Re-thinking education in a world with HIV and AIDS;
A qualitative inquiry into HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique

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Abstract

There exists broad consensus as to the importance of HIV- and AIDS-related education in efforts to decrease young people's vulnerability to the epidemic. As illustrated by the broad variety of HIV prevention education initiatives implemented around the world, less agreement exists as to the form such education should take. This thesis has developed a conceptual framework to support analysis of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education and, specifically, to support efforts to increase understanding of this particular and diverse field of education. The specific objectives of the study were to:

i. develop an overview of research into the quality of HIV- and AIDS-related education;

ii. investigate the theoretical underpinnings of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education a) overall, and b) in Mozambique;

iii. examine conceptions of the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education in relation to the broader aims of school education in Mozambique; and

iv. investigate the potential for the conceptual framework, developed as part of the study, to support comparison of perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique.

Addressing key gaps in available literature on HIV- and AIDS-related education, two analytical frameworks were developed. Based on an analysis of current programmes worldwide and a review of a multidisciplinary body of literature on HIV- and AIDS-related education, the first framework draws a distinction between three broad approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education: those building on moral concerns, and those that might be understood as informed by notions of rights, or science. The second analytical framework developed in the study distinguishes three principal conceptions of the aims of education, namely the achievement of autonomy, (civil) enculturation or vocational preparation. This latter heuristic device was informed by an examination of key educational philosophical debates on the aims of education.

A qualitative multi-method empirical study was subsequently undertaken, gathering data from young people, (peer) educators, policy makers and representatives of

international agencies in Maputo, Mozambique on their views regarding the aims of (HIV- and AIDS-related) education. The analysis revealed that participants drew on varying and strongly gendered understandings of what was considered (im)moral behaviour and a commitment to rights in efforts to reduce the spread and impact of the epidemic. Furthermore, in different ways, policy makers, educators and international agency staff identified both the causes of and solution for the epidemic as existing in various forms of modern and traditional 'culture'.

Policy makers and educators, for instance, stressed their concerns regarding the relationship between modernity and the spread of HIV and AIDS in Mozambican society, while staff members of international agencies identified the causes of the epidemic in inequitable - 'traditional' - interpersonal relationships. Young people were often found to appropriate dominant discourse, but also challenged opinions, particularly in relation to gendered perceptions of (im)moral behaviour. Building on the analysis, a fourth broad approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education was identified, namely that informed by notions of culture.

The analysis illustrates that within HIV- and AIDS-related education, where concepts such as rights and culture are seen as central to many programmes, the different actors involved in the development, delivery and uptake of such education draw on a considerable variety of discourses. An important consequence is that within and across these various sets of actors, understandings of what issues should be addressed and how, can vary widely. At other times, such understandings may differ in more subtle but, nonetheless, crucial ways. A critical implication of the study, therefore, concerns the need for more meaningful dialogue across and between different actors. The thesis concludes by elucidating how dialogue about HIV- and AIDS-related education as well as HIV prevention education might be enhanced by drawing on a pragmatic epistemology of 'knowing', i.e. one whereby dialogue and education are acknowledged as ongoing processes of growth and, crucially, as ways to deal with *un*certainty, rather than leading to closed-ended certainties.

Declaration and word count

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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Signed..

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
DANIDA	Danish Development Cooperation
DIPE	Direcção de Programas Especiais/ Directorate of Special Programmes
EFA	Education For All
ESG	Escola Secundaria Geral
FAI	Faith-based AIDS Awareness Initiative
FASE	Fundo de Apoio ao Sector da Educação/Education Sector Support Fund
FHI	Family Health International
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique/Liberation Front of Mozambique
GoM	Government of Mozambique
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IATT	Interagency Task Team
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
INDE	Instituto Nacional do Desenvolvimento da Educação/Institute for Educational Development
JAIP	Jerusalem AIDS Project
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MEC	Ministério da Educação e Cultura/Ministry of Education and Culture
MFMC	My Future is My Choice
MINED	Ministério da Educação/Ministry of Education
MkV	Mema kwa Vijana ('Good things for young people')
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
PARPA	Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta/Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty
PEEC II	Plano Estratégico para a Educação e Cultura II/Strategic Plan for Education and Culture II
PGB	Programa Geração Biz

PCESG	Plano Curricular do Ensino Secundário/Curricular Plan for Secondary Education
PSABH	Kenyan Primary School Action for Better Health
PSI	Population Services International
RCT	Randomised Control Trial
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana/Mozambique National Resistance
SES	Socio-Economic Status
SRE	Sex and Relationship Education
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
SUN	Stellenbosch University
TT	Temas Transversais/Cross-cutting Issues
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WHO	World Health Organisation
WPF	World Population Foundation

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Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter details the main focus of the thesis and the key issues it aims to address. Attention is drawn to the importance attached to school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education[1] in the response to the epidemic and socio-economic developmental efforts more broadly both on the global stage and at national levels. Within this context, the need to better understand the relation between HIV- and AIDS-related education and school-based education more broadly is discussed.

The chapter is composed of six sections. Section 1.2 offers a succinct description of my personal background and interest in the subject of the thesis. Section 1.3 briefly considers the potential of HIV- and AIDS-related education to impact positively on young people's vulnerability and risk. 'Vulnerability' is here defined as the contextual and personal factors that can increase a person's susceptibility to HIV transmission and the impact of HIV (UNESCO, 2004; UNAIDS, 2006). 'Risk' is understood as the probability an individual becomes infected by HIV (UNESCO, 2004; UNAIDS, 2006). This section also sets out the key questions underpinning the thesis. Section 1.4 details the main aim of the study and its specific objectives. Section 1.5 presents the overall approach to research adopted for purposes of the thesis. To situate the study, section 1.6 provides an overview of the historical, educational and socio-economic context of Mozambique, and provides recent data on the HIV epidemic in Mozambique. Section 1.7 outlines the thesis structure.

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[1] In light of the diversity of educational programmes addressing the issue of HIV and AIDS, the term HIV- and AIDS-*related* education throughout the thesis. Thus, HIV- and AIDS-related education is understood as including initiatives that primarily concentrate on educating about prevention and mitigation of HIV and AIDS (including HIV and AIDS related discrimination and stigma), as well as education initiatives that address HIV and AIDS-related issues within the context of sexual and reproductive health and rights. For stylistic reasons, the term 'HIV prevention education' is also used.

1.2 Personal background

Over a period of approximately three years (2001-2004), I worked as the focal point for HIV and AIDS in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Maputo office in Mozambique. During this time, I was among other things responsible for coordinating the overall UNESCO HIV- and AIDS-related education programme with the Ministry of Education (MINED). This involved close cooperation with the MINED Working Group on HIV and AIDS, which was composed of representatives of various ministerial departments and a number of bilateral and multilateral agencies. These included UNESCO, the Danish Development Cooperation (DANIDA), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and, occasionally, the World Bank.

What in retrospect seems somewhat naïve, I was struck at the time by the seemingly highly political nature of the work I became involved in. I struggled in particular with the extent to which the various international agencies invested in advancing their particular approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education, ranging from rights-based to socio-cultural approaches. Broadly speaking, these approaches appeared to be conceived - or at least presented - as mutually exclusive. At the same time, I became increasingly aware of the degree in which key players in Mozambique, policy makers in particular, were able to attune to donor demands. It was clear this adaptation occasionally resulted in seeming contradictions within (political) narratives. An example of the latter was the engagement with the relation between dimensions of vulnerability and HIV alongside a conceptualisation of HIV transmission as the result of ignorance (see e.g. Chissano, 2000; Mocumbi, 2004).

A keen interest in the subject of HIV- and AIDS-related education, combined with a desire to critically reflect on the broader field of international development and a long standing ambition to conduct further academic research, led me to the decision to study further some of the questions described above.

1.3 HIV- and AIDS-related education; possibilities and remaining questions

The potential of HIV- and AIDS-related education to reduce young people's vulnerability to HIV transmission and the impact of the epidemic has been the subject of much debate and research (see for instance, Boler & Archer, 2008; Aggleton et al., 2011; Mavedzenge et al., 2011; Aboud & Singla, 2012). Studies suggest that education in general and HIV- and AIDS-related education in particular can positively impact on both vulnerability and risk. However, leading scholars have also observed that in many ways HIV- and AIDS-related education has failed to live up to its potential, and that there is a great deal we do not yet sufficiently understand about why this is so (see for instance, Clarke, 2008; Miedema, et al., 2011; Aggleton, et al., 2012).

General education for instance, has been found to have a positive effect on levels of vulnerability to HIV among young women, possibly due to the positive impact of education on young women's outlook on the future, which may provide them with an incentive to avoid HIV infection (Boler & Archer, 2008; Pettifor et al., 2008). Insight into the ways in which good quality *HIV- and AIDS-related* education might reduce both vulnerability and risk of young men and women to HIV is also improving. HIV- and AIDS-related education can among other things, improve (young) people's understanding of safer sexual practices (see for example, Philpott et al., 2006; Olley, 2007) and safer means of drug use (see for example, Pisani, 2008).

Studies have found that HIV- and AIDS-related education can affect young men and women differently due to gendered differences in attitudes towards sexual practices as well as gendered differences in vulnerability (Hoppe et al., 2004; Singh et al. 2005). In view of gendered differences with regard to (criteria for) sexual decision-making for instance, a common health message may have quite different effects on young women and men (Hoppe et al., 2007). Similarly, it has been revealed that it is critical to take into account possible ways in which ethnic background, class and other 'axes of identity', such as religion, sexuality and ability (Ringrose, 2007: 264), intersect and may influence both the vulnerability of young people as well as the impact HIV- and AIDS-related education might have.

Despite the growing body of literature on effects of HIV- and AIDS-related education, there continues to be debate in both academic and international development circles as to what constitutes good quality HIV- and AIDS-related education. Agreement has yet to be found in terms of the aims of such education and the means to achieve them, for example. With regard to the former, some stress the importance of promoting certain 'healthy' choices and behaviours (e.g. Senderowitz & Kirby, 2006; UNESCO, 2009a) or the realisation of rights (see e.g. UNICEF, 2004; WPF, 2007). With regard to the latter, emphasis may be placed on life skills development (UNICEF, 2001), 'personalising' messages (UNAIDS IATT of Education, 2009) and/or peer education (WHO, 2008). Additionally, debate continues as to whether HIV- and AIDS-related education should be part of the formal curriculum (and subsequently, how it should be integrated), or be delivered as an extra-curricular activity continues to be disputed (see e.g. Smith et al., 2003).

Questions also continue to be raised about what might be understood at a more fundamental level. Addressing participants at the 2006 International AIDS Conference in Toronto, Mary Crewe, Director of the University of Pretoria Centre for the Study of AIDS, made a plea for HIV prevention education that provided more than knowledge and skills. She argued that education should provide young people with theoretical tools to understand among other things, power, freedom and social identity (2006: 4). Education, Crewe contended, should enable young people to 'think in complex abstract ways, [to] … philosophise, [to] … dream' (Crewe, 2004: 7). This resonates with Morris (2005: 418) when he argues for a conception of HIV- and AIDS-related education as 'a live encounter with the unexpected'. This requires us to conceptualise initiatives as 'educative' if they contain an element of suspense and unpredictability (see also Harðarson, 2012).

Central to disagreements as to the aims and means of HIV- and AIDS-related education seems to be, among other things, variance as to how 'education' should be conceived and what it entails (see also Ingham et al., 2010; Miedema et al., 2011; Aggleton et al., 2012). This question needs to be engaged with in multiple ways. To begin with, greater clarity is needed in terms of the theoretical underpinnings of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education. In addition, the relationships between school-based HIV prevention education and the educational apparatus as a whole need to be elucidated. Analysis of these linkages would allow for meaningful

engagement with Michael Kelly's call to re-examine 'education in its entirety, or to ask whether, as currently conceived and provided, education can meet expectations that it be a potent force for gaining control over HIV/AIDS' (2000a: 29).

1.4 Research aim and objectives

In line with the main interests outlined above, the primary aim of this study is to develop a conceptual framework to support the analysis and positioning of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education. The aim was, furthermore, to develop a framework that, by drawing on educational philosophy and theory, would allow for an analysis of HIV prevention education from a specifically *educational* perspective rather than a public health perspective that is more commonly adopted in research in this particular field. The study is furthermore geared toward understanding and comparing perspectives of different sets of actors involved in the design, delivery and uptake of this form of education in the context of Mozambique with a view to identifying the possible implications for policy development, research and practice.

The decision to concentrate on Mozambique was motivated by the researcher's prior working experience and contacts in the country. The historic presence of a broad range of donors and non-governmental agencies in Mozambique offered a valuable opportunity to study the nexus of international, national and local relations. The concentration of international agencies and national level policy makers in the capital city finally formed an important reason to conduct the study in the capital city, Maputo.

The specific objectives of the research are to:
   a. Develop an analytical overview of research into the quality of HIV- and AIDS-related education;
   b. Investigate the theoretical underpinnings of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education a) overall, and b) in Mozambique;
   c. Examine conceptions of the aims of HIV prevention education in relation to the broader aims of school education in the context of Mozambique;
   d. Investigate the potential of a conceptual framework to support the analysis and comparison of perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related education within the context of Mozambique.

1.5 Overall approach

To come to an understanding of different sets of social actors' perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related education, a qualitative multi-method approach to data collection and analysis was adopted. Using multiple methods was not only expected to improve understanding of the accounts given by different (sets of) social actors, but also as providing a means to triangulate data to increase the 'trustworthiness' of the study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Robson, 2002).

One of the first steps in the research design was the identification of gaps in existing literature regarding school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education, and building on this, the elaboration of a conceptual framework within which to understand approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education. An initial tripartite framework was developed following a review of a range of current curricula and approaches used around the world for HIV- and AIDS-related education. The framework furthermore builds on a multi-disciplinary literature review, including that engaging with sociology, philosophy of science, anthropology and human rights.

A second key step in the research design involved identification of the three different levels at which data would be collected for this study, i.e. international, national and local, the latter being subdivided into teachers, *activistas* (peer educators) and learners. An attempt was made to design gender-balanced samples at all levels. At least two different research methods were felt to be valuable in gathering data for each set of social actors: interviews and documentary analysis were used to gather data at both international and national levels, whilst at local level interviews, observation and focus group discussions served as the main data collection methods. In total, the study involved eight staff members of international agencies, eight MINED policy makers, 18 educators (including nine *activistas*), and 23 young people.

It is important to clarify that both the process of data collection and analysis followed an iterative approach. An important example of the iterative nature of the study concerns the development of the various analytical tools used during the course of the study. As indicated above, a tripartite framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education was developed following a review of a range of educational

initiatives and a body of multidisciplinary literature on HIV- and AIDS-related education. This was done prior to data collection in Mozambique. However, a first tentative analysis of the data gathered during fieldwork in Mozambique suggested participant narratives regarding HIV prevention education could only be properly understood against the backdrop of a discussion of their conceptions of the aims of education more broadly. While the tentative tripartite framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education offers a set of valuable sensitising notions, it did not provide the heuristic tools necessary to understand and position HIV prevention education initiatives *in relation to* the aims of education more broadly (the third objective of the thesis). Thus, following a review of scholarly work on educational philosophy, a second, separate tripartite framework was developed, providing a series of sensitising notions to understand and position different possible conceptions of the aims of education. Used together, the two frameworks allowed for a) a more comprehensive analysis of the data gathered in Mozambique and, b) the elaboration of an extended (quadripartite) framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education, the latter providing a critical tool for extending theorisations and policy developments in the field.

1.6 Mozambique: contextual background

Figure 1.1: Map of Mozambique

Source: Geology.com (2007)

Table 1.1: Mozambique: Summary information

Official country name:	The Republic of Mozambique
Provinces:	Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Nampula, Tete, Zambézia, Manica, Sofala, Inhambane, Gaza, Maputo Province, Maputo City
Capital:	Maputo City, comprising roughly 6.1% of the total population
Languages:	18 Bantu languages, a broad range of dialects, Portuguese as the official language
Total population (2010):	23.4 million
Life expectancy at birth (2010):	49.7 years
Literacy rate young women (2010):	65.1 % (% of females ages 15-24)
Literacy rate young men (2010):	78.5 % (% of males ages 15-24)
Prevalence of HIV, total (2010):	11.5 % (% of population ages 15-49)
HIV prevalence young women (2009):	11.1 % (% of population ages 15-24)
HIV prevalence young men (2009):	3.7 % (% of population ages 15-24)
Human Development Index (2011)[2]:	184 (out of 187 countries)

SACMEQ (2012); UIS (2011); UNDP (2011); World Bank (2011); INSIDA (2010)

1.6.1 Geopolitical context, historical development and current situation

Mozambique came into being in its current form following an Anglo-Portuguese agreement in May 1891, marking a period of what might be understood as official Portuguese colonial rule lasting almost 83 years (Newitt, 1995). Geographically, the country tends to be divided into the southern, central and northern regions. Southern Mozambique is composed of Maputo City, and the provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane. Maputo city, where this study was carried out, is relatively well developed, particularly when compared with the rest of the country. The city houses all national governmental offices, has a good communications and electrical network, tarred roads and a large share of the country's relatively small number of secondary schools and tertiary institutions. National and international agencies and business are generally also based in or close to Maputo city.

Independence from Portugal was gained in 1975, after almost ten years of armed struggle led by the then guerrilla movement *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Liberation Front of Mozambique, Frelimo) and the fall of the Salazar regime in

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[2] The HDI is a 'composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living' (UNDP, 2011).

Portugal (Newitt, 1995). Following independence the one-party state of the People's Republic of Mozambique was proclaimed, with Frelimo leader Samora Machel as its first president. In 1977, the party declared itself a Marxist-Leninist party (Newitt, 1995; Casimiro, 2004) and set out on a national programme of social reform. Before long however, Mozambique became embroiled in another war, this time between Frelimo and the guerrilla organization *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (Mozambique National Resistance, later known as Renamo)[3].

The war caused widespread rural devastation and to a large extent put on hold Frelimo's modernising programme, which was aimed at the creation of a socialist society (Sheldon, 2002; Sabaratnam, 2011). It formally ended with the signing of the peace agreement in 1992, ushering in a new period in which Mozambique was transformed into a liberal, multi-party democracy. First democratic elections took place in 1994 during which Frelimo won 160 of the 250 seats in the National Assembly. The most recent elections were held in 2009, resulting in little change to Frelimo's power base (US Department of State, 2011).

1.6.2 Socio-economic context of Mozambique

Despite strong economic growth since the 1992 accord, Mozambique remains one of the world's poorest countries, ranking 184 out of 187 countries on the UN Human Development Index list (UNDP, 2011). Almost 50% of Mozambique's national budget is financed by external sources (UN, 2008) and roughly 80% of the country's working population is engaged in (subsistence) agriculture (CIDA, 2012). The state is the country's largest formal employer, employing the majority of what might be defined as the 'middle class'.

The 2008/09 National Household Survey (IAF) found that the consumption-based poverty rate had increased since the 2002/03 Survey (INE, 2010). Although figures vary, the vast majority of the population of roughly 20 million Mozambicans is reported to live below the poverty line of $1 per day (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2010). At the time of the study, households belonging to the top quintile earned the equivalent of approximately £103 per month (INE, 2010). Although the quintiles are generally not understood as representing a particular socio-economic class, this uppermost

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[3] Renamo was established in 1977 with the help of the white Rhodesian government (Newitt, 1995) and following its fall, supported by the government of South Africa. Renamo also found some support among rural Mozambicans (Sheldon, 2002).

quintile might be considered middle class and reflects the situation of about half a million people (Molini, 2010a). The IAF does not include data on the upper middle class and elite and, generally speaking, there is little clarity as to the extent of their income (Molini, 2010a).

1.6.3 Mozambique and the HIV epidemic

The first case of AIDS in Mozambique was reported in 1986 (UNAIDS, 2010), but both the surveillance and the response to the epidemic were limited until the signing of the peace agreement. The end of the conflict saw the return of large numbers of refugees, fuelling the rapid spread of the epidemic in the country (UNAIDS, 2010). At the end of 2009, 1.4 million people were reported to be HIV positive and the prevalence rate among adults between 15-49 years was 11.5% (UNICEF, 2010). This rate masks considerable variation, however, between regions (respectively, 9% and 21% in northern and southern Mozambique) and between young women and men (respectively, 11.1 % and 3.7 %, INSIDA, 2010). Part of the national response has been the infusion of HIV- and AIDS-related education across the secondary school curriculum, and its more focused integration within specific subjects such as Moral and Civic Education (primary level) and Biology (secondary level).

1.6.4 Education in Mozambique; historical development and current situation

Table 1.2: Public education in Mozambique: summary information

School year:	January – December
Structure of education system:	Seven years primary education, five years secondary education
Duration of compulsory education:	Seven years
Starting age of compulsory education:	Six
Medium of instruction:	Portuguese, with bilingual education (in the local language) in the first three grades of lower primary
HIV- and AIDS-related education:	Infused in curriculum and at secondary level, also delivered through the extra-curricular programme *Geração Biz* (PGB).

During Portuguese rule, native Mozambicans and young Mozambican women, in particular, had extremely restricted access to formal education. By way of comparison, whilst in 1950 21.4% of school aged children in British African colonies had access to some form of formal schooling, in Portuguese colonies only 5.7% did (Sheldon, 2002). At the time of independence in 1975, an estimated 86% of men and 93% of women were considered illiterate (Kruks, 1989; Sheldon, 2002).

In 1929, a decree on the organisation of colonial education came into force establishing a system of racially segregated schools. Following this decree, Mozambican children were required to complete three years of 'rudimentary' education before moving on to higher levels of education, which only very few actually did (Kruks, 1989; Sheldon, 2002). The highest educational level 'indigenous' persons could aspire to was fourth grade of elementary school (Newitt, 1995). Emphasis was placed on 'Portugalisation' and 'Christianisation', combined with manual and domestic working skills for respectively, boys and girls (Sheldon, 2002). Reportedly, the only available option for native Mozambicans seeking further education following fourth grade were the *escolas de artes e ofícios* (vocational schools) (Sheldon, 2002; West, 2001).

As the very low literacy levels among Mozambicans at the time of independence indicate, education provided to Mozambican learners was of low quality. The absence of good quality educational opportunities for native Mozambicans during colonial rule contributed to the Frelimo vision of education as critical to social reform efforts and, specifically, to attempts to tackle the 'internal' oppression of Mozambicans and bring about the *homem novo* ('new man') (Newitt, 1995).

Mass literacy campaigns and programmes to improve access to primary and secondary education were central to the Frelimo's post-independence reform efforts, and with some success; school enrolment increased substantially and literacy campaigns were attended en masse. However, the internal war and limitations around the delivery of literacy programmes - such as restricted manpower and the use of Portuguese as the medium of instruction - meant their actual impact in terms of literacy rates was restricted (Newitt, 1995).

In 1983, the government established a national system of education, drawing a distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary education. This system remains in place today. Primary education is divided into lower and upper primary level, consisting of five and two years of schooling respectively and is compulsory from the age of six. Officially, no fees are charged. However, families do need to cover a range of hidden expenses such as uniforms and fees for sitting exams (Tomasevski, 2006). Having completed primary education, learners can choose between for four different options: general secondary education, secondary education for adults, basic technical and vocational school, or lower primary teacher training college.

Similar to primary education, general secondary education is subdivided into a lower and an upper, pre-university level, the first composed of three years, the second of two years (SACMEQ, 2012). Unlike primary, secondary education is neither free nor compulsory. All young people (the average age being 15 years) taking part in the current study attended lower secondary school and for this reason all further background information provided here concentrates on this level of education.

Enrolment rates at secondary level in Mozambique are still low: in 2009, gross enrolment rates for secondary school was 32% for young men and 24% for young women whilst the net enrolment rate for young men was 16% and for young women 14%[4] (UIS, 2011). The pupil-teacher ratio at lower secondary education is said to be approximately 40:1 (UNESCO, 2011). It should be noted that the average *class size* in the three schools included in this study was considerably higher, with an average of 72 learners per class.

The Ministry of Education (MINED)[5] is responsible for all levels of education and is composed of 15 directorates and seven institutions. In 2002, an HIV and AIDS Working Group led by the then Director of Basic Education was established directly within the Cabinet of the Minister of Education. In 2005, the (new) Minister of Education revised the Ministry structure creating a Directorate of Special Programmes (*Direcção de Programas Especiais* or DIPE) to coordinate what were

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[4] *Gross* enrolment rate is the total enrolment regardless of age. *Net* enrolment rate is the share of children of the official age enrolled in school. (Huebler, 2005; UIS, 2009).
[5] When the new government took office in 2005 following the 2004 elections, the Ministry of Culture was merged with the Ministry of Education, forming the Ministry of Education and Culture. In 2010, the two sectors were again separated. To avoid confusion, this thesis speaks only of the Ministry of Education (MINED).

identified as the education sector's four main cross-cutting issues (*áreas transversais*): gender and community involvement, school sports, school production and nutrition, and school health and HIV/AIDS. The Directorate is composed of four departments, each of which is responsible for coordinating the Ministry response to one of the four cross-cutting issues. The Department for School Health and HIV/AIDS is in charge of ensuring, among other things, all MINED Directorates and institutions adequately address HIV and AIDS within their ongoing programmes, approving and monitoring HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives of international and national non-governmental organisations, and managing the national peer education programme *Geração Biz*.

DIPE maintained and further developed the system of focal points and working groups as initiated in 2002. HIV and AIDS Focal Points are said to have been appointed at all levels within the national education system, i.e. from the central level to the level of schools (MINED, 2009). At central level, the working group continues to be composed of representatives of the various directorates and MINED institutions, the national level coordinators of HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes such as *Geração Biz*, and, finally, representatives of key MINED partners in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education, namely UNFPA, UNESCO, UNICEF, DANIDA and the Irish Embassy (Meque, 2010; Muchine, 2010).

HIV- and AIDS-related education has been infused into the national curriculum for secondary education, i.e. in principle the subject is addressed within the context of all secondary school disciplines. The design and monitoring of the national curriculum - including that relating to HIV and AIDS - falls within the remit of the national curriculum development authority INDE. In other words, whilst the Department for School Health and HIV/AIDS is expected to provide support to INDE in the design of the HIV- and AIDS-related content of the curriculum, it is INDE that is responsible for the national curriculum as a whole. The Directorate for Teacher Training in turn is responsible for pre- and in-service teacher education, including that related to HIV and AIDS.

1.6.5 *External support to the education sector; donor landscape and harmonisation*

In keeping with the global drive to improve methods of delivery of international aid, education sector donors in Mozambique have increasingly attempted to harmonise their support. The establishment of the Education Sector Support Fund (FASE) in 2002 was an important step in this process. As Bartholomew and colleagues (2010: xiii) report, the original FASE Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was renegotiated in 2006 to better align the fund with Government of Mozambique's (GoM) systems and legislation. As such, the 2006 MoU can be seen to build on principles set out in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005), which commits donors to streamline support in line with national strategies and systems (OECD, 2005).

In 2010, the education sector was financed through three main sources of funding: an internal source (representing 69% of the education sector budget), which is composed of funds derived from the State Budget, and two external sources. The majority of external funding for the sector (representing 23% of the education sector budget) is channeled through the Common Fund FASE, while the remaining 8% of the budget is covered by bilateral project funds (MINED, 2010). Until 2010, the FASE was composed of funds from eleven donors, including the Netherlands Development Cooperation and DANIDA (Vogelaar, 2010). Within the context of the EU code of conduct and efforts to reduce the number of donors funding multiple sectors, the two latter donors decided to withdraw from the sector in 2011 and 2012, respectively. MINED applied for and as of 2012 has been granted new FTI funds with a view to filling the funding gap that was to emerge.

This brief overview gives an impression of the complex and continuously shifting landscape of international agencies working in Mozambique. The substantial financial support provided by donor agencies furthermore highlights the extent to which the work carried out by the Ministry of Education is driven by foreign aid.

1.7 Outline of the thesis

The thesis consists of ten chapters. This introductory chapter has sketched out some of the key issues concerning school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education that this thesis will engage with. As was clarified in section 1.3, a key research interest driving this thesis concerns the importance of understanding perspectives regarding aims and means underpinning school-based HIV prevention education. To facilitate this form of analysis and, crucially, to examine how HIV- and AIDS-related education relates to the broader aim of school-based education, the study draws on key philosophical contributions regarding the aims of education. It is argued that developing a fuller insight into the ways in which the aims of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education and school-based education are aligned and/or contradict one another, will allow for more informed engagement with questions concerning the potential of school-based education to respond to a world with HIV and AIDS.

Chapter two offers a detailed review of literature addressing HIV and AIDS prevention and education. This chapter identifies the key gaps in the research literature and sets out the thesis' rationale. One of the critical gaps presented in the chapter concerns the lack of engagement with the specifically *educational* underpinnings of HIV- and AIDS-related education, and the ways in which this form of education relates to school-based education in its entirety. The chapter discusses the importance of examining school-based HIV prevention education withn this broader educational context, arguing that *not* doing so entails examination of the subject area of HIV prevention as if it occurs in a vacuum, instead of as part of a broader curriculum. Building on a review of curricula, educational initiatives and multidisciplinary body of literature, Chapter three offers a tentative conceptual framework to understand different approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education. Three broad approaches to such education are distinguished, namely those that might be defined as 'scientifically' informed, as drawing on 'rights', and/or those that work either implicitly or explicitly from some form of moral agenda. The chapter ends by highlighting the potential of the framework as well as discussing some of its limitations. Specifically, this final section clarifies that the analytical potential of the framework that emerges out of the review presented in Chapter three is restricted in that it does not provide the heuristic tools needed to understand school-based HIV prevention education *in relation to* school-based education more broadly.

In order to elaborate these tools, Chapter four examines different literatures that engage with conceptions of education and the aims thereof. The chapter thus provides an additional set of sensitising notions that are designed to increase the analytical potential of the tripartite framework of HIV- and AIDS-related education discussed in Chapter three. A distinction is drawn between three broad aims, namely education as geared to promoting autonomy, to the (civil) enculturation and/or to the preparation for the world of work.

Chapter five presents the theoretical and methodological framework guiding the study, providing an outline of the processes and methods employed to achieve the central research aims. The chapter clarifies the processes involved in the analysis of the data and the identification of key themes, and how these then informed the discussion. Chapters six, seven and eight discuss the key findings that emerged from the empirical enquiry. Chapter six investigates participants' views as to the primary contextual factors associated with the HIV epidemic in the context of Mozambique. The chapter engages with the centrality of the notion of modernity to policy makers', educators' and *activistas'* understanding of the epidemic.

Chapter seven discusses participant conceptions of the aims and means of HIV- and AIDS-related education, situating this in relation to their views regarding (the aims and means of) education more broadly. Chapter eight constitutes the final findings chapter. It presents an analysis of three central MINED policy and curricular documents with a view to further situating participant perspectives on education and HIV prevention education. This chapter unpacks what appear to be critical tensions across and within participant narratives and MINED policies regarding the aims of a) education as a whole, b) HIV- and AIDS-related education, and c) the relationships between these two sets of aims.

Building on the empirical analysis and the two sets of sensitising notions detailed in Chapters three and four, Chapter nine re-examines and extends the framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education in the context of Mozambique. The framework is expanded in two important ways. Firstly, a fourth broad approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education is identified, namely that informed by notions of culture. Building on the different ways in which research participants engaged with

the notion of culture, four subtypes of this broad approach are identified. Secondly, the expanded - quadraparite - framework highlights additional areas of difference between the four approaches, as well as areas of similarity between some of these.

In addition, this chapter provides further reflection on Kelly's call to rethink the meaning and purpose of education in a world with HIV and AIDS. Chapter ten concludes the thesis. It discusses key strengths and limitations of the study, and draws out broader lessons from the study for policy, research and practice in the field of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education. Table 1.3 below provides an overview of the research objectives and the chapters in which these will be addressed. Figure 1.2 offers a conceptual 'roadmap' for the thesis.

Table 1.3: Research objectives and thesis chapters that engage with the objectives

Research objectives	Chapters			
a. Develop an analytical overview of research into the quality of HIV- and AIDS-related education	1	2		
b. Investigate the theoretical underpinnings of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education a) overall, and b) in Mozambique	3	6	7	8
c. Examine the aims of HIV prevention education in relation to the broader purposes of school education in the context of Mozambique	4	7	8	
d. Investigate the potential of a conceptual framework to support the analysis and comparison of perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related education within the context of Mozambique	9	10		

Figure 1.2: Conceptual outline of the thesis

| What research exists on HIV- and AIDS-related education? | What forms of HIV- and AIDS-related education exist worldwide? | What are its: Goals? Means? Key actors? | | What kinds of broader educational ideas underpin HIV- education initiatives? |

| HIV- and AIDS-related research and theory | → | Review of HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes worldwide | → | Discussion of key conceptions of education and its aims | → | Analysis of HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique |

| **Thesis Chapters** | **PART I Context** Chapter 1: Introduction and contextual background Chapter 2: Research on HIV- and AIDS-related education; defining study rationale | **PART II Theoretical and methodological framework** Chapter 3: Developing a tri-partite framework Chapter 4: Examining conceptions of education and its aims Chapter 5: Methodological framework | **PART III Qualitative findings** Chapter 6: The 'threats' of modernity Chapter 7: The goals of HIV- and AIDS-related education Chapter 8: Content analysis policy and curricular documents | **PART IV Discussion** Chapter 9: Summary of findings Discussion substantive themes and extension the tri-partite framework | **PART V Conclusions** Chapter 10: Discussion of the implications of the study for practice, policy & research, reflections on the study process |

Chapter two: Good practice in HIV- and AIDS-related education

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores key research literature in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education, which is the central theme of this study. Particular attention is paid to research engaging with issues of quality, including that which attempts to measure the impact of programmes or that which strives to further understanding of young people's views, for instance, with regard to the epidemic. The review of literature is geared toward creating an overview of issues that have been relatively well researched, and highlighting what are considered critical gaps in existing knowledge on the subject of HIV- and AIDS-related education. The chapter engages with the first research objective detailed on page 14 ('to develop an analytical overview of research into the quality of HIV- and AIDS-related education'). The identification of research gaps finally serves to situate the current thesis and clarify the contribution it seeks to make.

The chapter is composed of four sections. Section 2.2 briefly clarifies the type of response to HIV and AIDS that according to international guidelines (developed by, among other agencies, UNAIDS) is considered necessary in settings with generalised epidemics, and the potential role formal education has been found to play within this context. This section also outlines the methodology that was utilised to identify and select the literature that forms the basis of the present review.

Section 2.3 details the various forms of research on HIV- and AIDS-related education, concentrating on that published in the past 15 years. Following a brief overview of the broad range of issues to which scholars and international agencies have directed their attention during this period, the discussion then turns to the principal area of concern of the current chapter and thesis more broadly; namely, research into the contents and methodologies of school-based

HIV- and AIDS-related education. In line with the theoretical interests of the thesis, a distinction is drawn between four broad fields of enquiry: a) research assessing programme impact in terms of effects on individual knowledge and behaviour, b) qualitative enquiry into the relationships between education and broader social change, c) research which attempts gain more direct access to young people's perspectives on the contents of HIV- and AIDS-related education, and d) conceptual analyses to distinguish between different models of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education.

Section 2.4 highlights some of the main issues emerging from the literature review and identifies critical gaps in the current research literature. The chapter concentrates on two key gaps in particular. The first concerns the few attempts made to understand different forms of school-based HIV prevention education. The second fundamental gap engaged within this thesis relates to the call to 're-examine the meaning and purpose of education [in its entirety] in a world with HIV and AIDS' (Kelly, 2006: 54). The chapter concludes with a section (2.5) clarifying the rationale of the current thesis and the contribution the thesis seeks to make.

2.2 Background and methodology

Countries in east and southern Africa, including Mozambique, face generalised HIV epidemics, which means that HIV has spread to such an extent that everyone is considered to be at risk (Ross et al., 2006; CDC, 2012). In contexts such as these, both targeted and generalised HIV prevention are required. The former is necessary to reach specific at risk groups such as sex workers, whilst the latter is needed to reach as many people as possible (Ross et al., 2006). School-based education has the potential of reaching large numbers of young people and partly for this reason has been deemed crucial to the response to HIV and AIDS in contexts with generalised epidemics (Boler & Archer, 2008).

As Boler and Archer (2008) point out, both *general* school-based education and *HIV- and AIDS-related* education have been found to have a positive effect on reducing levels of vulnerability to HIV among young women and men (see also

see Philpott et al., 2006; Olley, 2007; Mavedzenge et al., 2010, 2011). Whilst it has the potential to reach large numbers of young people and to influence change, as Aggleton, Crewe and Yankah (2011: 495) recently observed, in many ways school-based HIV prevention education has 'eluded its potential'. The authors argue this is in part due to the perceived 'sensitivity' of the subject, this constituting a reason why it is often not engaged with comprehensively in many schools.

The following sections explore available research literature to identify what are considered key characteristics of good quality school-based HIV prevention education. Particular attention is paid to the aims and means of such education, which are considered to provide critical insight into the theoretical underpinnings of programmes.

The literature review primarily draws on academic publications catalogued by academic educational and multidisciplinary databases, including the British Education Index, ERIC, ScienceDirect, the AIDSTAR-One HIV Prevention Knowledge Base and Google Scholar. These databases were searched using combinations of the following keywords: 'best/good/promising practice' or 'effective', HIV education and school. As a result of this initial search, roughly 150 publications were identified. The selection was then restricted to publications that met the following criteria: i) studies had to focus on young people and children in the global South, ii) publications had to engage with school-based education, iii) studies had to address contents and methodologies of HIV- and AIDS-related education, and iv) documents had to be published between 1997 and 2012. Application of these additional criteria led to a sample of roughly 40 publications.

Reference lists of the selected publications were subsequently reviewed. Where relevant, additional studies were added to the sample, particularly those authored by leading figures in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education, such as Kelly, Aggleton, Kippax and Crewe, and where they concerned the contents and methodology of such education. Finally, the review also draws on a limited number of United Nations publications grounded on research on

'effective' HIV- and AIDS-related education, such as the UNESCO (2009a) *International Guidelines on Sexuality Education; An evidence informed approach to effective sex, relationships and HIV/STI education*. The final sample consisted of approximately 50 documents.

2.3 Research on HIV- and AIDS-related education

The following section begins with a description of the broad scope of research on HIV- and AIDS-related education, highlighting some of the critical issues that have been the focus of scholarly attention. The discussion then moves to the key area of concern of the current chapter and the thesis more broadly, namely research into the quality of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education. Following careful review of the available literature a distinction was drawn between studies that:

a. examine programme quality in terms of impact on individual knowledge and behaviour,

b. investigate quality of programmes in terms of the extent to which they engage with issues of gender and class,

c. directly engage with young people's perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related education, and

d. attempt to understand different models of HIV- and AIDS-related education.

2.3.1 Key issues in research on HIV- and AIDS-related education

The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) was established in 1996 with a view to improving inter-agency collaboration and strengthening the evidence base for the response to the epidemic. An important element of this work has been the development and dissemination of good practice guidelines. In 1997, UNAIDS published its first technical guidelines to support the development and delivery of school-based HIV prevention education (UNAIDS, 1997a, b). Although scholarly research on HIV- and AIDS-related education predates that carried out by UNAIDS (e.g. Aggleton & Homans, 1987, 1988; Pridmore & Chase, 1994), research in this particular field gained real momentum at the beginning of the new millennium.

Examples of guidelines resulting from collaborative efforts between UNAIDS and various national and international partners include the Family Health International (FHI) and UNAIDS best practice collection (Makinwa & O'Grady, 2001), which details 20 'state-of-the-art best practices' (p.5) in HIV prevention from around the globe. The seven UNAIDS Inter-Agency Task Team (IATT) on HIV and Young People *Guidance Briefs* (2006) form another example. The IATT *Briefs* present an overview of 'evidence-informed' guidelines for formal and non-formal HIV prevention among young people. Another important example of the extensive 'best practice' collection is the UNAIDS IATT on Education publication *Improving the Education Response to HIV and AIDS* (2008). This publication discusses the quality of collaborative efforts between various actors involved in the education sector response to HIV and AIDS in the four developing countries. It addition, it puts forward a range of recommendations with regard to, among other issues, advocacy and 'building the evidence base', as well as coordination, alignment and harmonisation between partners.

There also exists extensive and diversified body of scholarly work on (school-based) HIV- and AIDS-related education, which forms the focus of the current thesis. Scholars have examined what is referred to as the wider crisis in education, highlighting the difficulties of providing good quality HIV- and AIDS-related education in settings with high learner-teacher ratios, overcrowded curricula, and insufficiently trained teachers (e.g. Kelly, 2000a; Boler & Jellema, 2005; Clarke, 2008). Research has furthermore discerned different curricular approaches that are most likely to contribute to programme success. Studies have, for instance, found that integration of HIV- and AIDS-related education in a specific subject where the topic will be addressed in a broader context (for instance, health education) is the best long-term approach (Clarke, 2008). Mainstreaming of HIV in a wide range of subjects is considered the *least* effective approach (Smith et al., 2003; Clarke, 2008).

Researchers have also investigated the extent to which the broader school environment promotes learners' health, safety and wellbeing so as to ensure

children and young people affected by the epidemic fully participate in teaching and learning activities (e.g. Campbell & Lubbe, 2003; Kendall & O'Gara, 2007; Clarke, 2008). Within this framework, various scholars have highlighted the importance of 'safe social spaces' (Campbell et al., 2009: 97) for meaningful dialogical encounters with and between young people to enable them to 'reflect on, critically question and negotiate social identities' (Casale & Hanass-Hancock, 2011: 357; Kiragu & McLaughlin, 2011).

Crucial to a sense of safety in schools is the ways in which stigma and discrimination are addressed. Within this context, Parker and Aggleton (2002) have identified promising means 'to *prevent* [HIV- and AIDS-related] stigma and *challenge* discrimination when it occurs' (p.18). Among other things, the authors highlight the importance of the Greater Involvement of People Living with HIV/AIDS (GIPA) principle. Parker and Aggleton clarify that involvement by people living with HIV/AIDS in, for instance, policy making enhances the capacity of those affected to 'fight back' (p.19) as well as help de-stigmatise the epidemic. As this study clarifies, such involvement holds the potential to address some of the concerns raised by young school going people in Mozambique.

A final critical area of concern relates to teacher training and support. Boler and Aggleton (2005), for instance, draw attention to the difficulties educators experience in delivering the kind of participatory, life skills based education required to promote young people's sexual and reproductive health. Such approaches stand in marked contrast to the oftentimes non-participatory approaches utilised to teach the broader curriculum, such as in many schools in Mozambique. Clarke (2008) discusses the poor quality of teacher training and support in the field of HIV prevention education, relating this to the earlier mentioned wider crisis in education. Clarke argues that 'HIV education for teachers must be considered within the mainstream of teacher educational practice at country level, instead of occurring within a 'contextual vacuum'' (2008: 65; see also Caillods et al., 2008).

2.3.2 Research into the quality of HIV- and AIDS-related education

a.   Quality measured in terms of programme impact on individual knowledge
      and behaviour

The majority of studies on the quality of HIV- and AIDS-related education attempt to measure individual level indicators, such as correct knowledge of modes of HIV infection and reported condom use (e.g. Kinsman et al., 2001; Gallant & Maticka-Tyndale, 2004; Kinsler et al., 2004; Kirby et al., 2005; Magnani et al., 2005; Ross et al., 2006; Stigler et al., 2006; Mavedzenge et al., 2010, 2011). Occasionally, programme impact has also been measured in relation to biomedical markers such as STI incidence and pregnancy rates. Examples include evaluation studies of the MEMA kwa Vijana (MkV) programme in Tanzania (LSHTM, 2008; MkV, 2008a) and Yankah and Aggleton's (2008) review of evaluations of life skills oriented HIV- and AIDS-related initiatives. These studies have enabled researchers to identify programme outcomes and allowed them to distil specific determinants of programme success.

In a review of research on the impact of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education on young people published since the late 1990s, Yankah and Aggleton (2008) summarise a number of critical findings. To begin with, they reiterate that good quality HIV- and AIDS-related education does *not* hasten the debut or frequency of sexual activity. However, they also remind us that HIV prevention education has been found to have very little to no effect on biological outcomes, such as pregnancy rates or STI prevalence. At most, the authors mention, programmes have led to changes in (reported) behaviour, such as a delay in sexual debut and increased use of various contraceptive methods.

Among the most well known studies on characteristics of effective HIV-prevention education are those conducted by Douglas Kirby and colleagues (2005, 2006, 2007, 2009). In 2005, Kirby et al. published a report detailing 17 characteristics of successful school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives. The 17 success factors were derived from a review of 83 impact evaluations of HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives implemented in developed and developing countries. Programme impact was measured in

relation to sexual risk behaviour and mediating factors such as knowledge, skills and self-efficacy, and values considered to affect those behaviours.

The 17 characteristics identified by Kirby and colleagues relate to the curriculum development process, its content and delivery. Successful programmes, for instance, were found to provide clear messages aimed at convincing young people that sexual abstinence or consistent condom use 'was the right choice' (2006: 34). In addition, the team found that effective programmes were those that addressed a range of 'sexual psychosocial risk and protective factors' (2007: 9) that affected sexual behaviour, such as knowledge, perceived risk, and attitudes.

Since their publication these 17 features have informed numerous HIV prevention education initiatives and studies. These include the *Geração Biz* programme discussed in the current thesis (see e.g. PGB, 2009) as well as the comprehensive WHO reviews of evidence on (school-based) HIV prevention (Ross et al., 2006; Mavedzenge et al., 2010). To an important degree, the various iterations of the 'Kirby characteristics' have dominated international understanding of fundamental criteria for programme success in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education, despite cautionary words as to the applicability of the characteristics in other parts of the world (see for instance, Clarke, 2008).

Like the WHO, UNESCO has drawn on the Kirby characteristics to develop its *International Guidelines on Sexuality Education* (UNESCO, 2009a). The UNESCO list of characteristics of successful programmes was developed following a review of 87 studies on the impact on sexual behaviour of HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives[6]. These initiatives were implemented in different parts of the world, a large majority (70%) of which were in formal school settings. The review confirmed the potential importance of curriculum based HIV prevention education in efforts to reduce sexual risk behaviour. As the authors point out, however, when such education is isolated from broader

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[6] The inclusion criteria suggest that the UNESCO Guidelines build on programme evaluations that also provided part of the empirical data for the 'Kirby characteristics'. The degree to which the Guidelines overlap with these earlier reviews is not made explicit.

community initiatives and services, it is not always sufficient to significantly impact on HIV, STI or pregnancy rates.

The UNESCO review confirmed the continued relevance of many of the 'Kirby characteristics', but also identified additional success factors. These were derived from the analysis of programmes that were not only found to bring about a change in behaviour, but also addressed human rights issues. The additional features draw attention to the critical importance of inter-personal skills and self-efficacy in preventing HIV infection (on this issue, also see Aggleton et al., 2004; Marston, 2004; Aboud & Singla, 2012). In addition, the UNESCO *Guidelines* emphasise the need to pay attention to broader contextual issues, including the extent to which the educational setting is conducive to learning and is sensitive to issues of gender. As such, the *Guidelines* fill an important gap of previous iterations of the 'Kirby characteristics' (Clarke, 2008).

b. Understanding quality in relation to context and long-term impact of interventions

In their article "'I think condoms are good but, aai, I hate those things': condom use among adolescents and young people in a Southern African township", MacPhail and Campbell (2001: 1613) highlight the gaps in our knowledge as to what shapes sexual behaviour and behavioural change among young people. They argue that better understanding of these contextual issues will further insight into what drives the epidemic and, as such, will support efforts to improve HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives.

