8 Conclusion This study explored women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural schools and how the gender dynamics that characterise rural Lesotho villages play out in the teaching. In Chapter 2 I have presented the historical context of the study using Foucault's notion of genealogy. The chapter has reflected the hegemony enjoyed by the health and moralistic discourses within sexuality education from pre to post-colonial education in Lesotho. Local, regional and international literature on sexuality education debates, female sexuality, gender and education, women teachers' lives as well as research on HIV and AIDS in education has shown the challenges of woman teacher-hood in developing countries (see Chapter 3). This review helped to contextualise the research within existing relevant knowledge by analysing and understanding the predominant debates on the topic and identifying gaps in the literature where this particular study could make a contribution. The theoretical framing of this study employed an eclectic amalgam comprising Dewey's philosophy of experience, Bourdieu's theory of practice and feminist post-structural theories with particular reference to Butler's concept of performativity (see Chapter 4). These were used as analytical tools to excavate the meanings within the stories of women teachers' experiences of teaching sexuality education in rural Lesotho schools. The chapter has also presented and discussed the central tenets of post-structural thinking and how they have played out within this study, linking them to feminist post-structural ideas on gender as a special lens to look into the socially constructed realities of life. An outline of **Bourdieu's** central **concepts of capital, field and habitus** highlights the **importance of structure and agency** in **social** practice. Chapter 5 has presented the challenges of researching sensitive and taboo subjects such as sexuality and the emotional upheavals involved. Data was produced through memory work, drawings, photo-voice and focus group discussions. Chapter 6 argues that woman teacher-hood within rural Lesotho sexuality education classrooms is problematic. The experiences presented by the women teachers show the centrality of bodies in the teaching of sexuality education and the challenges this poses to their effective teaching. The body with its sexual desires does not follow any normative scripts, while the education setting requires disciplined bodies (Paechter, 2004). Bodies that desire are not disciplined and thus teaching about sexuality means bringing disorder to the schooling setting. While women teachers try to police and discipline their bodies and those of their students within the sexuality education classrooms, the efficacy of their teaching gets negatively affected. Chapter 7 has highlighted the dynamics of discourse and power in the positioning of women teachers as powerful within the school context as teachers, while being positioned at the same time as powerless as women within a rural community. It also highlighted how women teachers position their womanhood differently as powerful in some situations. The women teachers have revealed the socially constructed versions of Basotho womanhood and teacher- hood. Through their drawings, the women teachers highlight the challenges of woman teacher-hood in sexuality education. Thus the argument raised in this chapter is that the identities that the

women teachers subscribe to and are heavily invested in, being mothers and wives, render them ineffective as sexuality education teachers. The normative woman self in Basotho communities is expected to be sexually unknowing and pure. Supposedly, purity does not mix with sexuality education, if it has to be effective. Therefore maintaining their status of being "ladies" and performing normalised womanhood inhibits the women from being effective sexuality education teachers. The last findings chapter (Chapter 8) argues that Basotho women teachers' understandings of sexuality are a result of their socialisation as well as training. The women teachers argue that they were ill prepared for the challenge of bringing a private issue such as sexuality into the public arena of the classroom, and that their own personal sexual experiences have not been considered as important mediating factors in their effective teaching when the LSE curriculum was implemented. Within this context Basotho women teachers are not effective in teaching sexuality education, thus this chapter also highlights the current im/possibility of woman teacher-hood within sexuality education classrooms. What is reflected by the three findings chapters is that Basotho women teachers experience the teaching of sexuality education as challenging because of factors such as their own sexuality and sexual experiences, their womanhood and motherhood, religious and cultural restrictions, and limited training and support. This concluding chapter (Chapter 9) has presented the conclusions drawn form this study and presents some recommended actions that can improve the status and teaching of sexuality education. In this chapter I have argued that within the current context within which sexuality education is being taught in Lesotho, there are limited possibilities for women teachers to be effective as sexuality education teachers or for sexuality education to have the desired impact on Basotho youth. The effectiveness of teachers in sexuality education is dependent upon different stakeholders. This study is therefore a call to stakeholders to rethink the need for sexuality education in Lesotho such that there can be a common understanding regarding the need to address the factors that impede effective delivery of the subject in schools. 1 Pitso means formal public gathering. Lipitso means many gatherings.