Various authors have argued that research into programme impact on short-term, individual level indicators, such as knowledge and attitudes does little to further our understanding of the broader social, cultural and economic context in which sexuality is negotiated or the ways in which knowledge is gained or sustained (Chalmers et al., 2001; Kippax & Stephenson, 2005; Singh et al., 2005; Casale & Hanass-Hancock, 2011).

Instead, these scholars have pressed for, among other things, longitudinal and cross-sectional studies to assess impacts of education over time, including on for instance, unwanted pregnancies and coercive sex (Chalmers et al., 2001; Kippax & Stephenson, 2005; Singh et al., 2005). Such studies, these authors argue, allow for greater understanding of 'the mechanisms through which change is occurring' (Kippax & Stephenson, 2005: 366).

The idea that 'sexual behaviour' is a strongly contextualised notion and that research into HIV- and AIDS-related education needs to pay careful attention to normative, social and cultural contexts that shape young people's *vulnerability* to HIV and AIDS has gained wide purchase in academic and international development circles (e.g. Aggleton et al., 2004; Paiva, 2005; Singh et al., 2005; Pridmore & Yates, 2006). Some of this research has led to what might be defined as broad guiding principles for programmes, rather than a series of discrete, predefined characteristics.

An early example of the principles of best practice in HIV- and AIDS-related education is that developed by Warwick and Aggleton (2002) following an expert review of a range of in and out of school, and tertiary level, HIV prevention education initiatives. Warwick and Aggleton conceptualise 'effective' education as that which successfully 'promote[s] young people's sexual and reproductive health' (p.6). A critical aspect of these guiding principles is their sensitivity to the heterogeneity of young women and men and the need to take account of the impact of, among other issues, sexual orientation and ethnic background on young people's vulnerability to HIV and AIDS.

Illustrative of the importance of gender in HIV prevention education for instance, are the findings of Singh and colleagues' (2005) review of Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) in 30 developing countries. This study convincingly illustrates how HIV- and AIDS-related education can affect young men and women in diverging ways. Gendered as well as class differences in attitudes towards sexual practices as well as gendered and class differences in vulnerability to HIV and AIDS may, for instance, affect the ways in which HIV prevention messages are understood and applied (see also Hoppe et al., 2004).

c. Engaging with young people's perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related education

Research into young people's perceptions of what constitutes 'effective' HIV- and AIDS-related education confirms Warwick and Aggleton's (2002) contention that negative attitudes of adults with regard to young people, and specifically young people's sexuality, can detrimentally affect the success of HIV- and AIDS-related education (see also Campbell et al., 2009; Njoroge et al., 2010). In addition, such research underscores the need for genuine involvement of young people in programme design and implementation. Kitila Mkumbo (2010) for instance, discusses findings on young Tanzanians self-identified HIV- and AIDS-related learning needs, clarifying how young people's definitions of 'effective' HIV- and AIDS-related education may be seen to diverge from those of the adults who design and deliver such education.

Mkumbo draws on accounts of over 700 primary and secondary school-aged Tanzanians as to their learning needs and priorities with regard to sexual health. Data were gathered in urban and rural settings using questionnaires that contained both open-ended and closed-ended items. Young people indicated that they wanted more information about a wider range of topics relating to sex and sexuality, suggesting, among other things, that educators oftentimes underestimated young people's own sexual experience and knowledge. Other studies carried out in both the global South and North are consistent with this finding (see e.g. Machel, 2001; Allen, 2005; Ingham, 2005; Reeves et al., 2006).

Scholars have attempted to enhance insight into young people's perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related issues and education in the context of Mozambique. This research is of particular interest here, Mozambique being the focus country of the current study. In a small-scale qualitative study with urban, secondary school learners, Manuel (2005), for instance, highlighted the need to engage with young people's sexual scripts with regard to love, (steady) relationships and condom use. In other research, Groes-Green (2009a, 2011) observes that meaningful sex research with young people - defined as entering young

people's 'erotic universe' (2009a: 665) - is possible when researchers speak the language in which young people talk about sex and are 'sensitive to the ideological, historical and socio-cultural context of their sexual culture' (2009a: 665; see also Ahmed (2011) for the importance of local ideological frameworks guiding young Kenyans' (and their educators') conceptions of health and sexuality).

A final example of research with young people in Mozambique is that conducted by Hawkins et al. (2009). To elicit worldviews and constructions of identity of young Mozambican women engaged in transactional sexual relationships, Hawkins and colleagues made use of peer ethnographic methods. The study revealed the young women involved in the study perceived themselves as 'empowered entrepreneurs' (p.179), and transactional relationships as a rationally driven practice. Developing meaningful HIV prevention messages, the authors conclude, requires understanding the choices young people make and the strategies they use in making these choices. In particular, it requires awareness of young people's agency rather than building on gendered assumptions of victimhood and passivity (on young South African women and men's conceptions of love and materiality, see Bhana and Pattman, 2011).

d.   Understanding different models of HIV- and AIDS-related education

The various meta-reviews and evaluation studies discussed here engage with a wide variety of different kinds of HIV-prevention education programmes. These include teacher and peer-led life skills education (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Marston, 2004; Magnani et al., 2005; Mason-Jones et al., 2011), and range from social constructivist ideas regarding the dialogical potential of 'sexual scenes' (Paiva, 2005), to initiatives grounded in behaviour change communication theory (Ahmed, 2011). The diversity of HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes, their aims, means and underlying theoretical frameworks forms an obstacle to meaningful evaluation and comparison of initiatives. In-depth conceptual enquiry aimed at distinguishing between different forms of HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives appears to be almost entirely missing in the corpus of research in HIV- and AIDS-related

education, however. Notable exceptions are the work done by Homans and Aggleton (1987, 1988), Smith et al. (2003), and Jones (2011).

The work of Homans and Aggleton (1987, 1988) constitutes a first, tentative attempt to distinguish between different models of HIV- and AIDS-related education. The authors outlined four models, distinguishing between HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives on the basis of how these appeared to understand i) disease and health (whether these were considered to be dependent on individual and/or related to structural factors), ii) their aims (formulated in terms of individual behaviour change or rights' promotion), and iii) the pedagogy employed (distinguishing between, for example, formal and non-formal initiatives). The authors identified the following four approaches to HIV prevention education, namely ones directed toward behaviour change, self-empowerment, community involvement and social transformation. In 2003, Smith et al. published a typology of approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education implemented in South East Asia. The authors examined the aims and means of different initiatives, but primarily concentrated on identifying whether and how the subject had been integrated within the formal school curriculum.

Drawing on scholarship on affect and knowledge, Nancy Lesko (2010) elucidated the *feelings* to which two different forms of HIV- and AIDS-related education are directed. Of critical interest is not only the interdisciplinary body of knowledge the author draws on, but also her findings as to the critical *similarities* between two seemingly very different forms of sex education, namely abstinence-only education and comprehensive sexuality education.

Lesko examines the 'home worlds' underpinning the two different forms of sexuality education. She clarifies that the desired worlds underpinning these two broad forms of education appear to have little in common - one invoking a social imagery of wholesome, de-eroticised, nuclear families merging 'sociality, happiness, and order' (p.291), the other 'empowered individuals managing risks and creating caring relationships' (p.290). In her view, however, both appeal to 'an image of a 'Romantic child' … who is ultimately protected from real chaos or impropriety' (p.290). Both approaches are thus

grounded in an optimism as to the ability of knowledge and values to resolve problematic situations. Finally, Lesko argues, both approaches:

[E]nact a knowing that presents itself as stable, unchanging, without context, history, or politics. Both curricular knowledges perform with certainty and without surprises or messiness … neither acknowled[ing] that loss, misrecognition, and hurt are part of the sexual terrain. … [As such, both] work to create an emotional climate that is safe and predictable. (p.291)

Of equal interest is the work carried out by Zohra Ahmed (2011). Ahmed posits that, internationally, the Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) model has long been considered as an example of 'best practice' in HIV prevention education (see e.g. FHI, 2002; PSI, 2010). Her detailed analysis of a BCC-modelled HIV prevention programme in the context of a Kenyan primary school reveals the disconnect between a global education model such as the BCC model and local pedagogies.

In Ahmed's view, a primary cause for this disjuncture relates to the oppositional character of the aims and means of the two pedagogies. While the BCC model was geared toward inculcating *internal* reasoning, the teachers (and parents) involved in Ahmed's study tried to ensure young people's preventive behaviour by setting *external* boundaries. For example, instead of facilitating critical thinking and reflection to translate messages into what was considered correct behaviour (as the BCC model endeavoured to do), teachers made use of repetition, fear and (physical) discipline. Ahmed's analysis powerfully illustrates the critical importance of examining HIV- and AIDS-related education in relation to the (hidden) contents, methodologies and processes of the curriculum in its entirety and school ethos. Whilst her analysis also points to the importance of examining the relationship between school-based education and that which occurs beyond school walls, this thesis primarily draws on the implications of Ahmed's study with regard to *school-based* education.

A most recent example of conceptual analysis of HIV- and AIDS-related education appears to be that of Tiffany Jones (2011). The author developed a 'sexuality education discourse exemplar' (p.370), which she detailed in her article 'Saving Rhetorical Children: Sexuality Education Discourses from

Conservative to Post-modern'. Jones distinguished between 27 different forms of discourse underpinning sexuality education initiatives implemented around the world, differentiating these in terms of their orientation to education. These were categorised as largely conservative, liberal, critical or post-modern in nature. The author furthermore interrogated constructions of 'the child' underpinning sexuality education programmes, whether the child was conceptualised as endangered by sexual problems and if so, what educational approach was deemed most appropriate to 'save the rhetorical child'.

Other than the work outlined above, there appears to be little in the way of conceptual enquiry directed at differentiating forms of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education as designed and implemented in different parts of the world. The early frameworks developed by Homans and Aggleton arguably no longer cover the diversity of HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives implemented around the world or provide the theoretical depth necessary to understand these different forms.

Lesko's analysis of abstinence-only and comprehensive sexuality education in the United States of America, and Ahmed's analysis of the application of the BCC model in Kenya articulate some fundamental issues we need to engage with more deeply. However, they do not capture the breadth of programmes delivered around the world. The work done by Jones provides an example of a sophisticated framework to understand and position different approaches to sex education. It does not, however, provide the conceptual clarification of different educational approaches to *HIV- and AIDS-related* issues. As such, it arguably does not provide the necessary theoretical tools to critically reflect on and improve this form of education.

2.4 Critical gaps in existing research and literature

Evaluation of HIV- and AIDS-related initiatives in different parts of the world has lead to identification of a range of characteristics of 'good practice'. As such existing research literature has contributed greatly to our understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of good quality approaches to HIV- and AIDS-

related education, which forms a central concern in the current thesis. Scholars have, for example, highlighted the value of integrating HIV prevention education in a stand-alone subject, and to do so within the context of a review of the curriculum in its entirety (Smith et al., 2003). Research has also highlighted the importance of providing children and young people with comprehensive HIV- and AIDS-related education as early as possible (see e.g. UNESCO, 2009a). Others have called attention to the need for 'safe social spaces' for young people to critically reflect on social and sexual identities (Campbell, et al., 2009; Casale & Hanass-Hancock, 2011).

Singh and colleagues' (2005) analysis of 30 Demographic and Health Surveys highlighted the limited efficacy of knowledge-based HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives, and the importance of building interpersonal skills. Finally, the increasing body of research with young people reveals the gendered and class-based meanings young people attach to notions of HIV and AIDS, and sexual practices. Available research suggests that *meaningful* HIV- and AIDS-related education is only possible when and where this is designed and implemented in close collaboration with young people. Specifically, Groes-Green's (2009a) reflections as to the *methodological* implications of the linguistic, ideological and historical contingency of sexuality may contribute to our understanding of the *pedagogic* value of what Campbell and colleagues have referred to as 'safe social spaces' (2009: 97). In order to be considered 'safe', spaces need to be designed locally and in a manner that is inclusive of young people.

Important questions remain however (for a summary of research gaps, see Box 2.1). Numerous scholars have, for instance, called for further in-depth research into how gender, class, race and other identity markers influence the extent to which HIV- and AIDS-related education enables young people to negotiate pressures and complexities in relation to gender and sexuality (Hoppe et al., 2004; Kippax & Stephenson, 2005; Singh et al., 2005; Ringrose, 2007; Campbell et al., 2009). No less important has been the call for more research on the potential impact of educational initiatives on *positive* outcomes such as

sexual pleasure and desire, and levels of mutuality and respect in sexual relationships (e.g. Allen, 2005; Ingham, 2005; Fine & McClelland, 2006).

Furthermore, considering the centrality of educators to effective delivery of good quality HIV prevention education, there is surprisingly little good quality guidance for teacher training in this particular field. Notable exceptions include the comprehensive study conducted by Clarke (2008) and the technical guidelines developed by Caillods et al. (2008). Similarly, peer led HIV- and AIDS-related education remains little understood, despite the growing popularity of peer educational approaches (Turner & Shepherd, 1999; Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Mason-Jones et al., 2011; Michielsen et al., 2012).

In addition to pointing out specific gaps in knowledge regarding HIV-prevention education such as those highlighted above, researchers have voiced concern with regard to the ontological assumptions underpinning the main corpus of research on programme impact. Various scholars have questioned the tendency to evaluate HIV- and AIDS-related education in terms of short-term, measurable results, such as an increase in knowledge and delay in sexual debut (Chalmers et al., 2001; Singh et al., 2005). As Kippax and Stephenson (2005) coherently argue, *meaningful* evaluation is that which takes into account the fluidity and essentially social nature of sexual practice, which allows evaluators 'to track and understand the slow, unsteady and sometimes unpredictable mechanisms of change' (p.359), and ultimately identify 'when and how education … promot[es] agency and changes in sexual practice' (p.359).

Whereas most authors have articulated their critique in relation to the limited and limiting assumptions regarding sexuality underpinning much research into programme impact, Ronald Morris (2005) questions the ontological premises from a more educational point of view. He contends that the use of '*effectiveness* [as] the ultimate standard by which we deem our efforts to be 'successful [means we are more likely to] settle for trivial and mediocre ends' (p.416, emphasis added; see also Biesta, 2007). This resonates with Vanobbergen and Smeyers (2007) argument that the search for effective solutions in 'evidence based' studies has 'diverted attention from … the

original questions' (p.47), whether these are of an ethical, economic or educational nature.

According to Morris, instead of settling for preconceived outcomes the focus ought to be on the *process* of education and providing young women and men with opportunities for agency, thereby allowing them to experience 'the impression of existing as subjects …' (Morris, 2005: 418; see also hooks, 1994; Jackson, 1997). Drawing on Palmer (1990), Morris asserts that:

> Teaching and learning require 'a live encounter with the unexpected, an element of suspense and surprise, an evocation of that which we did not know until it happened.' Without this element of surprise we may be 'training or indoctrinating ... but we are not *educating*. (2005: 417, emphasis added)

The idea that education entails evoking that which we did not know, that it requires 'an element of surprise', has inspired some of the key questions driving the current thesis.

Arguably, a central obstacle to good quality design, delivery and evaluation of HIV- and AIDS-related education relates to the lack of understanding of the various forms of HIV- and AIDS-related education delivered in different contexts (Miedema et al., 2011; Aggleton et al., 2011). Greater understanding of dominant concepts underpinning HIV prevention education is needed to more clearly articulate the 'what' and 'how' of this form of education, and to support efforts to evaluate and compare different initiatives. Or, as Aggleton and colleagues recently observed, '[i]t is only by documenting differences of orientation and approach that we can identify the real potential of HIV-related education' (2011: 503).

Many of those advocating the provision of comprehensive school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education have also cautioned against setting too much store by its potential impact. As these authors have cogently argued, education cannot address the many structural factors impeding individual women and men from making what are considered the most rational and responsible decisions (see, for instance, Boler & Aggleton, 2005; Fine & McClelland, 2006; Collins et al., 2008; Gupta et al., 2008).

The lack of school-based initiatives on biological indicators such as pregnancy and STI rates, as observed by, among others, Mavedzenge et al. (2011) and the MEMA kwa Vijana research team (MkV, 2008a, b, c), also serve as an important indication that education alone cannot reduce HIV transmission (see also Coates et al., 2008). Interlinkage is needed with broader school health programmes, community-based sexual and reproductive health services as well as efforts to address (other) structural factors affecting HIV vulnerability and risk (Pridmore & Yates, 2006; Coates et al., 2008; Gupta et al., 2008; Swidler, 2009; UNESCO, 2009a).

In keeping with these cautionary words, Coates et al. (2008) provide a number of important recommendations for future research and practice. To begin with, they suggest reconsidering the aims of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education. Such a redefinition should build on accumulated knowledge of the potential value of such education for young people, but also an awareness that, in and of itself, it is not sufficient to bring about the broad-based change in sexual practices required to reduce HIV prevalence. Secondly, the authors argue that it is vital that research and curricular design acknowledges the inherently social character of HIV transmission and, accordingly, moves beyond the individual to engage with, for instance, peer groups, community networks and institutions.

The cautionary words provided by authors such as Coates et al. (2008) possibly create the kind of space needed in debates on what constitutes good quality HIV- and AIDS-related education. Rather than asking ourselves how we can ensure HIV- and AIDS-related education will most efficaciously lead to individual behavioural change, i.e. how it can contribute to efforts at 'engineering' our way out of the epidemic, perhaps we should strive to articulate a vision of what kind of education best serves young people living in a world with HIV and AIDS. Thus, Coates and colleagues' suggestion to reconsider the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education opens the door to a *re-imagining* of such education. The apparent lack of research in this particular, fundamental theoretical terrain has shaped the focus of the current thesis. With

a view to contributing to ongoing efforts to enhance the quality of HIV prevention education, the present study will strive to explore the conceptual space offered by authors such as Coates and colleagues.

Box 2.1: Summary of gaps in research and literature on HIV- and AIDS-related education

- Understanding how various identity markers intersect and affect young women and men's positioning in their local and global communities, as well as programme impact on individuals;
- Engagement with young people's perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related issues;
- Understanding what makes a good quality HIV and AIDS educator and what the possible implications are for teacher training and support;
- Insight into the ways in which HIV- and AIDS-related education can contribute to positive outcomes such as sexual pleasure and mutuality;
- Understanding long-term impacts of HIV- and AIDS-related education;
- Attention for the *process* of education and how this can promote agency;
- Tools to distinguish between common approaches to HIV prevention education and their underpinning theoretical constructs;
- Understanding of the potential impact of HIV- and AIDS-related education on structural factors;
- Re-examination of the aims and contents of HIV- and AIDS-related education within the context of a review of the formal curriculum as a whole.

2.5 Thesis rationale and closing

This chapter provided an analytical overview of research carried out during the past 15 years into the quality of HIV- and AIDS-related education. Distinguishing four forms of enquiry, the chapter clarified the different ways in which scholars and programme evaluators have defined the notion of 'quality'. The diverging interpretations documented in the current chapter highlight the lack of agreement as to what form HIV- and AIDS-related education can best take (see also section 1.3, pp.11-13).

Building on the analysis review detailed in this chapter, it is argued that a first step to furthering consensus regarding HIV- and AIDS-related education requires an analysis of the philosophical and theoretical groundings of this form of education. As clarified in the present chapter, the small corpus of conceptual analysis that has been developed in this field to date (Aggleton & Homans, 1987; Homans & Aggleton, 1988; Smith et al., 2003; Jones, 2011) forms an initial point of departure for the current thesis. Drawing on the analysis conducted by these authors, the thesis aims to develop a more nuanced conceptual framework to understand HIV- and AIDS-related education as it is designed and implemented in different parts of the world.

Developing such a framework is considered important for various reasons. Not only will it allow for more detailed investigation of assumptions underlying HIV prevention education programmes, it will also provide the possibility for comparing similar initiatives as well as those that appear very different. The thesis concurs with Higgs (2012: 48) that: 'it is only when one is presented with a range of meanings that the most emancipatory potentialities can be chosen'. In this light, the framework is expected to support programme designers in i). the development of HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives, ii). engaging others in critical discussions about the aims and means of such education, as well as the methods necessary to assess the quality of the education provided (Miedema et al., 2011).

In addition, the development of such a framework will support the process of exploring tensions between programme development in principle and *in situ* delivery. It is important to clarify that whilst it is not assumed that policies directly or seamlessly translate into (educational) practice, they are expected to, at least in principle, *guide* practice. Of primary interest to the current study is the similarities and tensions between the principle and the practice, and the extent to which people might be understood to speak the same language, i.e. build on a shared system of meanings.

Greater conceptual clarity, finally, is expected to support efforts to examine the relation between HIV prevention education and the curriculum as a whole, and possible tensions between the two. As such, the thesis attempts to contribute to Kelly's plea 'to re-examine education in its entirety, or to ask whether … education [seen as a whole] can meet the expectations that it be a potent force for gaining control over HIV/AIDS' (2000a: 29).

Chapter three: Approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education: development of a conceptual framework

3.1 Introduction

The current chapter analyses a variety of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives implemented in different parts of the world. The chapter seeks to address research objective ii (a), namely to investigate the theoretical underpinnings of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education in different parts of the world. The primary purpose of the chapter is therefore to respond to the dearth of analytical frameworks capturing the numerous ways in which HIV education initiatives are conceptualised and delivered. Secondly, the chapter aims to develop a range of sensitising concepts to support the analysis of understandings of 'common' concepts in school-based HIV prevention education in Mozambique.

A distinction is drawn between approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education that build on an (overt) set of moral concerns, those that might be defined as 'scientifically' informed, and those that are primarily informed by notions of rights. These broad categories – which form a tripartite framework – have been divided further into two to three subtypes to reflect the different ways in which moral values, and notions of science and rights tend to be interpreted and operationalised in HIV prevention education.

The chapter consists of six sections. Section 3.2 details the methods applied in the identification and selection of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes for the purposes of the review. Sections 3.3 to 3.5 discuss the three different approaches to HIV prevention education that were identified during the course of the programme review as well as their various subcategories. Section 3.6 reflects on the three approaches to HIV prevention education from the perspective of educational sociology and begins to identify potential issues within the tripartite framework that will be further explored

during the current study.

The final section (3.7) briefly returns to the tripartite framework and the three approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education of which it is composed. It highlights some of the primary areas of agreement and disagreement between the approaches and revisits some of the key points of critique that have been levelled at the different forms of HIV prevention education.

3.2 Sampling and analytical strategy

Building on earlier work conducted by Homans and Aggleton (1987, 1988), Smith et al. (2003), Lesko (2010), Ahmed (2011) and Jones (2011) detailed in Chapter two, the current chapter attempts to develop a more nuanced overview of the different forms of HIV- and AIDS-related education implemented in school settings around the world. The conceptual framework discussed here draws on a review of secondary source documents on school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education for young people implemented in different parts of the world.

Information was initially gathered on more than 60 HIV- and AIDS- related education initiatives following careful examination of resources catalogued by academic educational and multidisciplinary databases, including ERIC, PiCarta and ScienceDirect. Combinations of the following keywords structured the search: HIV and AIDS, sexual and reproductive health, sexuality/sex, behaviour change, prevention/preventive and formal/school-based education, policy, curriculum. Using similar search terms, key databases of international agencies were also searched, such as the UNESCO/IBE Curriculum Data Bank, the UNESCO/IIEP HIV and AIDS Clearing House, the Institute of Development Studies Eldis database. Finally, projects and programmes detailed in the World Bank Sourcebook of HIV/AIDS Prevention Programs were consulted.

To develop the final sample, the following inclusion criteria were utilised. First, HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives had to be school-based. Second,

detailed information had to be available about each programme, such as teacher-learner manuals, policy documents and background materials on the intervention itself as well as the institute or organisation responsible for its design and delivery. Where possible, programmes were furthermore selected to offer a reasonable geographical spread. After having applied these criteria a final sample of ten initiatives was arrived at. Table 3.1 lists the programmes and where they were delivered.

It is important to note that during the development of the conceptual framework detailed in this chapter additional programmes were analysed. This was done to examine possible alternative interpretations of key notions and/or other forms of discourse. Thus, while the final sample is relatively small, it builds on the analysis of a broader range of initiatives. For example, the review revealed the continuing importance of the idea of a 'cultural approach' to HIV- and AIDS-related education within UNESCO. Documented 'culturally informed' education initiatives tended not to be school-based however, and for this reason were excluded from the sample. As the current study will reveal, the notion of 'culture' did prove critical to understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education efforts in Mozambique. 'Cultural approaches' to this form of education are therefore engaged with in more depth in the empirical findings chapters (Chapters six to eight) and the discussion chapter (Chapter nine).

A word on terminology is warranted here. As the final sample reveals, approaches taken to HIV- and AIDS-related education are shaped by a variety of factors, including the way in which it is funded, the policy framework guiding its implementation as well as the underlying pedagogical theory. The primary objective of the current analysis is to identify the different possible theoretical and philosophical premises of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education as designed and delivered in various contexts, and to do so by examining the aims and means, as well as key actors involved in the design and delivery, of such education. The sample (both initial and final) consists of a mixture of what might be understood as elements of a policy or programme cycle, such as the funding strategy of the US Federal Government, a policy framework in the case of England and Wales, but also what might be defined as

'programmes' (e.g. the Long Live Love programme in the Netherlands). Considering there is not one term that is either sufficiently specific or general to cover these different approaches, when referring to a particular example the most accurate descriptor will be used in the remainder of the chapter (i.e. 'funding strategy', 'policy framework', 'programme' etc.). When referring to the sample in its entirety, the words 'programme' and at times, for stylistic reasons, 'initiative' will be used.

The review presented here was conducted between 2008 and 2009. Given some programmes have been modified since this time (such as the funding strategy of the US Federal Government), the current chapter uses the past tense in the discussion of the programmes. Where possible, updated information is provided, but this has not been possible in all cases (for instance, the FAI initiative in Nigeria). It is argued here that the analytical, sensitising potential of the framework remains the same despite possible recent changes to the programmes.

Table 3.1: Programmes, educational level and country of delivery

Title of initiative, policy framework, or funding strategy	Educational level	Country(ies) of delivery
1. US Federal Government Abstinence education approach	Primary and secondary education	United States of America, and countries benefiting from the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) funding
2. Faith-Based AIDS Awareness Initiative (FAI)	Secondary education	Nigeria
3. Sex and Relationship Education (SRE)	Secondary education	England, Wales
4. Jerusalem AIDS Project (JAIP)	Primary and secondary	Israel. In addition the programme approach and materials have been adopted in 27 other countries in Europe, Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia.
5. Lang Leve de Liefde ('Long Live Love')	Vocational education	The Netherlands
6. Mema kwa Vijana (MkV, 'Good things for young people')	Primary education	Tanzania
7. Kenyan Primary School Action for Better Health (PSABH)	Primary education	Kenya
8. My Future Is My Choice (MFMC)	Primary and secondary	Namibia, Mozambique
9. Today's Choices	Secondary	South Africa
10. Saúde e Prevenção nas Escolas ('Health and Prevention in Schools')	Secondary education	Brazil

A first step in the analysis of the programmes included in this final sample consisted of a careful examination of the terminology used in materials and documentation related to the particular initiative. The analysis concentrated on three key dimensions which jointly were expected to yield critical information regarding simply put, the 'what', 'why' and how' of programmes. The three

dimensions were: i) the aims, ii) the means used to achieve these aims, and iii) the primary actors involved in the design and delivery of the initiative. A range of topical themes related to the three dimensions emerged from this initial analysis, such as moral values, responsible behaviour, 'saying 'no'', and (other) 'life skills' such as communication and negotiation, as well as human rights, rights-holders, duty-bearers, empowerment, and (civil) youth participation. In addition, terminology such as scientific, evidence-based, research, neutral, informed decision-making, and 'knowledge, attitudes and practices' (KAP) surveys was used throughout many of the documents.

The various terms were subsequently clustered on the basis of apparent similarity. For instance, 'responsible behaviour' was clustered with 'appropriate behaviour', while 'empowerment' was grouped with 'civil participation'. This process led to identification of three overarching themes, namely a) values, b) behaviour change and c) rights. Through an iterative process of documentary review and clustering of interventions, thematic categories were developed on the basis of these three key notions. This led to the elaboration of the tentative analytical framework detailed in this chapter.

The framework differentiates the following three broad approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education:

i. Programmes that in the first instance aimed to instil certain, arguably conservative, moral values with regard to sexuality, sexual practices and youth were grouped as 'moralistically informed' approaches. Three of the ten initiatives (see table 3.1: 1-3) from the final sample were identified as pertaining to this category.

ii. Programmes that were specifically or more loosely informed by social-psychological and behaviour change theory were clustered into the category of 'scientifically' informed approaches. Four of the ten initiatives (table 3.1: 4 - 7) were grouped in this category.

iii. Initiatives focusing largely on supporting young people to realise their 'rights', articulated in relation to formal human rights treaties and/or in terms of citizenship rights, were categorised as 'rights informed approaches'. Three of the ten programmes (table 3.1: 8-10) were identified as grounded in notions of rights.

In developing the tripartite framework, a number of difficulties needed to be resolved. To begin with, it was found that the examples of HIV-related education programmes tended to be underpinned by elements that might be understood as representative of combinations of two or more different kinds of approaches. It might be argued for instance, that all initiatives discussed in this chapter draw on a specific set of moral concerns. Some programmes, furthermore, claimed to be both 'evidence-based', in the sense that contents and methods are shaped by certain scientific findings, *and* informed by a particular conceptualisation of rights.

Therefore, although the approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive and different programmes may be positioned as illustrative of more than one approach, for purposes of the analysis, clustering was based according to what was perceived to be a programme's *primary* focus. The reason for presenting the approaches as distinct relates to the purpose of the tripartite framework within the current study, namely to serve as a heuristic tool in the examination of ideas, assumptions, and perspectives (concerning, among other issues, aims and means) underlying HIV prevention education initiatives. Deciding what the primary focus was required further analysis of the stated aims of the initiative and, in some cases, examination of the vision and mission of the organisation responsible for the design, delivery and evaluation of the initiative in question.

An additional 'problem' was posed by the numerous interpretations of the notions of 'moral values', 'science' and 'rights'. A one-dimensional tripartite framework would not sufficiently capture the diversity of programmes clustered within a particular category. For this reason, sub-types were developed. Development of sub-categories allowed for a more nuanced understanding of the key concepts underpinning the initiatives and approaches. As alluded to above, for instance, interventions that were found to be grounded in rights either primarily emphasised formal rights such as those defined in internationally recognised human rights treaties or drew on a more 'informal' conceptualisation of rights, including sexual rights. Consequently, the approach to HIV prevention education that builds on notions of rights is composed of two

subtypes. Figure 3.1 offers an overview of the approaches and sub-categories.

Figure 3.1: Tripartite analytic framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education

Approaches	Drawing upon:
Moralistically informed HIV- and AIDS-related education	➢ *Explicit conservative (often faith-based) moral values* ➢ *Implicit conservative moral values*
Scientifically informed HIV- and AIDS-related education	➢ *Biomedical knowledge and understanding* ➢ *Insights from experimental psychological studies* ➢ *Evidence from epidemiological & behavioural studies*
Rights informed HIV- and AIDS-related education	➢ *Formal notion of rights* ➢ *Looser understandings of rights*

Finally, it is worth noting that beyond the three broad approaches distinguished here, HIV-related education programmes might be understood as drawing on other forms of discourse, relating to notions of protection and/or deficit, or 'socio-cultural' aspects of HIV and AIDS, as well as particular visions of the purposes and potential of education. In differing ways, ideas concerning both protection and deficit might be understood to underpin many of the initiatives reviewed. The closing section of this chapter considers this issue in more detail.

Underlying perspectives with regard to possible socio-cultural dimensions of the HIV epidemic and conceptions of education could not be comprehensively examined on the basis of the secondary data reviewed for the purposes of the current chapter. Ideas concerning these issues are discussed as they arise during the course of the research, and particularly in the context of fieldwork carried out in Mozambique. As will become clear in the discussion of the empirical data (Chapters six - eight), participants frequently engaged with the notion of 'culture' in relation to the epidemic and the aims of education. In the concluding chapter of the thesis, the implications of such additional elements

for an overall conceptual framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education are considered in more detail.

In the following sections, programmes that build on a particular set of moral concerns will be discussed, followed by those that are 'scientifically' informed and finally those that are seen to draw on notions of rights. The discussion of each approach begins with a discussion of various ways in which these notions (moral values, science and rights) generally appear to have been conceptualised. A distinction is then drawn between two to three different interpretations (subcategories) of each broad approach. Examples of HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes are drawn on to illustrate the sub-categories. Prior to this, a brief clarification is given of the three key dimensions that structured the analysis. It should be noted that the analysis and critique centres on 'scientifically' and 'rights' informed approaches. This is done in view of the apparent importance of these notions at international level and in view of the extensive body of literature already available on 'moralistically informed' sex education, including HIV prevention education (see e.g. Halstead & Reiss, 2003; Rhoads & Calderone, 2007; Ingham & Hirst, 2010).

3.2.1 Aims, means and actors; clarification of dimensions guiding the analysis of HIV- and AIDS-related education

The analysis was structured around three dimensions, namely aims, means and key actors. With regard to the aims (i.e. the first dimension), these tended to be formulated in terms of desired changes in behaviour, attitudes and knowledge across all three approaches. As such, the examples of HIV prevention education discussed here can be understood to be taught 'with [a] view of it as instrumental to extrinsic ends' (Wilson, 1975: 186), and not for their own sake or potential intrinsic value. In line with this extrinsic formulation of aims, the notion of 'means' (the second dimension) here refers to the methods used to promote and/or deliver a particular approach.

The third dimension focused on in the analysis is that of the main actors involved in developing and/or delivering a particular approach. These may include both governmental as well as non-governmental agencies and

representatives. Where different types of actors were involved in a particular programme, an attempt is made to clarify the relationship between them. It should be noted that in some cases means and actors overlap. For instance, young people might be actively involved in the actual teaching about HIV and AIDS, i.e. peer education is used as a *means*. At the same time, in such a case young people would be identified as one of the sets of actors involved in the delivery of the programme. Despite the occasional overlap between these dimensions the distinction is maintained, primarily because the range of means used tends to be broader than the actors involved.

3.3 HIV- and AIDS-related education informed by moral concerns

HIV- and AIDS-related education, it might be argued, is an inherently contentious area, marking 'the political front line between the personal and the public' (Thomson, 1994: 40). The relationship between HIV, sex, drugs and disease has oftentimes brought traditionally sensitive questions into the open. In a similar vein, the response to HIV and AIDS, particularly that directed at young people, has often been inspired by an element of moral panic, particularly in the early days of the epidemic (Goss & Adam-Smith, 1994). The first approach to HIV prevention education is thus defined as that which is informed by moral concerns.

Characteristic of HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives that are informed by moral concerns is that these tend to focus on the relationship between behaviour and the transmission of HIV, with the modification of apparently non-normative behaviours such as promiscuity and drug (ab)use being regarded as key to understanding and 'combating' the epidemic (Holland et al., 1998; Mayo, 2004). Generally speaking, programmes such as these emphasise the risks of early or pre-marital sexual activity, the importance of good morals, traditional family values and conservative models of sexual relations (Thomson, 1994; Bay-Cheng, 2003; Rhoads & Calderone, 2007).

When focused on young people, 'moralistically' informed programmes often build on particular constructions of young people, gender and

childhood/teenage sexuality. Whereas children are generally perceived as non-sexual, innocent and in need of protection (Bhana, 2007), the teenage years tend to be seen as a particularly volatile period, with teenagers oftentimes viewed as especially susceptible to social (peer) pressure, prone to risk taking and unable to fully understand the consequences of their (sexual) behaviour (Aggleton et al., 2000; Schalet, 2000; Bay-Cheng, 2003). Teenagers, boys in particular, are thought to need to be kept in check through clear, external control, driven as they are by 'raging hormones' (Schalet, 2000: 75; Bay-Cheng, 2003). Biological urges are especially seen to affect young men. However, it is often young women's sexuality that is considered particularly problematic, and the onus of responsibility for sexual morality generally placed on their shoulders (Schalet, 2000; Chambers et al., 2004).

Three out of the ten HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes sampled were identified as 'moralistically informed'. These were the funding strategy for abstinence education of the US Federal Government, the Faith-Based AIDS Awareness Initiative (FAI) in Nigeria and the English Government's policy framework for Sex and Relationship Education (SRE). The three sets of programme materials extensively drew on notions of 'responsible behaviour', 'marriage' and 'moral development/standards of behaviour'. The analyses revealed two broad categories of 'moralistically' informed approaches to HIV-related education. The first takes a clear moral position with regard to what is considered acceptable social and sexual behaviour, the other adopts a more implicitly moralistic approach.

The first broad category can be illustrated using the example of the federal approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education in the United States of America under the administration of G.W. Bush, which was strongly informed by concerns of New Christian Right lobby groups. These lobby groups exerted considerable influence on a number of important areas in both US domestic and foreign policy, many of which impacted on sexual and reproductive health and rights of young people in general and (young) women in particular (Saul, 1998; Dailard, 2002; Girard, 2004; Sengwana, 2004; Kohn, 2005; Jolly & Cornwall, 2006; IWHC, 2007; Stenger, 2007).

A characteristic peculiar to this example of HIV- and AIDS-related education relates to the situation whereby the federal government in the USA cannot *directly* determine state sex education policies. As the success of the abstinence-only movement made abundantly clear, the federal government was able to *indirectly* exert considerable influence at local level, namely by way of its funding mechanisms. With regard to HIV- and AIDS-related education, limiting federal funding to abstinence-only education can be regarded as having been one of the key successes of the evangelical Christian lobby groups (Perrin & DeJoy, 2003). This 'success' was particularly striking in light of the consistent lack of solid evidence demonstrating effectiveness of abstinence education in reducing transmission of STIs (see, for instance, Dailard, 2003; Perrin & DeJoy, 2003; GAO/Government Accountability Office, 2006).

Also illustrative of explicitly moralistic approach is the Islamic, Faith Based AIDS Awareness Initiative (FAI) in Nigeria. The programme was developed by a non-governmental organisation to complement the regular curriculum for secondary school learners. At the time of review (2008), it had been accredited by the federal government of Nigeria and was being implemented in secondary schools in six of its 36 states. In discussing this programme, it is important to note that Islam has various distinct branches and beliefs regarding a wide range of issues differ strongly across and within these different branches (see, for instance, Haeri, 1992; Buruma & Margalit, 2004). As such, it not possible to define any one Islamic response to a particular issue, including HIV and AIDS. The example of the Nigerian FAI programme illustrates what might be regarded as a (particularly) conservative interpretation of Islamic scriptural texts.

Islamic law provides explicit guidance on morally acceptable sexual behaviour, whereby the notions of modesty and decency may be understood as paramount (Halstead, 1997; Omran & Al-Hafez, 2006). The Qur'an defines 'sexuality' as the relationship between the male and female, explicitly forbidding homosexual activity (Halstead, 1997; Musso et al. 2003). Sexuality should for instance, only be expressed in a particular context, i.e. within marriage (Halstead, 1997; Bennet, 2007). In keeping with what the FAI defined as fundamental moral

beliefs in Islam, the programme promoted sexual abstinence and faithfulness as the principal modes of HIV prevention (FAI, 2008). Similarly illustrative of its conservative approach, was the message conveyed in the teacher manual that learners be taught that human sexuality should be controlled by reason, decorum and purpose and that improper expressions of sexuality, such as extra-marital sex and homosexuality, are signs of a Muslim led astray (Yahya, undated).

The second broad type of moralistically informed approaches, i.e. those that might be considered implicitly moralistic, was explored using the example of the Sex and Relationship Education (SRE) in England and Wales. The SRE guidelines constitute a national policy framework designed by the English government to guide the design and delivery of HIV- and AIDS-related education in all state maintained primary and secondary schools (FPA, 2011). The framework reflects an attempt to balance public health concerns on the one hand and a degree of moral conservatism in national policy development on the other (Thorogood, 2000; Monk, 2001; Lewis & Knijn, 2002).

The SRE framework is characterised by a mixture of underpinning conservative and progressive ideologies. This is reflected in a number of key characteristics of the policy guiding the provision of SRE, the most important arguably relating to semi-statutory nature of the subject. *Compulsory* sex and relationships education takes place within the school science curriculum and is limited to 'scientific' issues, such as anatomy, STIs and biological aspects of reproduction. This reflects the subject's narrow conceptualisation.

Non-statutory SRE provides more scope for comprehensive sex education, reflected in its embedding within the subjects 'Personal, Social, Health Education' (PSHE) and Citizenship (Spencer et al., 2008; FPA, 2011). To a degree, however, the potentially progressive character of non-compulsory sex education is restricted by the instruction that schools provide SRE in such a way that it 'encourage[s] learners to have due regard to moral considerations and the value of family life' (HMSO, 1996: s. 403-1; DfEE, 2000). Young people's access to *potentially* more comprehensive SRE is further restricted by

granting parents the right to withdraw their children from all SRE lessons provided outside the science curriculum (FPA, 2011).

The mixture of progressive and conservative ideology can perhaps best be understood within the context of the 'adversarial approach to politics in the UK, which in the 1980s and 1990s became particularly fierce over issues that were deemed to be moral as well as social' (Lewis & Knijn, 2002: 676). Monk (2001) explains that sex education policies in England are best seen as the outcome of a balancing act between conflicting interests with regard to, on the one hand, control – between individual schools, parental control and national prescription – and, on the other hand, content – which must navigate a tendency towards moral conservatism and 'cultural ideal of children as non-sexual' (2001: 275), with public health pragmatism and the recognition of young people as sexual beings (Thomson, 1994, 1997; Monk, 2001; Lewis & Knijn, 2002).

The examples of moralistically informed HIV- and AIDS-related education reveal a number of common themes as well as several important differences. With regard to the similarities, the examples all aimed to reduce teenage pregnancy, prevent transmission of STIs and HIV and, in the process, strengthen traditional family values. Additionally, all tended to normalise heterosexuality, presenting marriage as the only legitimate context for sexual activity and differences between female and male sexualities as biologically given (Haywood, 1996; Bhana, 2007). On the whole, it may be argued that the different examples were underpinned by 'adult' priorities and concerns, particularly with regard to what is perceived as the erosion of the 'moral coherence' of society (Thomson, 1997: 259; Mayo, 2004).

In terms of differences between the various examples, one main area of contrast relates to the means and actors involved in the promotion and/or delivery of HIV- and AIDS-related education. For example in the US and English examples national governments had set up systems which to some extent allowed them to control what was delivered directly to children and young people. In the USA, the federal government, which had been strongly

influenced by Christian lobby groups, used access to funding as a means to influence the content of sex and HIV- and AIDS-related education, whilst the national government in England prescribed the (limited) contents of compulsory sex education within the framework of the national curriculum. The example of an 'Islamic' approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education showed another set of possible means and forms of involvement of different actors. Here a *non-governmental* faith-based education programme had been integrated in the formal curriculum for secondary schools.

3.4 Scientifically informed HIV- and AIDS-related education

The reliance of modern societies on scientific evidence and the judgement of experts has been a frequent subject of discussion (see, for instance, Jasanoff, 1990; Grove-White, 1998; Elliot, 2001; Hammersley, 2001). Few are likely to argue against the importance of objective knowledge, particularly for the purposes of public decision-making. At the same time, concerns have been raised with regard to what Jasanoff (1990) refers to as the rationalization of policy making or what Scott (1998: 89) describes as the 'supreme self-confidence' in linear, scientific progress and its utility in 'the rational design of the social order [and] the satisfaction of human needs'. Similarly, various authors point out instances when 'evidence' has been applied selectively and/or has been claimed to inform decision-making despite considerable uncertainty about its validity (Baker & Stokes, 2006; Jasanoff, 2006; Dijstelbloem, 2008).

In the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education there has also been an increasing call for programmes to be grounded in evidence as to 'what works', which is oftentimes defined in terms of individual behaviour indicators. As Aarø et al. (2006) posit for instance, '[i]n order *to be effective*', action to prevent HIV transmission among young people 'should be theory and evidence based' (p.1, emphasis added). The second approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education is therefore that which is grounded in scientific research. Four of the ten programmes included in the final sample can be understood as predominantly scientifically informed. These are: the Jerusalem AIDS Project (JAIP) in Israel, the *Lang Leve de Liefde* (Long Live Love) programme in the

Netherlands, the Kenyan Primary School Action for Better Health (PSABH), and the Tanzanian *Mema kwa Vijana* ('Good Things for Young people' or MkV) programme. Documents relating to these initiatives made frequent reference to notions such as: 'behavioural determinants', '(quasi) experimental methods', 'target groups' and 'significant change'.

It is worth noting that within the framework of HIV- and AIDS-related education, the term 'evidence-based' is frequently used to refer to programmes said to be grounded in scientific research (see e.g. Leerlooijer et al, 2008; Maticka-Tyndale, 2009; UNESCO, 2009a, b). For a number of reasons the term 'scientifically informed' is used here. First of all, this broader concept allows for the inclusion of programmes that may not explicitly be defined as 'evidence-based' but are underpinned by similar assumptions with regard to the function and value of scientific research in programme development and evaluation.

Secondly, the term scientifically informed is considered to reflect more accurately what is implied by the term evidence-based, i.e. the grounding of programmes in scientific research evidence and, as such, may provide a more useful analytical framework with which to unpack underlying assumptions of initiatives commonly presented as drawing on scientific research.

A variety of ontological and epistemological assumptions underpin different interpretations of science, resulting in a range of definitions of what *scientific* knowledge constitutes (Blaikie, 2007; see also Chapter 5). For the purposes of the current analysis, however, a classical definition of a scientifically informed approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education was deemed most appropriate, in that this appeared to be the dominant paradigm underpinning the examples of programmes that were grounded on scientific evidence. A classical interpretation of 'science' is that which is geared to toward developing a particular, systematically organised and objectively verifiable body of knowledge through a rigorous research process (Pearsall, 1999; Hammersley, 2001; Robson, 2002). As further noted by Sismondo (2004: 6), a 'fundamental [classical] intuition about science', is that it 'progresses towards truth and

accumulates truths as it goes'. On this view, science serves an important social function, namely the provision of 'certified knowledge' (Sismondo, 2004: 6) which allows progress to be made.

The description of aspects of a classical view of science as given above largely corresponds with a positivist approach to science, although aspects of this classical view (such as the element of rigour) might also be reflected in other approaches to science. Although positivism is a very general and much debated term (see e.g. Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002), it is grounded in two fundamental and interrelated ideas. The first is the belief that researchers - by applying rigorous methods - can directly access reality and, secondly, that the use of rigorous methods prevents the knowledge that is produced about that reality from becoming contaminated by the values and beliefs of the researcher. Scientific method can, in other words, separate facts from values (Robson, 2002). Using this view, it is held that an important strength of scientifically informed HIV- and AIDS- related education *would* be that it cannot be used for certain ideological or political purposes.

A third important feature of the positivist approach to science is the definition of the central aim of science, namely to generate universal causal explanations of phenomena. Such universal explanations are arrived at through empirical research into (possible) relationships between events or variables (Robson, 2002; Blaikie, 2007). With respect to HIV prevention education, this would generally entail determining the potential of education to produce 'consistent effects on sexual behaviour' (Yankah & Aggleton, 2008: 465).

Following careful examination of the four different initiatives, a distinction was made between three broad kinds of scientifically informed HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes. The main areas of distinction relate to the underpinning theoretical body of knowledge, the way in which this was put to use and how the notion of 'scientific evidence' was interpreted. The first kind of scientifically informed approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education was defined as comprising programmes that primarily draw on bio-medical knowledge and largely focus on providing information on the biology of the

HIV virus as a means to prevent HIV. This approach can be usefully illustrated with the JAIP programme, a programme directed at teaching primary and secondary school learners the bio-medical 'facts' on the virus, its transmission and the (impacts on the) immune system HIV by medically trained volunteers.

Despite the clear bio-medical approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education of the JAIP programme, it also built on social psychological theory. This is reflected in the teaching set up, reportedly structured around what was defined as a 'triangular model'. In keeping with the underlying social influence theory, this model primarily appeared to serve as a means to identify which persons influence learners and for this reason ought to be reached through the programme (Beasley et al., 2008). Finally, the JAIP programme also included a research component measuring, among other things, pre- and post-programme knowledge, and learner attitudes, practices, and beliefs. However, whilst this initiative might be considered scientific in that it aimed to empirically generate universal causal explanations of phenomena, it was not clear in what way research data or findings were used to inform the programme.

The second form of scientifically informed HIV- and AIDS-related education programme draws on findings from within the field of experimental social psychology, whereby the design of educational content and teaching-learning methods are grounded in existing knowledge regarding the process and determinants of behavioural change. The Dutch *Lang Leve de Liefde* programme, designed for young people attending mid-level vocational education, provides an example of this approach. Programme aims, contents as well as teaching and learning methods of this initiative were structured around what were regarded to be psychosocial determinants of the intention to have safe sex (Wiefferink et al., 2005) and McGuire's (1985) information processing model (the Persuasion-Communication Matrix). In keeping with its social psychological roots, impact evaluation of the programme (conducted with randomised controlled trials) focused largely on (short-term) programme impact on what were deemed to be predictors of sexual behaviour. Factors studied included learners' knowledge regarding HIV and AIDS, and sense of

self-efficacy in relation to practicing safe(r) sex (Wiefferink et al. 2005; Bartholomew et al., 2006; Poelman, 2008).

Finally, there exist HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives which may be understood as scientifically informed in the sense that these contain a strong, largely locally conducted, applied research component. It could be argued these reflect a *research driven* scientifically informed approach. Examples of this subtype included the MkV sexual and reproductive health education programme implemented in primary schools and health facilities in the Republic of Tanzania and the PSABH project, an HIV and AIDS behaviour change education programme for 12-16 year old primary learners in Kenya. These two programmes reflected a scientific approach that was furthermore rooted in psychological theory. The MkV programme, for instance, stated it targeted 'individual level factors identified as important determinants of behaviour change' (Obasi et al., 2006: 313), such as knowledge about risk, perceived barriers and self-efficacy to perform safer behaviour. An additional aspect of the MkV initiative was its strong emphasis on generating evidence for policy makers and programme developers (MkV, 2008a, b). Providing evidence to these actors was defined as one of the central aims of the programme (MkV, 2008a: 1).

It should be noted that it is not always possible to fully separate out the different kinds of scientifically informed approaches. The analysis of the programmes suggested, for instance, that elements of the different kinds of sub-types could be found across each programme. Making clear distinctions between the initiatives discussed here was further complicated by the ways in which often similar knowledge bases were applied differently. For instance, initiatives might build on (social) psychological theory in the development of educational content (e.g. the MkV targeting what were deemed behavioural change determinants, such as sexual debut) but also in the design of a particular teaching-learning approach (e.g. the triangular education model developed by JAIP).

Reflecting on areas of agreement and disagreement, all three subtypes of scientifically informed approaches identified here may be understood as grounded in a classical interpretation of science. Indicative of this is their grounding in a systematically organised and objectively verifiable body of knowledge, such as social psychology and/or biomedicine. In addition, they all contain a research component that strives to provide and build on (causal) explanations of phenomena, the MkV programme exemplifying the most rigorous approach to scientific research.

In varying degrees, by providing 'scientific' content using what were presented as scientifically validated means, all programmes furthermore appeared to strive toward providing a value-free form of education. The JAIP initiative was most explicit in this respect; Beasley et al. (2008: 101) describing the programme as attempting to avoid promoting a 'particular [morally informed] response' by primarily focusing on the provision of 'neutral' bio-medical information (Schenker, 1988: 344). As various authors have argued, however, the perception that scientific models are value free is mistaken; science is an abstraction of reality, representing particular - and often hetero-normative - versions thereof (Reiss, 2007; see also Letts, 2001; Scholer, 2002).

Reflecting further on how the four programmes might be scientifically informed in relation to the classical idea of separation of fact from value, it is interesting to note that the MkV, PSABH and *Lang Leve de Liefde* programmes buy into a widely believed (scientific) norm that evidence gained through randomised controlled trials (RCTs) should be privileged. Not only have numerous scholars detailed the difficulties of granting RCTs the same status in social studies as they are afforded in biomedicine (see e.g. Van der Ven and Aggleton, 1999), they have also convincingly pointed out the limitations of RCTs in evaluation of such fundamentally social practices as sexual behaviour.

Kippax and Stephenson (2005), for example, have coherently argued that research on social and sexual practices should take account of the complexities it aims to study, rather than attempt to simplify the world in order to make it more 'interpretable' (p.366). They posit that research which separates

'complexity' and 'behaviour', for instance by 'relegat[ing complexity] to a series of extraneous variables' (p.366), cannot capture the intersubjective and collective negotiation of the meaning of sexual practices in different contexts. The *Lang Leve de Liefde* programme seemed most aware of the tension created by the separation of 'complexity' and 'behaviour'. Poelman's (2008) description of the programme, for instance, acknowledges the limitations of sexual behaviour indicators and the negotiated nature of sexual activity. Awareness of these issues did not appear to have led to a consideration of a more varied range of research methods, however.

In closing, the four programmes might all be argued to be limited in similar important ways, despite their differences. It could, first of all, be argued that none of the programmes discussed here acknowledges the social, 'situated' character of science (Haraway, 1999; Kippax & Stephenson, 2005; Jasanoff, 2006). In addition, the programmes all appear to lack a degree of 'open mindedness and refusal to accept tradition on trust', which, as Reiss (2007: 68) points out, are fundamental scientific values.

3.5 HIV- and AIDS-related education informed by notions of rights

'Few concepts are as frequently invoked in contemporary political discussions as human rights', Amartya Sen writes (2004: 315), noting the strong appeal of 'the idea that every person anywhere in the world … has some basic rights which others should respect' (2004: 315). The following section looks at three examples of approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education that are said to be rights based. As will become clear, there is considerable variety in the manner in which rights are conceptualised in these initiatives and the degree to which they actually use rights as a framework for intervention. To begin with, the nature and historic evolution of human rights are briefly discussed here.

In *The Idea of Justice*, Amartya Sen (2009) points out that 'proclamations of human rights … are … strong ethical pronouncements as to what *should* be done … for the realization of these recognised freedoms that are identified through these rights' (pp.357-358, emphasis in original). They are not

established *legal* rights, although they may lead to new legislation and/or the creation of new institutions to enforce the realisation of human rights, such as the European Court of Human Rights.

As Eide (1995: 13) elucidates, the present system of human rights is the product of several centuries of reflection and activism geared toward safeguarding human integrity, freedom and equality. The origins of contemporary rights *discourse* is generally traced to political and philosophical treatises developed in seventeenth century Britain, France and United States of America (Eide, 1995). However, it is important to note that the historical evolution of human rights began long before the seventeenth century.

Amartya Sen (2004) describes a range of non-western instances in the evolution of human rights, such as (Buddhist) forums for open public discussion in India in the third century BCE. The English Magna Carta, which was issued many centuries later (1215), was developed with a view to providing citizens a measure of formal protection from their sovereign. The charter is said to form a landmark in civil rights development (Bovens, 2002). While the discourse of human rights has a long history, human rights have remained a largely national matter until their recognition in global international law in 1945 (Forsythe, 2000). Since 1946, a number of regional and international bodies have been established to address human rights complaints and prosecute violators, such as the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva and the International Criminal Court in The Hague (OHCHR, 2012).

Awareness of the significance of human rights in the response to HIV and AIDS dates back to the beginning of the epidemic, but was explicitly recognised in 1987 with the issuing of the first WHO global response to HIV and AIDS (Gruskin & Tarantola, 2002). In the years that followed, insight into the ways in which human rights violations impacted on people's vulnerability to HIV infection grew, leading to greater attention for human rights within HIV and AIDS prevention efforts, including HIV- and AIDS-related education (Gruskin & Tarantola, 2002; Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2005; Pettit & Wheeler, 2005).

Of the final sample of ten programmes, three were identified as informed by rights. These were the UNICEF 'My Future Is My Choice' (MFMC) programme implemented in Namibia, the South African initiative 'Today's Choices' and the Brazilian programme *Saúde e Prevenção nas Escolas* ('Health and Prevention in Schools'). Key terms used throughout the three initiatives were rights, choice, participation and empowerment. The initiatives were also informed by an understanding of young people as social actors, although in the case of the MFMC programme this was implicit.

Examination of the different sets of programme materials led to the identification of two broad rights informed approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education: the first focuses on formally expressed and internationally recognised human rights, the entitlements of rights-holders and responsibilities of duty-holders. The second could be defined as an approach that seeks to empower young people, concentrating on citizenship and, in some instances, a slightly diffuse notion of sexual rights. In distinguishing between the two broad approaches to rights, particular attention was paid to a number of issues: i) whether the rights referred to were primarily conceived at the international or national level, ii) the degree to which the programme was informed by the principles underpinning the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and iii) the manner in which the role of the individual was defined, i.e. as a rights-holder to whom certain duty-holders (usually government) could in theory be held accountable or as a citizen who is expected to actively contribute to the welfare of society[7].

The analysis suggests that a formal rights approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education can be characterised as adopting a legalistic approach (see also Kymlicka, 2002; Piron, 2005). The aims of formal approaches tended to be formulated in terms of supporting the realisation of rights as they are enshrined in formally recognised human rights treaties, such as the Universal Declaration

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[7] Although the UDHR implies that states are bound to respect human rights regardless of citizenship, 'the legal relationship between an individual and a state remains a…prerequisite to the effective enjoyment and protection of the full range of human rights' (Adjami and Harrington, 2008: 94). Arguably therefore, citizenship also constitutes a critical concept in the formal approach to rights.

of Human Rights (UN, 1948) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN, 2003). Formal rights informed approaches might furthermore be understood to draw on positive rights, which imply an obligation to act - the right to education, for instance. In addition, these appear to build on negative rights, which imply *freedom from* certain actions, such as freedom from slavery (Corrêa et al, 2008). The approach may furthermore be understood as grounded on the definition of rights as claims, in the sense that they 'are correlative with duties' (Honderich, 2005: 820).

The emphasis placed on the rights-duties relationship in the formal approach might be understood as implying a contract between the duty-bearer and rights-holders, and subsequently as implying (the need for) rule of law and the possibility for individuals to seek judicial recourse where their rights are violated (see e.g. UNFPA, 2005). In a more general sense, the rights-duties relationship is conceived as requiring development of duty-bearers' capacities to meet their obligations to rights-holders and the abilities of rights-holders to claim their rights (UN, 2003).

A rights informed approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education that is more loosely informed by the concept of rights is here understood as one that, by removing the explicit mention of *human* rights, focuses more strongly on citizenship rights (see also Piron, 2005). This class of rights may be interpreted as building on the concept of citizenship, referring both to the legal status of citizens of a (democratic) nation state and to a normative ideal, in the sense that 'the governed should be full and equal participants in the political process' (Honderich, 2005: 142). Noteworthy is the close association of the concept of citizenship with both (liberal) ideas of individual rights and with (communitarian) notions of 'membership in and attachment to a particular community' (Kymlicka, 2002: 284). In current rights discourse, the emphasis on citizenship rights tends to be linked with notions of empowerment and civil society mobilisation. The primary objective then is to enable people to participate in public debate and to claim their rights (see e.g. Kymlicka, 2002; Piron, 2003, 2005).

The three programme examples reflect the two approaches to rights in differing degrees. The UNICEF MFMC programme primarily adopts a formal rights approach, in the sense that it is grounded in the agency's commitment to international conventions such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), to enabling rights-holders to claim their rights and duty-bearers to meet their obligations (UNICEF, 2003a, b). The Brazilian 'Health and Prevention in Schools' on the other hand, focuses more strongly on citizenship rights of young people and political engagement at the national level. Finally, the WPF-SUN 'Today's Choices' programme in South Africa combines elements of both approaches to rights. It draws on the notion of active citizenship and sexual rights, but also on internationally established rights to education and health. Interestingly, only the Brazilian project actually refers to the notion of rights in its aim statement, the MFMC and Today's Choices mainly speaking in terms of enabling young people to make informed decisions about sexual health and as such preventing sexual health problems.

'Participation' is a pivotal underpinning notion of the UDHR and UNCRC and, as such, an important concept in a formal rights informed approach. 'Participation' is also critical to the less formal approach to rights in the sense that one of its key objectives relates to enabling people to participate in public life (Kymlicka, 2002). The three education programmes discussed here all engage with the concept of participation by young people in HIV prevention education. However, the examples differ in terms of how they define this notion. The MFMC and Today's Choices programmes might be understood as interpreting this in a more restricted manner, namely in terms of young people's involvement in programme design and delivery. The Brazilian example might be seen as conceptualising participation in a broader sense, defining it in terms of young people's involvement in the design of their school's overall education policy and taking part in local political processes more generally.

HIV- and AIDS-related education that is grounded in a formal approach to rights generally strives to build duty-holders' capacities to meet the rights of rights-holders and enable rights-holders to claim rights. Both the MFMC and Today's Choices programmes are carried out in cooperation with the Ministry

of Education and in this sense might be understood as working towards supporting duty-holders in meeting particular rights of rights-holders. Neither initiative explicitly engages with the need to build duty-holders' understanding, capacities and scope of action, however.

In terms of enabling young people to claim their rights, the programmes differ significantly in their approach. Whilst 'Today's Choices' devotes considerable attention to making young people aware of their rights, the MFMC programme generally fails to establish any relation between the life skills it seeks to teach and the notion of (claiming) rights. It remains unclear, therefore, how the MFMC programme seeks to enable young people to defend and lay claim to their rights in practice.

Although the three examples all address both (negative) rights prohibiting violence and (positive) rights aimed at enhancing capabilities and freedoms, only the Brazilian and WPF-SUN initiatives explicitly acknowledge the (positive) right to sexual pleasure. As Corrêa et al. (2008) point out, sexual pleasure itself is an ambiguous concept, its definition depending on the context in which sexual encounters take place (see also Lewis & Gordon, 2006). Neither the Brazilian nor WPF-SUN programme appear to acknowledge this ambiguity. Where pleasure is addressed it primarily appears to be done with a view to increasing young people's assertiveness in (preferably stable) relationships (Ingham, 2005).

As the above illustrates, despite their differences, the programmes are all characterised by a number of clear limitations. Arguably, the most important limitation is the difficulty in moving beyond what might be seen as a rhetorical use of concepts such as accountability, participation and inclusion (Cornwall & Nyuma-Musembi, 2004; Miller, 2005; Lyon, 2007). Scholars such as Corrêa and colleagues (2008) have argued that one of the central difficulties of rights informed work stems from the underlying liberal discourse on citizenship. From the beginning, these authors observe, the notion of citizen has been about the drawing of boundaries between citizens and outsiders, and between 'categories of virtue and categories of deviance' (pp.155-156).

By drawing on this discourse, rights informed approaches reproduce a particular concept of the responsible/good and rational citizen (Corrêa et al., 2008: 157; see also e.g. Mayo, 2004). This regulatory and disciplinary nature of rights informed approaches requires a continuous deconstruction of the exclusions implicit in it, Corrêa et al. argue. Rights need to be understood as 'relational, evolving, and specific to historical and spatial contexts' (p.162). Arguably, none of the examples discussed here engages with the theory around rights at a very deep level, building instead on a unitary conceptualization of rights. As a result, they are limited in terms of their inclusiveness.

That said, it is useful to reflect on Linda Zerilli's observations as to the *political* limitations of theoretical preoccupations with notions of identity. In her article 'Doing without knowing' (1998), Zerilli argues that '[p]olitics consists precisely in the making of claims, which, being claims, are inevitably partial and thus exclusive. Acting politically is about testing the limits of every claim to community …' (1998: 454). In the author's view using 'exclusion' as a criterion on which to found critique of political claims 'is already to accept the possibility that there could in fact be a claim to *does not* exclude' (p.455, emphasis added). No claim 'can account for … the empirical reality of differences', Zerilli states, concluding that acknowledging this will allow people to act politically, and that it is up to others to contest the claims made. Zerilli's observations highlight the importance of conceptualising rights based practice as a dynamic, evolving enterprise, whether this departs from a formal or more informal interpretation of rights.

3.6 Reflection on the tripartite framework; exploring educational questions and framework limitations

The following sections examine some of the ways in which the framework can be expanded and improved upon. To begin with, it is argued that the dearth of the kind of conceptual analysis detailed in this chapter has been essential to a) efforts to clarify what is still missing from debates about HIV- and AIDS-related education, b) developing a set of sensitising notions to guide the

fieldwork for the current thesis, and c) be able to consider more closely similarities and differences across different programmes. Despite the critical contribution offered by the current framework, it can be improved upon in a number of ways. A brief 'detour' into scholarly work on the subject of education is made prior to detailing the ways in which the framework will be improved in remainder of the thesis.

As Michael Kelly (2000a: 28) observes, '[w]hen society encounters a problem affecting the young [such as HIV and AIDS], it tends to turn to its schools, and asks what they are doing about it'. In a similar vein, Giroux and McLaren (1986) remind us that educational reform is often geared to addressing what are considered the failings of the educational system to prevent or adequately respond to social and economic crises. Schools are, in other words, considered to perform a critical role in the resolution of societal problems and meeting societal needs (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985). HIV- and AIDS-related education is arguably predicated on this conception of education, i.e. one whereby education is seen as a means to address a social problem.

The three approaches distinguished in this chapter are illustrative of what Kelly (2000a: 28) defines as 'traditional' educational responses to societal problems. According to Kelly, such a response consists of attempting to deal with the issue at hand by incorporating it in the school curriculum. In Kelly's view, this traditional approach has failed to provide an adequate response to a world marked by HIV and AIDS. Instead, what is required is a radical revision of the content, process and methodologies of the curriculum *as a whole*[8]. Building on Ruth Jonathan (1983), it is argued here that logically prior to attending to questions as to what schools should teach and how, including in relation to HIV and AIDS, it is critical to examine and debate the purpose of 'the whole educational apparatus' (Kelly, 2000a: 6).

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[8] Kelly (2000a, b) calls for critical examination of the role and structures of school education, arguing that the formal school system needs to provide not only education, but other services as well. Whilst acknowledging the importance of Kelly's broad agenda, this thesis primarily addresses the other dimensions he refers to, i.e. the contents, methodologies and processes of education.

What the current analysis has not been able to clarify is the degree to which the initiatives appreciate and seek to form part of this kind of broad curricular revision, or the extent to which they attempt to be consistent with philosophical and theoretical tenets of the curriculum in its entirety and, critically, with local pedagogies (Ahmed, 2011). In addition, at present the framework does not provide the theoretical footholds with which to better understand the different possible purposes of education that may (or rather, *logically*, should) underpin the different forms of HIV prevention education.

3.6.1 The social function of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education; meanings of 'education' and underpinning social imageries

While the three approaches distinguished in this chapter all build on the idea of education as serving an important social function, their understanding of what is required to fulfil this function diverges. Simply put, these understandings range from instilling norms and values in 'moralistically informed' approaches, to the promotion of informed decision making in initiatives that are scientifically informed, to 'empowering' young people to realise their rights in rights informed approaches. These differences suggest varied interpretations of what constitutes 'education', or what it means to 'educate'. Imbuing young people with desirable social norms and values is suggestive of a conception of education as socialisation, for instance.

At present, the tripartite framework has not elucidated the possible interpretations of 'education' that appear to underpin the different approaches nor engaged with the possible implications of different meanings attributed to the term 'education'. Arguably, such understanding is important in that it allows for a deeper understanding of critical *educational* assumptions underpinning approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education, including those identified in this chapter. This kind of analysis has not been carried out to date and, as indicated in Chapter two, is considered a critical gap in existing literature.

The review conducted for the purposes of this chapter did not yield the documentation necessary (for instance, the national curricula in which a

specific programme was being implemented) to allow for an analysis from a specifically educational perspective. It is important to note that, even if the researcher were to have had access to additional documentation such as national curricula, it would have been beyond the scope of the present chapter and thesis to conduct a thorough examination thereof in relation to all ten programmes sampled. As was clarified in the introductory section (3.1), a key purpose of this chapter was to develop a set of sensitising notions to guide the analysis of data gathered in the context of *one* specific country namely, Mozambique.

A more crucial consideration, however, concerns the lack of heuristic tools with which to understand and position school-based HIV prevention education against the backdrop of the aims of school-based education more broadly. In other words, even if the researcher were to have had access to additional documentation concerning the broader educational context, the current review could not have yielded the kinds of sensitising notions required to develop a nuanced and in-depth understanding of the underlying educational thought.

Drawing on a broad corpus of literature on educational philosophy and theory, Chapter four attempts to address this gap. It considers various, dominant conceptions of the term 'education' to support the analysis of the perceptions of different sets of key actors regarding the contents and methodologies of HIV prevention education in Mozambique.

The approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education discussed in the current chapter also seem to differ in terms of what to educate *for*, i.e. what conception of the 'good society' the approaches build on. Moralistically informed approaches might be understood as geared toward maintaining (or re-establishing) a morally coherent society, scientifically informed approaches as striving toward furthering the 'rational society', and approaches drawing on notions of rights as aiming to create more equitable, inclusive societies.

In his seminal work *Democracy and Education*, Dewey (1916) distinguished between 'education as a function of society' and 'society as a function of education'. The former refers to a view of education as helping learners to adapt

to the world as it is, the latter building on a conception of education as geared toward creating a 'politicized citizenry' (Giroux & McLaren, 1986: 224). Rights informed approaches to HIV prevention education may be regarded as reflective of the latter view. As the analysis of rights informed HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives in this chapter revealed, however, it is oftentimes questionable to what extent such educational programmes are successful in moving beyond the rhetoric of rights discourse. In addition, the potential to develop a 'politicised citizenry' through HIV- and AIDS-related education is likely to be limited if and when the broader curriculum is structured around quite different aims and makes use of different means (Jonathan, 1983; Kelly, 2000a; Ahmed, 2011).

3.7 Reflection on similarities across approaches and closing

This chapter examined a sample of ten HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes and a multi-disciplinary body of literature. This analysis was conducted with a view to addressing a key gap identified in Chapter two, namely the lack of conceptual tools with which to understand the numerous ways in which HIV education initiatives are conceptualised and delivered around the world. The conceptual framework detailed in the current chapter was furthermore developed to guide the analysis of understandings of 'common' concepts in HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique.

The analysis presented in the present chapter identified three broad approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education, which were used to inform the tripartite framework presented. The approaches were those that are primarily i) grounded in moral concerns, ii) 'scientifically' informed, and iii) based on particular notions of rights. Two or three subtypes were distinguished within each approach. Examples of HIV prevention education initiatives illustrated the different subcategories, as well as highlighting the way in which some programmes could be understood as building on combinations of differing definitions of, for instance, 'rights'. Finally, the chapter considered the main areas of agreement and disagreement between the approaches.

Despite substantive differences, it was argued that the HIV prevention education programmes were broadly similar in a number of ways. To begin with, initiatives were often underpinned by similar moral concerns. The rights informed MFMC programme for instance, resembled the 'moralistically informed' English SRE programme in that it privileged parents' right to withdraw their children from HIV- and AIDS-related education over and above young people's right to information. It is argued this builds on the assumption that young people are less capable and as such in need of adult protection (see also Kelly, 2005). It might therefore be concluded that underlying the MFMC programme are notions of rights, moral concerns as to what is considered appropriate HIV- and AIDS-related content, deficit thinking as well as protectionist discourse in relation to young people. Thus, this programme illustrates the diverse range of notions that may underpin one particular initiative.

Another broad area of agreement underpinning different programme types relates to the perception that a scientific account of issues relating to HIV and AIDS offers the possibility to provide value-free information. A final critical area of similarity across the three approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education concerns the different ways in which they work to exclude particular groups of (young) people, particularly those not conforming to the heterosexual norm. The remainder of this thesis will reflect in particular on scholarly work that identifies and challenges the ways in which HIV- and AIDS-related education exclude certain groups. At the same time, it is mindful of Zerilli's (1998) observation that political action entails the making of claims and hence can never be fully inclusive. This should not be viewed as an impediment to political action but rather, the opposite (Zerilli, 1998).

The chapter concluded by identifying ways in which the current framework may be further enhanced and how the thesis would seek to address the points raised. Expanding the current framework with sensitising notions drawn from educational theory and philosophy was identified as one of the principal means to increase its analytical potential. In addition, it was observed that engagement with primary data gathered from key players involved in the development,

delivery and uptake of this form of education would add further depth to the framework.

The tentative framework elaborated in this chapter will be loosely drawn on during the process of data collection and analysis. The potential of the conceptual scheme to support comparative analysis of perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related education in one particular setting will form the focus of attention in the final chapter of the thesis (Chapter ten). This final chapter will also examine the potential use of the framework to support efforts to achieve greater alignment and harmonisation between various actors involved in the development and delivery of this form of education.

Chapter four: Conceptions of 'education' and its aims

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter takes as its point of departure Kelly's call to 're-examine *the meaning and purpose* of education [as a whole] in a world with HIV and AIDS' (2006: 54, emphasis added). Kelly's plea to more carefully attend to what might be understood as the fundamentals of education is considered critical to HIV- and AIDS-related education efforts and thus, to the current study. This chapter examines conceptions of education and its aims, concentrating on the work of a select number of influential twentieth century philosophers.

The chapter seeks to increase the analytical potential of the tripartite framework discussed in Chapter three by identifying a range of additional sensitising notions. The chapter overtly addresses one of the key gaps in the literature, namely the dearth of theorising around specifically *educational* dimensions in HIV- and AIDS-related education in both academic and international development circles. The chapter departs from Jonathan's (1983) argument that logically *prior to* dealing with questions as to what schools should teach and how, which includes HIV- and AIDS-related education, it is critical to examine and debate the aim of education in its entirety. This implies that developing a nunanced understanding of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education requires clarity in terms of the aims of school-based education as a whole. To undertake this exercise necessitates a specific set of heuristic tools, which is what this chapter sets out to develop. In doing so, the chapter addresses the second and third research aim presented on page 14: 'to investigate the theoretical underpinnings of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education', and 'to examine conceptions of the aims of HIV prevention education in relation to the broader aims of school education'.

It is important to note that the overview detailed in the current chapter is not designed to provide an exhaustive account of the many different philosophical perspectives on education and the aims thereof. Instead it aims to develop a series of sensitising educational notions that may be considered particularly pertinent in relation to HIV- and AIDS-related education and the context of Mozambique.

The chapter consists of four main sections. Section 4.2 discusses different conceptions of 'education'. Section 4.3 engages with the aims of education. Among other things, this section discusses dominant, liberal conceptions of education in relation to what might be defined as 'African' philosophy of education (Waghid, 2004). This is done in the awareness that to speak of *African* philosophy of education risks giving the impression of presuming there is such a (natural, a-priori) thing as a unitary body of typically *African* thought. Like the review of Western philosophers such as R.S. Peters and John Dewey, therefore, the discussion of African scholarly work is grounded on an understanding of any body of thought as always contingent.

The third and final section of the chapter (section 4.4) provides a summary of the key points discussed in the chapter. It reflects on Kelly's statements as to the need to critically reflect on the entire educational apparatus in a world with HIV and AIDS (2006: 54) and, against this backdrop, the importance of engaging with educational philosophy in the examination, but also design, delivery and evaluation of, HIV- and AIDS-related education.

4.2 Conceptions of education; setting the contours

Most people have some idea of what 'education' is or what they believe it *should* be. However, the ongoing academic debate as to the meaning of 'education' suggests that, fundamentally, we are not sure what education actually is and that, furthermore, it may not be possible to arrive at any one definition (see also Carr, 2010; Hardarson, 2012). This section examines various conceptions of education, focusing on three influential philosophers, namely John Dewey (1859-1952), Richard S. Peters (1919-2011) and Paulo

Freire (1921-1997). These three scholars form the core of the discussion as they are considered to represent three distinct branches of educational thought, namely those that might be defined as progressive, conservative and liberatory (Miedema, S. et al., 1994; Beckett, 2011). The differences between the three philosophers are interesting in that they highlight the diversity of possible (political and social) assumptions underpinning conceptions of education and ideas concerning the aims thereof.

The British philosopher R.S. Peters drew on analytical philosophy to interrogate 'customary Anglophone uses' (Carr, 2010: 92) of the term 'education'. As an analytical philosopher, Peters was of the opinion that philosophy was geared toward providing a neutral meta-analysis of language rather than engaging with substantive questions (Wain, 1985; Warnick, 2007). Thus, in his view, the aims of education were built into the concept of education and, once the meaning of the notion 'education' was clarified, so too would be its aims (Noddings, 2007). On the basis of his linguistic analysis, Peters (1966) defined education as the initiation into a broad body of knowledge that was deemed to be of some worth. In addition, Peters defined education as having to be intentionally conducted in a morally unobjectionable manner. Furthermore, 'education' respects the voluntariness on the part of the learner in that, to a degree, the learner can 'rebel and refuse' to do what is demanded (Peters, 1966: 42).

Peters' ideas concerning 'worthwhile' knowledge alluded to above were predicated on an endorsement of 'liberal arts tradition of education' (Warnick, 2007: 68). In his view, traditional disciplines represented bodies of established knowledge that had 'stood up to public scrutiny' (Peters, 1966: 54). Initiation into these bodies of knowledge would enable individuals to ask and answer 'the questions central to public practical reasoning' (Warnick, 2007: 68). Despite the claims to neutrality, therefore, Peters may be considered 'a liberal in the tradition of the liberal arts and a liberal in the tradition of modern political and economic liberalism' (Warnick, 2007: 66; see also Katz, 2010).

In marked contradistinction to Peters, the American pragmatist philosopher and educator John Dewey engaged at length with the social function of education. Contrary to Peters, Dewey did not consider education in terms of preparing young people for future living but instead as a process of living (Dewey, 1897/1998: 230). Important in this regard is Dewey's perception of democracy; he did not simply regard this as a form of government, but 'as a mode of associated living' (Dewey, 1916/1966: 87). The process of association allowed for sharing of experiences, emotions and values between people and, as a result, the creation of common meanings (Nagy, 2006). In Dewey's view, schools were the principal sites for the realisation of the democratic community in that they (potentially) developed 'scientifically minded citizens [who were able to work] together to surmount common obstacles' (Callan & White, 2003: 104).

Concerning the concept of education, in contrast to Peters, Dewey did not believe 'education' had aims built into it. Only educators had aims, he contended and, as such, statements of aims were 'a matter of emphasis' at a given point in time (Dewey, 1916: 111). The only *overall* aim of 'education', according to Dewey, was 'to enable individuals to continue their education' (Dewey, 1916: 100). In a similar vein he posited that an experience could only be deemed *educative* insofar as it left learners 'more capable or interested in engaging in new experience[s]' (Noddings, 2007: 26).

Drawing heavily on Marxist thought, the Brazilian critical philosopher of education, Paulo Freire drew attention to the potentially oppressive nature of education (Dale & Hyslop-Margison, 2010). In Freire's view, an educational activity was truly educative only if it was liberatory. He believed furthermore that freedom only existed if this was extended to all people, i.e. to the oppressed and the oppressors (Dale & Hyslop-Margison, 2010). In keeping with his existentialist assumptions, Freire defined liberatory education as that which provided people space for choice, 'authentic existence' and *conscientização* (Freire, 1972: 24; Bonnet & Cuyper, 2003; Bartlett, 2005).

Freire understood *conscientização* as the development of consciousness of oppression and commitment to end that oppression (Weiler, 1994: 17). This

form of consciousness was necessary in order for people to exist humanly and for them to be able to 'name the world' and transform it. Liberatory education was that which was 'problem-posing', i.e. a dialogical process through which learners and educators learn together by debating socio-political realities (Roberts, 2000; Bartlett, 2005). As Bartlett (2005) clarifies, Freire's conception of education as a problem posing process was founded, on among other things, a dialogical theory of praxis and knowledge. The idea of 'praxis' referred to the ongoing process of reflection and action (Freire, 1972).

Freire contrasted 'problem-posing education' with 'banking education'. He defined banking approaches to education as those whereby teachers deposit information into learners, who are considered to be passive and manageable receptacles. This kind of approach impeded learners from acting on their world and, as such, was dehumanising. Problem-posing education relied on an egalitarian relationship between educator and learner, and a conception of knowledge as produced in interaction. The problem-posing teacher did not consider knowledge as her/his property, but as the object of reflection by her/himself and learners (Freire, 1972) On this view, furthermore, learners were not ignorant and passive, but 'critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher' (Freire, 1972: 54).

As the above suggests, Dewey, Peters and Freire's educational thought rests on diverging conceptions of, among other things, the individual, knowledge and the relationship between educators and learners. Importantly, their conceptions of education illustrate the aptness of Hare and Portelli's (2001) observation that any conception of education and what it means to be educated invariably rest on what is considered socially and politically desirable, whether this is made explicit or not.

A great deal more could be said about the educational philosophy of these three scholars. For purposes of the current analysis, however, the chapter now examines various viewpoints with regard to what might be considered the aims of education. The discussion in the ensuing sections will further elucidate the validity of Hare and Portelli's observation regarding the extent to which

understandings of education and its aims are underpinned by particular social and political values.

4.3 Conceptions of the aims of education

This section examines philosophical perspectives with regard to the aims of education. The section will identify sensitising notions that are deemed to be of critical value to understanding different approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education. In an attempt to capture some of the breadth of the discussion that is the philosophy of education, this section draws on various compendia concerning the philosophy of education. Additionally, it engages with what in various senses (political, epistemological) might be considered the extreme ends of the philosophical debate. The relevance of the discussion to the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education will be clarified throughout.

The British philosopher Bertrand Russell contended that '[b]efore considering how to educate, it is well to be clear as to the sort of result which we wish to achieve' (1926, quoted in Hare, 1987: 29). Russell underscores the fundamental importance of setting the contours of what might be considered to constitute education and its aims, without, to paraphrase Hare (1987: 29), letting this 'degenerate' into a debate about certain specified educational outcomes (see also Reiss & White, 2013). The latter resonates with Morris' observation that HIV- and AIDS-related education should not be limited to achieving a series of specific preconceived educational outcomes. Doing so would entail removal of what might be considered the specifically *educational* element from HIV- and AIDS-related education, i.e. one might be training young people how to prevent HIV, but one won't be educating them (Morris, 2005).

The discussion on the aims of education can be organised in numerous ways; this applies to 'education' in a broad sense, but equally to a particular subject or field, such as HIV- and AIDS-related education. Educational aims may be explored in relation to basic political principles; for instance, those underpinning liberal 'versus' communitarian philosophy (see, for example, Callan & White, 2003). Alternatively, the aims of education can be engaged

with in relation to particular substantive ideas concerning 'the good life'. Bonnett and Cuypers (2003), for instance, discuss the notion of 'authenticity' as a central concern in discussions regarding educational aims and practice. Nel Noddings (2007) engages with educational aims in relation to an ethics of care. On this view, the aims of education should be structured around 'themes of care', such as care for self, intimate and global others, and ideas. John White, finally, defines educational aims in relation to human flourishing, which he relates to democratic citizenship (White, 2007; see also Reiss & White, 2013).

In their glossary of key theoretical terms in the field of education, Winch and Gingell (2008) identify six basic educational aims. In their view, education may be geared toward:

1. the promotion of autonomy,
2. giving the individual a secure cultural background,
3. giving the individual the ability to take part in society through an occupation,
4. the promotion of economic development,
5. the preservation of a society's culture, and
6. the production of good citizens.

Winch and Gingell's list of common educational aims is used here to structure reflection on key debates regarding the aims of education. For purposes of the current review, the aims are clustered into three categories. The numbers stated in brackets after each category indicate which aims from Winch and Gingell's list have been clustered together.

i. Promotion of autonomy (1)
ii. Enculturation (2, 5, 6), and
iii. Vocational preparation (3, 4).

The discussion of each of the aims commences with a brief overview of ideas of R.S. Peters or, where pertinent, those of analytical and liberal philosophy more broadly. Subsequent to this, the critique of key assumptions underpinning analytical philosophy and the work of R.S. Peters in particular is explored. The

discussion draws strongly on Dewey's thought as he provides a philosophical counterpoint to Peters (Carr, 2010; Beckett, 2011).

Taking Peters' work as point of departure is considered pertinent in that he has been credited with having made the 'most sustained attempt to address the question of the meaning of education [in] the last half-century' (Carr, 2003: 197). Peters' concept of the educated person is, furthermore, thought to have pertinence to the field of the philosophy of education more broadly as it is thought to be reflective of Western liberal ideas concerning what it means to be educated (Martin, 1981). The discussion will examine the extent to which liberal, analytical understandings of education also underpin HIV- and AIDS-related education.

4.3.1 Promotion of autonomy

According to Bonnett and Cuypers (2003), the promotion of autonomy in and through education can be understood against the backdrop of 'a more general concern about the nature of freedom and its relationship to education' (p.326). The idea of individual autonomy is central to a liberal conception of education and the aims of education (Bonnett & Cuypers 2003: 333; Jonathan, 1997*a*). Analytical philosophy's grounding in modern liberal principles has already been noted. The emphasis on individual autonomy in analytical philosophy is unsurprising, therefore (Martin, 1981; Akehurst, 2010; Carr, 2010).

In liberal and analytical philosophy, the notion of autonomy is understood in terms of the ability to make rationally informed decisions. Illustrative of the rationalist view is the definition provided by the analytical philosopher Robert Dearden (1972). In his view, a person was autonomous 'to the degree that what he (sic) thinks and does in important areas of his life cannot be explained without reference to his *own* activity of mind' (Dearden (1972) in Bonnett & Cuypers, 2003: 327, emphasis added).

From a liberal (and analytical) perspective, the development of rational autonomy 'requires a broad compulsory curriculum that … initiate[s] the student into the relevant forms of rationality and provide[s] the necessary

knowledge base' (Bonnett & Cuypers, 2003: 327). The position Peters adopts in his early work is particularly illustrative of this perspective. In *Ethics and Education* (1966), he expresses the view that education entailed the initiation into 'objective forms of knowledge and understanding' (Carr, 2003: 198), and being educated entailed, among other things, that a person was concerned with epistemic standards and truth (Martin, 1981; Carr, 2003).

Two interrelated assumptions underpinning liberal rationalist perspectives of autonomy and education are worth dwelling on in more detail. The first concerns the underlying conception of the individual, while the second relates to ideas concerning the nature of knowledge. As was highlighted in Chapter three, HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives, and particularly those informed by notions of science, often depart from what might be understood as liberal rationalist understandings of autonomy and knowledge. It is for this reason that these topics are engaged with in greater detail here.

Concerning the notion of autonomy, various critics have contended that the liberal understanding of autonomy is (mistakenly) predicated on an 'atomistic' concept of the individual (Jonathan, 1997a: 111; Bonnett & Cuyper, 2003; Callan & White, 2003). In this view, society is merely the sum of context-independent individuals 'negotiating with others to secure mutual accommodation of individual preferences' (Jonathan, 1997a: 111). Moral and social progress is hereby conceived as that which is attained and attainable through 'individual rational development' (Jonathan, 1995: 105; 1997*a, b*).

According to Jonathan (1995: 104), 'the good for man and the good society' form central ideals underpinning liberal conceptions of education. Within this perspective, the 'content and process [of education are] designed to enable individuals, through the achievement of rational autonomy, to determine what that good shall be' (Jonathan, 1997a: 111). What makes liberal education liberal, Jonathan observes, is its grounding in a 'principled agnosticism about the substance of its outcomes' (1997a: 111). It strives in other words, to a moral neutrality as to what constitutes the 'good' (Jonathan, 1995).

In keeping with the claim to neutrality, the development of rationality is conceived of as achieved through the initiation into the aforementioned - value free and universal - body of knowledge. According to Martin (1981), the liberal conception of education refers to *existing* forms of knowledge. Existing - or traditional - bodies of knowledge largely represent male perspectives and in Martin's view, Peters' concept of education can therefore be understood as directed primarily at the 'male' realm (Martin, 1982; 2001; see also Wain, 1985).

This implies the educated person is associated with the stereotype of the male human being. According to this view, 'men are objective, analytic, rational, [and] interested in ideas and things' (1981: 102). The stereotype furthermore holds that (educated) men 'have no interpersonal orientation, [that] they are neither nurturant nor supportive, empathetic or sensitive' (1981: 102). The underside of the liberal notion of education, Martin concludes, is the separation of mind from body, reason from emotion and self from other.

In Jonathan's view (1997a), a liberal approach to education (or social and political life) is untenable. Its basic premise regarding the individual, i.e. as an asocial being, or autonomous definer of her/his own ends (1997a: 111) is fundamentally mistaken, she argues. According to Jonathan, autonomy needs to be considered as a *social* product (1995). Philosophers such as Charles Taylor (1991) have argued for a conception of the self as constituted through the exchange - or 'dialogue' - with the other, and against the backdrop of historically grown valuation frameworks of the broader community. Since individuals cannot be regarded as context-independent, and society is more than the sum of supposedly rationally choosing autonomous individuals, education in this view needs to be grounded in a substantive vision of what is considered the good life (Jonathan, 1995).

John Dewey forcibly argued for the need for such a vision at the beginning of the previous century. In his view, education serves a critical social function, it being 'the process of forming fundamental dispositions, intellectual and emotional, *toward nature and our fellow human beings*' (1916, quoted in

Garrison, 1999: 4, emphasis added). In Dewey's view, 'the conception of education … has no definite meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind' (Dewey (1916), quoted in Westbrook, 1991: 172). He defined two criteria for evaluating societies, both of which pointed to democracy (Garrison, 1999). In his view, 'liberty' was the 'absence of impediments to the realization of the democratic community' (Callan & White, 2003: 104).

Dewey rejected the ontological and metaphysical assumptions underpinning traditional theories of knowledge, such as those favoured by analytical philosophers. Rather than speak of knowledge in the traditional sense, i.e. as a static body of facts about a given reality, Dewey perceived 'knowledge' as that which was generated through the process of problem solving, or scientific inquiry (Boyles, 2006). Acknowledging the interdependence of truths ('knowledge') and the processes of inquiry entailed recognising the temporality of resolutions to certain problems, 'Intelligence' was the outcome of developing capabilities to act, i.e. to inquire or come to know, in specific ways (Boyles, 2006: 64). Put differently, Dewey defined intelligence as the ability to use given facts to form *reasonable expectations* (or 'warranted assertions', for instance about a sexual partner's willingness to use a condom) about a given situation and 'to act in accordance with this estimate' (Westbrook, 1991: 357).

Dewey often referred to education as synonymous with the notion of growth (Noddings, 2007). He hereby regarded 'growth' as an end in and of itself, contending that the concept ought not be made rigid by trying to define its direction (Noddings, 2007: 26). Growth, in Dewey's view, occurred in and through human interaction, which he defined as an activity in which participants *jointly* created meaning (Biesta et al., 1994). According to Dewey, growth is a continuous process in which every experience changes the individual and their surroundings, causing the individual to interact differently with the world, which leads to more unfamiliar and problematic experiences.

Like reality, therefore, the self and knowledge, in Dewey's view, are always in a process of becoming (Biesta et al., 1994). The ideal of education is then not to form context-independent rational decision makers but individuals who are

increasingly able to put into practice that which they have learned (Biesta et al., 1994). Westbrook (1991: 356) clarifies that Dewey hoped 'judgements of intelligence' would supplant what he considered the '[universalist] claims of reason', which Dewey regarded as the - mistaken - search for certainty.

Dewey's ideas are arguably particularly salient to the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education. As Carr (2010) has pointed out, knowledge with regard to sexuality and sexual practices is normative 'all the way down' meaning the debate - at the very least concerning these issues - can never be closed. For this reason alone HIV- and AIDS-related education should *not* be conceived as directed toward certainty, i.e. toward transmitting and absorbing fixed knowledge. Instead, and here it is also useful to draw on Freire, such education may be more usefully conceptualised as supporting learners to engage in ongoing - dialogical - processes of inquiry and action within particular socio-political realities.

Promoting autonomy is arguably a fairly abstract goal. As the discussion above suggests, how this goal is to be achieved is strongly contingent upon the underpinning conception of the individual. Simply put, the liberal concept of (abstract) autonomy rests on a perception of the (abstract) individual as *a*social or on a view of the individual as contextualised being. In the former view, the individual rationally chooses and acts in accordance with her/his own preferences and abilities. S/he furthermore draws on a body of value free, universal knowledge to inform her/his choices. As clarified in Chapter three, this view of the individual may be understood as underpinning scientifically informed approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education.

In the latter, more communitarian view of the individual, a person is seen as taking part in social activities - and, in the case of HIV and AIDS, also sexual activities - in a contextualised way' (Wardekker, 2001: 113). In this view, 'knowledge' is defined as that produced through processes of inquiry and, as such, always provisional. Dewey framed this point as follows: '[t]here is no belief so settled as not to be exposed to further inquiry' (Dewey, 1938/1986: 16).

4.3.2 Enculturation

This section engages with the notion of enculturation or socialisation, and the degree to which different scholars consider this to be a task of formal schools. Given that the thesis concentrates on HIV- and AIDS-related education in the context of one Sub-Saharan African country, namely Mozambique, the section engages in some detail with the constributions of African scholars, and particularly their critique of liberal understandings of education.

Peters' interrogation of common Anglophone uses of the term 'education' led him to draw a distinction between education and other forms of what might be understood as 'upbringing'. In his view, education was distinct from, for instance, indoctrination and socialisation. In Peters' view, education respected and encouraged autonomous and critical thought. On these grounds, Peters argued indoctrination could not be considered a process of education (Peters, 1966). In Peters' view, socialisation differed from education in that the latter was 'a morally neutral social force that is constantly and *indiscriminately* in operation' (Reimer, 2007: 12, emphasis added). By 'morally neutral' Peters meant that young people were 'as easily socialized into a criminal gang as into a church choir' (Reimer, 2007: 12). In his view, education referred to a process by which 'something *worthwhile* is being *intentionally* [as opposed to indiscriminately] transmitted in a morally acceptable manner' (Peters, 1966: 25, emphasis added). Consequently, in Peters' view it does not make sense to speak of young people 'being educated' for a life of crime (Reimer, 2007).

Peters defined the 'worthwhile' largely in terms of theoretical knowledge. He argued that an educated person was one who had a broad body of knowledge, and was concerned with epistemic standards and truth (Carr, 2003; Martin, 1981). These ideas have been widely criticised (for an overview of some of the critique levelled at Peters, see for instance, Carr, 2003, 2010; Warnick, 2007; and Katz, 2010). Two principal areas of critique of Peters' thought will be discussed here. The first concerns the assertion that education entails a change for the better, or what has been referred to as the 'desirability condition'. A

second and related critique concerns Peters' exclusion of socialisation from the educational realm.

With regard to the 'desirability condition', scholars such as Martin (1981; 2001) and Warnick (2007) have pointed out that, particularly for minority groups, education may (equally) be an alienating as well as a 'disembodying' experience. In other work, Bernstein (1975: 250) points out that education - and specifically, the socialisation that takes place in schools - can be 'deeply wounding' to particular groups of young women and men. As will become clear in the discussion of the empirical data gathered for purposes of this study, in important ways, the same might be said for HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique.

Drawing on Richard Rodriguez' autobiographical work *A Hunger of Memory*, Martin and Warnick illustrate what they consider a critical oversight in Peters' work. Rodriguez recounts the increasing distance between himself, his family and his religion as he progresses academically. Building on this, Warnick observes that '[t]o change one's knowledge and understanding is to separate oneself from past realms of meaning', and that in Rodriguez' case this 'was the source of his angst' (2007: 60). Change is rarely *only* 'for the better', Warnick points out; it is instead always 'saturated with ambiguity' (2007: 60).

In her aptly titled piece 'Becoming Educated: A Journey of Alienation or Integration?', Martin (2001) similarly discusses the alienation a person may experience from her/his family members and/or community as a result of having received 'an education'. She does so from a feminist perspective, however, and draws attention to the gendered assumptions underpinning Peters' work. According to Martin (2001), a person's 'journey of isolation and divorce' from her/his emotions and physical being will continue so long as education is defined in terms of gaining theoretical knowledge, objectivity and emotional distance.

The arguments regarding the emphasis on academic knowledge resonate with critique voiced by African philosophers of education, as well as scholars

focusing on HIV- and AIDS-related education. While the specific subject they engage with differs (i.e. education vv HIV prevention education), the critique is similar, namely the ways in which the emphasis on excellence in terms of theoretical knowledge, objectivity and emotional distance in the liberal conception of education negates the role of schools in the development of young people's social and ethical qualities (Allen, 2005; Paiva, 2005; Balogun, 2008; Assie-Lumumba, 2012). The focus on academic excellence, furthermore, means community and family members, female caregivers in particular, are positioned as external to the educational process, i.e. as 'a-educational' (Martin, 1982: 137; Katz, 2010).

The critique of the emphasis on theoretical knowledge might therefore be interpreted as drawing attention to schools as one of several possible sites for young people's enculturation or socialisation. As will be clarified, the criticism levelled at Peters is grounded on the belief that enculturation forms a crucial element of a person's education and, furthermore, that education - whether explicitly or implicitly - plays a crucial role in preparing young people to take up their place as future community members and citizens.

A word on terminology is warranted at this stage. Following Baumann (2004), this thesis adds the term 'civil' to the notion of enculturation. Civil enculturation is then 'the process by which an individual acquires the mental representations (beliefs, knowledge and so forth) and patterns of behaviour required to function as a member of a (civil) culture' (Rhum, 1997, in Baumann, 2004: 2; see also Arnot, 2006). Adding 'civil' to this basic definition of enculturation acknowledges the critical role state supervised schools serve in turning young people into citizens and 'integrating social and cultural differences into a pre-defined *national* whole' (Baumann, 2004: 1, emphasis added). Civil enculturation is then the process by which young people learn what are considered appropriate social *and* political norms, values, and procedures. 'Civil enculturation' is therefore interpreted as the process by which the 'good citizens' to whom Winch and Gingell refer are created (2008: 11).

Oladele Balogun (2008) argues that the emphasis on knowledge development in current liberal conceptions of education may be understood in relation to the increasing association of education with 'schooling'. In the context of African countries this association is considered to have been strengthened by calls for, and international agreements to provide, compulsory (primary) Education for All by 2015 (Assie-Lumumba, 2012). As a result of the drive to achieve universal education the meaning of 'education' has been further narrowed down, these two scholars have argued. 'Schooling' has hereby been increasingly equated with the essential but nevertheless restricted aims of literacy and numeracy (Balogun, 2008; Assie-Lumumba, 2012).

Various authors have challenged the hegemony of Western interpretations of education and the ways in which conceptions of education in developing contexts has restricted that which is considered useful (see Balogun, 2008; Assie-Lumumba, 2012; Higgs, 2012). They call for a reconstruction of the conception of education in the African context, with some advancing the idea of an African Renaissance in education (Teffo, 2000; Higgs, 2012, but see Msimang (2000) for a feminist critique of the notion of African Renaissance). Scholars such as these have drawn attention to the critical importance of the relationship between individual and her/his community in the context of Africa. Scholars such as Crewe (2004) have argued along similar lines with regard to HIV- and AIDS-related education. As noted in Chapter two, Crewe has called for HIV prevention education to go beyond teaching practical life skills to enabling young people to think in critical and abstract ways, supporting them to gain deeper understanding of the complexities and nuances of human actions and relationships (Morris, 2005; Kippax & Stephenson, 2005).

Examining the meaning of the educated person in Africa, Balogun (2008) for example, argues this notion is understood in terms of the way in which a person uses the knowledge and skills gained 'in the process of living in his (sic) community' (p.123). To be considered educated in Africa, he concludes, requires that a person demonstrates a 'well-integrated personality' (2008: 124). In a similar vein, various authors have drawn attention to the importance of the

African moral philosophy of *ubuntu* for the field of education (for example, Higgs, 2008, 2012; Waghid & Smeyers, 2012).

The notion of *ubuntu* refers to the 'communal embeddedness and connectedness of a person to other persons … highlight[ing] the importance attached to people and to human relationships' (Higgs, 2012: 47). Keevy (2008: 326) clarifies that the profoundly communitarian ethics of *ubuntu* rejects the liberal, *a*social concept of the individual. Rather than emphasise the importance of promoting autonomy, stress is placed on the wellbeing and coherence of the collective. The ethics of *ubuntu* is said to represent the worldview of all Bantu speaking people of Africa, and hence as extending 'from the Nubian desert to the Cape of Good Hope and from Senegal to Zanzibar' (Ramose, 2002 in: Keevy, 2008: 323).

From the perspective of a philosophy grounded on the notion of *ubuntu*, to be human means belonging to the community in its entirety, including its ancestors (Keevy, 2008). 'Belonging' hereby entails participating in the beliefs and ceremonies of the community in question. From this perspective, an individual is first and foremost the relative of various people, her/his 'uniqueness … [only] a secondary fact' (Keevy, 2008: 335). Finally, as Keevy (2008) notes, according to the ethics of *ubuntu*, a person only becomes fully human following her/his gradual incorporation into the community, i.e. personhood is developed over time.

Although *ubuntu* is oftentimes considered to be central to African philosophy, various authors have warned against romanticizing it. Drawing on Suttner (2008), Higgs (2012: 48) points out it would be mistaken to believe that 'the belief and practice of ubuntu has … arisen from some consensual pre-colonial African society' and that this has remained unchanged until the present day. Scholars have drawn attention to the potentially exclusionary nature of *ubuntu*, whereby individuals are encultured into a pre-existing, fixed social and cultural order (Higgs, 2012).

Noteworthy in this regard is the critique voiced by African feminists. Fainos

Mangena (2009) examines the ways in the ethic of *ubuntu* reinscribes traditional, gendered patterns of care in African communities, for example. She calls for a feminist ethic of care, one which does allow women to make binding moral decisions. Keevy (2008) reviews critiques voiced by African feminists with regard to what they consider the oppressive and patriarchal nature of *ubuntu*. She discusses feminist opposition to, among other things, 'the laws of the ancestors', which define women as 'an inferior form of human life' (Head, 2002, cited in Keevy, 2008: 415).

African feminist critiques of *ubuntu* resonate with those voiced by other people. Martin (1981), for example, argues that the ideal of the educated person needs to 'reflect a realistic understanding of the limitations of existing forms or disciplines of knowledge' (1981: 107). In Dewey's view, an educative process that was only perceived in social terms would mean a young person's freedom was subordinated to the existing social and political order. He contended that it was only by engaging with content and tradition and in so doing, reinterpreting and renewing it, that people achieve growth (Dewey, 1897). Critical philosophers such as Freire have formulated this idea in more radical terms, calling for education to enable learners:

> [T]o criticise the subtle, taken-for-granted transmission of their own cultures [for instance, through school textbooks] and to notice how cultures often privilege a few, marginalise some, and oppress others. (Katz, 2010: 105)

For the purposes of the current analysis, the various viewpoints regarding (civil) enculturation discussed above might be differentiated in two broad groups. The first might be defined as reflecting traditional forms of enculturation, emphasizing loyalty to established values and beliefs. This is grounded on a view of knowledge, beliefs and values as given, and as such leaving little space for personal interpretation, critical reflection or disagreement (Wardekker, 2001). Examples of this kind of approach might include the initiatives defined as moralistically informed HIV prevention education.

The second broad set of views might be interpreted as critical and 'transformatory' (Wardekker, 2001). In this view, a person is neither seen as the liberal atomistic individual discussed in the previous section, nor only in terms of her/his position within particular communal web of relations (Keevy, 2008). Instead, an individual is regarded as becoming a member of a cultural community through reflective participation in that community. As also discussed in the previous section, 'autonomy' is hereby understood as 'a contextualised way of participating in social activities' (Wardekker, 2001: 113). In this view, furthermore, 'contextualised participation' is at times considered to require heteronomous functioning and, at other times, autonomous action (Wardekker, 2001).

A great deal more may be said about the subject of education as a form of enculturation and, for instance, the extent to which various forms of or approaches to (civil) enculturation strive to encourage 'autonomous' action. What is important here is to note the salience of these notions for the various approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education discussed in Chapter three. For instance, as noted in the preceding chapter, critics have drawn attention to the regulatory nature of HIV prevention education building on notions of rights. Thus, while such education has the outward appearance of being geared toward the liberal ideal of creating autonomous rights-claimants, it is grounded on and re-inscribes a particular concept of the good - rational - citizen (see e.g. Mayo, 2004; Corrêa et al., 2008).

Similar arguments may be made with regard to scientifically informed HIV- and AIDS-related education, albeit here the body of knowledge the good citizen draws on to make her/his moral decisions is 'scientific' rather than legal and contractual in nature. In view of the centrality of the notions of enculturation and autonomy to HIV and AIDS prevention education, this subject will be returned to again in the current chapter and thesis as a whole.

4.3.3 Vocational preparation

The third broad category of educational aims identified for purposes of the current analysis is that of vocational preparation. Like socialisation, however,

Peters excluded vocational preparation or, more specifically, *training* from the concept of education. 'Training', according to Peters, implied the use of skill or competence 'in relation to a specific end or function' (1966: 34). 'Education' in his view, never referred to a particular end or function. Instead, education was of 'the whole man' (1966: 35), it did not relate to a person's abilities to perform a specialised skill.

The distinction Peters draws between education and (vocational) training has too come under attack. Authors such as Winch (2002) for example, have taken issue with what they regard as the denigration of vocational skills resulting from the separation of training from the educational realm. Martin (2001) argues that this separation forms another instance of the liberal division between among other things, head from hand, and mind from body.

In the context of developing countries such as Mozambique, most young people do not progress beyond primary school. In settings such as this, enabling young people 'to take part in society through an occupation' (Winch & Gingell, 2008: 11) is therefore a critical function of education. The HIV epidemic, which impacts most on socially and economically vulnerable groups, has arguably further increased the relevance of this basic educational aim. Against this background, scholarly discussions as to whether the notion of vocational training is *conceptually* antithetical to that of education, i.e. in the traditional, liberal sense of the term, seem less relevant. In these kinds of settings, formal education taking place in schools arguably needs to incorporate some form of occupational training.

In her article 'The manpower service model of education', Jonathan (1983) cautions against letting education make way for vocational training, however. She points out, for instance, that while people need to make a living it is not unimportant to them how they do so. Before training young people to perform certain vocational skills, they need to be enabled to choose what kind of occupation most suits their inclinations and aptitudes. In addition, Jonathan posits, since we cannot fully predict the future we can also not say with

complete certainty what kinds of occupations will be required to meet future needs.

More importantly, and akin to critique leveled at attempts to predefine the direction of socialisation in traditional approaches to enculturation, Jonathan (1983) observes that considering young people:

> [W]ill *comprise* the future… we are in danger of predetermining the future in the guise of preparing for it, by circumscribing both individual and social possibilities to conform to those which we currently foresee and endorse (p.4, italics in original).

Jonathan furthermore warns against allowing educational reform to be market-led, i.e. whereby industrialists and employers define the direction of change (see also Bridges & Jonathan, 2003). Jonathan argues that this builds on a view of the individual 'as a cog in a given socio-economic machine' (1983: 6). Similar to Peters (1966), Jonathan argues against conflating education with training. Doing so mistakenly assumes there are two kinds of learning; ''training' which is useful and relevant, and 'education' which is a luxury few want and collectively we cannot afford' (1983: 6).

Even though Jonathan's article was written in an entirely different time and context (namely during the Thatcher years in the United Kingdom) in many cases her arguments arguably still ring true. Her observations as to the undesirability of attempts to predetermine the future resonate with those of among other people, the educational philosopher Atli Harðarson (2012). In Harðarson's view, 'insisting on a totally aims-based course of education is like asking [learners] to traverse uncharted territories and still insist that they go to places we have pointed out on a map' (p.234).

Jonathan's call for a *broad* education, i.e. one that enables young people to think in abstract, critical ways also echoes critique voiced by scholars working in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education. Here it is worthwhile to once again refer to Crewe's observation that HIV prevention education should offer young people opportunities to philosophise and 'think in complex abstract ways' (2006: 7). Calls such as these arguably appear to evoke a similar

distinction between 'education' and 'training' as that drawn by Peters, i.e. whereby 'training' is regarded as that leading to competence to tackle specific problems and 'education' as suggesting development of 'awareness of the different facets and dimensions of … problems' (Peters, 1966: 32).

Thus, while scholars such as these might not agree with Peters' liberal interpretation of education in its entirety, it would seem that they - like Peters - would reject defining HIV- and AIDS prevention efforts which merely focus on particular (problem solving) skills as *educative*. This links back to the discussion at the beginning of this section, i.e. concerning the importance of being clear on the underpinning vision of education, without this 'degenerating' into a debate about specific predefined outcomes.

Discussions concerning the educational aims of vocational preparation therefore also have bearing on HIV- and AIDS-related education. Among other things, the debate more clearly brings to the fore the importance of *not* attempting to provide learners the complete road map to a future we will never be able to fully predict. Equally, as Jonathan (1983: 4) observes, considering learners comprise the future, a totally aims based curriculum entails we risk 'predetermining the future in the guise of preparing for it'.

The discussion above suggests that awareness of the interests being served through an educational programme is critical for those involved in the design, delivery, uptake and evaluation thereof. In relation to vocational preparation, a distinction may, for instance, be made between approaches that are primarily a). market or consumer-led, whereby 'consumers' are understood as employers, industry and the state, and b). grounded on learners' individual preferences and aptitudes. To an important degree, these categories may equally apply to the analysis of HIV prevention education.

4.4 Concluding section

4.4.1 Tripartite framework for understanding conceptions of education

The current chapter builds on Hare and Portelli's definition of the philosophy of education as 'a critical inquiry into educational concepts, values and practices' (2001: 11). It furthermore concurs with these authors that this form of interrogation may be of critical value for practical educational decisions, including HIV- and AIDS-related education (see also Bridges, 2003; Carr, 2003). The review detailed in the current chapter was developed to provide an additional set of sensitising notions, complementing those identified in the tripartite framework to understand HIV- and AIDS-related education.

The sensitising concepts discussed in this chapter are expected to enable more texturised analysis of social, political and philosophical beliefs underpinning approaches to HIV prevention education in Mozambique. Key questions, for instance, concern the extent to which different sets of actors (overtly or otherwise) engage with the idea that, in a world with HIV and AIDS, education should be about promoting autonomy, (civil) enculturation, and/or the provision of a blue print for, or to achieve, a particular future.

To identify these sensitising notions, the chapter drew on basic educational aims identified by Winch and Gingell (2008). These aims were clustered into three broad categories and examined in turn. The three categories of educational aims were: a) promotion of autonomy, b) (civil) enculturation, and c) vocational preparation.

Figure 4.1 builds on the analysis detailed in this chapter. It provides an overview of the three aims of education and the possible positions with regard to the basic defining premise of each aim. The potential positions taken are presented as two ends on a uni-dimensional scale. Despite the suggestion of incompatibility of these positions, in practice overlap may at times occur and there may be shifts from one position to the other. Thus, the scales presented below primarily serve to visualise the different *possible* positions.

Figure 4.1: Aims of education and underpinning defining features

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i. *Promotion of autonomy*

Education is conceptualised as geared toward supporting the pursuit for personal autonomy. The way in which this aim is interpreted is a function of the underpinning conception of the individual and her/his relation with her/his broader social setting. Two basic conceptions of the individual were identified, namely:

|---|

Atomistic individual   Contextualised individual
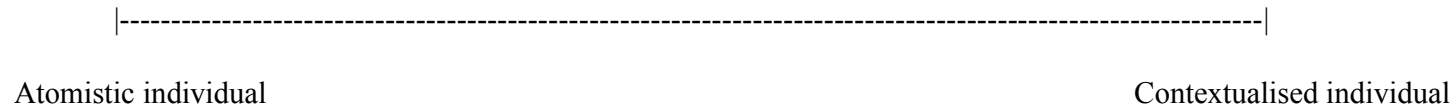
Simply put, liberal educational philosophy is grounded on a conception of an *a*social individual. From this perspective, education should enable individuals, through the achievement of rational autonomy, to determine what the good society shall be (Jonathan, 1997a). Communitarian educational philosophy defines the individual as fundamentally social and, in contrast to liberal thought, views society as more than the sum of rationally choosing individuals. Education cannot be morally neutral (as in liberal philosophy of education) but needs to be grounded on a substantive vision as to what constitutes the 'good' for society.

ii. *Civil enculturation*

Two broad, contrasting socio-political approaches to civil enculturation were identified: traditional and transformatory approaches. The former is defined as those directed at maintaining social harmony and unity. Education is then geared to the integration of the individual into a predefined whole. The latter seek to enable individuals to become a part of a community through a process of reflective and critical engagement with the practices and beliefs of that community. Here definitions of the 'good society' are negotiable.

Figure 4.1 Cont.

|--|

 'Traditional' enculturation;   Transformatory enculturation;

 predefined idea of the good society   negotiable conception of the good society

    iii. Vocational preparation

Vocational education was identified as potentially driven by the preferences of two different sets of actors, namely those of the market and state or those of the individual.

|--|

   Market and state   Individual

It was noted that awareness of the interests being served through an educational programme is critical, including in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education. The discussion of education as vocational preparation also further highlighted the critical importance of *not* striving to provide a fully aims-based curriculum.

4.4.2 Education and building autonomy

The present chapter identified the development of autonomy as a principal (liberal) aim of education. It considered criticism of the conception of the *a*social individual and knowledge underlying this ideal, offering the communitarian alternative of the contextualised individual. With regard to the liberal conception of knowledge, Chapter three discussed alternatives ontologies whereby knowledge is conceived as socially produced and in a perpetual state of becoming (Dewey 1938/1986; Jasanoff, 2006). Although these alternatives are useful, the critique offered hitherto does not fully unpack the notion of autonomy itself. Considering its centrality to both educational philosophy and HIV- and AIDS-related education, the next section examines the term more fully.

In 'Foucault, Educational Research and the Issue of Autonomy', Olssen (2005) offers a detailed analysis of the idea of autonomy. Of particular interest are the author's observations as to how autonomy 'grounds political obligation to the individual's private arena, underemphasizing the social relations, ethical duties and responsibilities, and the complexities of the individual-collective interaction' (p. 371).

In Olssen's view, the concept has 'distorting effects' of an ideological character. First of all, the term is technically inappropriate given that people are interconnected and interdependent and thus cannot be considered 'autonomous'. Secondly, whilst intimately tied to the idea of freedom, the notion of autonomy itself also forms the basis for the competitive, entrepreneurial space of the (global) market. Olssen argues the term thus may be seen to underpin the idea of the *homo economicus*, and more broadly white, protestant, middle class, male values. Seen as such, the idea of autonomy links the idea of freedom with liberal ideas of minimal state intervention. Governance then entails creating self-managing individuals (see also Arnot, 2006).

Olssen's critique is salient to the current discussion in at least two ways. Firstly, it highlights the ways in which, in important ways, liberal and communitarian conceptions of education, i.e. 'autonomy' and 'enculturation', might be seen to overlap. Secondly, as will be discussed in Chapters seven and eight, the economic

underpinnings of the idea of 'autonomy' Olssen identifies might equally be seen to undergird participant and policy narratives with regard to the aims of education.

4.4.3 Limitations of the tripartite framework of education

The conceptual framework detailed here is designed to support examination of and create greater clarity as to conceptions of the purposes of education. It can be further improved in several ways. Similar to the conceptual framework drawing a distinction between approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education (Chapter three), the framework detailed here may gain depth by engaging with primary data. Engagement with primary data concerning educational practice is expected to support generation of a series of additional and intermediary perspectives with regard to the aims of education. These might be placed in between the two ends of the scales presented in figure 4.1 and as such add further nuance and analytical power to the framework discussed in this chapter.

4.4.4 Applying the tripartite framework

Reflecting on how the thesis will draw on these three sets of sensitising notions set out in this chapter, it is useful to briefly return to the ways in which the idea of 'education' is understood and utilised. As various other authors have observed, in both daily and scholarly discourse the term 'education' is used in multiple, 'fast and loose ways' (Carr, 2010: 100; Hardarson, 2012). The ongoing debate regarding the *concept* of education may be regarded as indicative of the difficulties of coming to an agreement as to what 'education' means across different contexts and times, including that which engages with issues related to HIV and AIDS. As Carr (2010) has cogently argued, however, it is a fundamental mistake to believe that the different ways of *using* the term are indicative of 'rival and/or incommensurable social constructions' (p.99).

As the discussion of the three aims of education suggests, the distinction between, for instance, 'emancipation' and 'socialisation' need not be necessarily interpreted as reflecting an 'either/or' position (see also Carr, 2010). That said, the ideas concerning the aims of education detailed in the current chapter suggest that a more profound level of disagreement may at times exist. In particular, the different perception of the

individual as an abstract, atomic being seems at a distinct remove from that of the individual as defined by her/his positionalities within the greater whole.

For two key reasons, this point of distinction is considered to be particularly salient to the present study. It is pertinent, first of all, in view of the thesis focus on HIV- and AIDS-related education. Such education (ideally) addresses a broad range of social issues including sexual relationships, care, stigma and discrimination. Secondly, consideration of the relationship between the individual and social is relevant given the research focus on Mozambique. Mozambique may be understood as a society that first and foremost centres on the wellbeing of the collective body rather than that of the individual person. Against this backdrop, it is crucial that the analysis attempts to unpack conceptions of the individual underpinning educational initiatives. As will be made clear in the discussion of the data (particularly Chapters seven and nine), participant narratives often tended to be underpinned by contradictory understandings of the relationship between the individual and the collective, and particularly a person's ability to - using scientific knowledge - act autonomously for the betterment of the collective.

The extent to which the two 'extreme' conceptions of the relationship between the individual and the social may be understood as reflecting rival and incompatible conceptions will be reflected on further during the data analysis. In particular, the possible implications will be investigated with regard to Kelly's call to 're-examine the meaning and purpose of education in a world with HIV and AIDS' (2006: 54). In addition, possible implications will be examined within the context of Mozambique, where the national education agenda is negotiated against the backdrop of a drive to gain foreign investment and aid.

Chapter five: Methodological framework

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological choices made within the framework of the present study. The chapter is composed of six sections. Section 5.2 discusses the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning the study. In section 5.3 the overall research strategy is presented. Section 5.4 details the research design, clarifying the process and the methods employed to support the empirical enquiry. This section engages with issues relating to sampling and recruitment, sources of information, and the collection, documentation and analysis of data.

Section 5.5 reviews the possible limitations of the study and the ways in which the researcher strived to overcome or mitigate these. Section 5.6 offers a discussion of four key areas of ethical concern: informed consent, confidentiality, participant safety and dissemination of research findings. A summary of the main issues engaged with in the preceding sections constitutes the sixth and final tract of the chapter. Detailed reflection on the challenges encountered during fieldwork in Mozambique is reported in the final chapter of the thesis (Chapter ten).

5.2 Ontological and epistemological assumptions

In their discussion of critical qualitative research, Kincheloe and Mclaren (2000), argue that one of the most important aspects of critical research is its interpretive or hermeneutical character. The authors argue that research *is* interpretation and since there is no such thing as 'pristine interpretation' (p.286), no authoritative account of reality is possible. In these authors' view, therefore, critically informed qualitative research implies an idealist ontology, in the sense that what we regard as the external world has little external existence separate from our thoughts (Honderich, 2005; Blaikie, 2007).

In direct contrast to idealist ontology, realist ontology holds that both the natural and

the social world exist independently of the human mind (Cohen et al., 2007). As Honderich (2005: 787) observes, 'no sane position is reached at either extreme [of the idealist-realist spectrum]'; not everything is in every way either dependent or independent of the mind. The variety of ontological positions used in social sciences, ranging from shallow realism, to depth realism, idealism and subtle realism, indicates that many social scientists position themselves somewhere between the two extremes. While the position taken in this research is primarily idealist, this is understood in the sense that, although our knowledge of social phenomena may have a 'perspectival nature' (Honderich, 2005: 413), this does not mean these phenomena themselves are fully mind-dependent.

Idealist ontologies are frequently linked to an epistemology of constructionism, whereby knowledge of social reality is regarded as the outcome of people's understanding of their experiences of the world and other people (Honderich, 2005: 873; Blaikie, 2007: 22). Making sense of the world is considered as being either an individual or a social process (Blaikie, 2007). In the present study, the term 'constructionism' is used in the sense of *social* constructionism, implying that construction of knowledge, both by research participants and the researcher herself takes place within particular 'historical, cultural and gendered ways of being' (Blaikie, 2007: 23).

A fundamental premise within constructionism concerns the impossibility of value-free science, which is exactly what its epistemological opposite - positivism – claims *is* possible. Positivist social scientists argue that knowledge of social reality is gained through use of human senses; a trained researcher able to objectively observe social reality (Cohen et al., 2007; Blaikie, 2007). As Cohen and colleagues (2007) point out, positivism is grounded on a view of natural science as a 'paradigm of human knowledge' (p.9), shaping both the kinds of methodological procedures used and the manner in which research findings are presented. Considering human nature and interaction are rarely as 'straightforward' as the natural world, positivist methodologies are considered less suited to capture the 'elusive and intangible quality of social phenomena' (Cohen et al., 2007: 11).

5.3 Research strategy

A research strategy builds on a particular style of reasoning. The research problem and research questions posed here suggest an *abductive* research strategy is most appropriate, in the sense that the aim of an abductive process is to uncover social actors' constructions of the social world and the ways in which they understand and give meaning to this perceived reality (Blaikie, 2007). Broadly speaking, an abductivist research strategy draws upon an idealist ontology and a constructivist epistemology (Blaikie, 2007; Anderson, 2008; Pickett, 2008).

In *Approaches to Social Enquiry,* Blaikie (2007) discusses abductive logic in detail, clarifying the ways in which it differs from three other main research strategies commonly distinguished, namely inductive, deductive and retroductive strategies. The research strategies, Blaikie writes, vary in the way they generate new knowledge, informed as they are by different ontological and epistemological assumptions, and different styles of reasoning and research. In summary, an inductive research strategy aims to generate patterns and features moving from the particular to the general, whilst a deductive strategy is used to test hypotheses and reject those found to be false. A retroductive strategy tries to uncover underlying mechanisms that can describe 'observed regularities' (p.68) and, finally, an abductive strategy aims to understand the social world through particular social actors' accounts of their perceptions of the social world[9].

Consistent with the abductive research strategy, in this research social actors' accounts provided the main entry point to developing an understanding of the ways in which they perceive the social world. The accounts people give, Blaikie notes, contain the concepts they make use of to structure and make sense of their world, and the (tacit) knowledge they drawn upon in the process (p.90; Cohen et al., 2007: 384). An abductive research strategy entails cyclic processes of enquiry, the researcher iteratively developing theories on the basis of research participants' accounts of their social reality and the language used to do so.

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[9] Cohen et al. (2007) also speak of account gathering as a means to understand social actors' meaning systems, referring to this as the ethogenic approach.

The social scientific account thus developed may in turn either be interpreted within the framework of existing social theories or provide the basis for the generation of new theory. The various sets of sensitising notions developed for purposes of the present study provide some of the primary conceptual tools to support the interpretation of accounts given by the different sets of social actors.

5.4 Research design

In this section the research design is described. Details are given of the data collection methods used, sources of information and, finally, how data were documented and analysed.

To come to an understanding of different sets of social actors' perspectives on, and experiences of, HIV- and AIDS-related education, a qualitative multi-method approach was developed for this study. Using multiple methods was not only expected to improve understanding of the accounts given by different (sets of) social actors, but also to provide a means to triangulate data (Robson, 2002).

One of the first steps in the research involved a careful review and discussion of available research literature on good practice in HIV- and AIDS-related education and existing typologies of this form of education (Chapter two). Subsequent to this the aforementioned tripartite conceptual framework was developed with a view to support the analysis of common approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education (Chapter three). To address one of the key points of critique levelled at current school-based HIV prevention education, namely that this does not take place within a broader review of the 'educational enterprise' (Kelly, 2000a: 29), Chapter four engaged with conceptions of 'education' and educational aims. These three chapters provide the theoretical foundations of the thesis.

The second key step was the collection of data at the three different levels distinguished for purposes of this study, namely international, national and local, the latter subdivided into teachers, peer educators (*activistas*) and learners. At least two different research methods were used to gather data for each set of social actors. Interviews and documentary analysis were used to gather data at international and

national levels whilst, at local level interviews, observation and focus group discussions served as the main data collection methods. The proposed methods are discussed in detail below.

Excluding three interviews with international agency staff members and a number of meetings with key informants (which took place in English), all interviews and group discussions were conducted in Portuguese. The issue of language and the challenges this posed to data collection are reflected in more detail in the section on procedural reactivity (section 5.5.1).

5.4.1 Sample and recruitment procedures

In line with the study objective to understand various actors' conceptions of HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique, a purposive sampling strategy was employed. Different sets of criteria were used for the selection of participants at each research level.

Criteria relating to socio-economic background structured the sampling of secondary schools and, within the schools, the sampling of young people was guided by criteria related to school grade and gender. *Activistas* were sampled on the basis of the grades they were responsible for and gender. Educators, policy makers and staff members of international aid agencies were primarily sampled on the basis of their professional position and, where possible, gender.

a. *School sampling; school level and learner socio-economic background*

During initial stages of the fieldwork, the researcher engaged at length with key research informants from national NGOs, MINED and international aid agencies on the different forms of school-based HIV prevention education in Mozambique. Informants indicated that the multi-sectoral HIV- and AIDS-related education programme *Geração Biz* ('the busy generation' or PGB) was implemented in all secondary schools in Maputo City. They furthermore reported that the PGB programme constituted MINED's principal intra- and extra-curricular HIV- and AIDS-related initiative for young people (see also CNCS, 2012). As these informants also clarified, PGB is designed to complement the HIV prevention education provided through the national curriculum.

Discussions with informants revealed that, at the time of data collection, the MINED HIV- and AIDS-related education programme for primary level learners, *Pacote Básico* ('Basic Package'), had not yet been extended to the capital city. The decision to concentrate on secondary level schools was, therefore, motivated by the presence of the MINED led HIV- and AIDS-related educational initiative in these schools in Maputo city.

In addition to concentrating on secondary level learners, the study aimed to focus on young people from lower socio-economic quintiles. This decision was made in view of the following reasons:

a. the vast majority of Mozambicans belonging to the lower socio-economic quintiles (Cunguara & Hanlon, 2010; Molini, 2010a);

b. young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds generally being more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS (Machel, 2001; Aggleton et al., 2004; Groes-Greene, 2009a, b);

c. the differential impact education has been found to have on young people from these backgrounds (Fine & McLeland, 2006; Reay, 2006), and

d. the relative dearth of academic studies into the ways in which young school going Mozambicans from lower socio-economic backgrounds perceive and engage with HIV- and AIDS-related education (as opposed to those from upper middle and elite classes, see e.g. Machel, 2001; Manuel, 2005; Groes-Greene, 2009b).

Sampling of public secondary schools was also done following extensive consultation with key informants. Discussions with informants supported identification of schools catering to learners at the lower end of the socio-economic scale (SES). Despite the extensive and careful preparation, it was found that drawing SES distinctions between learners attending public secondary schools was complex. The feasibility of using SES as a sampling criterion between public schools in the context of Mozambique is considered in more detail in Chapter ten.

The final sample included one secondary school in the city centre (*Escola Secundária de KaPfumo*), and two secondary schools in the periphery (*Escola Secundária de*

Gandhi and the *Escola Secundária de Maxaquene*). The *KaPfumo* School in the city centre was attended by young people living in the more prosperous neighbourhoods surrounding the school as well as those living in peripheral areas. The latter had to travel to school using either private or public means. The substantial additional financial burden this entailed for their caregivers was considered to indicate the young people attending this school were from families with at least some economic means (see also Paulo et al., 2007; CIA World Factbook, 2011).

The two schools in the city outskirts were situated in lower socio-economic neighbourhoods and largely drew young people living in the vicinity of the schools. As such the school population were presumed to reflect the lower socio-economic background of the neighbourhoods (see also Manuel, 2005; Groes-Greene, 2009b). The study began in the *Gandhi* school. This was found to also draw young people from what could be considered 'middle-middle' class families living in surrounding and more prosperous areas. To ensure the study involved a mixture of learners from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, it was therefore decided to include the *Maxaquene* School in the sample. *Maxaquene* learners taking part in the study all lived in the relatively poor area directly surrounding the school. All three schools followed the national curriculum and were part of the PGB programme.

b. Context

The relatively small *Gandhi* school had been constructed in 2003 by and directly adjacent to a Catholic Church in *bairro* (neighbourhood) Chamancula, one of the poorer and more congested neighbourhoods in the city periphery. The *bairro* bordered a very prosperous neighbourhood, which stood in marked contrast to the relative poverty of the area in which the school was located. A long dusty road led to the school, directly adjacent to a railway line. According to learners and school staff, the road became unsafe towards the end of the day and most learners strived to walk in groups in an attempt to avoid being mugged or (sexually) harassed by *malandros* ('thugs') hiding on the other side of the railway track. The *Gandhi* school only catered to lower secondary school learners (grades 8 - 10). Like most public schools in Mozambique, it had a day and a night shift. The school was attended by approximately 2600 learners in total, the average number of learners per grade being 79.

The large *Maxaquene* secondary school was located in the sprawling *bairro* of Maxaquene, and was furthest removed from the city centre. This neighbourhood was largely devoid of (street side) bars and shops. The roads were largely unpaved and irregular. When it rained they turned into rivers and were difficult to navigate. According to participants from this area, high levels of violent crime characterised the neighbourhood. Like the *Gandhi* school, the *Maxaquene* School had been established in 2003. It was composed of both lower and upper secondary level (i.e. grades 8 - 12), catering to around 5000 learners. Lessons for lower secondary learners were scheduled in the morning, upper secondary learners arriving for classes in the afternoon or evening. The average number of learners per grade was 75.

The *KaPfumo* School was established in 1976, making it one of the oldest secondary schools in Maputo (and for this reason, the country as a whole). Attended by 6800 learners, this was the largest school in the sample. The *KaPfumo* school offered lessons during a day and a night shift to both lower and upper secondary level learners. The school was located in *bairro* Costa do Sol, one of the most expensive areas of town, in between two large embassies and a number of private schools. It was furthermore situated in an area primarily inhabited by expatriates and upper middle class Mozambican families. The area surrounding the school was dotted with roadside bars, grocery shops, a shopping mall selling luxurious goods, informal fruit and vegetable vendors, and a large arts and crafts market. Roads were largely paved.

The schools were accessed following formal MINED approval of the study. A MINED official accompanied the researcher during the first, introductory visits to school directors. During these introductory visits, the researcher submitted a letter explaining the purpose, scope and process of the study. She also provided her contact details and, where possible, those of her research assistant. The researcher conducted all subsequent visits to the schools on her own or, where possible, with a research assistant.

c. Age

The schools included in the sample were organised along mono-grade lines, i.e. they catered to single grades. The sample of young school going people was drawn from

grade nine, which is the second grade of (lower) secondary school. A number of reasons motivated this decision. To begin with, access to secondary education is severely limited in Mozambique, and particularly to grades 8 and 11 (for recent data, see World Bank, 2012). During introductory meetings, the researcher was informed that grade 10 and 12 learners would be busy doing exams when the study commenced. Grade nine was hence not only deemed one of the more 'inclusive' grades, learners in this particular year also did not have examinations at the time of the study. An additional reason related to the expected level of comfort of learners; young key informants indicating grade nine learners were more likely to feel comfortable speaking about HIV- and AIDS-related issues with a white, Western woman.

The researcher initially introduced herself (in Portuguese) to learners during class time or when they congregated in or around the *Canto de Aconselhamento* (PGB Counselling Corner). It is important to note that the medium of instruction in secondary schools in Mozambique is Portuguese and a high degree of fluency is therefore expected of learners. While the researcher found learners varied in the degree of fluency of spoken Portuguese, this never appeared to hamper the interaction or learners' engagement with the questions posed by researcher. To establish rapport, the researcher learned a few key phrases in Xangana, the mother tongue of many participants.

It was during the introductory meetings that the researcher would describe the nature of the study, the number of young women and men she hoped to involve, and a number of practical issues (e.g. the likely number of sessions and the time each session could be expected to take). Young people were selected on a voluntary basis and where more than ten volunteered to take part, a random selection was done to come to a total of five young women and five young men[10].

During the introductory meeting, two letters (written in Portuguese) were distributed to young people agreeing to take part in the study. One was addressed to participants

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[10] The random selection led to disappointment among those that had not been selected. I conducted a few separate focus group discussions with these groups to make up for their not being selected. While these discussions further informed the study, I have not engaged with these data in an in-depth manner.

themselves. This letter informed them of the nature of the study, their rights as participants, how many sessions the study would entail, and the contact details of the researcher and, where relevant, the assistant (see Appendix XIII). The second letter was directed at young people's caregivers and provided similar information (see Appendix XV). The letter to young people's caregivers was not enclosed in an envelope to allow young people to read what was being communicated to caregivers should they wish.

During the course of the study, it became apparent that some young people were closely monitored by their caregivers and were expected to justify their whereabouts. In these cases, it was clear learners had passed the letter on to their parents or guardians, or at the very least had informed them of their taking part in the study. Considering many learners did not have their own phones, the researcher had to contact a fair number of them via caregivers to make arrangements to meet. All caregivers seemed informed of their children's/ward's involvement.

d. Gender

The sampling strategy was aimed at recruiting equal numbers of women and men from each actor group. This proved to be difficult at the level of international aid agencies, considering there were more female professionals active in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education. Professional position was deemed a more important criterion than gender, but this did entail a gender imbalance in the sample of professionals from these agencies.

e. Professional sample

The final sample of professionals working at international, national and local level was developed following extensive sounding with a broad range of professionals from the National AIDS Council, various civil society organisations, MINED and international donor agencies. For purposes of sample development, the researcher furthermore reviewed MINED policy and strategy documents, and consulted the 'Official Development Assistance to Mozambique Database'. This database provides information on, among other things, past and current support to the Government of Mozambique per sector.

At international level, the sampling strategy was directed at recruiting senior programme managers of key aid agencies considered to play an important role in the development and implementation of MINED HIV- and AIDS-related education policies, strategies and teaching content. Individual interviews were conducted at the respective offices of key representatives of five pivotal external members of the HIV and AIDS Working Group. Senior staff members of three additional agencies were interviewed, including two large funding agencies and an international NGO. International participants were approached using prior contacts.

At national level, the sampling strategy was geared toward the recruitment of HIV and AIDS focal points and/or senior staff members from relevant directorates within or institutions connected to the Ministry. In addition, sampling was aimed at directorates involved in secondary level education and the PGB programme. All policy makers involved in the study held senior positions within the ministry or its various institutions, most serving as directors. Participants were sampled from the following directorates/departments or institutes: the Directorate of Special Programmes, the Department of School Health and HIV/AIDS, the Department of Secondary Education, the Directorate of Teacher Training, INDE and the Municipal level Education Directorate. This sample also included participants from one Teacher Training Institute.

The MINED was first approached in writing, providing information on the research purposes and scope, and requesting formal approval for the study. Once formal permission had been granted (October 2010), prior contacts were used to facilitate access to potential research participants. Semi-structured interviews were held with the eight selected MINED senior officials (four female, four male) from the seven different directorates/institutions. It should be noted that no reference is made in the discussion of the data to the directorate or department to which the research participant was connected. Considering their senior position and, in many cases, direct involvement in the MINED Working Group on HIV and AIDS, doing so would compromise participant confidentiality.

Meetings were held in Portuguese with seven additional senior policy makers from five other MINED departments/directorates, including INDE, the Institute for School

Inspection, and the directorates of educational planning and textbook development. Finally, a series of meetings were held with staff members of the National AIDS Council (n=1), two national NGOs (n=2), one international NGO (n=2), bilateral (n=1) and multilateral (n=1) agencies. Information thus gathered offered an additional means to contextualise participant statements and as such was used to inform the analysis.

Within the three selected secondary schools, individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with the *Director Pedagógico* ('pedagogic director') and two grade nine teachers. The *Director Pedagógico* is responsible for the overall management of curricular matters and support to teachers and was as such deemed an important actor. The teachers were recruited on the basis of their involvement in the provision of HIV- and AIDS-related education to grade nine learners. Where possible - in the sense of where existent - the sample included the *Professor Amigo* (PGB support teacher) and/or the school HIV and AIDS Focal Point. In the three schools, (Portuguese, English or French) language teachers and biology teachers were identified as most active in the provision of HIV prevention education. This can partly be understood against the backdrop of the attention paid to HIV- and AIDS-related issues in the curricular outlines for these particular subjects.

In each school, three to four peer educators were interviewed and/or observed during PGB sessions. These interviews were also conducted in Portuguese, a language in which all *activistas* were fluent. The primary purpose of the interviews was to develop understanding of *activistas*' perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related education and work as *activistas*, and sampling was done until theoretical saturation was deemed to have occurred. The sample included the peer educator coordinator (all young men) and *activistas* who responded positively to the request to be interviewed and/or observed. An attempt was made to include equal numbers of female and male *activistas*.

Table 5.1: Overview of research participants[11]

Level/Sex & numbers	Female	Male
Local level:		
Pedagogic directors	1	2
Grade nine teachers	3	3
Activistas (including coordinator)	4	5
Young people	11 (average age: 14½, youngest 14, eldest 16)	12 (average age: 15½, youngest 13, eldest 18)
National level:		
MINED Central level policy makers	3	4
MINED Municipal level policy makers	1	
International level:		
International aid agencies	6	1
International NGOs	1	
Total	**30**	**27**

5.4.2 Data collection

Fieldwork was conducted over a period of seven months (August 2010 - February 2011). Four methods of data collection were used to gather information in this study: semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), non-participant observation and documentary analysis. A review of literature on approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education, as well as literature on education, gender and HIV and AIDS-related issues in Mozambique, informed the development of the interview and focus group discussion schedules (see Appendix I - IX for interview and discussion guides). Translation of research tools was carried out by the researcher and reviewed by research assistants and informal contacts that were fluent in both Portuguese and English. The latter allowed for checking of translation against the original (English language) documents.

It is important to note that the interview guides for policy makers, educators and international agency staff were broadly similar. Schedules developed for interviews

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[11] This overview only provides numbers of those with those involved in 'formal' research sessions. It neither includes the persons with whom I held meetings or held informal conversation with, nor those taking part in the pilot.

with *activistas* were structured around broadly similar topics discussed with the other professionals. With regard to these actor groups, the objective of interviews was to elucidate participant views with regard to, among other things, the aims of education and the ways in which HIV- and AIDS-related education was delivered. Discussion and interview guides for young people differed from those of other participants in that these were principally geared to developing insight into the ways in which they understood and experienced a) the HIV epidemic and b) (HIV- and AIDS-related) education. As will be clarified in the discussion of the data, the differences in terms of issues flagged by young people when compared with those addressed by other participants at least in part needs to be understood against this backdrop.

Research tools were piloted prior to use with the final sample of research participants. This was done with a view to assessing the strength of the interview and FGD questions and observation 'check list'. The piloting also served as a means to verify the quality of the translation and whether the terminology used was appropriate in the different settings. For practical reasons, the interview guide for international agency staff members was piloted in the Netherlands.

Primary issues arising during the pilot in Mozambique concerned sampling and linguistic matters. A key lesson with regard to the former related to the need to ensure that the sample of young people did not include young people who themselves were actively involved in the provision or organisation of HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives. It was found during the pilot that these young people tended to strongly draw on health communication discourse underpinning such educational initiatives.

Interviews and focus group discussions each lasted between one and two hours and were generally audio-recorded following verbal permission of the participant(s). One *Director Pedagógico* and two international level actors indicated they preferred not to be recorded, stating professional reasons (n=2) (restrictions set by the agency employing the interviewee), or feelings of personal discomfort (n=1).

The bulk of interviews was conducted in people's offices or on school grounds, although a number of FGDs, interviews and informal conversations with young

people, and several interviews with international actors, were held in cafés, at markets, the school cafeteria (which in all cases were slightly removed from the main school building), or on benches/under trees outside school grounds.

In general, the researcher met potential research participants at least once before the first focus group discussion or interview. In the case of 'adult' participants, at a minimum the researcher met them once prior to the 'formal' interview (or in three cases, spoke with them on the phone). Again, it was during such a (first) informal meeting or phone conversation that the researcher would explain the nature and scope of the study and clarify the voluntary and confidential nature of participation.

a. Focus group discussion

Focus group discussions (FGDs) are defined here as guided open-ended group discussions to explore shared meanings and group interaction around particular topics of common interest (Bryman, 2004; Cohen et al., 2007), in this case on young people's viewpoints regarding current provision and the potential of HIV- and AIDS-related education.

Discussion guides were developed for three separate FGD sessions. Of the three, two focus group sessions were conducted in mixed sex groups, and one focus group, which concentrated on more 'sensitive' subjects, was carried out with single sex groups. In total, 18 sessions were conducted in the three schools. Focus groups in this study were no larger than the maximum recommended size, namely eight to twelve persons (Robson, 2002). In fact, none of the focus groups were composed of more than eight young people. Where possible, the researcher made use of a research assistant to provide support with note taking and observation during group discussions. As will be detailed in Chapter ten, recruitment of assistants proved difficult and, in most cases, the researcher had to conduct sessions alone.

An attempt was made to create relatively homogenous focus groups so as to enhance participants' feeling of safety by, for instance, grouping same-age participants. Verbal information regarding the nature of the study, participants' rights and the interview process was (again) provided directly before an FGD session, together with an informed consent note providing the same information. One young woman opted out

of the study after the first group discussion.

Distinct advantages of FGDs are that participants' own agenda rather than that of the researcher tends to predominate (which can help to balance out power relations within a research context) and that they generally thought to be an efficient means of generating considerable amounts of qualitative data (Cohen et al., 2007). Group dynamics are generally thought to facilitate identification of topics of importance to the group and assessment of the degree to which opinions are shared (Robson, 2002: 284).

At the same time, focus groups can be a limiting form of data collection. The number of questions that can be dealt with during a focus group is often limited, for instance, although this is arguably outweighed by the depth and quality of data that emerges from the exploration of just a few questions. Discussions during focus groups can furthermore be dominated by one or two persons, which in turn may lead to conflicts between participants or those less vocal withdrawing from the discussion (Robson, 2002; Cohen et al., 2007). The researcher strived to pay careful attention to the group dynamics and attempted to ensure participants felt there was space for them to voice their point of view during discussions.

A final important disadvantage of the group setting is confidentiality of information (Robson, 2002). Although participants were explicitly reminded at the start and conclusion of a focus group session that the contents of the discussion should be treated as confidential, it was not be possible to verify participant adherence to this 'ground rule'. For this reason, no claim of complete confidentiality was made and potential research participants were informed of this limitation.

b. Semi-structured individual interviews

Following the focus group discussions, semi-structured, individual interviews were undertaken with 23 young people, all of whom had also taken part in the group discussions. Interviews were also held with all peer educators (n=9), educators (n=9), policy makers (n=8), and international development agency staff (n=8).

Semi-structured interviews are understood as those where the interviewer has a list of

topics to cover during the interview but may vary in the precise wording and sequencing of questions and the amount of time spent on specific topics (Robson, 2002). Such interviews are considered to provide a flexible means of finding out about social actors' views (Robson, 2002; Cohen et al., 2007). This form of interview allows an interviewer to follow up on specific issues raised and incorporate various kinds of information; for instance, both that which is communicated verbally and non-verbally (Cohen et al., 2007). The flexibility of the semi-structured interview and particularly the possibility it offers to gather detailed information on issues of interest constituted key reasons for including it as one of the main data collection methods in this study.

According to Cohen et al. (2007), the interview marks a move towards regarding knowledge as *generated between* rather than external to humans, emphasizing the extent to which research data are socially situated. The intersubjective nature of interviews is reflected in the basic definition of the interview cited by Cohen and colleagues, namely as a means of 'interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest' (p.349). The social situatedness and the earlier mentioned flexibility of (semi-structured) interviews may in some respects be regarded as a weakness; there is, for instance, a risk that different interviewees are asked (slightly) different questions, undermining reliability and reducing comparability of responses (Robson, 2002; Cohen et al. 2007). Arguably, however, the possibilities that semi-structured interviews offer to probe more deeply into particular issues and points of view generally outweigh these disadvantages.

The validity of interview findings can also be an issue of concern in (semi-structured) interviews. The main threats to validity are bias as a result of characteristics of the interviewer and/or interviewee, and the content of interview questions (Cohen et al., 2007). Prior to and throughout the process of data collection, the researcher attempted to reflect on her position vis-à-vis the research participants and her personal views on among other things, HIV- and AIDS-related education. The researcher furthermore reflected on the ways in which these might influence the interview process and the manner in which interviewees responded to her (personal reactivity).

To ensure interviewees talked as openly and freely as possible and were not led by the manner in which questions are asked, efforts were made to avoid appearing to share opinions with interviewees, not using long and multi-barrelled questions and formulating questions in a non-threatening manner (Robson, 2002: 274-275). In addition, the piloting of the interviews and requests for feedback on the interview and FGD process following the pilot provided important pointers on how to improve discussion techniques and the questions themselves.

c. Non-participant observation

Non-participant observation allows a researcher to learn about social actors through observing and taking part in their day-to-day activities (Kawulich, 2005). This method was proposed as a means to gain greater insight into teachers' approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education and the responses of learners to the education provided. Observation was done in a semi-structured fashion, i.e. an agenda of topics was used to structure data gathering whilst maintaining a degree of flexibility as to how systematically this was done (Cohen et al., 2007). The degree of researcher participation in the situations observed was minimal. Nevertheless, the researcher took into account that, when observed, educators might strive to teach what they perceived to be 'model' lessons.

Observation was expected to fulfil several functions in this study. Among other things, the information thus gathered was expected to serve as a means to sensitise the researcher to the way in which teachers delivered and learners responded to HIV- and AIDS-related education in the classroom setting. However, upon arrival in the schools the researcher discovered that *specific* lessons about HIV- and AIDS-related issues were actually rarely taught and, furthermore, that no lessons on the subject were planned for the coming term.

It was therefore decided to observe 'regular' lessons (i.e. not those concentrating on HIV and AIDS) provided by teachers in combination with sessions led by PGB *activistas*. In each school, the researcher observed at least three lessons, including the PGB sessions. While they did not necessarily offer the information expected initially, the observations did inform the researcher as to class atmosphere and pedagogy (and in the case of PGB sessions, the researcher was also able to observe how peer

educators and learners engaged with HIV- and AIDS-related issues). As such the researcher was still able to use the data gathered during observations to inform interviews, focus group discussions, informal conversations, as well as the data analysis.

The possibility of collecting 'live' data is a unique strength of observation (Cohen et al., 2007: 396; Robson, 2002). As the researcher experienced, observation also offers the possibility of serving as a means to examine to what extent what people said was consistent with what they did, and discovering issues participants themselves might not have been aware of or had difficulty talking about. However, observation also poses a number of challenges, the most important being the degree to which a researcher may influence the situation being observed (personal reactivity) and the related risk of observer bias (Sapsford & Jupp, 2006; Cohen et al., 2007).

To limit personal reactivity, the researcher strived to reduce the extent to which teachers and learners were aware of her presence in the classroom. The researcher, for instance, sat on one side of the classroom, avoided eye contact with learners and teachers and limited the amount of note taking she did during the course of the lesson. Finally, the researcher aimed to make her presence as non-threatening as possible to both teachers and learners, striving to make sure neither group felt she was there to judge their behaviour and level of knowledge.

d. Content analysis

The final method of data collection was the analysis of the contents of a range of existing written documents, including official speeches by leading politicians, policy papers, curricular documents, text books and PGB manuals. Content analysis is here defined as a systematic set of procedures for the analysis of the contents of texts (Cohen et al., 2007). It is an unobtrusive method and as data are in a permanent form, it allows for re-analysis when and where necessary (Robson, 2002). Content analysis allowed for a (partial) framing of the views expressed by different social actors. It also provided a means to compare data gathered during interviews and observation sessions with (in the case of international agency staff, policy makers and practitioners) official documents regarding underlying educational thought, and assumptions with regard to HIV and AIDS and young people.

5.4.3 Data analysis: documentation, key themes and process

Information gathered during interviews and FGDs was audio taped (with participants' permission) and transcribed verbatim as soon as possible. Excluding the transcriptions of the three interviews conducted in English, all transcriptions were developed in Portuguese. Translation of transcription excerpts was only done following initial stages of data analysis. While the researcher herself did most of the translation, the accuracy of translated text and terminology was regularly checked with native Portuguese speakers with a high level of fluency in English or, on occasion, Dutch.

An attempt was made to transcribe as many of the interviews and FGDs held with the various sets of actors prior to departure from Mozambique. This was done with a view to facilitating dissemination and collection of possible participant feedback, but also to provide opportunities to minimise possible loss of data (for instance, as a result of a bad recording or linguistic issues). It also offered the possibility to engage more deeply with participants on issues discussed during previous encounters. All interviews and FGDs with young people and *activistas* were transcribed prior to departure from Mozambique.

The accuracy of transcriptions was checked against the recording and modified where necessary. In addition, key points were written down during the interview and focus group discussions themselves. Following focus groups (within 24 hours), detailed notes were developed, taking note of, among other things, body language, tone of voice and interaction between participants. Notes were developed of all meetings held during the course of the study.

Data gathered during observation of classroom sessions were recorded by taking notes on the spot and writing out detailed notes as soon as possible after concluding the observation (at least within 24 hours). Drawing on Robson (2002), the researcher made use of a number of tools to support comprehensive recording of observation, including 'memory sparkers', by taking note of interesting comments and incongruencies.

In keeping with the abductive approach adopted for purposes of this study, the first

step in the analysis of the data consisted of identifying 'first order concepts' (Blaikie, 2007: 101) used by the different sets of social actors' with regard to HIV- and AIDS-related education. A first reading of national policy makers' accounts, for instance, revealed a number of pivotal themes, including globalisation, culture and self-esteem. Transcripts were annotated, highlighting sections to indicate emerging themes (see Appendix X for an example of this process).

The second step in the process involved a thematic categorisation of emerging themes. Matrices were developed to create an overview of thematic issues arising from interviews and FGDs. Per participant and subsequently, per actor group, excerpts were clustered in overview matrices, which were structured according to a priori determined key codes. The key codes, in turn, were derived from the analysis of approaches to HIV prevention education and educational philosophy. Examples of predetermined codes used to structure the analysis include: 'aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education' and 'issues to take into account in relation to young women/men' (see Appendix XI for a full list of key codes). Similar key codes were used to structure the analysis of both primary and secondary data. In addition to a priori codes, additional key themes that emerged during data collection and initial reading of transcripts and research journal were clustered under the broad heading of 'other themes'. Examples include 'multiculturalism', 'contrast urban-rural', and 'globalisation'.

The summarised overviews of transcripts thus developed were analysed to identify similarities and differences between accounts of different participants of one actor group and between actor groups (see Appendix XII for an illustration of this process). This process allowed the researcher to examine and identify possible emic interpretations of key constructs underpinning the study, such as the relation between HIV- and AIDS-related education and education more broadly.

During the analysis, careful attention was paid to the possibility of clustering perspectives and experiences and exploring possible similarities and differences in the accounts within and across the different actor groups. A next step in the process involved the investigation of possible explanations for any differences and similarities in perspectives of the different (sets of) social actors. Existing literature (including

policy documents and teaching-learning materials) were reviewed to see how this might support understanding of the perspectives of research participants, entailing a shift from a 'purely' abductive research strategy to a deductive or retroductive research strategy (Blaikie, 2007). Overall, the analysis required moving back and forth between social actors' accounts and reflecting on the accounts given.

Key research questions, including those addressed in interviews and focus groups, helped decide key foci for the three empirical chapters. The decision to concentrate on participants' views regarding the 'threats of modernity' in the first empirical chapter (Chapter six) was made in view of the seeming centrality of this theme in policy makers and educators' narratives. The principal data presented in the chapter was derived from participants' responses to interview questions concerning their views regarding the contextual factors related to the epidemic in the Mozambican setting and, particularly, the country's capital city, Maputo. Eliciting participants' points of view regarding this broader context was considered critical in that it was expected to enable the researcher to better situate the ways in which participants conceptualised the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education.

The second empirical chapter (Chapter seven) engages with participants' interpretations of the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education. This chapter, therefore, engages with the aim of the study to understand and position participants' views with regard to HIV- and AIDS-related education. Similar to the previous empirical chapter, while the overall subject matter of Chapter seven constituted one of the critical a priori research interests, the analysis was guided by an in-vivo thematic coding process. Drawing on participants' accounts and terminology, the analysis indicated their perspectives could be condensed and clustered around three central concepts, namely 'culture', 'rights' and 'value-based education'. The discussion in Chapter seven therefore concentrates on, and is structured around, these three substantive themes.

In view of the centrality of the notion of rights in the research and the theoretical interests of the researcher, it is important to note that the researcher took particular care when examining the ways in which participants engaged with this concept. A comparative analysis was done of the ways in which different participants engaged

with the subject of rights, and at what stages during the interviews and focus group discussions they did so. The latter was done to identify, among other things, whether participants primarily engaged with the notion of rights when explicitly asked about the subject or otherwise.

The focus of the final empirical chapter (Chapter eight) was decided upon after the two preceding empirical chapters had been completed. Driven by an interest in examining the possible genealogy of discourses that had emerged from the data, the decision was taken to conduct a systematic analysis of policy and curricular documents, which, at least in principle, guide the design and delivery of HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique. The thematic analysis of the documents was organised around a priori codes, the most important of which were the aims of education and the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education. The ways in which these aims are conceived in the documentation are brought into dialogue with participant narratives on the same issues.

5.5 Study limitations

In the section dealing with the (dis)advantages of the proposed research methods, a number of possible threats to the process of data collection were already identified. Here the limitations of this study are explored in more detail and measures taken to maximise the trustworthiness of the findings are reported.

5.5.1 Trustworthiness of research

Lincoln and Guba (1985) note that in quantitative research trustworthiness is commonly defined in terms of internal and external validity, and reliability (p.218). According to the authors, these three criteria are underpinned by the following questions: how can the 'truth' of research findings be established (internal validity); how might the applicability of research findings to other situations be determined (external validity); and how can the degree to which the findings would be consistently repeated be determined if the study were done again (reliability) (Lincoln & Guba, 1985)? Whilst these underlying questions are as appropriate to qualitative research as they are to quantitative research, the authors argue, the way in which the criteria are conventionally defined is not (see also Janesick, 2000; Cohen et al., 2007).

Determining the rigour of qualitative research requires an alternative set of criteria, Lincoln and Guba state. Other authors question more fundamentally the psychometric notions underlying the criteria, arguing for the use of a 'language that more accurately captures the complexity and texture of qualitative research' (Janesick, 2000: 393). According to Lincoln and Guba, determining internal validity, i.e. establishing the degree to which research findings accurately reflect reality is impossible, as this would require knowing the 'precise nature of that reality' (1985: 294-295).

Qualitative researchers generally assume an event or situation can be interpreted in various ways, so promoting internal validity therefore becomes more about generating a depth to the data and finding ways of promoting authenticity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Authenticity can be promoted through the use of multiple methods and triangulation. Although bias stemming both from researcher background and assumptions and the ways in which research participants respond to this, is thought to be unavoidable in qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Gergen & Gergen, 2000), there exist several means to identify possible areas of prejudice or preconception. In this study, for instance, the researcher strived to adopt a reflexive approach to research, reflecting on how her background, feelings and personal politics might influence research participants, the data collected and the way these were understood during the analysis process (Kincheloe & Mclaren, 2000; Robson, 2002).

The researcher also reflected on the ways in which her person, both in terms of her background and gender (i.e. white, female European) may influence the reactions of research participants (Cohen et al., 2007). Previous work experience in the MINED HIV and AIDS Working Group in Mozambique was believed to possibly colour the researcher's interpretation of responses given, in the sense that this experience made her more sceptical of the potential of the MINED to introduce HIV- and AIDS-related education that, among other things, did not solely focus on individual behaviour change. The following means were thus used to reduce potential respondent bias in this study: data triangulation, adopting a reflexive approach to the enquiry and keeping full track of research steps taken.

The relevance of the notion of external validity or the generalisability of research findings to other settings is also contested in qualitative research, in part because such

research is oftentimes characterised by the use of non-standardised research instruments (Robson, 2002; Cohen et al., 2007). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest replacing the criterion of generalisability with that of 'transferability', whereby the responsibility of the 'transfer' of results to a different setting lies with the person doing the transferring (see also Trochim, 2006). Drawing on Donmoyer (1990), Janesick (2000) makes a stronger case for rejecting the traditional notion of generalizability, arguing it is inadequate for qualitative research such as that proposed here, i.e. into the ways in which social actors understand and give meaning to reality.

Although the traditional view of generalizability may fall short when applied to studies into individuals' understanding and meaning giving, the means Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose to enhance transferability of results – by providing a thorough description of the research context and the assumptions underpinning the study (Trochim, 2006) – were considered to add to the transparency of the research process and for this reason were applied in this study.

Another important form of validity - related to external validity - is the ecological validity of research, or the extent to which research findings represent what happens in real-life situations (Brewer, 2000). As Brewer (2000) points out, introducing any condition not naturally occurring in the research setting (for instance, a researcher observing a lesson) threatens the ecological validity of the study. Important threats to the ecological validity of data collected are personal reactivity, procedural reactivity and context.

Personal reactivity is defined as situations where research participants behave differently because of the personal characteristics of the researcher (Sapsford & Jupp, 2006), procedural reactivity is understood as research participants acting differently because of the way in which the research is carried out (Sapsford & Jupp, 2006). Procedural reactivity is generally low in unstructured research settings such as the one proposed, whilst personal reactivity can be high. To reduce the threat of personal reactivity, the research made use of a range of means suggested by Robson (2002: 172-175) and Cohen et al. (2007: 411-412), namely triangulation and member-checking.

Care was also taken to contextually ground research findings, reflecting not only on the findings in light of broader social and cultural factors but also to situate the researcher and research participants (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000; Nastasia & Schensul, 2005). It was expected this would increase the transparency of the research process, including possible issues arising in relation to personal and procedural reactivity. Situating data is also deemed important to clarify the ways in which contextual factors are taken into account during the research process. As Sapsford and Jupp (2006: 95) point out, the effect of context on responses can be critical. Power differentials between researcher and young research participants, for instance, may have influenced the way in which they responded to the researcher (see also David et al., 2001).

Conducting the research in school settings is likely to have affected the manner in which research participants, particularly learners, responded to the research. As David and colleagues (2001) point out, in opting for the school as the research setting, the relationship between researcher and research participants becomes one that is 'educationally' based (in their case, as opposed to 'familially' based if young people had been approached through their parents) and participants are likely to perceive the nature of the research as educational. The researcher took these contextual issues into account during the process of both data collection and analysis.

Practical issues relating to the design of the study can also limit the reliability and validity of findings. It was beyond the scope of this study, for instance, to formally include other potentially important social actor groups such as staff members of teacher training colleges and parents/carers. In an attempt to gain some understanding of issues that concerned these actor groups, informal discussions were conducted with parents and caregivers of young people of secondary school age as well as with staff members of one of the principal teacher training colleges. These have indirectly informed the study and reflection on the data.

As clarified in the sections detailing the sampling strategy (section 5.4.1), most interviews, meetings and group discussions were conducted in Portuguese. Although the researcher has very good knowledge of Portuguese, it is her third language. Additionally, in many cases it was also participants' second or third language. Using

Portuguese furthermore entailed using the official, formal language and has inevitably meant losing out on the opportunity to gather more contextualised, 'indigenous' knowledge (see e.g. Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010). It is likely it also meant subtleties expressed in Portuguese and opportunities to probe further were missed.

To overcome possible language barriers, to facilitate access to schools and young people, and to reduce personal reactivity vis-à-vis young people, the researcher worked with several young Mozambican assistants (male and female). At times this was helpful; for instance during certain FGDs with young people and the interpretation of particular phrases or colloquialisms used during interviews. Working with young Mozambican assistants also improved the researcher's understanding of the setting in which the research is being conducted (Sapsford & Jupp, 2006).

At other times working with assistants was felt to hinder access, especially to young people. This was particularly the case with Fernando[12], a young Mozambican man (22 years) who worked as a PGB coordinator in one of the PGB affiliate NGOs. Fernando was very vocal during FGDs and expounded particularly on his views as to what was morally appropriate behaviour for young people, and women in particular. As it was felt this could strongly affect the extent to which participants would feel comfortable voicing a different and possibly less morally 'upright' opinion, the researcher decided to conduct further FGDs on her own in the school in question (*Gandhi* school).

5.5.2 Sampling

The selection of research participants, particularly at local level, and the role of various gatekeepers in this process can pose a number of challenges. During this study, the researcher had to work through, respectively, the MINED to select research schools and the (head)teacher to select learners. Care was taken to ensure the selection was not unduly influenced by preferences or assumptions of these two sets of gate keepers, for instance, by suggesting a list of possible research schools that met the research criteria. In addition, the researcher requested permission from school

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12 Pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis. Young people, *activistas* and international agency staff are all referred using first names. When citing policy makers and educators, first names are given as well as the title 'Sr.' (Mr.) or 'Sra.' (Mrs). This is done for reasons of etiquette. All citations are furthermore followed by the date of the interview or focus group discussion. Unless otherwise stated, all citations are taken from individual interviews. When citing policy makers, the acronym 'MINED' is used. When citing educators, the name of the school is given.

directors to approach learners directly.

In two of the three schools the directors indicated they preferred the researcher to introduce herself to learners during class time. To avoid the possibility of being considered impolite and immodest, the researcher did not insist on her desired approach but instead complied with this request. After having spent more time in the various schools and interacting with both staff and learners, and as a result possibly created a degree of good will with school directors, the researcher was given considerable freedom to meet with learners after school hours on school grounds and involve other young people in the study.

During the course of the study it became clear that particularly young participants from one of the 'lower middle class' schools (the *Gandhi* school) were not necessarily from lower socio-economic backgrounds, their caregivers for instance being civil servants and medical doctors. It was similarly found that the city centre *KaPfumo* school was attended by young people from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds, ranging from those with caregivers with relatively prestigious positions to those living with unemployed parents in reed houses.

Considering the sample did not include private schools, it was likely the research explored what one senior World Bank economist defined as 'the nuances of the middle classes' in Mozambique (Molini, 2010b). The difficulty of defining socio-economic class on the basis of the *public* school attended or area of residence means the study was not able to systematically interrogate the possible relationships between socio-economic class and young people's experiences of HIV- and AIDS-related education. However, young people's accounts suggested that socio-economic class was not necessarily the most important mediating factor (see also Madise et al., 2007; Potts et al., 2008). For instance, religion, and active involvement in the PGB programme and civil society initiatives appeared to shape young people's engagement with HIV- and AIDS-related issues in important ways (on the potential of social spaces and groups in HIV prevention efforts, see also Campbell et al., (2009) and Swidler (2009)).

5.6 Ethical considerations

A range of ethical considerations needs to be considered when carrying out research, including issues of informed consent and participant safety (Robson, 2002; Cohen et al. 2007). Prior to commencing fieldwork, the researcher sought and was granted ethical approval from the Institute of Education's Faculty Research Ethics Committee in keeping with the procedures for post-graduate research. The research was informed by the ethical guidelines developed by the British Sociological Association (BSA, 2002). In accordance with the BSA guidelines, the researcher strived to protect participants' rights, interests, sensitivities and privacy to ensure their 'physical, social and psychological well-being … [was] not adversely affected' (BSA, 2002: 2).

5.6.1 Gaining informed consent

Gaining informed consent of research participants, particularly that of young people, was expected to pose some of the main ethical challenges in the research. Informed consent here is understood as 'the procedures in which individuals choose to participate in an investigation after being informed of facts that would be likely to influence their decision' (Diener & Crandall (1978), in: Cohen et al., 2007: 52). In keeping with this definition, the following four issues were given careful consideration when requesting participant consent:

a. competence, referring to the ability of the individual to (dis)agree to participate in the research;

b. voluntarism, i.e. ensuring potential participants feel they are able to decide whether or not to take part and know they are able to withdraw at any stage or not to answer particular questions;

c. full information, i.e. potential participants take a decision on the basis of comprehensive information on the research[13]; and

d. comprehension, referring to participants' understanding of the nature of the research.

It should be noted that, in principle, no incentives were provided for taking part in the research, although where appropriate refreshments and a refund were offered of any

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[13] As Cohen et al. (2007) observe, a researcher may not be able to give full details of the study as these may not yet be entirely clear. In such cases, the principle of 'reasonably informed consent' is applied.

extra travel expenses made.

Considering part of the study was conducted with lower secondary school learners, this meant legally under-age research participants were involved. Additional care therefore had to be taken with regard to a number of ethical issues. First of all, young people's participation in the research required obtaining their caregivers' agreement. At the same time, it was essential to ensure young people themselves were aware of the nature of the research and their right to decide not to opt in to taking part even though their parents/guardians and school consented to their participation. The researcher first explained the nature of the research to learners during lesson time or, where possible, school breaks, providing information on the kinds of questions she hoped to explore with research participants.

Effort was made to clarify that learners' could decide to opt in, rather than opt out of taking part in the study (Cohen et al., 2007). The researcher responded to learners' questions regarding the study, discussed possible implications for learners of participation in the research and clarified participants' rights. Learner consent was requested prior to each research moment. The researcher also provided young people with written information on the research and their rights as research participants.

As ensuring young people were aware of their rights and *active* in agreeing to opt into the research was expected to be challenging, the researcher discussed learner participation with (head)teachers and the importance of learners' (continued) agreement to take part in the study. To increase the likelihood of voluntary learner participation, interviews and FGDs were conducted after school hours. It should be noted that it was not possible to carry out interviews or FGDs during school hours as effective class time was already extremely limited. The young people taking part generally seemed to enjoy the sessions, and in two of the three schools additional sessions had to be planned to meet learner demand (*Gandhi* and *Maxaquene* schools).

5.6.2 Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality of participant identity and non-traceability of information was assured and this was made clear when gaining participants' informed consent. Transcripts of interviews and focus group discussions and observation notes were securely stored

using aliases or codes so as to avoid identification of participants. Participants' names or other personal means of identification have not been used in the discussion of research findings.

Many international and national partners in the education sector in Mozambique work closely together. This posed the risk that statements made by research participants from these groups would be recognised. The researcher has aimed to anonymise research data as much as possible, for instance by using pseudonyms and removing other identifiers such as participants' profession. In principle, only the researcher has access to the research data; electronic versions of transcripts and observation notes have been stored in researcher's personal computer, which is password protected. Hard copies of these documents are kept in the researcher's office (at home).

Prior to commencing fieldwork, the researcher reflected on the possible course of action in case practices or incidents that could potentially cause significant harm to young research participants come to light during the course of the research. Taking guidance from Thomas and O'Kane (1998), the researcher identified suitable adults who were in a position to provide young people in need of protection with good quality support. This was done prior to commencing data collection in schools and in consultation with trusted contact persons in Mozambique.

Prior to the fieldwork it was decided that if the young person did not agree to the disclosure and the situation was deemed harmful to the participant, the BERA Guidelines (2004) would be followed and a breach of agreements regarding confidentiality would be considered. At all times, the researcher would strive at a minimum to identify which adult the young person in question would most (or least) trust with information regarding the harmful situation. In addition, an effort was made to consider the best interest of the research participant and that the research itself did not lead to (further) harm being caused.

A similar approach was proposed with regard to HIV-related concerns of participants that the researcher was not able to resolve or provide for, such as counselling or medical advice and possibly treatment. It had been decided that if such a case should arise - and depending on the preference of the research participant - the researcher

would strive to support her/him to seek professional guidance and practical support from trusted adults and/or professionals in or outside her/his particular community.

In all three schools young women spoke of sexual harassment by school staff. The researcher talked with one young woman in particular; the other women only indirectly alluding to such harassment taking place in the school but stating they had not been or were directly affected. The young woman who had indicated that she had experienced sexual harassment was adamant this information was not disclosed to educators or school management. In her view, the 'offending' teacher would be informed who had reported against him. According to the young woman, it was likely that the teacher would punish her, for instance by making her repeat the grade. The young woman did not believe there were trusted adults in the school.

Rather than inform school management, the young woman indicated that the researcher could inform the PGB coordinator of an affiliate PGB NGO that the sexual harassment had taken place. It was agreed with this PGB coordinator that he would discuss the matter with the young woman and decide with her how to pursue the matter. With her consent, the PGB coordinator furthermore put the young woman in contact with a female staff member of the same NGO who was directly tasked with addressing cases of sexual harassment. Finally, the PGB coordinator indicated that the NGO intended to address sexual harassment (in schools) more extensively with learners during the subsequent school year. This matter came to light towards the end of the researcher's fieldwork period, and she was therefore regrettably not able to follow up with the young woman in question.

Most of the young people involved in the study raised questions with regard to prevention and treatment of HIV and AIDS. The researcher was able to answer most of these questions directly or following consultation of websites of international NGOs active in the field of HIV and AIDS. At times, for instance while observing PGB sessions and hearing learners speak about what they had learned from teachers that the researcher found that the information provided was not necessarily correct or complete (as illustrated by vignette 5.1). In such cases, the researcher strove to correct or complement learners' understanding of the matter at hand. It is important to note the researcher never intervened during lessons or PGB sessions.

Vignette 5.1: 'Can you tell me about the last time you heard about HIV- and AIDS-related subjects in school?

Carlos: I would also like to talk about a lesson, about something they taught me as it was only a day ago and I really like learning about this. Yesterday, my biology teacher said that a girl can become pregnant even if she is a virgin, without ever having sex. And it was something that really impressed me, and many of my peers doubted [it was true] but I agree completely … because I also already saw this on the television. I can't remember how he explained it … except that that thing of fertilisation … something like … he said that for example, when people are at the beach whilst there was a girl was there during her fertile period. And being there on the beach, a boy for example being there … diving, being really excited and he ejaculates and without wanting it … the girl would become pregnant being a virgin.

Esther: without penetration?

Carlos: without being together, a distance of a few centimetres or a metre, in the same area but without penetration. He spoke like this.

5.6.3 Participant safety

The research sought to understand perspectives and experiences of different groups of social actors with regard to HIV- and AIDS-related education. The possibility existed that participants felt they were asked about contentious issues or that the information they gave was of a sensitive nature; for example, if they were critical of current practices within the institution in which they worked or studied. The ability of the researcher to assure participants of the confidentiality of any information they provided[14] and the extent to which participants understood and trusted the guarantees provided by the researcher was therefore deemed critical to establishing rapport.

To increase participants' feeling of safety, interviews and group discussions were conducted in private spaces, for instance in rooms that could be closed off and/or where conversations could not be overheard. As mentioned, participants' prior agreement to the use of recording was sought. Audio recordings were transcribed verbatim as soon as possible after a particular session. Participants were given the opportunity to read their interview transcripts and indicate if there were sections they did not want quoted.

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[14] N.B. excluding those cases where information was given of practices considered to potentially pose significant risk of harm to people (in)directly involved in the research.

The young people appeared to enjoy reading the transcripts and FGD reports. Many reflected further on the discussions held, which offered the researcher additional insight into points raised. Queita, one of the young women taking part in the study, indicated that she wished to share the interview transcript with her mother. She did not want her mother to read the references to the young man Queita was dating, however, and for this reason requested a 'parent-proof' copy of the transcript from the researcher.

When gathering data the researcher enquired into participants' level of comfort with the research situation and questions at different moments in time, at a minimum when concluding a particular session. Doing so offered the researcher the possibility to provide additional assurance regarding participant safety and/or adjust procedures.

5.6.4 Dissemination of research findings
The researcher shared a copy of the interview transcript and FGD reports with research participants. Similarly, the researcher shared notes of meetings held with key informants working for MINED, international or national organisations with the people in question. Participants' and key informants' corrections and comments were incorporated in the final texts.

Transcripts of interviews and FGDs with young people and *activistas* were completed prior to return to the Netherlands. Due to time restraints, not all interview transcripts of interviews with other actors could be completed before return to the Netherlands. Upon completion of these transcripts, they were shared with participants by e-mail. Most participants confirmed receipt of the transcripts, but only one (international) participant commented on the transcript shared by e-mail.

As also detailed in Chapter ten, the research was conducted in an iterative manner. Specifically, conversations with participants and key informants built on, among other issues, findings emerging from interviews and discussions with other participants. In discussions with policy makers for instance, the researcher raised issues emerging from accounts provided by young people. Examples include learner inputs with regard to sexual harassment in schools and the lack of HIV- and AIDS-related education reportedly provided in schools. This offered a - albeit modest - means of

'giving back'.

5.7 Concluding section

This chapter detailed the methodological decisions made within the framework of the current study. It was clarified that the study was grounded on a largely idealist ontology and an epistemology of social constructionism. In line with the research aims, an abductive research strategy was adopted, the objective of which is to examine the ways in which social actors understand and give meaning to the world.

The research design was discussed, clarifying decisions made with regard to sampling and recruitment, data collection and data analysis. It was clarified that the study involved 23 young school going people (grade nine), nine *activistas* and nine educators from three secondary schools in different parts of the capital city. In addition, eight national and municipal level policy makers and eight staff members of international agencies took part in the study.

Next the discussion turned to the possible limitations of the study in terms of reliability and validity. Employing a triangular and a reflexive approach to research was identified as critical to enhancing both validity and reliability. It was mentioned that the final thesis chapter would engage more extensively with issues that may have affected the validity and reliability of the study. The final section of the current chapter looked into four key areas of ethical concern that may have come to play during the course of conducting the research; these related to the issue of informed consent, confidentiality, participant safety and dissemination of research findings.

Chapter six: HIV and AIDS in Mozambique – the 'threats' of modernity

6.1 Introduction

This first findings chapter discusses what policy makers, educators, *activistas* and young people perceived to be the primary contextual factors associated with the HIV epidemic. As such it engages with the second objective for this study (p.14), namely to investigate the theoretical underpinnings of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education i) overall, and ii) in Mozambique.

Central to policy makers', educators' and *activistas'* understanding of the epidemic was the idea of modernity. Staff members of international agencies involved in the study did not engage with the issue of modernity in relation to HIV and AIDS in the way other participants did. Rather than 'modernity' as such, these participants seemed to associate the HIV epidemic with various forms of inequality and rights' violations. The decision to focus almost exclusively on the perspectives offered by national and local level participants was motivated by the apparent centrality of conceptions of the modern and the traditional for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education in the context of Mozambique. The views of participants representing international agencies are presented and discussed in Chapter seven.

This chapter consists of four sections. Section 6.2 engages with participant perspectives of nation building and loss, which is the first of three substantive themes emerging from the primary data. Section 6.3 explores the second thematic area, namely that concerning the increasing individualization of everyday life. Section 6.4 examines the third thematic area, namely participant narratives with regard to notions of morality and responsibility. In the discussion of this substantive theme, the chapter focuses in particular on the ways in which young people both adopt and challenge dominant discourses. Section 6.5 briefly reflects on the main findings detailed in the current chapter.

6.2 Nation building and loss

This section discusses several interrelated issues, beginning with participants' views with regard to the importance and perceived loss of social harmony and unity in current day Mozambique. The final issue addressed in this section relates to the notion of 'self-esteem' and participants' perspectives regarding gendered contributions to nation building. Policy maker, educator and *activista* narratives with regard to the spread and impact of the HIV epidemic in Mozambique and the role HIV- and AIDS-related education had to play were framed against the felt need for and concerns regarding the loss of social coherence. As will be shown, although young people oftentimes appropriated dominant discourse, they also nuanced opinions expressed by policy makers, educators and *activistas*.

The data in the subsequent sections are primarily drawn from individual interviews and discussions with the various sets of actors, as well as political speeches, and strategic and curricular documents. Each section begins with an analysis of policy makers, educators and *activistas'* views, followed by a discussion of young people's perspectives and, where relevant, those of international actors. In the analysis of the participants' accounts, the meanings the various sets of actors attached to certain practices are analysed, showing the ways in which the broad narratives - i.e. pertaining to one set of actors - tied in with or complicated those of other actors. Contradictions or differences within one actor group, for instance between young women and men, are also highlighted.

The section begins with a brief background of the ideal of national unity in Mozambique, a country that, as Pitcher (2002: 53; see also Newitt, 1995, Anderson, 2006) mentions, needed to be 'imagined' following independence from the Portuguese. The ruling party Frelimo continues to build on, and strives to strengthen, the sense of national cohesion in its developmental and educational programmes, including those addressing HIV and AIDS. Despite these efforts, policy makers, educators and, to an extent, *activistas* believed that as a consequence of modernity *o tecido sociocultural* ('the socio-cultural fabric', Sra. Vânia, MINED, 03/12/10) was under threat.

6.2.1 *Povo unido do Rovuma ao Maputo[15]; imagining post-independence Mozambique*

When Frelimo took power in 1975, it was said to be a party composed largely of intellectual exiles originating from the south of the country who had been educated abroad and who knew little about the country or people they were to rule (Newitt, 1995). The party set out to develop an intellectual understanding of the country, which it considered essential for the development of a sound reform programme, and - in keeping with its adoption of Marxist-Leninist thought - paid particular attention to social and economic problems from a class perspective (Newitt, 1995). As various authors have noted, much of the Frelimo leadership was educated in Protestant mission schools, which further shaped the party's - to an important degree arguably paternalistic - approach to, among other matters, health, women's perceived 'social problems' (such as *lobolo* or bride wealth) and 'tradition' more broadly (Arnfred, 2011; Sheldon, 2002).

Creating an independent, united Mozambique was seen to require ending political, social and internal oppression, a process which would bring about 'a new mentality, a new society' (Machel (1975) quoted in: Pitcher, 2002: 53-54; see also Newitt, 1995, Meneses, 2012). Critical to the idea of this new - modern - mentality and society was the creation of *o homem novo* ('the new man'); man liberated of the chains of colonialism, feudalism, restrictive traditions and illiteracy (Pitcher, 2002; Sumich & Honwana, 2007; Cabaço, 2010). As the director of *Gandhi* school clarified, the new man was *'a man who should understand that ... he needed to fight in order to make his country increasingly free of foreign influences ... that Mozambique became independent and sovereign, capable of walking on its own'* (Sr. Mateo, 19/11/10).

Creating the new society and man required dismantling colonial institutions and invoking a national identity, based on a sense of a shared history of oppression, the designation of a common language (Portuguese), and critiquing that which was believed to possibly divide people, such as tribal, ethnic and linguistic differences (Pitcher, 2002). Broad social reform was to tackle both social and 'internal'

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15 'United people from Rovuma (the river on the far northern border of Mozambique) to Maputo (located in the very south of the country)'; the expression refers to Samora Machel's epic journey just before independence demarcating the totality of the new state (Stroud, 1999: 345). The expression is regularly used in official speeches (see e.g. Guebuza, 2009). It is also part of the national anthem.

oppression people were seen to suffer, which Frelimo partly defined in terms of class and partly in terms of ignorance. Women were considered to be particularly subjugated and their emancipation regarded as critical to the creation of the new socialist state (Sheldon, 2002; Arnfred, 2011).

The perception of women as victims (of male domination, of tradition) who require external support to become liberated arguably persists today, underpinning policy makers and educators' accounts as well as those of international actors. When asked whether there were particular issues to take into account in relation to young women and/or young men when teaching about HIV and AIDS for instance, educators and policy makers tended to engage with issues such as: *'[t]hat syndrome of female inferiority'* (Sr. Amade, educator *Gandhi* school, 22/10/2010,), *'our girls [who] continue to drag that complex that she has to be below the man'* (Sr. Mateo, director, *Gandhi* school, 19/11/2010), *'socio-cultural barriers [obstructing] empowerment of women'* (Sra. Vânia, MINED, 03/12/2010) and how *'girls suffer[ed] more'* (Sra. Paula, educator, *Maxaquene* school*,* 16/11/10). Participants hereby also stressed the need to pay particular attention to female learners in view of their perceived *'timidity'* in discussing HIV- and AIDS-related issues as well as in sexual relationships as opposed to, as they saw it, young men's ease in engaging with such topics and overall sexual assertiveness.

One of women's primary roles according to Frelimo was the education of the young, and women's primary domain - the family - regarded as 'the first cell of the party' (Machel (1973) quoted in Newitt, 1995: 548). As the following quote from an individual interview with biology teacher Adelaide (*Gandhi* school, 26/10/10) illustrates, this view of women and the family as the cornerstone of society is also still current: *'In Mozambique we have an expression: 'to educate a girl is to educate the nation'. In other words, girls have a responsibility to educate themselves to ensure the progress of the nation.* Sra. Adelaide hereby arguably explicitly places the onus of responsibility for the nation's progress on girls' shoulders, clearly highlighting the instrumentalist approach underpinning the expression, which is one that is more commonly used in development discourse (see e.g. Seeberg et al., 2007; Burman, 1995).

Also critical to Frelimo ideology was its emphasis on the collective in which the new man was to be embedded, beginning with the nuclear family. Broadly speaking, the focus on the collective - the family, but also communal villages and state farms - served clearly defined social as well as political ideals. In the case of communal villages, for instance, concentrations of people were seen as facilitating provision of literacy and health campaigns as well as allowing for mass political conscious raising (Pitcher, 2002; Newitt, 1995). As Newitt (1995: 547) observes, Frelimo's programme of collectivisation and unification was designed to encourage people to take responsibility for their own lives within the context of the broader community. Arguably, this view largely continues to underpin policy makers' and educators' approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education today, as well as the national peer education programme, *Geração Biz* (PGB). Within the PGB framework young people are, for instance, encouraged to adopt a responsible approach to their own and others' sexual health, taking into account existing *'moral, cultural and family based norms and values'* (PGB, 2004: 7).

Illustrative of the central role policy makers and educators accorded to the individual in and to the greater whole, is Sr. Alberto's (school director, *Maxaquene* school, 04/01/2011) response to my enquiry as to key messages to be communicated in the context of HIV- and AIDS-related education. A fairly detailed summary of his account is provided in an attempt to elucidate the underlying ideas regarding the responsibility of the individual for the greater good:

Sr. Alberto*: the fundamental message would be to demonstrate that 'look, we are facing a scourge, we are facing a calamity - HIV/AIDS' - [and] that we have one option using methods to prevent us from sliding into this scourge.*

Sr. Alberto went on to explain how, in his view, HIV- and AIDS-related education should be delivered, providing an example of how he would converse with a young woman about her sexual life and the use of condoms. According to the director one should try to find out: *'in her individual manner, has she tried to engage with this fight? How has she engaged with this fight?'*

If Sr. Alberto discovered the young woman in question had not used a condom during a previous sexual encounter, for example as a result of her partner's negative

response, he would then try to clarify how she had gone about trying to convince her partner during subsequent encounters. *'In the sense of show[ing] the person that 'look, we are facing a scourge'*, Sr. Alberto explained, hereby arguably stressing the consequences of the individual's actions in relation to the greater cause. If learners did not *'know anything about the spread of HIV/AIDS virus or simply ignore [the central message], the whole effort [would] be for nothing*, Sr. Alberto concluded. It was, in other words, about the *'autonomous'* individual's contribution to the broader effort.

As alluded to earlier on, fundamental to Frelimo's post-independence approach to end the internal oppression of people resided in combating what was considered 'irrational', including traditional practices such as *lobolo*, polygamy and traditional healing practices. These were to be replaced by 'modern' norms and values promoting the nuclear family, monogamy and scientific knowledge (Cabaço, 2010; Arnfred, 2011). Today, the modern continues to be juxtaposed with the traditional, a binary that furthermore relies on an understanding of the feminine as embodying the irrational, rural and (morally) conservative and the masculine as symbolizing that which is scientific and rational, urban and future oriented (Arnfred, 2011). As the sections below will elucidate further, the approach taken to HIV- and AIDS-related education is largely grounded in 'modern' values such as those mentioned above, i.e. of science and 'modern' values such as rationality, monogamy, and initiative-taking.

National unity similarly continues to be regarded as essential to economic and social progress, including tackling critical challenges such as HIV and AIDS. In an apparent attempt to unite and rally the masses, official speeches refer extensively to *'our compatriots'*, *'countrymen from Rovuma to Maputo'*, *'our Mozambique'* and *'our beloved fatherland'* (Guebuza, 2006). The Prime Minister's speech on World AIDS Day 2010 provides another example. In his speech he encouraged his audience to adopt the slogan *'We reaffirm our Mozambican identity in the fight against HIV and AIDS [to] promot[e] more responsible behavior'* as their *'torch'* to illuminate each and every Mozambicans devotion to *'the Defence of Life'* (Ali, 2010: 6). Policy makers and educators generally accorded women primary responsibility for upholding the nation's (moral) unity; their failure to do so was seen as severely impacting on the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS.

6.2.2 Loss

National policy makers and educators frequently spoke about the past, reminiscing about the strong sense of unity and shared optimism about the future, and expressing a sense of loss when - inevitable - comparisons were drawn with the present. As one informant observed, *'we were all skinny then'* (Cristina, personal communication, 16/101/0), implying a sense of 'being in it together' and (relative) equality. *Gandhi* school director Mateo, reflecting on the notion of the *homem novo*, indicated that there were still *'some men who will say they are not [just] fighting for their personal benefit but for the wellbeing of the community ...[but] it would be few who would say that nationalism still exists* [laughs wryly] (19/11/2010).

Academic literature, but also the national anthem and post-independence poetry, bespeak a similar sense of enthusiasm and togetherness in bringing about a new nation (see e.g. Arnfred, 2011; Sheldon, 2002; Searle, 1982). The feelings of loss that generally appeared to underpin policy makers' and educators' accounts partly seemed to be felt in relation to the above mentioned shared optimism and sense of unity but also to what was perceived as the former social and sexual moral cohesion of Mozambican society.

Participants often framed 'loss' in the context of broader African history, a history characterised by centuries of colonial and post-colonial conflict as well as devastating epidemics such as HIV and AIDS. As Sra. Matilda (Teacher Training Institute, 07/12/2010) for instance explained: *loss in Africa is not a loss in [the sense of relating to] our lives, it is a historic loss ... It is a historic loss, circular and one [which] will be passed on.* She seems to suggest, in other words, that the sense of loss and subsequent feelings of hopelessness are passed from generation to generation.

Activista Samuel's (16/11/2010) remarks similarly illustrate the historic and layered nature of loss in the context of Africa: *in Africa we are yet again facing a fight, after these wars, after colonialisation… HIV is creating a new fight.* He goes on to relate this to a sense of 'blackness':

> *We are already black and [HIV] is placing us even ... , black blood, dark blood, so we have to come out of this blackness, so we need to pull ourselves out of these fights so we become free of these illnesses, because Africa is suffering most from illness, right?*

'Blackness' does not emerge as a concept in other accounts, but policy maker and educators' accounts regarding 'loss' generally did seem grounded in what might be understood as a vicious cycle of compounding layers of loss and, as such, a generalised sense of pessimism. This pessimism formed a marked change from participants' accounts of, and literature on, the apparent optimism following independence (see e.g. Arnfred, 2011).

Participants furthermore engaged with loss by comparing the Mozambique of today with that of their youth. Illustrative of these feelings were frequent references to *'when we were young'*, *'our generation'*, *'young people of today'*, as well as *o campo* (rural areas) where traditions were still upheld as opposed to the vices of the city. Sr. Sergio (MINED, 04/11/2010) for instance, speaking of contextual factors associated with HIV and AIDS stated: '*And then, another is HIV/AIDS and the relationship with drugs and alcohol in the city, in the big cities. The schools [in the cities] are surrounded by bars. If you go to Josina Machel* [large secondary school in the centre of Maputo city] *you will see the bars, if you go to the bars, you will see children ... learners, they're drinking! ... They drink, they drink until!*'

Loss was also defined in relation to the transition from a socialist state to liberal democracy. The change in political ideology appeared to be experienced as having been accompanied by new understandings of 'modern', i.e. defined in neo-liberal, individualised and commercial terms and, as a result, the loss of a unifying vision of socialist man, woman and state. School director Sr. Mateo for example, alluding to the notion of the *homem novo* in response to my enquiry as to his views regarding the purposes of education, clarified this concept now needed redefining in '*an individualised sense, no longer in a nationalistic sense'*. Although participants such as Sr. Mateo appeared to suggest there was no longer a sense of *joint* vision in Mozambique, as earlier quotes from speeches of President Guebuza and the Prime Minister elucidate, such a united approach was still considered critical to effectively deal with issues such as HIV and AIDS.

The dominant feeling among policy makers and educators therefore seemed to be that the world had radically altered, with young people seemingly regarded as, at least partially, embodying the various societal changes in modern day Mozambique. Such changes were largely seen as resulting in a loss of moral cohesion within their society, and were argued to be manifested through a range of *vícios* ('vices'), which made young people's behaviour difficult to control and contributed in important ways to the spread of HIV. It is important to briefly note that, as many scholars have shown, adult concerns about young people are by no means new (see for instance, Mathijs, 1993; Bessant & Watts, 1998; Kelly, 2000, 2009). According to Kelly (2000: 303), for instance, '[y]outh has historically occupied the 'wild zones' in modernity's imagination', 'zones' in which particular groups of young people are regarded as 'ungovernable' and lacking in 'self-regulation'. This may explain, at least to a degree, the seeming consensus among 'adult' Mozambican participants as to young people's perceived moral emptiness.

Young people similarly drew on dominant discourse with regard to the past, the relative insulation of the countryside from external influences and its social and moral unity. During a mixed focus group discussion (*Gandhi* school, 07/10/10), a group of young people discussed the impact of HIV and AIDS on young people's lives, suggesting they too perceived there to be a diminished sense of community in modern times and an increasing individualization of everyday life. However, young people made sense of this change within the context of, among other things, the shift in political ideology:

> Nélio (male, 17 years): *in times gone by, there used to be community, a spirit of mutual support, people related to one another as if, as if they were kin. They would go and ask to borrow, I don't know, something from the neighbour, something one no longer does today, now it is every person for themselves.*
>
> Jossias (male, 19 years): *we're in a democracy.*
>
> Nélio: *yes, democracy, during the time of Machel… because he was socialism (sic), he used to like people to enter into a community, not like happens now … [now it's] every person for themselves.*

Nélio and Jossias arguably appropriate the dominant utopian image of the socialist, community oriented past, but when compared to policy makers and educators appear to stress what in their view is another - positive - element thereof, namely the mutual support that was provided and how today, people in need - such as those that were HIV positive - could not depend on this kind of collective support. This perceived past sense of community was uncontested by other young people[16]. Instead, references made during the course of the study as to the current importance of money in sexual and intimate relationships, given in Carlos' words: *'we are in a capitalist world'* (focus group, *Gandhi* school, 07/10/10) seemed to confirm views regarding the commodification - and consequently superficial and individualistic nature - of modern life.

However, despite such comments, young people did display considerable enthusiasm for mobile phones, fashionable clothing, cars and other 'modern' comforts such as spending time in cafés. Observations during focus group sessions and interviews, and during informal gatherings in, for instance, Maputo's newest shopping mall[17] suggest young people also derived considerable pleasure from what might be considered as symbolic of life in capitalist world. The young people involved in the study did not engage with this seeming discordance between, on the one hand, the discourse they drew upon which problematised the trappings of modern life and on the other, the pleasure various elements of modern life could offer. This could suggest they did not consider their own behaviour as instances of the kind of modern practices policy makers, educators, *activistas* and many young people themselves appeared to consider worthy of condemnation or, alternatively, that they did not recognise the apparent disjuncture in their narratives.

When drawing comparisons between the city and rural areas (*o campo*), both young people and *activistas* focused on quite different issues to policy makers and educators. While educators and policy makers spoke of the relative insulation of the countryside

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[16] These views are problematic in various ways. Frelimo's collectivist ideals entailed, *inter alia,* forced removal of large segments of the peasant population from ancestral homesteads into communal villages. Collectivisation therefore also *broke down* existing social structures (Newitt, 1995: 549).

[17] When meeting outside school, I let young people choose the location. I would generally pay transportation fees and offer something to drink and eat. One young man invited me to interview him at the curio market where he worked after school, all other young people choosing popular cafés in the town centre.

and how this contributed to ensuring its moral cohesion, young people stressed the problems of the (continued) isolation. Young people and *activistas* alike spoke of the lack of access to media in *as zonas recônditas* (literally translated: 'the concealed areas'), for instance. During a mixed focus group (*Maxaquene* school, 25/10/10), Elsa (14 years) remarked:

> *Because ... in our country there are many communities with a lack of information and people end up becoming infected with HIV because of a lack of information. Because oftentimes this kind of information is transmitted ... via television, radio and in other communities there are no communication means.*

In other words, whilst policy makers and educators primarily stressed the positive dimensions of the seclusion of rural communities *and* conceptualised media in terms of its detrimental impact on the HIV and AIDS epidemic, young people were in broad agreement that by virtue of this isolation and the *lack* of media exposure this generally entailed contributed to among other things, the spread of HIV.

6.2.3 Self-esteem and gendered contributions to nation building

Policy makers and educators also engaged with loss and pessimism in relation to the notion of 'self-esteem'. As other scholars have noted, this notion is also central to current Frelimo thought (see e.g. Chicava, 2010; De Brito, 2010). According to the policy makers and educators taking part in the study, Mozambicans suffered from a lack of self-esteem. This lack of self-esteem appeared to be defined as a tendency to live in the present - to not make plans - in light of the many uncertainties as to what the future might bring. Participants tended to trace the origins of the lack of self-esteem to the various wars the country had faced, and particularly the internal conflict following independence. As Sra. Matilda (Teacher Training Institute, 07/12/10) explained: *'we have lived through many wars and after many wars a person ... remains with a low self-esteem, right? Because he does not believe much in life'*.

Sra. Vânia (MINED, 03/12/10) similarly related the lack of self-esteem to the *'internal war, which was a war without target'* as a result of which *'people became destabilised in the sense of social values'*. Sra. Vânia's arguably somewhat cryptic remarks regarding the 'targetless' war might be understood as resonating with other participants' references to the notion of *o inimigo* ('the enemy'), which reportedly

was a particularly slippery notion at the time of the internal war. As Sra. Matilda clarified: *We lived in war situations, [in situations] of distrust in which one did not know very well who was the enemy and who was not'*. Low self-esteem appeared, in other words, to be related to a lack of trust, not only in terms of what one could expect from 'life' but also in other people. This lack of faith was evident at both an individual level as well as - in Sra. Matilda's words - in *'our institutions are this way ... Who is my friend, who is not my friend? ... Even here at* [mentions her institution] *it is very much like this.*

The oft-used expression (by research participants and others, as observed during the fieldwork) that people in Mozambique 'make babies, not families' is suggestive of not only the breakdown of social cohesion, but also what policy makers and educators perceived as a tendency to give little forethought to the future. This places the blame at the individual level - i.e. as demonstrating little sense of responsibility - but within the context of the notion of 'self-esteem' might also be explained at a more collective level, namely as a result of Mozambicans' perceived lack of confidence in the possibilities of shaping their future. As will be discussed in more depth in Chapter eight, the policy response to young people's supposed lack of confidence in (and by extension lack of responsibility-taking or initiative-taking) for their future was to emphasise notions of entrepreneurship and national identity. Entrepreneurial skills appeared to be regarded as a means to build young people's self-esteem and enable them to break the vicious circle of poverty.

The ideal of the entrepreneurial - male - individual also underpinned policy makers' and educators' narratives with regard to the long-term aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education. At a political level, the entrepreneurial individual is arguably a socio-economic ideal, devoid of moral meaning, and was largely applied to men. It is the self-made man who takes economic responsibility for himself and his family, lifting them out of poverty, and as such contributing to the development of the greater whole (i.e. family and country). 'Responsibility' in relation to women, on the other hand, largely still seemed to be regarded in moral terms, namely in relation to the moral and social stability of the family and nation.

With regard to the issue of women's responsibility for nation building, Sra. Adelaide's (*Gandhi* school, 26/10/10) response to my enquiries regarding key messages and values in HIV- and AIDS-related education exemplifies the educational role - in the moral and unifying sense - that participants accorded to women and, simultaneously, the limited significance men are seen to have in this domain. In the view of Sra. Adelaide:

It is on the basis of women that families are formed in Mozambique, and for Mozambique the family is the basis of society. … I won't speak of men because the majority of mothers in Mozambique are single mothers. ... [I]t is girls that are the mothers of the nation, they are more responsible [for the nation]. ... [I]t is in the family where we learn the moral values of society and we always teach the girls that tomorrow they will create a family and that it is not easy to create a family. ... Women in Mozambique have a great deal of responsibility ... the man may have the title of family chief but who organises everything, [including that for] the man himself, is the woman. So the girls need to learn these values during adolescence.

Whilst participants appear to recognise men as serving an economic role - i.e. to provide for the family and contribute to the economic progress of the country - women are held responsible for the protection of the moral cohesion and continuity thereof.

6.3 Progressive individualization of everyday life

Policy makers and educators generally seemed to regard various forms of 'external influence' as pivotal factors shaping young Mozambicans' vulnerability to HIV and AIDS, a view that was not shared by *activistas*, young people or international actors. According to policy-makers and educators, the exposure to norms and lifestyles of both non-Mozambicans and various ethnic groups from different parts of the country underpinned the breakdown of social fabric in the country and increased young people's vulnerability to HIV and AIDS. Here the principal themes emerging from policy maker and educator accounts in relation to understandings of and concerns regarding 'modernity' are explored. At the heart of these respondents' concerns appears to be the changing relationship between the individual, community and nation and how this contributes to the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS. The

understandings of the other sets of actors (international agency staff, *activistas* but especially young people) about why HIV and AIDS continues to be an issue are considered in the subsequent section.

6.3.1 External influences and young people's vulnerability to HIV and AIDS

Intersecting with the important forms of loss of what was perceived as a unified, socialist past were concerns regarding the breakdown of moral coherence of society as a result of modernity, especially in urban areas. According to policy makers and educators, key factors contributing to moral disintegration included the multicultural character of cities, globalisation and an aggressive media. Multiculturalism was hereby understood as the mixture of ethnic groups from different parts of Mozambique, as well as the presence of a diversity of foreigners. Sra. Regina (MINED, 02/12/10), for instance, responding to my question regarding possible needs to incorporate the teaching of values in the context of HIV- and AIDS-related education, explained this was critical because:

[Values] were lost as a result of the mixture of cultures ... because individuals used to be educated by the entire community, but today [if] I find a pupil fighting, I can say 'don't fight', I can't separate them, because he will say 'I don't even know you, who are you?

The Maputo of today, i.e. as a cultural melting pot, was frequently associated with what was perceived as a breakdown of social cohesion. Broadly speaking, participants seemed to understand this cohesion in terms of social *control*, and it was exactly this that was lost in a large, multi-cultural and anonymous city such as Maputo. In such a situation, one policy maker (Sr. Carlos, MINED, 02/12/10) asked, how could a community keep a check on their young people? In other words, how could a community ensure the individual was appropriately embedded in the collective?

'Globalisation' and exposure to external influences - with access to the internet, Latin American *telenovelas*, pornography and aggressive advertising receiving particular mention - were identified as other critical factors contributing to the moral emptiness witnessed among young Mozambicans. In the view of Sr. António (educator, *KaPfumo*, 22/10/10), for instance:

Then we have many movies shown on the streets, eh, exotic films… [Young people] hang around on the street in any which way and many have a laptop and desktops and have

access to internet. And the message transmitted by the radio today it is all about sex, all about love, [there is] not that message that at least counteracts [this] a little in the sense [of being] educational.

'Educational' in the above quote seemed primarily defined in the moral sense; the media in a globalised, sexually liberal world regarded as contributing little in terms of moral guidance, undermining instead the (little) moral education young people were seen to receive. This view broadly resonates with that of other participants, Sr. Mateo (director, *Gandhi* school, 19/11/10) mentioning, for instance: '*Everything that comes from outside, especially that which comes from outside is appreciated, even that which is wrong. We consume everything and nothing...*', whilst Sra. Viviane (MINED, 24/01/10) explained:

> *Our generation ... we did not have television, internet, so we drew more on what we received directly from our parents. Today this is not the case. There is a great deal of external influence ... it is not only that which [they] receive within the family ... and it seems to me this external participation weighs more heavily than that which is education.*

The latter quote arguably also uses the term 'education' in the sense of moral upbringing, and much of the unease seemingly felt by policy makers and educators appeared to relate to the perceived lack of moral education of young urbanites. Sra. Vânia (MINED, 03/12/10), referring to the differences between the upbringing of her generation and that of young people today, whilst simultaneously drawing an oft made comparison by participants between the city and countryside, related moral education to 'roots'. In her view:

> *We are from a generation with roots ... A child, especially in the city ... leaves in the morning, returns in the afternoon, eats a hamburger here, eats I don't know what, but I was educated ... you need to go to school in the morning, I go to school, return, if one has chores to do in the home... but few young people today do so - in the urban zones... There is more instruction, but the prevalence [of HIV] ... So, he consumes all he receives, from outside ... It is different in the countryside - there are aspects that in the countryside, they say 'no, that is nothing, it is ugly, we will not do [that].*

When asked further about these 'roots', Sra. Vânia clarified that previous generations had known which external inputs to adopt and which they should not, suggesting earlier generations had more closely adhered to what were considered desirable norms

and values. The current generation lacked these kinds of roots due to, among other factors, the multitude of external influences.

Young people also appeared to understand the past as characterised by more effective social control of (young) people's social and sexual lives, and 'modernisation' as contributing to the undermining of people's moral judgements more generally. For instance, during a single sex focus group (*KaPfumo*, 25/10/10) on *inter alia* issues that came to mind in relation to HIV and AIDS, Angélica (14 years) mentioned:

> *[From a] very early [age], adolescents are involving themselves with men, I think it is because of the modernisation of our country, when people see something, they want to imitate ... which is why we don't succeed to reduce the number of HIV/AIDS...*

She went on to mention soap operas and internet, and how people tended to copy *'the negative'* rather than *'the positive'*. I asked the other girls whether they also felt that HIV was linked to modernisation, to which they replied - in unison - that it was. At the same time, however, young women and men appeared to challenge previous gendered, sexual norms. During the same group discussion referred to above, Aissa (14 years) for example indicated that:

> *A long time ago, right? It was really difficult for you to find a girl talking with a boy. Like my mother says: the girl is never friend of the man and the man is never a friend of the girl, but now this is normal, I prefer to hang out with men...*

The excerpts above again illustrate the important ways in which young people appropriated the language and views used by educators and policy makers, i.e. that problematising modern young people's behaviour. Aissa's remarks, however, serve as an (additional) indication that while young people may tap into the discourse regarding what are considered problematic modern norms and practices, they also appear to appreciate the greater freedom of choice the shifting values provide.

6.3.2 The good life

Symptomatic of modern young people's lack of roots was their pursuit of *a boa vida*, 'the good life', which educators and policy makers regarded as an individualistic and superficial pursuit. Young urbanites were perceived as fervently seeking this good life - characterised by superficial thrills such as alcohol and other consumer goods - which

was 'aggressively' promoted by, among others, media, soap operas as well as in the new luxurious shopping malls. According to policy makers and educators: '*this good life is very relative - ... eat, dance, drink - that is not the good life, it is very relative!*' (Sra. Vanîa, MINED, 03/12/10).

Wanting the good life was seen to feed young people's 'ambition' (*ambição*), which led to young women to *entregar-se por interesse* ('give themselves for material gain') and, according to young people, for young men to enter into a variety of largely illicit ventures. Ambition was generally defined in the sense of '*liking money very much*' (Sra. Adelaide, educator, *Gandhi* school, 26/10/10), and '*wanting it all now*', with the 'it' primarily referring to material goods and other status symbols. Policy makers, educators and *activistas* primarily engaged with the 'problem' of young women's ambitions, arguing girls needed extra guidance as they tended to want to have nice clothes and to be able to show off their wealthy boyfriend. According to these participants this led young women to choose what was defined as the quickest and easiest way, i.e. by 'letting themselves be taken' by wealthier, generally older men for some form of material benefit.

Educators and policy makers' views as to what *was* a good life can be illustrated by Sra. Vânia's (MINED, 03/12/10) reaction to my question regarding the desirability of engaging with young people on issues relating to sexual pleasure. In response to this query, Sra. Vânia drew a distinction between short and long term forms of pleasure. Her views echo those expressed by other policy makers and educators who generally seemed to perceive consumption as an example of short-term pleasure. Long term pleasure on the other hand:

> *I would define [it] as preparing something which will bring him/her profit, and one thing is training and having this training, applying it. If you have had the opportunity to go to school - it may be a basic training in carpentry - after having learned, you go and apply [the learning]. And if the descendants too, there will be one that will take, the son will be a carpenter, the nephew, and from there onwards.*

In other words, what appeared to underpin Sra. Vânia's and other policy maker and educator perspectives on what constituted a good life - a life worth living - was a sense of continuity, the value of investing in the future and future generations, and as

such contributing to the development of the country; it was not one marked by the short-term, individualistic pleasures young people were seen to pursue. For this reason, HIV prevention education needed to teach young people life skills, participants indicated, as this would enable them to *'analyse what is beneficial and what is not beneficial'* and as a result enable them to *'have a future'* (Sra. Regina, MINED, 02/12/10).

6.3.3 Caregivers lack of involvement in young people's lives

Explanations for young people's many 'vices' were linked to among other things, parents' limited engagement in their children's lives. In educator Sr. António's words (educator, *KaPfumo* school*, 22/10/10):

> *But I ask what kind of father [is it who] when the son arrives home inebriated every day… And the next day [he] only concerns himself with leaving transportation money and [then] goes off to work. I don't know, because I don't believe the parents don't realise. I remember back in the day when my father always demanded kisses when he would return from the office. I realise now that the kiss had a significance [a use] which was to know whether [one] had taken alcohol or smoked, but today we no longer have this; the father arrives home drunk [himself], how is he going to be aware [of this]?*

Generally speaking, policy makers and educators all engaged with the issues relating to fathers' drinking habits and the phenomenon of leaving transportation money as a minimal gesture of parental care[18]. As this quote suggests, however, it was not simply the limited involvement in young people's lives that was considered problematic, but the lack of control caregivers were seen to have or exert over young people, and that this might furthermore be an indication caregivers did not *care* sufficiently to make the effort to bring their children into the fold. Considering this was perceived as a problem particular to big cities, it may also be interpreted in relation to the large-scale migration of people from their familiar, traditional surroundings - i.e. their community, where the education of the young had been the responsibility of a broader set of people - to the city, with its 'multicultural' character and, consequently, the (perceived) lack of social control.

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[18] N.B. in light of the real burden transportation costs pose on many families in Maputo City (see CIA World Factbook, 2011, but also Paulo et al., 2007), receiving bus fare was an important 'gesture' and in itself an indication of economic class.

Implicit in participants' accounts seems the idea that caregivers bear responsibility for mitigating the impact of the various external influences. Caregivers should (have), in other words, cushioned the blows of modernity - which had *'entered [Mozambican society] violently'* (Sra. Vânia, MINED, 03/12/10). Participants' accounts suggest that had caregivers done so, or if they were to do so, they could reduce the country's ongoing *'social destabilization'* (Sra. Vânia), reduce young people's 'vices' and as such contribute to protecting young people from HIV and AIDS.

Young people were in agreement with educators and policy makers in the sense that they seemed to believe that, to an important degree, how modern young people behaved was determined by their caregivers' moral education and their ability to pass this on to their children. Angélica (14 years, single sex focus group, *KaPfumo* school 25/10/10), while engaging with the idea of '*modernisation*' and the impact in terms of gender relations, clarified that:

> *When I speak of modernisation, what people did before and what they do now, it is because [in days gone by] a woman did not easily 'function' with a man, there was that ... whatever ... This thing about late night parties* [that young people go to, with or without explicit parental permission] *for me has to do with the parents' education, nothing with modernisation. Like your parents know there are things you should not do, we need to 'abstain' so to speak, not because there is modernisation; we need to prevent things and not cure them.*

Angélica here seems to imply that 'modernisation' was a fact of life and what counted was taking on board the positive elements thereof - such as the increased liberty to interact with the opposite sex - whilst protecting one's self from potential negative aspects, such as HIV. The (implicit) reference to the importance of moral education resonates with accounts of policy makers and educators, but traces the problem of a lack of such education further back: it is not young people who are irresponsible, but their parents. This similarly ties in with policy maker and educators' views, i.e. those concerning caregivers' lack of involvement in their children's lives. Arguably however, Angélica is more explicit and, whilst she does not provide an explanation for parents' lack of moral backbone, she seems to suggest young people cannot be expected to know how to deal with modern life when parents forsake their responsibility.

6.4 Understandings of morality and reconfiguring the notion of responsibility

The following section engages with participants' perspectives with regard to the concept of responsibility, teasing out some of the key differences between views of, on the one hand, policy makers, educators and on occasion, *activistas* and, on the other, young people. In important ways, young people's narratives tied in with those of educators and policy makers, but as will be made clear they also questioned prevailing perceptions by casting doubt on the extent to which 'adults' could be considered to demonstrate morally appropriate behaviour and more importantly, by reconfiguring the notion of responsibility.

In the view of policy makers and educators and *activistas*, young people generally lived according to the frequently used expression *'curtir a vida antes que a vida nos curta'* (loosely translated: 'enjoy life before it is too late'), an attitude considered explanatory of young people's disinclination to '*make an effort*' (Sra. Vânia, MINED, 03/12/10) or take any responsibility. According to these actors, young people's tendency to *'trocar parceiros'* ('exchange partners' or have multiple, often concurrent relationships) and the phenomenon of transactional sex were indicative of (among other things) this approach to life. The frequent exchange of partners was furthermore identified as a key factor contributing to the spread of HIV, and for this reason 'fidelity' was regarded a key value to be promoted in HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes.

Like educators and policy makers, young people appeared to consider infidelity as a given, particularly when it came to (young) men. Their accounts regarding *inter alia* sexual harassment of young women by teachers, *financeiros* ('sugar daddies') seducing young women and their uncles picking up young women in nightclubs, suggested they were well aware that adults - and particularly men - did not meet the ideal of responsible, monogamous relationships so fervently preached. Only young women, however, appeared to challenge the 'morality' of what appeared to be seen as men's sexual predatory behaviour or, as one participant put it: '*the tendency of*

African men to not have just one wife; he wants to have a third, perhaps another fourth' (Sra. Nelfa, educator, *Maxaquene* school, 14/12/10). Like other young women, *activista* Tânia, for instance, was quite fierce in her condemnation of men's behaviour, stating '*they act in that manner ... men just want to know new women*' (09/12/10).

A similar pattern can be identified in relation to 'transactional' sex, an issue which policy makers, educators, *activistas* and, to an important degree, young men appeared to perceive as central to understanding the HIV and AIDS epidemic in Mozambique. Transactional sex was identified as a critical factor heightening young women's vulnerability to HIV and AIDS infection as the nature of the relationship in which such sex generally to took place (i.e. often intergenerational and based on monetary compensation) limited women's ability to negotiate condom use. To an important degree, a desire for consumer goods coupled with the moral looseness demonstrated by modern day people, and young urbanites in particular, was regarded as explanatory for young women's '*undignified*' (Sr. Augusto, educator, *KaPfumo,* 14/02/11) behaviour.

Whilst narratives of policy makers, educators, *activistas* and young men on this topic are grounded in concerns revolving around young women's perceived immorality, dominant in young women's accounts are questions regarding the morality of older, supposedly responsible, men. According to *activista* Ruth (29/10/10):

> *There are those fathers who ... go in search of Catorzinhas* (fourteen year olds) *and they are senhores* (older men) *with big bellies, ... older men with big children... [They] end up teaching [girls] things [they] did not know how to do, learning things very early and ruining [their] body.*

At the same time, young women appeared to defend the legitimacy of such relationships from the perspective of young women, particularly when the transaction was of long-term benefit to the young woman in question. To a certain extent, the light hearted manner in which young women spoke of such relationships - referring to their *'Millenium Bim'* (Bank) or *'Ministry of Finance'*, for instance - suggest a view of men as sexually predictable, and their willingness to pay for sexual favours as justifying their financial 'exploitation'. Stélia's (14 years) remark during a discussion

on *interesseiras*[19] that '*there are girls that say [that] having a poor father is destiny,* she mentioned, but *having a poor father in law is stupidity*' (mixed focus group, 25/10/10) arguably adds credence to the latter point.

During an informal conversation about girls receiving financial support from a *Millenium Bim*, Aida (20 years, 08/12/10) made a similar point, observing that those who used the funds from their *senhor* to cover their school fees demonstrated they '*valued*' (*valorizam*) the support received as opposed to those who '*just stayed at home and hung around on the couch*'. Not only is Aida's remark similarly suggestive of there being a certain legitimacy to young women engaging in transactional relationships, it furthermore indicates that a distinction is made between young women who adopt a 'responsible' approach to transactional sex and those who do not.

The occasionally violent ways in which young men sought the 'good life' was rarely commented on and certainly not with the disdain participants, including young men, reserved for *interesseiras*. Interestingly, when the subject of men who '*giving themselves*' (to women) in exchange for some form of support (i.e. *interesseiros*) was raised, this was presented as serving a different, more desirable, long-term objective. Edson (16 years, single sex focus group, *KaPfumo* school, 12/11/10) clarified:

For me the difference lies in the interest of a woman, a woman [is] interest[ed] is having a luxury in little [a short space of] *time ... whilst when a man is an 'interesseiro', he has an objective to do something for himself. He sees that 'yes, this here will guarantee my future'. Women want something to happen right then and there ... I think that is the difference.*

Like the young women cited above, Edson seemed to appropriate dominant views with regard to the importance of planning for and investing in the future, although he goes on to present this as something men were more apt to do than women. The '*luxury*' that Edson speaks of resonates with the consumer goods educators and policy makers refer to when speaking of young people's (and particularly young women's) definition of 'the good life'. And whilst, like policy makers and educators, Edson arguably provides a considerably less textured image of young women and their sense

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[19] Girls who maintain a sexual and/or intimate relationship with a man in return for some form of (material) gain. *Interesseiro* denotes the masculine 'version'. In the remainder of the text, the term *intereseirro/a* is used.

of responsibility and morality, he too nuances the idea of transactional relations as purely serving short-term and superficial aims.

All participants, in other words, engaged with the notion of responsibility, but they did so in distinctly different manners. The tensions between different actors' perceptions concerning this notion became particularly evident in discussions around the phenomenon of *interesseiros/as* or 'transactional sex'. Whilst policy makers and educators disapproved of the practice of transactional sex on the grounds that this was inherently immoral and irresponsible, to an important degree young people appeared to bypass the morality of the means adopted - i.e. engaging in a sexual relationship for material gain - and the extent to which these could be deemed 'responsible' in a context with relatively high HIV prevalence.

Although during initial discussions young people also engaged with these aspects of transactional sex, these matters appeared to lose their urgency during subsequent conversations. Instead, young people tended to focus on how the *interesseiro/a* made use of the ends gained through the relationship, drawing a distinction between their use for certain long-term objectives, such as education, or short-term objectives such as '*luxury*' goods. By doing so, young people appeared to reconfigure the concept of 'responsibility' itself, whereby '*proper valuing*' the resources gained (by investing them in schooling, for instance) indicated a sense of responsibility.

To an important degree, therefore, properly valuing the compensation provided - using this responsibly - seemed to be regarded as legitimising the means by which they were gained, which in turn appeared to be seen as reducing their perceived immorality. The actual wisdom of engaging in transactional sex in a context with high rates of HIV transmission barely surfaced during these later discussions.

6.5 Concluding section

This chapter addressed the second objective of this study. It discussed the HIV epidemic in Mozambique in relation to a key theme emerging from policy maker and educator accounts, namely the notion of modernity and the perceived threats thereof. The chapter elucidated the ways in which, according to participants, the HIV

epidemic was fuelled by these contextual threats. Crucially, therefore, the chapter provides the backdrop for more nuanced understanding of participant perceptions of the necessary approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education in the context of Mozambique (discussed in Chapters seven and eight).

It was shown that policy makers and educators primarily conceptualised the threats of modernity in terms of the moral cohesion of society. Modern values and lifestyles were thereby regarded as contributing in important ways to the fragmentation of what was constructed as a unified, morally coherent past. The data suggest that in important ways young people were positioned as embodying the various societal changes observed in current day Mozambique and, by extension, contributing to the moral fragmentation. The locus of responsibility for challenging this breakdown was placed on young women's shoulders. It was observed that this suggested a marked continuity from socialist, post-independence Mozambique.

The chapter reflected on another important set of ideals to have persisted until the present liberal day. This relates to 'modern' values such as monogamy and fidelity, as well as a belief in rationalism and scientific approaches to social issues such as HIV and AIDS. As policy maker and educator accounts revealed, views with regard to the dangers of modernity went hand in hand with the (implicit) belief in the necessity of modern values to deal with complex - modern - issues such as HIV and AIDS.

Young people too engaged with the idea of modernity. However, close reading of the data revealed alternative, albeit often clearly gendered, understandings of its meaning in their lives and a simultaneous questioning of the moral coherence of 'adult' social and sexual practices. The analysis of young women's narratives with regard to 'transactional sex', for instance, raised questions of the degree to which 'adult' conceptions of HIV- and AIDS-related education are aligned with young people's lived experiences and understandings. This subject is explored in more detail in the next chapter.

In marked distinction to the views expressed by young people, policy makers and educators appeared to interpret 'responsibility' as being linked to 'self-esteem'. Low self-esteem was hereby exhibited in terms of a tendency to live in the present.

Colonialism and the various wars the country had experienced seemed to be interpreted as critical moments in the onset of the fragmentation of society and, consequently, Mozambicans' self-esteem. It was observed that this backdrop clarified the apparent importance attached to the interrelated notions of 'self-esteem', 'initiative' and 'entrepreneurship'. Building such characteristics and values in young people hereby seemed understood as fundamental to attempts to unite people around a common cause, such as tackling HIV and AIDS.

The, albeit diverging, interpretations of the notion of responsibility were thus found to be crucial to understanding participant perspectives with regard to HIV and AIDS. Building on the analysis detailed here, the following chapter engages with this subject in more detail. It does so against the backdrop of a discussion on participants' perspectives on the primary aims and means of HIV- and AIDS-related education.

Chapter seven: Morals, rights and culture; perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related education

7.1 Introduction

Building on key themes emerging from the data analysis detailed in Chapter six, the current chapter presents a discussion of participants' views regarding the primary aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education and the actions or methods needed to achieve these. This second empirical chapter also engages with second research objective detailed on page 14 (i.e. to investigate the theoretical underpinnings of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique). In addition, it addresses the third research objective of the present study, namely to examine the aims of HIV prevention education in relation to the broader purposes of school education in the context of Mozambique.

The chapter is composed of four sections. Section 7.2 details participant perspectives concerning the immediate and more distant aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education. Building on Chapter six, this section engages with the role policy makers and educators accord to formal HIV prevention education in efforts to promote *uma boa educação* (good - moral - education), particularly of young women.

Section 7.3 engages with participant narratives with regard to the various means for achieving the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education. Three key means are distinguished which, simply put, are 'culture', values and rights. Section 7.4 investigates young people's views with regard to the aims and means of HIV- and AIDS-related education, clarifying where these appear to correspond with but also nuance dominant views. Section 7.5 offers a summary of the principal findings.

Before engaging with the first substantive issue of this chapter, however, a note on terminology is warranted. The Portuguese term for education is *educação*. The term *educação* can mean education via school-based teaching and learning but also

'upbringing', in the sense of providing a child with the necessary moral education to become a well-mannered, socially acceptable member of a community. The following quote illustrates the importance education as upbringing is generally seen to have in Mozambique:

> *'[F]ormal education is complementary but education 'of the cradle' (upbringing), from the first moment one enters the world, is critical. Because if you did not take tea at home, you did not have [this] cradle (base), ... basic things, orientation for life ... meaning going to school or not going to school is like water on top of a duck - it makes no difference, [it] falls...', (Sra. Vanîa, MINED, 03/12/10)*

During the course of conversations and interviews held with various actor groups, the term *educação* oftentimes seemed to be used in both senses of the word, i.e. to refer to formal education and in the sense of (moral) upbringing. Participants furthermore used both *educação* and *formação* ('training') when speaking about school-based education. Here the term 'education' is used throughout as participants appeared to use the two terms interchangeably, i.e. they did not seem to use the term *'formação'* in the narrower sense of teaching and learning of particular skills (alone).

7.2 To create a society free of HIV; the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education

The following section draws on participant accounts and policy and curricular documents to analyse the different ways in which the various sets of actors defined the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education. A distinction is made between participants' views concerning what might be understood as the immediate and more indirect aims of such education. Participants generally defined the direct aims in terms of decreasing young people's vulnerability to, and reducing prevalence of, HIV and AIDS. It was in the conceptualisation of the more indirect aims that differences arose between the actors groups.

7.2.1 Creating healthy citizens; national and local perspectives on the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education

There was broad consensus among policy makers and educators that the critical and immediate aim of HIV- and AIDS-related education was to reduce young people's

vulnerability to the epidemic and, ultimately, decrease HIV and AIDS prevalence. Additionally, participants conceived HIV- and AIDS-related education as potentially contributing to the overall development of the country and the future of generations to come. Educators for instance spoke of '*the man of tomorrow need[ing] to be healthy*' (Sr. António, educator *KaPfumo* school*, 22/10/10*), and '*the country need[ing] healthy people*' (Adelaide, educator *Gandhi* school, 26/10/10), and '*if there wasn't this [HIV- and AIDS-related] education, we can lose a social layer and that will endanger the development of the country*' (Sra. Anna, director *KaPfumo* school, 26/01/11).

Implicit in the latter quote is the risk posed to progress by *ill* health. Participants regularly engaged with the idea of ill health and the absence thereof, for instance, speaking of the need to decrease HIV prevalence among teachers as they needed to be healthy to educate the young. Although educators tended to concentrate on the need to have healthy teachers, the health of the country's overall labour force was also a focus of concern. As Sr. Amade pointed out, for example: '*it is true that someone contaminated with the infection of HIV/AIDS can live a long time, but he has his weaknesses, that is an illness [whereby] there are days when he cannot go and work and ... the country needs healthy people in order to develop. So a well educated person, healthy, will develop the country*' (educator, *Maxaquene* school, 15/12/10).

Another central notion running through policy maker, educator and, to an extent, *activista* narratives with regard to the aims of HIV prevention education related to the potential of educated people to make informed decisions, to take care of themselves and others. In this regard, the following excerpt from an interview with a teacher from the *Maxaquene* school is revealing (16/11/10):

Sra. Paula: '*I believe it is easier for a person who is trained to understand about HIV than someone who has not been to school. So if [a person] is trained, there is greater probability [that person] will take care of her/himself and others. ... And who did not go ... the greatest probability is that [s/he] will not accept, for example if I have HIV, I am not educated ... even receiving those medical [pieces of] advice ... I would prefer to die...*

Esther: *You would prefer to die? Why?*

Sra. Paula: *an uneducated person has difficulty to decipher the message. I can already be infected but if I treat myself, I won't die. I won't die now. So [the uneducated person] simply*

ignores, ignores those medicines, those pieces of advice, [s/he] would say 'ah!'. Especially when [s/he] is not yet ill. Maybe [s/he] only thinks about this [i.e. the advice provided] when [s/he] remains in bed [i.e. when s/he is too ill to get out of bed], only [then].

Sra. Paula's comments regarding the role of HIV- and AIDS-related education resonate with an important issue raised in the previous chapter, namely policy makers' and educators' views regarding the need for young Mozambicans to develop a certain vision for the future, and the role education can play in this regard. Paula's comments thus tie in with the earlier presented view that uneducated people live in and for the present only - which is regarded as reflective of a low sense of 'self-esteem' - whilst educated people are depicted as having a longer-term perspective; or, to paraphrase Sr. Augusto (educator, *KaPfumo* school, 14/02/11), an educated person faces *'the future with knowledge, pride, faith and without doubt'*. The excerpt from the interview with Paula furthermore suggests that educated persons are viewed as not only working for their own long-term benefit, but also for that of others.

In keeping with the latter point, policy makers, educators and *activistas* also seemed to regard educated people to be more capable, and inclined, to share their knowledge. School-based HIV- and AIDS-related education therefore appeared to be seen as serving the important aim of educating the wider community. This links to the notion of 'solidarity' discussed in Chapter six, whereby an educated person was perceived as more engaged in the common cause. The remark made by Sr. Simião (MINED, 04/01/11) possibly most poignantly reflects the importance participants attached to a sense of 'togetherness': in his view *'like life, knowledge is only meaningful when shared'*. From the perspective of educators and policy makers, therefore, it was only when information was used for the benefit of the greater whole that it acquired true value.

7.2.2 Attaining the MDGs[20] and enhancing personal wellbeing; international views regarding the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education

Similar to policy makers and education, international level actors emphasised the reduction of HIV prevalence as the principal aim of HIV- and AIDS-related education. They spoke of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education as a means to ensure *'behavioural change processes'* (Célia, 15/11/10). Participants' views with regard to the objectives of such behavioural changes differed, however, some speaking of enabling the country to protect its *'labour base'* and *'meet*[ing] *the MDGs'* (Anne, 13/10/10), and *'empowering'* the individual to develop the *'tools to improve the quality of [one's] life'* (Célia, 15/11/10). It could be argued, in other words, that international actors defined the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education in two broad ways. First, engaging with the subject in what might be understood as 'technical' terms - for example referring to education as a *'precondition for development'* (Charles, bilateral agency, 07/02/11), and relating these to international developmental goals. Second, conceptualising the promotion of personal wellbeing as a central aim of HIV- and AIDS-related education.

It is important to note that with regard to individual wellbeing, participants did not necessarily define this as separate from welfare in a broader, cross-generational sense of the word, as illustrated by the following quote:

> *Education provides the possibility for you to improve your own human development ... at school you can learn things which will really change your life and the life of your children, right? Of the next generations. ... Education changes your life, the way you see life, it can change your relationship with your partner, your lover, all that education can do.* (Célia, 15/11/10)

Broadly speaking, international agency staff, policy makers and educators identified reduction of HIV and AIDS prevalence as the primary aim of HIV- and AIDS-related education. These participants were also in agreement as to the indirect aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education, perceiving such education as critical for protecting Mozambique's labour force and by extension, its socio-economic development. There

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[20] The 'MDGs' are the eight Millennium Development Goals which UN member states and development agencies have agreed to strive to meet by 2015. The goals include providing universal primary education, and halting the spread of HIV and AIDS (UN, 2000).

appears, however, to be a distinct difference in terms of the tone or level of affect imbued in the different sets of narratives.

Underlying policy maker and educator narratives were ideas around HIV- and AIDS-related education forming '*healthy citizens*'. Such citizens, these participants indicated, would be in a position to make 'informed' decisions, taking responsibility for their own wellbeing and that of their wider community. Policy makers and educators largely conceptualised the importance of HIV- and AIDS-related education in relation to the development of the country, therefore, speaking of creating '*educated layer*' (Sr. Augusto, educator *KaPfumo*, 14/02/11) or, as some referred to it, the next *'social layer'* (Sra. Anna, director *KaPfumo*, 26/01/11). If these people were lost to the epidemic, participants indicated, the development of the country would be endangered. These participants' accounts are suggestive of a personal commitment to HIV- and AIDS related education in view of its importance to their country and Mozambique as a sovereign nation.

Staff members of international organisations, on the other hand, simultaneously appear to engage with the notion of 'development' in what could be interpreted as more distant, technical terms - speaking as development experts. At the same time they appeared to speak in a more personal and affective manner - calling on the idea of (investing in) the 'quality' of personal relationships and life more broadly. The latter might be understood in terms of these actors placing greater emphasis on the individual *as* individual (and her/his quality of life). Policy makers and educators on the other hand, seemed to first and foremost define the individual in relation to the community. This suggests these different sets of actors' conceptions of HIV prevention education were underpinned by diverging understandings of, among others, the individual and personhood.

7.3 Achieving an HIV-free society; participant views concerning the means of HIV- and AIDS-related education

7.3.1 Culture as cause and cure

'Culture' was a notion that all participants frequently referred to as explanatory of the spread of HIV and AIDS in Mozambique. Policy makers, educators and international actors, in particular, engaged with what they defined as *'socio-cultural'*[21] factors or dimensions of the epidemic. 'Culture' hereby appeared to be largely conceptualised as that which was traditional and which pertained to the - culturally homogenous - *campo* ('the countryside'). At all levels, the most frequently mentioned examples of *'socio-cultural'* practices seen to contribute to the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS were initiation rites, early marriage, traditional healing and widow cleansing[22]. *'Barriers'* (e.g. Sr. Carlos, MINED, 02/12/10) to addressing HIV and, by extension creating greater gender equality and 'development' more broadly, were thus seen to reside in what were regarded as traditional cultural practices, beliefs and structures.

Although (traditional) 'culture' was broadly regarded as obstructive, it was simultaneously perceived as offering important footholds to deal with the epidemic. For instance, according to Giulia, a senior staff member of a multi-lateral agency *'[when] you're talking about behaviour change ... the most important part is taking into account people's social and cultural dimensions. So that behaviour change can really be effective'* (16/12/10). This quote illustrates the generally voiced belief in the instrumental utility of engaging with *'socio-cultural dimensions'* (Giulia, 16/12/10), or, more to the point, the necessity of embedding education in existing 'socio-cultural' practices so as to ensure its efficacy.

Participant narratives revealed a perception that using 'culture' to address the epidemic required taking two key steps. To begin with, *'negative dimensions'* (e.g. Sr. Carlos, MINED, 02/12/10) of cultural practices had to be identified with *'the makers of culture'* (Sr. Carlos, 02/12/10), such as elderly community leaders and traditional

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[21] It is likely that UNESCO Mozambique's work in the field of *'the socio-cultural approach to HIV and AIDS'* has contributed to adoption of this notion of within broader HIV- and AIDS-related discourse in Mozambique.

[22] Widow cleansing refers to a sexual act whereby the wife of a deceased man is purified through semen entering her body. Purification is carried out by a male relative of the deceased (UNDP, 2012).

healers. The second step consisted of convincing gatekeepers of the detrimental impact of certain practices on the HIV epidemic by drawing on *'scientific'* knowledge. Some cultural practices, such as initiation rites, were also considered what Albertina (bilateral agency, 13/12/10) referred to as *'entry points'*. They seemed to be considered practical points of entry in that they offered concrete moments and venues for transmitting 'scientific' information about HIV and AIDS to young people.

Despite the apparent consensus that culture - or *'socio-cultural factors'* - both formed an obstacle to resolving the epidemic and was part of its 'cure', there were also important differences in opinion as to what a *'socio-cultural'* approach entailed in practice, especially at international level. These differences primarily appeared to relate to the possible ways in which to bring about *'socio-cultural'* change. Some participants indicated this required a *'gentle approach'* (Anne, bilateral agency, 13/1010) of convincing gatekeepers of *'harmful'* dimensions of cultural practices and, as such, realising '*change from within ... a culture rather than anything enforced outside'*. Others believed some form of crisis was required which would force gatekeepers to acknowledge the necessity of change for the *'culture ... to survive'* (Giulia, multilateral agency, 16/12/10).

Policy makers and educators also seemed to favour what might be defined as a 'gentle approach', where demonstrating respect for existing practices and for the elderly appeared to be considered particularly crucial. Sr. Carlos (MINED, 02/12/10) for example explained that:

> *[R]espect for the elderly ... is a value we seek to develop ... in the sense that these are people with ... a lot of experience [in terms of] social and cultural life and above all who have been able to stabilise their emotions, right? ... [Whilst] a young person ... likes this and likes that ... he doesn't have a solidified personality.*

The 'social and cultural' knowledge of elders was linked to their *'consolidated'* personalities, their maturity, as a result of years of life experience in certain social and cultural settings. They have become, to paraphrase Sra. Vânia (MINED, 03/12/10), '*rooted'* and as such can play an important role in embedding young people in a particular socio-cultural fabric. In sum, the justification for the approach adopted by policy makers and educators was couched in terms of *'harmonious development'*, i.e.

the protection of social and cultural cohesion. The 'gentle approach' of international actors, on the other hand, primarily appeared to be understood in relation to what are currently considered fundamental principles of and prerequisites for development, namely those of ownership and efficacy.

There was thus broad agreement as to the need to take into consideration social and cultural factors in HIV- and AIDS-related education. In addition, both sets of factors largely seemed to be defined at a local - micro - level and to refer primarily to what was considered 'traditional'. However, it never became clear whether participants perceived social and cultural issues as different kinds of (intersecting) factors, or whether they were actually interpreted as one and the same. When engaging with 'the socio-cultural approach', some would for instance refer to the '*social construction*' of womanhood (Maria, INGO, 17/01/11), while others spoke of the '*cultural construct*' of gender (Giulia, multilateral agency, 16/12/10). It was therefore not clear whether participants used the notions 'social' and 'cultural' interchangeably or perceived these as meaning something different.

Equally striking was the minimal reference to macro level, structural factors - other than the mention of for instance, '*urban poverty*' (Albertina, bilateral agency, 13/12/10) - and such factors certainly did not appear to be meaningfully engaged with in the context of existing HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes. Despite differences in views as to the notion of culture and change processes, the analysis therefore suggests participants built on a reified understanding of 'culture', whereby it becomes a 'thing' to be possessed and manipulated in the response to HIV and AIDS (Taylor, 2007: 967).

7.3.2 Remoralising and rehumanising society

The previous chapter discussed a range of - what policy makers, educators and to a certain degree, *activistas* perceived to be - negative external, *modern* influences on young people and society more broadly. These varied from the phenomenon of '*multiculturalism*' to '*aggressive*' media, both of which contributed to the social breakdown. 'Globalisation' was felt to have '*entered [Mozambique] violently*', as one policy maker put it (Sra. Vânia, MINED, 03/12/10), with little in place to cushion the impact on young people, particularly in urban areas. Participants evoked a past in

which the young were firmly rooted in and adhered to what were considered desirable norms and values, as such contributing to the continuance of the existing social and cultural fabric. The current generation, on the other hand, was perceived as adrift and irresponsible, as becoming *'easily … involved in everything and nothing'* (Sr. Alberto, director *Maxaquene* school, 04/01/11), and as a consequence exacerbating the modern day phenomenon of social fragmentation. Current day Mozambican society was depicted as lacking solidarity, a value that was sorely needed in a world with HIV and AIDS.

It could therefore be argued that, at the level of policy makers and educators, the conceptualisation of culture as relating primarily to *traditional*, local and largely static practices and beliefs which posed a barrier to progress, existed alongside a perception of culture in terms of *modern* lifestyle and norms. Here issue is taken with, among others, the culturally heterogeneous, changeable and *globalised* - the *'multicultural'* - character of the city, which was seen to imply a *lack* of a unified, moral culture. The absence of such a stable moral culture was in turn considered to detrimentally affect the cohesion of society and, by extension, fuel the HIV epidemic.

Participants appeared to believe the remedy for the lack of a unifying, moral culture - and particularly the moral *'emptiness'* (e.g. Sr. Reís, MINED, 19/10/10) of young people - could be found by more strongly grounding school-based (HIV- and AIDS-related) education in a clear set of norms and values, and establishing closer linkages between schools, caregivers and communities. In addition, participants referred to the pivotal role of religion in the re-moralisation process. Sra. Vânia (MINED, 03/12/10), for example, engaged with the value of biblical teachings in addressing the *'dehumanisation'* of society - or the lack of a sense of community:

> [T]here *is a slogan in religion … 'love your neighbour, respect your neighbour', in other words, respect for the dignity, for the human being. Now if you look at another human being as if s/he were … I don't know - an object - … you sometimes forget you yourself are a human being. So this is a key aspect in this thing of moralisation because this thing of competition, of greed, it goes over human beings [' heads].*

In a similar vein, in Sr. Simião's (MINED, 04/01/11) view, *'return[ing] the church to the service of society'* would provide (young) people with what he defined as a much

needed *'orientation'*. Noteworthy is the implicit relationship that appears to be established between what were considered 'traditional' social and cultural norms and values on the one hand, and religion on the other. Both are presented as having played an important role in the past, and both are regarded as potentially offering the means to improve the sense of community, of togetherness, in the multicultural, globalised urban space.

Whilst the structure offered by traditional moral norms and values was depicted as having declined in the relatively recent transition to 'modern' city life, the role played by 'the church'[23] is presented as having been drastically undermined directly after independence. As Sr. Simião explained:

> [*T*]*here was a period when the church was a very strong [part] of [our] education [but] when we reached independence, because some people who were linked to the church were also linked to the colonial system, ... they closed the church, religion.*

Critical to both religious *'orientation'* and traditional values appears to be their perceived grounding in a recognition of the critical value of interpersonal relationships, which participants implied was an essential ingredient of 'solidarity'. Sr. Simião - engaging with the need to *'cultivate'* (traditional) *community* values - explained it was necessary: *to have these good values to form a person to know that 'look, I am a person because of others with whom I can share my feelings, to whom I can say that I am ill.*

Other policy makers and educators echoed Sr. Simião's - communitarian - sentiments, referring to HIV- and AIDS-related education as a means to enable young people to develop themselves as *'social beings'* capable of *inter alia* contributing to the *'harmonious development of society'* (Sr. Carlos, MINED, 02/12/10), and *'to learn ... to be together ... how to live with others'* (Sr. Sérgio, MINED, 04/11/10). Underpinning participants' narratives appeared to be a sense that embedding people in morally cohesive communities would strengthen solidarity, which was considered essential in societies facing issues such as HIV and AIDS. Greater solidarity would contribute to a society in which people would value their own and other's lives; in

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[23] It is likely 'the church' here primarily signifies the Catholic church, which played an important role in efforts to 'Portugalize' Mozambique during colonial times (Sheldon, 2002).

such a society, participants appeared to suggest, HIV and AIDS would become a community matter rather than one to be dealt with at an individual level alone.

Thus it seems that what was defined as a problem in one context (the traditional, morally conservative rural culture) became part of the solution in the other (i.e. the modern, culture-less urban space). Additionally, certain 'modern' values, such as scientific rational thought, were perceived as possibly contributing to resolving traditional 'problems', such as irrational superstitions. Religious teachings and communities seemed furthermore to be regarded as potentially compensating for the kind of moral grounding that had been lost as a result of various modern day phenomena, particularly those relating to urbanisation and globalisation (see also Chapter six). In this sense, the arguably more 'modern' day phenomenon of the Christian church was accorded a similar role to that of parents and caregivers, namely to mitigate the impact of modernity on the moral fabric of society.

Providing young women and men value-based education was also considered important in light of adolescents' particular vulnerability to the influx of external inputs, policy makers, educators and *activistas* indicated. Adolescents were especially vulnerable to these inputs as a result of their *'psychological and moral immaturity'* (Sr. Reís, MINED, 19/10/10) and their inability to distinguish between *'what was beneficial and what was not'* (Sra. Regina, MINED, 02/12/10). Participants largely appeared to view adolescence as *'a phase of conflict'* (Sr. Alberto, director *Maxaquene* school, 04/01/11), characterised by *'physical, psychological and moral changes'* (*activista* Agostinho, 29/10/10). International agency staff too generally conceptualised adolescence as a turbulent period marked by great change, oftentimes focusing on the new sexual experiences of young people. Giulia, for instance, talked of the *'longing'* and *'urges'* young people felt, which she believed were *'very, very confusing'* (multilateral agency, 16/12/10).

Policy makers, educators and *activistas* furthermore seemed to regard young women as especially vulnerable to external influences, immoral behaviour and, by extension, HIV and AIDS. Young women's wish to be beautiful hereby seemed to be considered a critical explanatory factor, as it entailed a desire for, among other things, the latest fashion and as such fed their *'ambition'*. Young women were furthermore described

as suffering from the generalised *'syndrome of female inferiority'* (Sr. António, educator *KaPfumo* school*, 22/10/10*), which served to explain their perceived *'timidity'* (Sra. Vânia, MINED, 03/12/10), particularly in relation to - reportedly sexually aggressive - young men. Combined with the general lack of sexual education young people were believed to receive and the lack of alternatives that was *'characteristic of poor countries'*, young women were more likely '*to live a, let's say, undignified life ... let[ting] themselves be taken'* (Sr. Augusto, educator *KaPfumo* school*, 14/02/11*).

It was for these reasons that young women were believed to require extra attention when it came to HIV- and AIDS-related education. Arguably, the emphasis on young women could also be related to the general view that men could not be relied on. For, as a *Maxaquene* teacher pointed out in response to my question whether there were particular issues to take into account in relation to young women or men, *'because the boy, when the head below rises* [laughs]*, the one on top doesn't function. ... So the girl is the one that is more responsible for reminding [him to use a condom], to insist. Mmm ... to insist* (Sra. Paula, 16/11/10)*.

Interestingly, the lack of HIV- and AIDS-related education seemed to be regarded as less of a problem when it came to young men. This primarily seemed to be related to young men's apparent openness when it came to discussing HIV- and AIDS-related issues, the access they had to other sources of information (including *'internet, ... [and] all kinds of films'*, Sra. Nelfa, educator *Maxaquene* school*, 14/12/10*) and, more generally, their perceived greater sexual experience. Young men's sexual experience hereby seemed to be regarded as facilitating a more open attitude to discussions on HIV- and AIDS-related issues.

It would seem, therefore, that value-based education was largely directed at young women. While the justification for the emphasis on young women was confusing, it appeared to be reflective of a range of essentialising beliefs and double standards. On the one hand, young women were perceived as more susceptible to temptation and hence in need of more instruction on certain key values. Young men were regarded as not to be depended on. On the other hand, as discussed above educators and policy makers also seemed to regard young men's unreliability (i.e. their tendency to *trocar*

parceiros, 'to exchange partners') as comprising clear positive dimensions, as it meant they were more open and informed about sexual matters. It seems unlikely that educators would promote the idea of young women gaining greater sexual experience in order to become as open as young men. The remoralisation of Mozambican society thus primarily seemed to be considered women's duty.

7.3.3 Promoting young people's rights

International level narratives regarding HIV- and AIDS-related education were most consistently grounded in notions of rights. International actors oftentimes - implicitly or explicitly - framed their responses to the researcher's enquiries by drawing on rights informed discourse (see also Chapter three), speaking for instance of (HIV- and AIDS-related) education as serving to enhance *'choice', 'participation'* and *'equality'* (the latter in particular in relation to gender). Charles (bilateral agency, 07/02/11), for example, indicated that education should open up economic possibilities for girls to enable them 'to make healthy choices'. Similarly to Charles, other international agency staff highlighted the frequent violation of young people's rights, particularly those of young women.

National level actors and educators also drew on notions of rights, but explicit references were generally in response to my questions regarding the matter. *Activistas* barely drew on notions of rights, and tended only to engage with the subject when I asked them about their views regarding, for instance, the possible relationship between rights and HIV and AIDS. When asked what she considered were some of the most important rights within the context of HIV- and AIDS-related education, *activista* Ruth (17 years, 29/10/10) for example indicated: *'I know more about responsibilities, right?'*. She went on to explain that an essential responsibility of young people was to develop *'respect for society'*, resonating the understanding of the notion of respect policy makers and educators generally appeared to want to (better) communicate to young people.

Educators' and policy makers' implicit engagement with what, broadly speaking, might be understood as rights related concepts, was often in relation to ideas concerning *'learning to live with difference'* (e.g. Sr. Reís, MINED, 19/10/10). More so than policy makers, educators engaged with notions of gender, problematising the

role women's *'sense of inferiority'* (Sr. Mateo, director *Gandhi* school*, 19/11/10)* played in the spread of HIV and AIDS. When explicitly asked as to their views concerning the importance of a particular concept of rights in HIV- and AIDS-related education, policy makers' responses tended to revolve around notions of 'respect', 'responsibility' and 'harmonious relationships'.

In light of policy makers and educators' frequent reference to the concept of 'respect', it is worth exploring this notion in greater depth. To begin with, it is important to note that policy makers and educators indicated 'respect' was not to be confused with *'submissiveness'* (Sr. Carlos, MINED, 02/12/10), and that they drew a distinction between how the notion was understood currently and in the past when it was *'a respect so rigorous, so radical that at a certain point it transformed into fear'* (Sra. Viviane, MINED, 24/01/11). It would seem instead that the use of the concept 'respect' needs to be understood against the backdrop of ideas concerning development of *'harmonious social being[s]'* (Sr. Carlos, MINED, 02/12/10). As such - as Arnfred (2011) has also elucidated - the concept may partly need to be interpreted in the sense that by demonstrating respect a person indicates s/he is *worthy of* respect, i.e. s/he can be considered a mature - a 'valid' - member of the community.

The understanding of 'rights' underpinning policy maker and educator narratives therefore seems intimately linked to notions of harmony and the collective (as well as an implicit dichotomy between 'immature' and 'mature'). To what extent this 'collective' approach substantially conflicts with the Western liberal understandings of rights which might be seen to inform approaches of participants working for international aid agencies will be discussed in further detail in Chapter nine.

Where to strike the balance between 'rights' and 'responsibilities' appeared to be an issue with which international agency staff, policy makers and educators all grappled. The two latter sets of actors oftentimes emphasised the need to develop young people's sense of responsibility. Sr. Reís (MINED, 19/10/10) for example, indicated that in his view *'there continues to be a lack - we always speak of rights and not duties'*, whilst Sra. Regina (MINED, 02/12/10) situated the need for 'responsibility' in relation to the notion of continuity: *'[s]o what future do we want for our generations? Because we are letting this generation grow up inclined [to drink, to*

smoke] but afterwards we will demand they be persons of responsibility. We are not creating these conditions, so it is necessary to create [these]'. International agency staff, on the other hand, argued that in light of the daily violation of young people's rights, their lack of knowledge about their rights, and the emphasis in Mozambique on 'responsibility' meant HIV- and AIDS-related education ought to concentrate on rights and *not* responsibilities.

Although more implicit, the notion of 'responsibility' also underpinned international level narratives, however. Participants referred to notions of sexually responsible - or *'healthy'* - behaviour for instance (Charles, bilateral agency, 07/02/11), young people being responsible to make use of the (educational) opportunities offered (Anne, bilateral agency, 13/10/10), and the need for young people to be willing to be held *'accountable'* and *'tak[e] responsibility'* for (peer led) HIV- and AIDS-related education activities (Lina, multilateral agency, 11/11/10). The principal difference in the ways in which the various sets of actors engaged with the notion of 'responsibility' seems to relate to perceptions regarding the position of the individual vis-à-vis the collective. 'Responsible' in international narratives largely appeared to be interpreted in relation to 'choice', i.e. an individual taking responsibility for his/her (informed) choices. Policy makers and educators, on the other hand, seemed to grant the collective greater importance; 'responsible' here largely related to the ways in which the individual contributes to the collective.

Participants' disparate interpretations of the idea of 'responsibility' also played out in relation to the ways in which they engaged with notions of gender relations and gender equality. To begin with, policy makers and educators alluded to what they defined as the sexually aggressive and unreliable 'Mozambican man'. This was the man with a perpetual desire to *'know'* (Alinda, 16 years, 09/12/10) more than one woman and who furthermore did not take responsibility for his offspring. This image of the typical Mozambican man was neither further problematised, nor did it appear to be regarded as an area for intervention. Instead it was women's *'inferiority syndrome ... [whereby] the woman always submitted herself to the man'* (Sr. António, educator *KaPfumo* school*, 22/10/10) that was presented as something women had to shake off, evoking the idea it was women's (collective) 'responsibility' to bring about change.

Sr. Mateo (director, *Gandhi* school, 19/11/10) for example spoke of young women needing *'to learn to defend themselves ... not to blindly obey [young men], [to learn] that what the boy says should not always be understood as an order'*. Sr. António (educator, *KaPfumo* school, 22/10/10) engaged with young women's *'equal rights to protect themselves'* by insisting on the use of a condom. It was the young female who was the *'principal victim'*, he explained, which is why the emphasis in HIV- and AIDS-related education rested on teaching a young woman *'it has to be her first of all who demands the use of the condom, not wait for ... the man to impose [his demands] ... She has this right to know how to ... negotiate with her partner ... and to think about her own future'*.

Taking 'responsibility' here largely seems to be interpreted as a *means* to claim rights; by insisting on the use of a condom, the young woman enacts her right to plan her own future. Furthermore, by speaking of young women needing to claim their '*equal rights to protect themselves'*, 'rights' are arguably largely reconfigured as responsibilities. The notion of 'responsibility' would hereby largely seem to be perceived in terms of moral duty, not only to the self (in terms of learning or 'self-development') but indirectly also to others; by learning to protect herself, a young woman can, policy makers and educators appeared to suggest, contribute to *'combating'* the epidemic. Similar to the discourse surrounding the '*remoralisation'* of society, participant narratives around rights/responsibilities are clearly structured on assumptions regarding gender dependent responsibilities.

Rather than focus on *gender* relations as such, international actors tended to speak of what they perceived as the need to engage with broader notions of *'power'* and Mozambicans' perceived tendency to *'conform'* (Maria, INGO, 17/01/11) to existing *'hierarchies'* (e.g. Lina, multilateral agency, 11/11/10). In Maria's view for instance:

> [O]ne would not change the discussion [concerning gender] if one did not discuss power relations in Mozambique, because this permeates not just what is male or what is female, but ... all areas of life ... [all] human relations.

Bringing about more equitable power relations was seen to call for a change within the person him or herself. Once again in Maria's words, it required a:

[C]hange of position ... [whereby] 'I become more of a subject ... I stop taking orders. Other than taking orders, I can be responsible for ... that which I propose to do... And people are a bit afraid of that, right? ... Because it entails [taking] responsibility.

International agency staff members' interpretation of the concept of 'taking responsibility' would appear to relate to broader discourse around the idea of 'agency', tying in with the earlier mentioned notion of 'choice'. Interesting in the above quote is the reference to the need for courage to take responsibility, to *'become ... a subject'* and as such create what might be defined as greater 'agentic possibilities' (Maxwell & Aggleton, 2009: 4). Rather than emphasise a young woman's - moral - duty, international actors could be understood as focusing largely on the importance of an individual (having the courage to) critically question existing hierarchies and, on the basis of this analysis, to decide and act on the kind of (new, subjective) *'position'* (Maria, INGO, 17/01/11) to adopt. This approach to rights might be understood as grounded in liberal democratic principles, which emphasise individuals' rights and freedoms (Hodgson, 2003).

Hence both sets of actors - i.e. policy makers and educators, and international agency staff - conceptualised creating greater gender equality as requiring change at a personal level, whereby the person takes control over and responsibility for her/his fate. Educators and policy makers spoke of young women's *'equal rights to protect themselves'* (Sr. António, educator *KaPfumo* school*, 22/10/10), whilst international agency staff engaged with the need to address inequitable power relations. In a sense, underpinning both sets of narratives is the idea of moral duty. They diverge however in that policy makers and educators largely appeared to perceive this moral duty as one pertaining to the self but more importantly, as part of a process of improving the social cohesion. International agency staff, on the other hand, primarily seemed to understand this in terms of attaining personal autonomy which, in turn, was thought to contribute to a more balanced and equitable society.

7.4 Appropriation and contestation; young people engaging with the aims and means of HIV- and AIDS-related education

7.4.1 Aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education

Whilst international actors, policy makers and educators largely conceptualised the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education in terms of reducing HIV prevalence, young people appeared to engage with HIV- and AIDS-related education in arguably more personal terms. Learning a family member was living with HIV was a key reason mentioned for wanting to know more about HIV and AIDS, for instance. As such, HIV prevention education was not only seen to serve as a means to enable young people to protect themselves from HIV and AIDS, but also as an important tool to improve their ability to live *'harmoniously'* (Carlos, 16 years, 26/10/10) in families and communities affected by HIV.

Queita (15 years, 22/10/10) for instance, recounted:

> *I had family members who were infected with HIV/AIDS. I still have one aunt - one aunt already died, my uncle died - so I was very worried about that, right? ... I don't discriminate ...but because she drinks and smokes so that worried me most because they say that medication with alcohol is not good so I always said [this] to her ... My mother used to say when you go there, be careful with sharp objects ... so I did not do things ... so as not to cut myself ... I do them to protect myself and my family but not with the intention to discriminate.*

Queita clarified that in her view education should enable young people to cope with the day-to-day impact of HIV and AIDS. Although she seemed to want to ensure it is clear she did not discriminate, the main issue underpinning her narrative centred largely around the pragmatic value of HIV- and AIDS-related education, i.e. enabling people to identify ways to protect themselves and their families and simultaneously ensuring people living with HIV were not caused emotional harm.

Young people also frequently engaged with the relevance of HIV- and AIDS-related education in terms of reducing HIV-related discrimination and stigmatisation. Being knowledgeable about HIV and AIDS, its modes of transmission and treatment, was seen to diminish the *'panic'* (Duarte, 16 years, 07/02/11) and *'isolation'* (Elsa, 14

years, 16/11/10) that people living with HIV experienced as well as to improve community members' responses (reducing among other things, *'abandonment'* (Enoque, 15 years), *'contempt'* and *'distancing'* (Carlos, 16 years)).

Finally, education was expected to lessen what young people defined as *'self-stigmatisation'* (Elsa, 14 years). This was understood as *'you, knowing you have this illness, you feel ... inferior'* (Nélio, 17 years, focus group, 07/10/10) or, as was clarified during a mixed group discussion (*Maxaquene*, 25/10/10):

  Elsa: *For example, I contract HIV/AIDS, I begin to discriminate myself, we are friends and suddenly I begin to distance myself and I stay far away because I have HIV. 'They look at me in that way' whilst [they] aren't, I am the one who is discriminating myself... even without them knowing I have HIV, I distance myself.*

  Esther: *Does that have to do with the isolation [you talked about earlier] or ...?*

  Duarte: *[with] shame.*

  Elsa: *[feeling] ashamed of one's self.*

These excerpts illustrate that young people too (indirectly) engaged with notions of solidarity and social cohesion. Contrary to the more moralistic approach taken by policy makers and educators, they largely appeared to define the relevance of HIV- and AIDS-related information in relation to their personal relationships and specific social fears. While other participants did refer to HIV- and AIDS-related education needing to address stigma and discrimination, none engaged with the subject in such an explicit and detailed manner as these young people did. None furthermore spoke of the kinds of concerns and feelings - such as shame, fear of abandonment and isolation - young people discussed. It is important to note that this may at least in part be due to the researcher posing more and different questions to young people (see also Chapter five). Nevertheless, considering the centrality of the notion of social cohesion to policy makers and educators, it would seem that the kinds of inputs described above provide valuable points of entry for meaningful HIV- and AIDS-related education.

7.4.2 Appropriating and questioning notions of culture, rights and adolescence

Like other participants, young people tended to be critical of cultural practices, implying these were obstacles to addressing the epidemic. During a focus group discussion on, among other things, the relevance of HIV- and AIDS-related education, Ibrahimo stated:

> *I am not sure if it exists in the United States [of America], but here in Mozambique there are various traditions, one of the traditions is kutchinga* [widow cleansing]*, when the woman loses the husband she has to have sexual relations during one week, three times a day without any protection! Now imagine if education did not exist, this ritual would be really strong and would increase the rate of infection by HIV.* (Focus group, *Ghandi* school, 06/10/10)

On the one hand, Ibrahimo suggests that the traditional practice of widow purification would, if people were not reached through education, form an even greater barrier to addressing the epidemic. In the process he arguably also sensationalises the frequency of - unprotected - sexual contact that is supposedly had during the purification ritual, thereby drawing attention to the exotic nature of traditional cultural practices. Not only do Ibrahimo's remarks resonate with the viewpoints expressed by other participants, namely of culture - conceptualised as that which is traditional - as a causal factor. Additionally, these remarks build on the stereotype of the (traditional) African as sexually immoral and irrational (Taylor, 2006).

Polygamy formed another example of a traditional cultural practice that young people problematised, Duarte mentioning for instance: *'our country has a problem… polygamy'* (focus group *Maxaquene*, 25/10/10). This problem, Duarte indicated, was related to the spread of the epidemic. Enoque picked up the line of conversation, acknowledging the risks of the practice whilst simultaneously engaging with the 'normality' and value of such practices to certain groups of people:

> *In relation to polygamy, our fathers there in the province, they stay with three to five women. And that is natural to them, and in that way they are valuing tradition … [but] in this case I think that if the husband has various wives he must take care because he can be infected and because the wives are all his, hey, I think he has the right - as she is my wife, she has to have sex with me. … Today he practices [has sex] with Célia, Maria and all, and so, if he … does not protect himself, he passes it to all. I am not saying it is wrong, we must*

not change tradition, but if he has three wives, he needs to take care and know how to protect himself. (Focus group, *Maxaquene*, 25/10/10)

Interestingly, whilst Enoque points out there is a need for some change - the polygamous man needing to protect his wives from HIV - he also suggests he believes it is important to safeguard such traditional practices. He furthermore draws on the notion of rights in what seems an attempt to justify the sexual demands imposed on the wives. The idea that tradition had to be protected was echoed by other young people, particularly young men. For example, a group of young men during a mixed sex group discussing traditional practices, stressed the importance of *'preserv[ing] our culture'* (António, 15 years, focus group, *Ghandi* school, 06/10/10).

Young women only openly contested young men's views with regard to traditional practices during one mixed sex focus group (*Maxaquene*, 28/01/2011). During this discussion, Aissa (14 years) challenged Eugénio's (15 years) remark that men had a legal right to marry more than one woman, stating he was '*defending masculinity*' and that '*these village laws are traditional habits, ways of living in the countryside but* [*which*] *are not laws'*. It seems noteworthy that, here too, young people drew on legalistic language to argue their points concerning gender relations and what was culturally appropriate. These brief allusions to the notion of rights are arguably far removed from international discourse on universal human rights, and ideas of citizenship and 'empowerment'.

Whereas there appeared to be substantial consensus between the ways in which young people and the other sets of actors engaged with 'culture', i.e. as obstructive of progress and an effective response to HIV and AIDS, young people's accounts suggested they held more textured understandings of gender relations than other actors did. Although young people generally seemed to believe (young) women *'suffered'* (Angélica, 03/02/11) more, this was primarily explicated in relation to the discomfort of menstruation, the pain associated with losing one's virginity and giving birth. Young women also spoke in terms of young men *'conquering'* (Stélia,

16/11/10) them at parties, and how they could *'oblige'* young women to do things they did not want to, such as *'doggy style'*[24] (Elsa, 16/11/10) sex.

At the same time, when alone or in single sex set ups, the young women appeared equally knowledgeable and willing to talk about sexual practices as young men. They referred to a wide variety of information sources (including pornographic movies, the use of which policy makers and educators appeared to think was limited to young men) and elaborated on the various ways in which young women could frustrate a young man's attempts to have intercourse. Young men in turn complained of being preyed on by young women, mentioning *'women have this way of seducing men'* (Milton, 16 years, 26/10/10). In addition, they alluded to feelings of uncertainty with regard to knowing a woman's intentions; was she an *interesseira* or truly interested in him as a person?

The research data thus suggest that young women were more resourceful than policy makers, educators, *activistas* and international agency staff seemed to give them credit for. Similarly, and despite the considerable display of bravado, especially during initial contact, young men did not demonstrate the sexual aggression or lack of desire for emotional intimacy other actors generally attributed to them.

Another area in which young people's accounts diverge from those of *activistas*, international agency staff, policy makers and educators relates to the period of 'adolescence'. On the one hand, young people appeared to appropriate the discourse of adolescence as a period marked by emotional immaturity and instability, for example referring to it as *'a phase in which the adolescent is in the middle of great storms, he reacts to what the body is telling [him]'* (Carlos, 16 years, single sex focus group, 22/10/10). Young people also frequently engaged with the notion of *'curiosity'*, which they generally seemed to consider a defining feature of *'the adolescent phase'*. It was *'curiosity'* which *'spoil[ed]'* a person, Agostinho explained, as it made her/him want to try everything, including alcohol, drugs and sex (29/10/10).

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[24] The English term used was by this participant, possibly indicative of the foreigness and, in this case, undesirability of this particular sexual practice (to young women).

However, there were two ways in which young people's views about adolescence diverged from the more monolithic perspective of other actors. To begin with, and as discussed earlier (see 7.3.2), when asked about their views with regard to principal differences between a child and an adolescent, young people tended to speak of the many responsibilities an adolescent had. *'A child,* on the other hand, Enoque (15 years) for instance clarified, *'does not have any worries, just to play'* (15/12/10).

The notion of 'play' is here associated with childhood, but it was also a term frequently used by young people to describe what they enjoyed doing. 'Play' then seemed to refer primarily to time spent with friends, *'hanging out'* (*'passear'*), *adventure*, getting to know new places, chatting and having a laugh. Young people appeared acutely aware of *'adults'* perception of *'adolescents of today'* as only wanting *'to have fun'* (*'curtir'*), whereby adults were seen to primarily define this in terms of the *'bad path'* (Edson, 16 years, 02/02/11). Young men in particular lamented teachers' tendency to refer to them as *'bandits'* and *'scoundrels'* at the first signs of what was considered transgressive behaviour, and to offer them little opportunity to prove the fallacy of such images.

During a single sex focus group discussion, Elsa and Stélia highlighted what might be understood as young people's perception of the positive dimensions of adolescence and the harmless nature of adolescent 'play':

Esther: *and does it have any advantages, being an adolescent?*

Stélia: *I think that during adolescence there are many experiences, it is one of the advantages, the experiences….*

Elsa: *like begin[ning] to date[25], to know new people...*

Stélia: *'because there, when you're already 18, you are already experienced, you arrange a person who is also experienced. You can already make a good choice. There in our youth[26], we already have a choice, [to know] 'yes, [this] person is suitable to date', whereas now it is just a game, we are just playing'* [all girls laugh]

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[25] The verb *'namorar'* can mean various things, including *'to court', 'make out', 'have sex'*.

[26] 'Adolescent' and 'young person' are used to refer to different phases in Mozambique: adolescence generally defined as referring to the age group of 10 and 19 years, 'young person' to the age group of 18 and 35 years. Considering 'adolescence' was the term most commonly used to refer to the age group involved in the study, the term is also used here.

The girls indicated that the experiences gained during adolescence served as a means to find out what they liked, which in turn would enable them to make that *'good choice'* in the future. They generally appeared to regard their attempts at 'love' as a harmless process of trial and error, a time during which they prepared for the 'real thing'. This suggests that, in crucial ways, young people espoused very similar ideals as the other sets of actors did, namely to establish a 'good' - and by implication, monogamous - relationship with a person of the opposite sex.

The analysis of young people's narratives indicates that in important ways they seemed to draw on dominant perceptions of, for instance, 'culture' and gender relations. However, more careful reading of their accounts revealed diverging and, at times, more textured understandings of these issues. Of particular salience are young women and men's perspectives on the social impact of the HIV epidemic, i.e. in terms of among other things, (self) stigma and isolation. Noteworthy too is the absence of ideas concerning universal or sexual rights and gender equity in these narratives, particularly in light of the importance of these issues at the level of international agency staff and the PGB programme.

7.5 Concluding section

This chapter engaged with participant perspectives about the aims and means of HIV- and AIDS-related education. It built on a range of themes discussed in the preceding chapter, most importantly those relating to what were seen as defining features of modernity, such as the moral disintegration of society. In addition, a number of new thematic issues arising from the data were presented and discussed.

To begin with, the analysis of the data revealed that a distinction could be drawn between participants' views concerning the immediate and more indirect aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education. It was found that whilst participants identified the reduction of HIV and AIDS prevalence as the direct aim of such education, opinions as to the more indirect aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education diverged.

The chapter reflected on the seemingly technical terminology used by international agency staff when they engaged with the distant aims of HIV prevention education in

comparison with the more emotive language of policy makers and educators. Thus, while the former set of actors spoke of the necessity of 'behaviour change', the latter reflected on the need to enhance solidarity and cohesion of Mozambican society.

It was shown that young people's narratives concerning the aims of HIV prevention education could similarly be understood as underpinned by notions of solidarity and social cohesion. Yet, while young people engaged with these issues in a personal sense, policy makers' and educators' accounts were couched in moralistic or nationalistic terms.

With regard to the means of achieving the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education, three substantive themes underpinning participant narratives were identified. First of all, participants seemed to regard 'culture' as both a cause and (part of the) cure for the HIV epidemic. A second set of means identified related to the idea of value-based education as a means to *'remoralise'* society and reduce the incidence and impact of HIV and AIDS. Rights promotion was identified as the third and final set of means of HIV- and AIDS-related education. The chapter teased out the different ways in which participants engaged with these three kinds of means.

The chapter elucidated that the most striking areas of tension between the opinions expressed by the various actor groups arose in relation to the means needed to attain the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education. As was also revealed in the previous chapter, participants accorded young women a central role, albeit conceptualising this role in varying ways.

With regard to young men, the chapter highlighted the ways in which they themselves contested dominant views regarding their presumed sexual aggression. Comparable to the more nuanced narratives of 'transactional sex' discussed in Chapter six therefore, this chapter highlighted the fresh insights offered by young people into the meanings they themselves attached to these HIV- and AIDS-related issues.

Chapter eight: Examining conceptions of education; contextualising participant views and investigating tensions between narratives

8.1 Introduction

Within the context of one sub-Saharan country, this research aimed to examine, among other issues, the ways in which different actors' perspectives of HIV- and AIDS-related education relate to one another and to investigate these conceptions in relation to statements concerning the broader purposes of education (research objective three). Chapter one observed that, in keeping with the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) and Accra Agenda for Action (2008), international agencies were expected to align their support to the priorities, systems and procedures of partner countries.

Building on the analysis conducted thus far, this chapter aims to situate participant views with regard to education in the broader context of key policies of the Ministry of Education (MINED). It is argued that such contextualisation is critical in that views with regard to HIV- and AIDS-related education cannot be fully understood without reference to this broader framework. The current chapter, therefore, seeks to engage with the third research objective (p.14), i.e. to examine conceptions of the aims of HIV prevention education in relation to the broader aims of school education in the context of Mozambique.

The chapter is composed of five sections. Building on the analysis conducted in Chapter seven, section 8.2 briefly examines the degree of alignment between the different sets of participants in terms of the aims of education. Section 8.3 presents the criteria used to select the key policy documents discussed in the current chapter and briefly outlines the way in which the analysis was conducted. In keeping with May's (2011) observation that an understanding of the social (and arguably, political) context is critical to 'understanding the meanings contained within documents' (p.205), section 8.4 details the context in which the documents were developed. This

section also clarifies the primary focus and purpose of the policy documents. Section 8.5 discusses the three central educational aims emerging from the documents: the development of young people's national consciousness, self-sufficiency and self-esteem. Building on the analysis conducted in previous chapters, this section also considers the gendered nature of conceptions of education and responsibility. Throughout this section, comparisons are drawn with participant views with regard to education. Section 8.6 summarises the key points emerging from the analysis.

8.2 'For this we need education'; comparing conceptions of education

Chapter seven engaged with participant views concerning the aims and means of HIV- and AIDS-related education. The discussion revealed participants defined the immediate aims of HIV prevention education in very similar ways, namely, in terms of reducing the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS in Mozambique. However, when engaging with what might be understood as additional aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education, participants were found to hold quite different views. Crucially, these 'additional' aims appeared to be closely tied to participants' conceptions of the aims of education more broadly.

The discussion in this section, therefore, begins with a reflection on a series of citations from participant interviews regarding the 'meaning and purpose of education' (Kelly, 2006: 54). The quotes (listed in Box 8.1) were selected to illustrate the points of (dis)agreement between participant views and the diverging levels of affect imbued in the various conceptions.

Box 8.1: Participants engaging with the meaning of education

> *'Other than the education you get at home, to learn different [things] rather than just one ... to choose what you want to be in life'* (Alinda, 16 years)
>
> *'Education is to help develop the country, so that the young people of today become the future presidents and ministers. For this we need education'* (Ruth, *activista*, 17 years)
>
> *'In Mozambique we have a saying 'to educate a girl is to educate the nation', for it is the women upon which families are founded here'* (Sra. Adelaide, educator)
>
> *'The purpose of education is to guarantee that ... Mozambican society is a society underpinned by a vision that allows for technological progress [and] the maintenance of the nation's culture'* (Sr. Simião, MINED)
>
> *'Education is about the liberation of the child ... [it should] enable children to express themselves, to engage with increasingly complex bodies of knowledge and think in abstract ways'* (Feliciana, multilateral funding agency)

These quotes capture some of the diversity of meaning and affect imbued in the idea of education by different sets of participants. Similar to the way in which young people engaged with HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives, the first quote (Alinda) illustrates the directly personal meaning attached to the idea of education. Alinda highlights the ways in which she believes education will expand her options, in contrast to the 'one' unspecified option she seems to indicate a 'home' education would prepare her for. Similar to the young school-going people taking part in the study, *activistas* often engaged with the meaning of education from a personal perspective. So while Ruth speaks of education in what appear more distant terms, she seems to centre on the importance thereof in relation to the current generation of which she was a part.

At the level of schoolteachers, the importance of education for the collective dominated the narrative. The third quote, that of Sra. Adelaide, highlights the extent to which this narrative was structured around ideas as to the gendered nature of moral responsibility for the wellbeing of the collective. Similarly, the quote drawn from the interview with Sr. Simião illustrates the degree to which policy makers understood

education as a form of (civil) enculturation, and the importance thereof in terms of safeguarding the coherence of Mozambican society. The final quote, taken from the interview with Feliciana, serves as a reminder of the extent to which the international narratives were grounded on a discourse of rights and autonomous, agentic practice.

As Chapter seven elucidated, international actors' conceptions of education were furthermore informed by the discourse of international development. Whereas policy maker and educator narratives were suggestive of an emotional investment in the ideas of unity and socio-economic progress, international narratives were primarily imbued with a professional 'technical' interest in developmental processes and outcomes.

The thesis has largely been driven by an interest to examine the areas of similarity and tension between the viewpoints of actors involved in the design and delivery of HIV- and AIDS-related education. The remainder of the chapter therefore concentrates on these particular actors' understandings of education. As discussed in Chapter seven and illustrated by the quotes above, a central area of tension related to the conceptions of education articulated by staff members of international agencies compared to policy makers and educators. Simply put, the opinions voiced by Sr. Simião and Feliciana may be seen to reflect the two ends of the liberal - communitarian spectrum in defining education.

It is important to note that not all national or local level actors drew as strongly on communitarian and traditional conceptions of enculturation as expressed by Sr. Simião. Similarly, international agency staff members cannot be understood as having spoken with one voice. That said, the selected quotes do reflect what appeared to be one key area of difference between these actor groups, namely the social and political philosophy they drew on. It is worth noting that all participants cited above were Mozambican nationals; differences in political perspective were thus not necessarily related to nationality.

8.3 Documentary analysis: background and methodology

The analysis detailed in the following section concentrates on three core MINED policy and curricular documents that guided the practice of secondary, school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique during the period of data collection (2010-2011). While the discussion concentrates on the three key MINED documents selected for purposes of the analysis, it is also informed by an review of the curricular outlines for grade nine subjects. On occasion, reference is made to these background materials, particularly when these appear to diverge in important ways from the overriding policy documents.

The selection of documents was informed by information gathered during interviews with research participants and meetings with key informants (including those working within the MINED, international agencies and national organisations). During interviews and meetings, the researcher enquired what were considered the principal guiding documents in this particular field. Additionally, the researcher gathered information by carefully reviewing transcripts to identify whether (other/additional) references to important guiding documents were made. The selected publications were all gathered whilst in Mozambique. Box 8.2 lists the selected documents, including the acronyms that will be used to refer to the documents in the remainder of the chapter.

Box 8.2: Selected documents

1. MINED (2006). *Turning the school into a centre of development, consolidating the Mozambican identity. Strategic Plan 2006-2011* (*PEEC II*)

2. MINED/INDE (2007). *Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education; Orienting Document: Objectives, Policy, Structure, Study Plan and Implementation Strategies* (*PCESG*)

3. MINED/INDE (2007). *Crosscutting Themes; guidance document for general secondary school teachers* (*TT*)

The three documents constitute key ministerial texts that, in principle, inform all other MINED policies, strategies, curricular and programmatic documents. The MINED Strategic Plan 2006-2011 is the leading document of the Ministry which, as stated in

the introductory section of the document, presents 'the vision … [and] the priorities of the Government' for the education sector during the period 2006-2011 (PEEC, 2006: 1). Thus, while there may exist multi-year strategic plans for each of the 13 directorates, these should be informed by the overall strategic vision of the Ministry presented in the PEEC. In addition, the PEEC is designed to inform 'the decision-making [process] with regard to allocation of internal resources and external support' (PEEC, 2006: 1).

The two MINED curricular documents included in the selection may equally be understood as comprising fundamental publications. The MINED Curricular Plan for Secondary Education (*PCESG*, document no. 2 in the list above), which is informed by the MINED PEEC, is designed to guide the development and practice of school-based teaching and learning, including that related to HIV and AIDS, in all state-maintained secondary schools in the country. Considerable importance is attached to the 'effective integration' (MINED, 2012: 42) of crosscutting issues, such as HIV and AIDS, in the secondary school curriculum. The MINED guidance document on Crosscutting Themes (*TT*) was developed to 'provide teachers relevant information and suggestions [with regard to] the crosscutting themes, … the contents to address, how to engage with these [contents], and how to evaluate them' (*TT*, 2007: 5). In principle, therefore, this piece of Guidance too, may be considered one of the primary guiding documents in the field of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique.

The analysis began with a careful reading of the documents, concentrating on sections dealing with: a) the aims of education, b) the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education, c) the expected qualities of secondary school graduates, and d) values relating to (the role of) education more broadly as well as in relation to HIV and AIDS prevention and mitigation. The examination of MINED documents also built on the analysis of the primary data (detailed in Chapters six and seven) in that particular attention was paid when and where documents drew on what seemed to be similar substantive topics and notions, such as self-esteem, responsibility and culture. The analysis followed a systematic and iterative process, clustering statements with regard to the topics listed above (a-d) according to thematic focus. On the basis of this

analysis, a number of overriding categories (of qualities and skills) were identified (these are discussed in section 8.5).

8.4 Description of the selected documents; context and primary emphasis

The MINED Strategic Plan for 2006-2011 (*PEEC II*) was the Ministry's core policy document at the time of data collection. The *PEEC II* was designed to inform all MINED strategies, programmes and activities developed and/or carried out between 2006-2011. The document details the Ministry's vision, mission, and strategic aims and expected outcomes, including for the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education.

The *PEEC II* was completed in 2006, the year after the current President (Armando Guebuza) first took office. Upon installation of the new government, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture were merged, forming the Ministry of Education and Culture. The *PEEC II* clarifies that the integration of these two sectors in one ministry was based on 'the recognition of the important role cultural aspects perform in the development of the citizen' (2006: 1).

The PEEC II is said to reflect the Mozambican Government's commitment to a series of international and regional commitments such as the Dakar EFA Framework for Action and the African Union Charter for African Cultural Renaissance (2006). Additionally, the strategy builds on various national commitments, including *Agenda 2025* (GoM, 2003), a document outlining the country's long-term developmental vision and the Government of Mozambique's Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty 2005-2009 (*PARPA II*).

The MINED/INDE (2007) *Curricular Plan for General Secondary Education* (*PCESG*) presents the guiding principles and the aims of secondary school education. With regard to these principles, the document clarifies that education should be child-centred and inclusive. With regard to the former, the document clarifies that teachers should act as facilitators and that education should build on a conception of learners as active subjects. With regard to the latter, it is clarified that education should promote gender equity and integrate learners with learning difficulties and disabilities. The *PCESG* furthermore clarifies that the aims defined in the document draw a

distinction between education for a) citizenship, b) economic and social development, and c) 'practical occupations' (*PCESG*, 2007: 12-13).

The MINED/INDE publication *Crosscutting Themes; guidance document for general secondary school teachers* (*TT,* 2007) defines the educational aims, teaching-learning methods and means of evaluation of the (eight) crosscutting themes defined in the *PCESG*. In keeping with the curricular plan for secondary education, crosscutting themes are defined as 'a set of social concerns that due to their nature, do not belong to one specific field or discipline' (*TT*, 2007: 8). HIV and AIDS are addressed within the framework of the cross-cutting theme 'Reproductive Health (Sexual Education, STDs, HIV/AIDS)'.

The contents of the various publications are examined in detail in the sections to follow. First of all, ideas concerning the purposes of education underpinning the MINED documents are discussed.

8.5 Creating capable citizens; conceptions of the function and aims of education

According to the *PEEC II* (2006: 5), 'accelerated economic growth and poverty reduction' constitute 'explicit', national priorities for Mozambique. In keeping with the *PARPA II*, the education strategy is designed to ensure that 'all citizens have the opportunity to acquire basic knowledge and necessary capacities to improve their lives, that of [their] communities and the country' (PEEC, 2006: 6). Thus, the principal aim of the education sector might be interpreted as creating 'capable citizens', in the sense of the ability to support the national drive to improve social and economic conditions. The quote above also makes reference to 'basic knowledge'. As will be argued (section 8.5.2), MINED primarily appears to perceive 'knowledge' as serving a *practical* function, in the sense of forming one of several building blocks of a person's ability to resolve day-to-day problems.

The *PCESG* opens by observing that '[e]ducation is a basic right and a fundamental instrument for the development of human capital', clarifying the latter is a 'necessary

condition for the reduction of poverty in Mozambique' (2007: 1). The document defines education as a process through which 'society prepares new generations' (2007: 1), stating that from this perspective the curriculum can be understood to '[translate] the aspirations of Mozambican society in [that it develops] responsible, active, participatory and entrepreneurial citizens' (2007: 1).

The addition of the notion of 'responsibility' in the *PCESG* is instructive in that it appears to confer a moral obligation onto individuals. Illustrative in this regard is the statement that the curriculum aims to develop citizens that can 'contribut[e] to the political, economic and social victories (*conquistas*) [already] attained and to poverty reduction within the family, community and the country' (p.1). Like the *PEEC II* therefore, the *PCESG* draws on the idea of the capable citizen. The notion of the capable citizen resonates in important ways with the concept of the 'healthy citizen' policy makers and educators referred to outlined in Chapter seven when participants spoke of the importance of, for instance, the man of tomorrow [being] healthy' (Sr. António, educator, 22/10/10) in order for to the country to progress socio-economically.

Careful reading of the various MINED documents suggested that creating capable citizens was seen to entail developing various qualities and skills. Following the iterative process of analysis described above (section 8.3), three broad thematic categories of features or skills were identified, namely: a) national consciousness; b) self-sufficiency, and c) self-esteem. An important assumption appears to be that national consciousness combined with certain formal skills and an 'entrepreneurial attitude' (*PCESG*, 2007: 23) are essential to the ability to 'actively intervene' (*PEEC II*, 2006: 3) in the betterment of one's own and others' lives. Additionally, 'culture' (or more specifically, being *encultured*) and a sense of responsibility appear to be seen as critical to the full development and enactment of these different sets of qualities. The *TT* guidelines (2007), for instance, suggest that developing a learner's moral sense is critical to her/his ability to resolve her/his daily problems (e.g. p.13).

8.5.1 National consciousness; culture, patriotism and identity
Underpinning the *PEEC II* and the *PCESG* appears to be the view that well-educated individuals are those who demonstrate commitment to the nation and have a well-

developed sense of 'Mozambicanness'. Possessing a 'patriotic spirit' furthermore appears to be conceptualised as vital to the capacity to live in harmony with others and actively contribute to improving the quality of life. It is important to note that the commitment to the nation is not in the first instance defined in a political sense. Instead, it is conceived of in terms of a person's social and ethical qualities and the extent to which the person is 'useful' to society (MINED-INDE, 2010*a*: 4; see also *TT* guidelines). This strongly resonates with policy makers' and (peer) educators' narratives regarding education being geared toward what Sr. Simião referred to as '*valid individuals*' (04/01/11).

The emphasis on the need for a unified Mozambican identity in the MINED publications is largely articulated against the backdrop of two broad contextual factors. To begin with, the development of 'group identity' and solidarity between group members is deemed critical in view of Mozambique's great cultural diversity. The *PEEC II*, for example, refers to the importance of creating 'unity in diversity' (2006:131). Secondly, the development of national and cultural unity is regarded as a fundamental means to deal with 'the alienating influence of external cultures on the population, [and] especially young people' (*PEEC II,* 2006: 111; see also *TT*, 2007). As Chapter seven clarified, policy makers and educators spoke of the importance of unity in similar terms. However, research participants may be seen to diverge from the MINED documents in that these do not provide a gendered conception of educational aims.

The documents attach considerable importance to imbuing people with a sense of shared cultural identity and patriotism. This may be understood, at least in part, in that 'sustainable development' (*PEEC II*, 2006: 127) is seen as contingent on the degree to which people rally behind a common cause. The notion of 'culture' appears to be critical here, the documents conceptualizing this in terms of a) a normative canon, and b) the country's tangible and intangible cultural heritage, such as world heritage sites and various forms of art (literature, dance, music) and crafts. Both forms of culture appear to potentially serve similar purposes, namely unifying people and contributing to socio-economic development.

Chapter seven detailed the ways in which policy makers and educators similarly defined culture in terms of a normative canon. Consensus furthermore seems to exist in that participants and documents conceive of a shared body of norms and values as essential to both the social coherence of Mozambican society and the extent to which the country progresses socially and economically. Unlike the policy documents, however, participants did not speak of 'culture' as referring to various forms of (in)tangible heritage.

8.5.2 Self sufficiency; problem resolution and technical and vocational skills

The second key feature of the capable citizen mentioned above was the ability to independently and actively contribute to the improvement of social and economic conditions. Critical to this ability appears to be the capacity of an individual to a) resolve her/his day-to-day problems and b) generate an income. From this perspective, education is geared toward teaching problem solving skills, and technical and vocational abilities. These skills are examined in turn.

According to the *PCESG* (2007: 16), 'survival in the current world demands people are capable of resolving complex problems, adapt themselves to rapid changes and know how to live with others'. As such, the document continues, the secondary school curriculum 'strives to prepare young people for life, that is, to apply their knowledge in the resolution of problems of … [their family] and community' (p.16). The *TT* guidelines (2007) similarly refer to the need to enable young people to resolve 'concrete social problems' (p.8). The documents hereby appear to articulate 'problems' in terms of obstacles to poverty reduction and by extension, the country's social and economic progress.

The *TT* guidelines shed further light on the ways in which MINED appears to conceptualise the idea of 'problems'. The guidelines state that a critical function of schools is to 'provide [young people] the necessary tools to allow [them] … to know how to be and live with others [by] demonstrating socially acceptable conduct' (p.8). The text subsequently links socially acceptable behaviour to a person's ability to resolve the 'concrete social problems' mentioned above (p.8). This seems to imply that the primary problems Mozambicans face are of a social and ethical nature, which appear to be conceived in relation to the 'degradation of patriotic, moral, ethical and

civic values' caused by globalisation (p.7). It is furthermore suggestive of a conception of education as geared to the (civil) enculturation of young people (Baumann, 2004).

The perception that learners primarily need to acquire skills and knowledge that are practically applicable - or rather, socially appropriate - is closely akin to the view expressed by policy makers and educators. Sr. Reís is quoted at some length here as his statements are considered to poignantly illustrate this particular point of view:

> Our education is not about creating intellectuals but … to enable people to live in harmony in the locality they find themselves … A [key] governmental concern is the aspect of people's values, [to have] people who know to live *for* their next and who are in a position to work *for* their family members. This dimension of values is also strongly demanded by society, [people believe] that schools are no longer educating, they are merely teaching [young people] to read, count and write (19/10/10, emphases added).

The statements offered by Sr. Reís suggest that 'education' is distinguished from *teaching* in that while the former is directed at the enculturation of young people, the latter constitutes a 'mere' transmission of certain formal skills and knowledge.

In addition to enabling young people to resolve problems, the documents speak of the role of (secondary) education in providing learners with technical and vocational skills. Here too, the importance of developing learners' 'entrepreneurial attitude' (*PCESG*, 2007: 23) is emphasised. Similar to the approach to knowledge, the MINED documents appear to lean on two conceptions of technical and vocational learning. On the one hand, references to the rapidly changing global market and the increasingly knowledge-based economy suggests a view that education needs to prepare young people for a world of work that is complex and in constant state of flux. Closer inspection of the curricular outlines reveals an emphasis on (small scale) farming skills, suggesting that, in important ways, learners are prepared for traditional and local markets.

The importance attached to teaching young people technical and vocational skills in the MINED documents was echoed by policy makers and educators taking part in the

study. A dominant theme running through the narratives of these groups was of education enabling people 'to walk [stand] on their own [two] feet', and by extension 'help Mozambique to get out of the situation in which it [finds] itself' (Director Mateo, 19/11/10). According to policy makers and educators, being able to 'stand on one's own feet' was critical in current day Mozambique in view of the change from a 'socialist system … [to] a market economy' (Sra. Matilda, 07/12/10). These quotes seem to suggest a conception of education as promoting young people's sense autonomy. The notion of 'autonomy' seems to be largely viewed in terms of independence from state support and interference, however, and not in terms of a *morally* autonomous individual.

8.5.3 Self-esteem

Self-esteem was identified as the final constitutive feature of the capable citizen underpinning the MINED documents. This section begins by analyzing the ways in which the notion is defined in *PEEC II, PCESG* and *TT* guidelines and comparing this with participants' perspectives. In addition, a number of key speeches given by leading political figures are drawn on. These additional sources were examined to further elucidate key ideas underpinning the idea of 'self-esteem' and to highlight the multiple and conflicting interpretations of the term. As such, this section begins to reflect on the possible tensions between the various narratives.

Although not explicitly stated, underpinning the policy and curricular documents appears to be the assumption that Mozambicans have lost their sense of self-esteem and that this loss is largely attributable to colonialism. The documents furthermore seemed to largely define the notion of self-esteem in terms of a person's sense of 'Mozambicanness', i.e. her/his cultural identity. In a speech held to mark the opening of the academic year of 2010, Zeferino Martins, the then Minister of Education was more explicit. Martins states that education during the colonial period was discriminatory and oppressive and, as such, wreaked destruction on Mozambicans' cultural identity and, crucially, their collective sense of worth (Martins, 2010). In the Minister's view, post-independence education had been critical to 'the struggle to pull the people from ignorance, illiteracy, poverty and misery' (2010: 4), to an important extent considered to have been caused by colonialism.

Both the way in which the MINED documents (including the speech referred to above) interpret the idea of 'self-esteem' and the reasons for its loss in Mozambique differ in subtle ways from the views expressed by research participants. As discussed in Chapter six, policy makers and educators conceptualised self-esteem in terms of a person's faith in the future and the extent to which a person felt s/he could place her/his trust in other people. Participants furthermore largely appeared to perceive self-esteem as having been lost as a result of *multiple* historical events and processes. Colonialism, the struggle for independence, the subsequent internal conflict as well as various natural disasters were identified as the primary factors leading to societal 'demoralisation' (Sra. Vânia, MINED, 03/12/10) and a related sense of insecurity as to what the future would bring. Self-esteem' in this perspective seemed primarily defined in terms of the *capacity* to 'face the future with knowledge, pride, confidence and without doubt' and the ability to 'take initiative' (Sr. Amade, educator, 15/12/10).

As the quote above clarifies, similar to the policy and curricular documents discussed in this chapter, participants drew on the notion of 'pride'. The term was used in both an individualistic sense but also as a relational concept. For instance, Sra. Vânia spoke of education needing to teach young people to 'like themselves' (MINED, 03/12/10). This understanding seems to suggest a more 'traditional', i.e. psychosocial, definition of the term (see e.g. Pesa et al., 2000). At the same time, participants used the term in an interpersonal sense, referring to the need restore faith between people. From this perspective, an important commonality between the MINED publications and participant accounts appears to be the view that 'self-esteem' is related to the degree of social cohesion and the extent to which people are embedded in a shared moral framework.

In apparent diametric opposition to these ways of understanding the idea of self-esteem is the way the country's president, Armando Guebuza, draws on the term. In various speeches on poverty alleviation delivered since 2004, President Guebuza stresses the detrimental effect of low self-esteem on social and economic progress. In his view, Mozambicans' *mentalidade miserabilista* ('pitiable mentality') that poverty was indicative of honesty was 'an outdated' one (Guebuza, 2004). The President contends this mentality constitutes a serious barrier to economic progress, and for this reason needs 'to be fought' (Guebuza, 2004). According to the president, 'we

[Mozambicans] have to be sure that we are capable of [moving beyond] being poor. We can, we deserve and we are capable of being rich'.

It might be argued that Guebuza's conception of 'self-esteem' draws on the socioeconomic idea(l) of the self-made, entrepreneurial individual. In this view, low 'self-esteem' is pitiable and outdated as it creates a barrier to accumulating wealth. The seeming moral emptiness of Guebuza's self-made man stands in apparent contradiction to the normative underpinning perceptions of 'self-esteem' and the 'good citizen' expressed by participants and in MINED policy documents. These emphasised the need to ensure the moral and social stability of the nation, which would contribute to the creation of better social and economic conditions.

However, while Guebuza's understanding of self-esteem, and particularly his references to 'deserving to be rich', may be understood as expressive of an extreme point of view, it resonates in important ways with participants' narratives concerning 'taking initiative' and entrepreneurship. Illustrative of this are the remarks made by the policy maker Sra. Matilda. During the interview she stated, laughingly:

> The whole world [has] this thing of the entrepreneur, which I think really stems from an American ideology, don't you think? That a man takes care of himself. So, let's move, let's not remain stagnant. Increase self-esteem, motivation, etc. (07/12/10).

Participant narratives and MINED policy documents in the first place seem to emphasise the moral. However, references to, among other things, 'taking initiative', building motivation, 'not remaining stagnant' and the centrality of entrepreneurship in the secondary curriculum suggest education is geared toward two seemingly oppositional aims, namely a) creating useful and responsible Mozambicans (in an attempt to re-moralise Mozambican society) *and* b) supporting the development of the self-made, entrepreneurial man (to prepare learners to function in a free market economy). Put differently, education might be seen as simultaneously directed at the two opposing ends of what is commonly seen as the linear continuum between the 'traditional' and the 'modern'.

The central place accorded to these two aims within the curriculum and by participants suggests young people were faced with a double moral bind, namely to

contribute both to the country's economic advancement and the maintenance of its 'cultural', normative coherence. Participant narratives suggested these two purposes were considered antithetical; it was the moral emptiness of the modern, liberal and free market economy that had to be countered by building young people's sense of morality. In other words, participant narratives (as well as policy documents) may therefore be indicative of a social rather than an economic interpretation of the notion of the 'entrepreneur'.

8.5.4 Gender and the 'wild zones'[27] of modernity

Chapter six elucidated the disproportionate responsibility for upholding social and moral stability that seemed to be placed on young women's shoulders. It was observed that policy makers, educators and international participants appeared to regard 'women' as both culprit and cure for the epidemic. Accordingly, the two former sets of participants emphasised the importance of value-based education for young female adolescents in view of what these participants suggested was young women's particular vulnerability to the temptations of modern life, their *'timidity'* with regard to HIV- and AIDS-related questions and lack of sexual experience. International actors engaged with questions of gender in more *implicitly* moralistic ways. They questioned the degree of real *'choice'* of young women who engaged in transactional relationships with older men, for instance, implying a decision to engage in such relations was always taken for want of other options. Like educators and policy makers taking part in the study therefore, representatives of international aid agencies tended to frame young women as victims of male domination and modern culture (see also Groes-Greene, 2011).

Educators and policy makers posited that women had to take sexual responsibility because Mozambican men were sexually unreliable and lacked a sense of responsibility. Young men's accounts of interactions with their educators bespoke the seeming lack of trust placed in them and the little opportunity they were afforded to 'prove' they did not necessarily conform to the stereotype of Mozambican men. While both sexes were viewed as morally empty, it was young women who were considered to hold moral potential. In this sense it might be argued that the education

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[27] From Kelly (2000): 303.

of young men was potentially *more* mis-educative than that of young women, in that educators seemed to actively close off possible alternative masculinities. At the same time, education of young men might be understood as morally confused, resting as it did on an ideal of men as 'active interveners' and (personal/community) problem solvers, i.e. as active community members, and simultaneously on the liberal and morally agnostic ideal of the self-made and, in a sense, self-centred man. While the two categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, the combination of these two educational aims could be viewed as potentially contradictory for young people.

Young women's responsibility for halting the epidemic - by demonstrating morally sound behaviour and by providing their children a proper education - reinscribes gendered notions of citizenship and nation building (see also Martin, 1981; Arnot, 2006). The 'good female citizen' is hereby symbolic of (and responsible for) the private sphere and, by extension, national unity, whilst the 'good male citizen' represents and takes charge of the public and civic realm, ensuring the nation progresses economically and is able to take its rightful place in the global economy. The analysis thus suggests participants drew on two interrelated binaries, namely:

a. the traditional, morally upright ('cultured') female versus the immoral, modern feminine figure, and

b. the entrepreneurial, modern (but morally empty, culture-less) self-made man versus the problem solver, the 'active intervener' versus the passive, dependent, 'outmoded' effeminate figure.

These gender binaries also seemed to underpin these policy makers' and educators' approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education. In a somewhat contradictory fashion, the narratives on (sexual) responsibility were characterised by a) a relative absence of men, and b) the developmental discourse regarding the 'empowerment' of young women to negotiate safe sexual relationships. This suggests participants assumed young women can be empowered to - autonomously - decide over and control their sexual lives. Yet while the ideal of the woman deciding over her own future might appear worthy and distinctly 'modern', whilst men are not expected to be 'moral' or even deemed to be *capable* of moral behaviour, then the idea that women can be 'empowered' to negotiate safe *responsible* sex seems highly questionable (see also Rivers & Aggleton, 1999).

The discourse of empowerment arguably detracts attention from the underlying logic, whereby women are viewed as either successful - i.e. moral - agents or, alternatively, as unsuccessful, i.e. the victims of male domination and/or immoral, fallen women. Finally, the seemingly positive notion of 'empowering women' obscures the way in which this (educational) ideal builds on and reinscribes the abstract, economic, morally empty male figure.

It has been argued in the preceding chapters that important continuities in conceptions of the good female/male Mozambican citizen can be traced across time, drawing into question the tendency - by participants, but equally within development and scholarly discourse - to dichotomise tradition and modernity, and to define 'development' in terms of teleological evolutionary narratives (see also Gyeke, 1997; Scott, 1998; Ferguson, 1999). The thesis reveals instead the ways in which 'tradition' is preserved and adapted to contemporary times, contexts, needs and constraints.

Despite the continuities, crucial differences exist however. In keeping with the change of political ideology, which may partly be understood in relation to attempts to gain foreign investment and aid (Pitcher, 2002), the ideal of the hard working male figure has been redefined as the confident, self-made, autonomous man. 'Autonomy' appears to have been reconfigured, from a man freed of the shackles of colonialism and traditionalism, to a man freed of, in the words of current President Guebuza (2004), '*the outdated mentality that to be poor is to be honest*'. In this view, the reconfigured *homem novo* is the individual who enacts his right to be rich. The new man is furthermore expected to be autonomous in that he should be able to independently resolve his problems and actively contribute to improving socio-economic conditions more broadly. 'Autonomy' then becomes synonymous with a minimalist state (see also Olssen, 2005). With regard to women, 'autonomy' remains limited to the capacity to say 'no' to (sexual) demands, to restrain the man.

Building on the analysis conducted thus far, figure 8.1) reflects some of the diversity of - personal, communal, national, and developmental - meanings attributed to education and HIV- and AIDS-related education. As a whole, the diagram is designed to visualise not only the diversity of conceptions but also the possible alignment and

tension between different narratives. The outer ring indicates the educational aims as defined in MINED policy and curricular documents arising from the secondary data analysis. It should be noted these are not ordered according to importance. Conceptions of the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education emerging from the analysis of primary data gathered during interviews with policy makers, educators and staff members of international agencies have been situated within this broader field.

The current chapter revealed that when taking into account the gendered nature of conceptions of education, the apparent tension between educational aims a) voiced by policy makers and educators, and b) underlying MINED policy all but dissipated. The greatest disagreement therefore appeared to be that between, on the one hand, international level narratives and, on the other hand, national and local level narratives, including those emanating from MINED policy documents.

The areas of divergence and possible tension between these actor groups have been illustrated by placing side by side their respective constructions of particular issues. So for instance, while international agency staff engaged with (human, sexual, citizenship) 'rights' in a more abstract sense, educators and policy makers tended to shift the discussion to an engagement with 'roots'. Similarly, while international agency staff tended to speak in terms of achieving gender equality (men needing to learn that care giving was not solely a women's task, for instance), policy makers and educators engaged with the need to tackle the women's historical 'inferiority syndrome'. These different understandings of and ways of engaging with the various notions highlighted in this figure suggest 'meanings' may often only be partially shared. Chapter nine explores this issue in more detail as well as engaging in more depth with the actual degree of the apparent divergence between the conceptions of these actor groups.

Figure 8.1: Participant conceptions of the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education in relation to aims of education defined in policy documents

Central *stated* **aim of education: to** develop the **capable citizen**, as defined by a person's:

Sense of Mozambicanness

Entrepreneurship

Usefulness

Patriotism

Ability to actively intervene

Responsibility

Problem solving skills

Conceptions of the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education

International		**National & local**
To strengthen rights	↔	To 'root' young person
To enable young person to become a subject	↔	To support young person to become a valid, 'cultured' individual
To instill moral courage & duty to self	↔	To instill moral duty to collective
To achieve developmental goals	↔	To improve own and other's lives
To attain gender equality	↔	To address female inferiority syndrome

8.6 Discussion and closing

This chapter discussed three key MINED policy and curricular documents (*PEEC II, PCESG,* and *TT* guidelines). It was clarified these documents were central to the design and implementation of the secondary school curriculum in Mozambique during the period of data collection (2010-2011), including that concerning HIV and AIDS-related issues.

The chapter examined the aims of education as conceived within these official MINED documents to allow for a comparison with participant views. It was argued that views with regard to (the aims and means of) HIV- and AIDS-related education cannot be fully understood without reference to this broader political framework. Elucidating key notions underpinning educational policy and thought in Mozambique at the time of data collection, the documentary analysis helped situate participant narratives regarding education and HIV prevention education, and examine the extent to which they were aligned or not.

The current examination also served to further highlight the multiple possible interpretations of key concepts within one particular context. Noteworthy in this regard were the multiple ways in which notions such as self-esteem, self-sufficiency or autonomy, and problem resolution were employed, and how the particular usage reflected underpinning priorities and values.

The creation of 'capable citizens' was identified as a central educational aim underpinning the MINED documents. This resonates in important ways with ideas of policy makers and educators with regard to HIV- and AIDS-related education. Such education was perceived as geared toward the creation of 'healthy citizens', which were deemed crucial to socio-economic progress. The concept of the capable citizen underpinning the documents was unpacked, leading to the identification of three broad defining qualities. These concerned the extent to which a person possessed a sense national consciousness or identity, her/his capacity for self-sustenance, and her/his sense of self-esteem.

The gendered nature of conceptions of education underpinning, among others, MINED policy documents was highlighted. It was observed that education of young men might be understood as driven by the aim of creating the self-sufficient, problem solving public man. The conception of education of young women, on the other hand, was largely found to be articulated in terms of enculturation. Here, education primarily appeared to be regarded as a means to enable (female) learners to take responsibility for resolving moral issues and ensuring the moral coherence of the private sphere.

It was suggested that, in important ways, HIV and AIDS was understood as one of the central problems individuals needed to learn to manage, and to do so with minimal state support. Policy makers' and educators' tendency to conceptualise a) the aims of education in gendered terms, b) the HIV epidemic as fuelled by a lack of moral sense, and c) women as moral guardians may clarify the perception of women as responsible for the resolution of the 'problem' of HIV and AIDS.

The analysis suggested that international agency staff members' conceptions of (HIV prevention) education were least aligned with those of other participants and the policy documents reviewed. Chapter nine investigates in more detail the primary areas of difference with regard to participant conceptions of HIV- and AIDS-related education, paying particular attention to perspectives offered by policy makers, educators and international agency staff.

Chapter nine: Discussion

9.1 Introduction

At the outset this study has sought to elucidate the ways in which different sets of actors perceived the aims and means of HIV- and AIDS-related education in the context of Mozambique. It has subsequently been argued that views with regard to HIV- and AIDS-related education cannot be fully understood or developed without reference to the broader educational (social and political) framework.

This chapter engages with the overall research aim, namely to interrogate the foundations of HIV- and AIDS-related education. In addition, it seeks to address the three final research objectives, namely:

ii. to investigate the theoretical underpinnings of school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education a) overall, and b) in Mozambique;

iii. to examine conceptions of the aims of HIV prevention education in relation to the broader aims of school education in the context of Mozambique; and

iv. to investigate the potential of a conceptual framework to support the analysis and comparison of perspectives on HIV- and AIDS-related education within the context of Mozambique.

This chapter brings into dialogue the findings from the fieldwork (Chapters six, seven and eight) with those emerging from the literature review (Chapters three and four). In light of the issues the chapter seeks to address, the perspectives offered by educators, policy makers and international agency staff form the primary focus of the analysis detailed therein. For stylistic reasons the chapter also refers to these different sets of participants as, respectively, local, national and international actors.

The chapter is composed of five principal sections. Section 9.2 offers a brief overview of key questions remaining within current research into HIV- and AIDS-related education (Chapter two). It then succinctly details the previously developed two tripartite frameworks and their shortcomings (as discussed in Chapters three and four)

so that the questions and shortfalls identified in this first section can be addressed in subsequent sections of the chapter.

Section 9.3 makes use of the two conceptual frameworks, i.e. for understanding a) approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education (Chapter three), and b) conceptions of education (Chapter four). The two frameworks are used to create greater theoretical understanding of the key research findings discussed in Chapters six, seven and eight. Unlike the more inductive approach to analysis adopted in the preceding chapters, here the sensitising notions offered by the two conceptual frameworks are used to guide further reflection on the data with a view to a) deepening the analysis of the underpinnings of HIV- and AIDS-related education in the context of Mozambique, and b) begin to examine the potential of the conceptual frameworks to understand and position approaches to HIV-related education.

Section 9.4 reflects on the diversity of conceptions of the meaning and purposes of education. The section aims to illustrate how, in the context of Mozambique, different conceptualisations of education exist alongside one another, and show the possible tensions within and across narratives. Building on the analysis detailed thus far, section 9.5 seeks to extend the conceptual framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education in the context of Mozambique. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter ten, the framework is also expected to be useful to understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education taking place in other contexts.

Section 9.5 also provides a set of conceptual tools to support theoretical analyses of perspectives of on HIV- and AIDS-related education. Crucially, these tools are geared toward framing the analysis of conceptions of HIV-related education within an understanding of a) the perceived factors driving the HIV epidemic, and b) the purposes of education more broadly. As such, this section addresses one of the key gaps in the current literature, namely the lack of engagement with educational theory in the design, implementation and evaluation of HIV- and AIDS-related education.

Section 9.6 provides a summary of the chapter. This section returns to Michael Kelly's call to 're-examine the meaning and purpose of education in a world with HIV and AIDS' (2006: 54). In particular, it reflects on the possibilities of such re-

examination and the extent to which a full alignment between different sets of (local, national and international) actors is possible in a context where the national education agenda is negotiated against the backdrop of a drive to obtain foreign investment and aid. Crucially, the chapter will explore the extent to which such 'transparency' is desirable.

9.2 Theoretical underpinnings of HIV- and AIDS-related education

A critical gap this thesis sought to address concerned the lack of engagement with the theoretical underpinnings of HIV- and AIDS-related education in existing literature and research. Building on, among other authors, Michael Kelly (2000a, b, 2006) and Ruth Jonathan (1983), this thesis has furthermore argued for more firmly integrating HIV- and AIDS-related education within the framework of an understanding of the meanings and purposes of education more broadly (Chapter four). This section therefore commences with a brief review of the tripartite framework that elucidates different conceptions of the aims of education and then turns to the conceptual framework engaging with different approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education (Chapter three).

9.2.1 Conceptions of the aims of education

Chapter four discussed conceptions of education and the aims of education, concentrating in particular on the work of the analytical and liberal philosopher, R.S. Peters and the pragmatist philosopher, John Dewey. The chapter drew on Winch and Gingell (2011) to define three core aims of education, namely the promotion of autonomy, (civil) enculturation and vocational preparation. Each aim was presented in the form of a scale depicting two distinct positions with regard to a critical underlying dimension. It was argued that the conception of the educational aims was predicated on the position taken with regard to these particular dimensions. The three educational aims and underlying dimensions were defined as follows (see figure 4.1 for a comprehensive overview):

Figure 9.1: Summary of educational aims and underlying dimensions

i. *Promotion of autonomy*

Two broad conceptions of the individual were identified as underpinning the interpretation of this broad aim, namely:

Atomic individual -- Contextualised individual

ii. *Enculturation*

Two approaches to (civic) enculturation were identified. These were:

Traditional --Transformatory

iii. *Vocational preparation*

Vocational education was identified as driven by the preferences of two different sets of actors, namely:

Market and state --- Individual preferences and aptitudes

Whilst the scales suggest the demarcated positions are mutually opposing and exclusive, the analysis of data gathered in the context of Mozambique indicates participant narratives and policy documents are at times underpinned by seemingly oppositional forms of discourse. Thus, in practice, participant narratives reflected diverging positions on the various continuums, adding salience to use of these various ideas and positions as sensitising notions rather than definite, analytical categories. This issue will be returned to in subsequent chapter sections.

9.2.2 Approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education

Following an examination of ten HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes implemented in different parts of the world and a body of multidisciplinary literature, three broad approaches to HIV prevention education were identified. These were approaches that could be understood as moralistic, those that might be defined as scientifically informed and those building on particular notions of rights. A careful reading of the programme documents revealed each broad approach could be divided into two or three sub-types. Pinpointing subcategories highlighted the possible variations between programmes despite being categorised as belonging to one particular approach. Thus, within rights informed approaches, for instance, initiatives

differed in the extent to which these were grounded on formal, universally agreed upon rights or built on a looser notion of rights, drawing on ideas concerning citizenship and, on occasion, sexual rights. The three approaches and the subcategories were outlined in Figure 3.1.

9.2.3 Framework limitations

Despite being informed by a thorough analysis of a range of programmes and literatures, it was observed that the analytical potential and contextual relevance of the two frameworks could be further increased. It was argued that an engagement with primary data would constitute an important first step to increase the level of nuance the frameworks were able to capture. Collecting primary data from key players involved in the development, delivery and uptake of HIV- and AIDS-related education was expected to allow for the development of a framework that more fully reflected differing conceptions of education, and of approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education in particular. Engaging with primary data was furthermore expected to provide opportunities to examine possible tensions between programme principles and their in situ implementation.

Chapter three pointed out that a shortcoming of the HIV- and AIDS-related education framework was its lack of engagement with key educational concepts. Chapter four developed an additional set of sensitising notions to address this gap. Educational philosophy being a vast discipline, an exhaustive review of the available scholarly work was beyond the scope of this thesis. To develop a comprehensive overview of key positions, the thesis drew on recent and well-established guides to the philosophy of education. In addition, it discussed and compared what might be defined as competing scholarly viewpoints with a view to elucidating the spectrum of possible philosophies of education.

The development of uni-dimensional scales within the three educational perspectives identified is unlikely to adequately reflect the many different possible perspectives in the broader literature. The primary objective of this framework, therefore, was to provide a set of sensitising notions to extend the HIV- and AIDS-education tripartite framework. Additionally, it was developed to offer a conceptual framework to support examination of educational policy and practice in one particular setting. It was

anticipated that close analysis of different discourses around education and HIV- and AIDS-education in Maputo, Mozambique would identify further intermediary and more nuanced positions within the education framework.

Throughout the discussion of the aims of education, an attempt was made to elucidate the particular relevance of the discussion to the analysis of HIV- and AIDS-related education. Nevertheless, the linkages between the two frameworks as a whole need further clarification and here, too, it was expected that engagement with primary data would show how the frameworks are interlinked. This chapter seeks to address these various issues.

9.3 Modernity, anxiety, culture and responsibility; applying the conceptual frameworks to support a reflection of substantive themes

This section offers a further analysis of the substantive themes emerging from the data analysis. The sensitising notions developed through the two tripartite frameworks and additional literature are utilised to further examine key themes arising from the data analysis. The findings emanating from this enquiry will subsequently be used to extend the tripartite framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education.

The data reveal different sets of narratives grounded in complex and highly gendered nexuses of modernity, anxiety, culture and moral responsibility. The discussion that follows highlights key areas of similarity and difference found between and within accounts provided by various sets of actors. The principal areas of tension emerging from the analysis relate to:

a. the aims of education as conceived by, on the one hand, international agency staff members and, on the other hand, policy makers and educators;

b. conceptions of the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education as conceived by, on the one hand, international aid agency staff members and, on the other hand, policy makers and educators; and

c. the seeming contradiction between key aims of education, and between particular aims of education and the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education.

The following sections explore these issues and intersections through a discussion of three substantive themes emerging from the data: i. contextual factors and the HIV epidemic, ii. culture and a cultural approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education, and iii. approaches to HIV prevention education drawing on rights.

I. Contextual factors and the HIV epidemic

Previous chapters have detailed the ways in which representatives of international agencies explained the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS by drawing on the twin discourses of rights and development. Additionally, these participants drew on the notion of 'the socio-cultural', referring to particular traditional, often gendered, beliefs and practices, to explain the factors fuelling the epidemic. Policy makers and educators on the other hand were found to ascribe the epidemic to various modern phenomena such as hedonistic lifestyles within the multi-cultural urban space.

Chapter six elaborated on the sense of loss and related anxiety underpinning the national and local narratives, driven partially at least by a history of societal fragmentation in Mozambican society. References to *o inimigo* (the enemy) seem especially salient in this light. Participants spoke of the civil war and the feelings of anxiety people felt as a result of not knowing whom was to be trusted and whom not. The 'enemy' being concealed within the boundaries of the community arguably heightened the threat of her/his evasiveness. The data suggest that the lack of control people seemed to feel as a result of this hidden *inimigo* has persisted as new, unfamiliar threats replaced the old. Participants clarified that Mozambicans' perceived lack of self-esteem needed to be understood against this backdrop, 'self-esteem' here defined as a lack of trust in (and control over) other people and (consequently) the future. Briefly put, modernity appeared to be perceived as the latest threat to which Mozambique *as a nation* had to find a response.

Here too it seemed to be the ungraspable nature of modernity and its negative impact on the fabric of society that was perceived as the primary 'enemy'. This clarifies the view that the response to the 'degradation of patriotic, moral, ethical and civil values, particularly among young people' (*TT* guidelines 2007: 7) associated with modern times resides in a *remoralisation* and *rehumanisation* of society. Participants thus

seemed to believe modernity could be regulated through what might be understood as a form of counter-modernisation (Beck, 1986). This counter-modernisation was couched in a discourse of culture or, to use participants' terminology, 'the socio-cultural approach to HIV- and AIDS'.

Given the centrality of the notion of 'culture' within participant narratives, an additional approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education is distinguished, namely that which is 'culturally informed'. Drawing on the data analysis, the following section elaborates this fourth approach to HIV prevention education. Considering participants seemed to use the terms 'cultural' and 'socio-cultural' interchangeably, the notion of culture/cultural is used in the remainder of the thesis.

II. Culture and a cultural approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education

> '[A] certain understanding of science, modernity, and development has so successfully structured the dominant discourse that all other kinds of knowledge are regarded as backward, static traditions, old wives' tales and superstitions' (Scott, 1998: 331).

The quote above alludes to hegemonic approaches to development which, as this section will clarify, informs participant views as to aims and means of HIV- and AIDS-related education. While Scott (1998) refers to how understandings of the modern (among other things) have *structured* dominant discourse, it will be argued here that in the context of Mozambique both the modern and the traditional are strategically deployed to further the modern national development project.

The analysis detailed in chapter seven indicated how participant accounts and policy documents made repeated reference to the idea of culture, echoing Grillo's (2003: 157) observation that ''[c]ulturespeak' is everywhere'. The analysis furthermore revealed that the notion was interpreted in multiple ways. The following interpretations of culture were identified:

i. Culture as referring to *traditional* beliefs, knowledge, norms and practices. Within this broad category, various subtypes might be differentiated. Representatives of international agencies, for instance, largely referred to practices and beliefs such as initiation rites, widow cleansing and early marriage.

In addition to this, policy makers and educators also engaged with the notion of culture as denoting a common ('traditional') moral framework. These participants associated 'culture' with a sense of community and a degree of social control that was perceived to have existed in the past and existed still in rural areas. In policy and curricular documents, finally, the notion of culture was used to refer to various forms of (largely traditional) cultural heritage, such as music and dance.

ii. Culture as referring to *modern* life (styles), characterised by consumerism, individualism and multi-culturalism. This particular modern construction of culture underpinned policy maker and educator explanations of the spread of HIV and AIDS in Mozambique. Modernist forms of culture were related to the broader phenomenon of globalisation, which was said to have 'violently' impacted on (community) life in Mozambique. The strength of the impact, particularly on young people, participants explained was due to their lack of *orientation* and *roots*. Participants implicitly linked the lack of orientation currently offered to young people to socio-political processes and transitions, including colonialism and its aftermath, and the change from a socialist regime to liberal market oriented politics. Modern life styles appeared to be interpreted, to paraphrase Ferguson (1999), as symbolising *anti*membership.

These different forms of traditional and modern culture were varyingly understood as:
a. Barriers to dealing with the HIV epidemic. Participants at all levels perceived traditional beliefs (such as those concerning women's 'inferiority') and practices (such as early marriage) as fuelling the spread of HIV. In addition, policy makers and educators depicted *modern* culture - or more specifically, the *lack* of culture characteristic of modernity - as explanatory of young people's sexual and social immorality and, by extension, HIV transmission and impact. Crucially, as detailed in Chapter six, policy makers' and educators' accounts bespoke a sense of loss - of unity and trust - as a result of historical and political events and transitions such as those mentioned above. It was observed that participants seemed to experience the changes wrought by modernity as yet another series of upheavals and alterations over which they had little control.

b. Cure for HIV and AIDS. Specific elements of modern culture appeared to be understood as vital to the response to HIV and AIDS. All participant groups conceived scientific knowledge combined with 'modern' values such as rationality and monogamy as crucial to efforts to increase informed decision making by different actors, ranging from the *'makers of culture'* (such as community elders) to young people themselves. Traditional culture was hereby posited as part of the cure in that cultural practices were seen to offer 'entry points' to transmit *scientific* knowledge regarding HIV and AIDS and modern behavioural norms and values.

Policy makers and educators furthermore perceived traditional knowledge and practices *in and of themselves* as part of the 'cultural cure' for the HIV epidemic. The statements of Sr. Carlos regarding the role of community elders are instructive in this regard (see also Chapter seven):

> *[W]e should always respect our elders in the sense that these are people that have a great deal of knowledge, a great deal of experience in terms of social and cultural life and who above all, have managed to stabilise their emotions, right? ... [whilst] a young person, with his 16 to 17 years, is a person with an emotional aspect that is still very vulnerable - he likes this and he likes that. That is to say, he doesn't have a solidified personality.* (Sr. Carlos, MINED, 02/12/10).

Sr. Carlos here suggests elders were seen as valuable sources of - established, traditional - knowledge that young people could draw on as they learned to navigate their personal lives and decisions, and to develop 'coherent', stable personalities. The data furthermore suggest that traditional cultural frameworks were seen as essential to efforts to *'remoralise'* and *'rehumanise'* contemporary Mozambican society. The latter notion in particular resonates with the idea of *ubuntu*, which as detailed in Chapter four refers to the gradual process of becoming a full member of the community, or the process of becoming (fully) human. Becoming fully human thus seems to be conceived as flowing from a process of enculturation.

However, the gendered uptake of the ideas of '*rehumanisation* or *remoralisation*' in the context of HIV- and AIDS-related education - and particularly the centrality of 'modern' values such as monogamy and fidelity - suggest these notions need to

be understood as cultural hybrids of the 'modern' and the 'traditional'. From this perspective, the idea of a re-moralised society not only re-inscribes 'traditional', gendered patterns of care in African communities (and arguably, the notion of the human) critiqued by African feminists (e.g. Head, 2002; Mangena, 2009), but also 'modern' gendered modes of being.

Different forms of tangible and intangible heritage finally, such as dance, literature and music were understood as an important means to develop a common Mozambican identity and a collective sense of pride. Artistic expression, like a common moral framework, was thus conceptualised as vital to efforts to create a sense of Mozambicanness and, by extension, enhance national unity. This interpretation of culture (or as instances of 'the socio-cultural') was particularly evident in the selected MINED policy documents.

The notion of culture (and the socio-cultural) was thus interpreted and used in multiple ways. This suggests that speaking of the/a socio-cultural approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education only makes sense when it is clarified in what sense the notion of culture is being used. It furthermore seems likely that a degree of conceptual miscommunication existed between the kinds of actors that were involved in this study. That said, it may equally be argued that participants' understanding of culture were premised on a number of similar assumptions. All participants, for instance (albeit in varying degrees), conflated 'culture' with 'traditional' practices and knowledge, i.e. those regarded as pre-existent and, not infrequently, backward. The study furthermore revealed that a dominant theme within participant narratives related to the importance of modernising these traditional cultural practices. This might be achieved by, for example, utilising an existing traditional practice as a vehicle for the transmission of scientific knowledge and modern values.

Policy makers and educators furthermore appeared to perceive culture - in the sense of shared values - as a positive good if and when it supported the *modern* project of establishing a common Mozambican identity. These various interpretations of, and approaches to, culture appear to be predicated on the belief that the 'curative' potential of culture is optimised if and when it is subsumed - in a modified, *purified* (Latour, 1993) form - in the formal, modern order (see also Beck, 1986; Scott, 1998).

Similar to the other approaches identified in this thesis, a culturally informed approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education therefore also appears to be driven by the modern dualistic 'quest for certainty' that Dewey critiqued at the beginning of the 20th century (1929; see also Latour, 1993; Scott, 1998). Consequently, all approaches may be understood as judging development and education according to a particular linear conception of time, namely as progressing from confusion and darkness to transparency and freedom. Noteworthy is the assumption that the turn to the traditional or counter-modernisation (Beck, 1986) constitutes an effective and unproblematic means to ease the anxiety of modernity and/or respond to HIV and AIDS. Chapter ten returns to this issue when considering possible areas for future enquiry.

The analysis suggests therefore that, in the case of Mozambique, the conceptual framework needs to be expanded to include a fourth approach, namely one grounded on various interpretations of culture. This approach needs to be subdivided into a range of subtypes, each requiring a different approach or varyingly 'put to work' depending on whether it is regarded as a negative or a positive good. Figure 9.2 provides an outline of this fourth, 'culturally informed' approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education.

Figure 9.2: Fourth approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education

	Interpreted as:
Approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education informed by notion of culture	➢ Culture as traditional practices, knowledge and beliefs - varyingly conceived as a positive resource and a barrier to HIV prevention ➢ Culture in the sense of intangible and tangible cultural heritage – which needs to be incorporated into attempts to prevent HIV ➢ The 'culture' of modern, *de*culturalised urban life as being a critical factor feeding the epidemic ➢ The culture of modern scientific knowledge and values as being part of the solution to preventing HIV

In important ways, this culturally informed approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education clearly overlaps with what has been defined as 'moralistically informed' approaches to HIV prevention education. However, to categorise the approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education taken by policy makers and educators as 'moralistically informed' glosses over the nuance within the narrative. Concretely, it restricts the analysis to underpinning moral values and as such risks missing much of the underlying conceptual complexity and tensions. What distinguishes these different forms of a 'cultural' approach to HIV prevention education is the way in which they privilege the (secular) collective of the family, community and nation, and the embedding of the individual in this greater whole. At national and local levels, furthermore, this approach to HIV prevention education was found to be geared toward imbuing citizens with a sense of shared identity and patriotic commitment and, as such, to creating a communal national imagery (see also Anderson, 2006).

As alluded to earlier, it might be concluded that this approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education is embedded in a view of education as a process of (civil) enculturation. The notion of the 'good citizen' is hereby grounded on a philosophy of (national) belonging, but also maturity and social 'validity'. As will be detailed in the sections that follow, the other approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education might equally be understood as grounded in, and directed at, creating a particular conception of the 'good (sexual) citizen'. For the present moment, the discussion turns to the second substantive theme emerging from the data, namely that concerning rights informed HIV prevention education.

III. HIV- and AIDS-related education informed by notions of rights

Besides 'culture', all participants were found to engage with the notion of rights, albeit in distinctly different ways. International agency staff drew on combinations of formal and informal interpretations of rights, referring both to internationally agreed rights as well as, on occasion, sexual rights and notions of citizenship and 'empowerment'. These actors largely conceived 'rights' in terms of individual agency and choice. Further analysis of participant accounts suggested that the claiming of rights was conceived as a moral duty a person had unto her/himself. Although these participants referred to the 'daily' violation of young people's rights, and particularly those of young women, in terms of educational content the young person as claimant formed the focus of attention. As has been observed in relation to HIV prevention efforts in other parts of the world (see Chapter three), in the context of Mozambique rights thus primarily appeared to be engaged with in abstract individualist terms.

Rather than engage with rights and the individual rights holder, policy makers and educators engaged with what were perceived to be defining features of *well-educated, mature* community members. It was argued that these actors largely defined the claiming of rights as a moral duty (of the educated, mature person) to the collective. It was furthermore suggested that this idea of moral duty was highly gendered. This was illustrated by participant statements as to young women's responsibility for 'insist[ing] on the use of a condom' given Mozambican men's inherent unreliability (Sra. Paula, 16/11/2010). The discursive shift in participants' accounts from rights to gendered, *moral* duty to the collective, is indicative of an approach to HIV- and AIDS that is informed by explicit moral values rather than rights.

The data therefore appear to suggest it might be possible to understand a) international participants building on a conception of education as geared toward the promotion of individual autonomy and b) policy makers and educators defining education as directed at the enculturation of young people. Again however, such a conclusion greatly simplifies what were, upon closer examination, a far more complex set of narratives. Instead the data confirm the impossibility of fully separating out the educational aims of 'autonomy' from 'morality' and 'enculturation'. More to the point, the findings challenge the tenability of the idea of (moral) autonomy. The data furthermore suggest that while the analytical lens offered by the tripartite framework goes some way to supporting examination of *stated* aims and means of education, it is not able to capture sufficiently the level of nuance when considering participant accounts. These two points are considered in turn, beginning with the latter.

9.3.3 Participants appropriating and contesting the individual-social dichotomy

Chapter four distinguished two seemingly opposed educational aims, namely the promotion of autonomy and (civil) enculturation. It detailed critiques of the notion of autonomy, drawing attention to the extent to which all people are interdependent and that 'autonomy' should be understood in a highly relative and qualified sense. The chapter furthermore pointed out that education always entails a degree of normalisation and regulation.

On the face of things, the data suggest participant narratives were grounded on the popularly held dichotomy of the individual and the social and, by extension, the binary of individual rights versus the rights of the collective. As detailed in Chapter seven, in varying degrees international level narratives were embedded in individualistic notions of choice, rights and agency. Thus, in keeping with liberal democratic principles, international agency staff taking part in the study appeared to perceive the individual as the primary moral unit.

Freeman (1995) is among those to have engaged with the supposed dichotomy between the individual and the collective. He points out that the notion of human rights is *affirmative of* key principles of Western Liberalism, such as the principle of moral equality. Additionally, Freeman has argued that while Liberalism is grounded

on 'a commitment to egalitarian individualism … [it would be] a mistake to believe that liberal democracy has favoured the individual over the collective' (1995: 25-26). Instead, he observes, liberal democracy provides 'the individual a special status within a particular collectivity, the nation-state' (1995: 27). The collective is not only responsible for protecting the rights of individuals, they also need protection *from* this collective. Arguably, protection of individuals is not inherently or automatically contradictory to a sense of community, or being a part of a community.

The ways in which international agency staff members engaged with HIV- and AIDS-related education appears to confirm Freeman's arguments. These participants defined the response to the HIV epidemic in terms of addressing personal relationships *between* young women and men, *between* young people and elders, but equally changing power dynamics between professionals and their superiors. Drawing on what has been defined as the 'desirability condition' (Chapter four), another international agency staff member clarified that education was geared to bringing about a change for the better: 'in your life, in that of your children … your relationship with your partner, your lover …' (Célia, 15/11/2010).

Despite references to various individualistic notions such as those mentioned above, international participants did not conceive the individual as separate or separable from her/his historical and spatial context. Equally, the problematisation by certain international research participants of the 'almost fictional character' of rights (Célia, 15/11/2010) suggests an awareness of the need to engage with rights as profoundly relational constructs.

As discussed above, the social unit (community, nation) formed a central theme within policy makers' and educators' accounts, and particularly young women were deemed responsible for the moral fabric of society. The individual *as* individual seemed secondary to the broader narrative. The coherence of this view is undermined, however, by the seeming lack of engagement with the (mal)treatment of young women (for instance, the sexual harassment and abuse of young women) - as members of the community - by the community. Thus while, morally, individuals (and especially women) were posited as beholden to the collective, the collective does not appear to be (in any way) accountable to the individual.

While important differences were found to exist between these different actor groups, these conceptions should not be understood as indicative of diametrically opposed conceptions of the individual. To paraphrase Dewey (1916: 111), the views expressed by the various sets of actors seem rather a matter of emphasis as to the extent of an individual's sociality and whether the individual or the collective was conceived as the primary *moral* unit. With regard to HIV- and AIDS-related education, therefore, policy makers and educators could be understood as conceptualising the educative process in social terms only, while international agency staff also defined education as a personal function. The difference thus resided in the degree to which education was seen as directed toward creating agentic citizens capable of construing new forms of interrelating or socially mature, harmonious community members (Wardekker, 2001).

A closer reading suggests that the extent to which these differences affected the conception of the locus of accountability and duty is questionable. In other words, emphasis on the supposed dichotomy between the individual and the social may actually mask the ways in which, in practice, independent of the position taken, the collective is not conceived as being accountable to the individual. Thus, in both cases, the notion of the 'good citizen' is that of the self-possessed responsible individual, who fulfils her/his duty to her/himself or, alternatively, the collective.

Butler's (2004) reflections on the limits of sexual autonomy may offer a further, more socially attuned, means to move beyond the popularly held distinction between the social and the individual. She contends that when we struggle for human rights, rather than demonstrating our separateness, we demonstrate our inherent dependence on others. In Butler's view, asserting our rights avows our vulnerability to others. Our dependence is such that we cannot '*be conceived as persons …* [without] the sociality of norms that precede and exceed [us]' (2004: 32, emphasis in original).

When we struggle for autonomy and our rights as autonomous beings, therefore, we must also struggle for 'a conception of [ourselves] as invariably *in* community' (2004: 21, emphasis added). Given we are (individually and collectively) vulnerable, this confers a shared duty to protect and respect the rights of other people to all members of a community. This conceptual shift does not automatically resolve the difficulties

of moving beyond the rhetoric of rights such as those discussed in Chapter three (e.g. with regard to the state as duty holder). However, viewing individual autonomy in terms of vulnerability may render relationships more compassionate, more social. It might also provide space to re-imagine the aims and means of HIV prevention education, namely as driven by and geared toward greater mutuality.

9.3.4 Semiotic dissonance as a 'surprising' given

The data suggest that the image policy makers, educators and international actors painted of young women and men, and gender relations more broadly, was informed by a double moral standard. It also lacked the nuance needed to understand the multiplicity of relations between young people. This confirms studies conducted by Aboim, 2009; Groes-Green (2010) and Macia et al. (2011), among other authors.

Reflecting on the data, it might be argued that *despite* the clearly gendered educational road map provided, i.e. wherein distinct social and economic roles were conferred onto the two sexes, in practice young men and women adopted various roles and varyingly positioned themselves in relation to other members of the urban as well as rural communities. Examples included defining themselves as victimised by or outwitting other people (the other sex, caregivers, school teachers), 'conquerors' (of the other sex), 'strategic' (for instance, in relation to their *'Ministries of Finance'*), as 'good' in comparison with 'bad', sexually liberal ('modern') boys and girls, and as 'modern' in comparison with rural peers. Thus, the limited categories and options (implicitly) offered by educators neither do justice to the actual diversity of young people's social and cultural positionings and practices nor offer the means to explore alternative ways of being and relating to others.

It is in relation to this diversity of positionings and practices of young urbanites that the notion of 'cultural style' seems particularly useful. Building on Ferguson (1999), cultural styles are defined as socio-economically and politically situated signifying practices. While to a degree such styles may coincide with age, educational background and socio-economic status, they do not necessarily neatly map onto or remain welded to particular sociological categories. The notion of style conveys the performative, accomplished nature of different practices and positionings. The concept furthermore denotes the embodied, self-fashioned

character of practices and, as such, accommodates the possibility of ambivalence, imagination and subversion.

Ferguson (1999) draws a distinction between a localist and cosmopolitan cultural style. In view of its analytical potential, here the latter is focused on in particular. As Ferguson vividly illustrates, a 'cosmopolitan' cultural style may include high and low forms. Extending the category to the case of Mozambique, the well earning government official may be symbolic of the high end of cosmopolitanism, while street-wise young men and *interesseiras* might be considered to represent low, more disreputable forms of cosmopolitanism. What they have in common is the way in which they signify a *distancing* from familiar (including 'traditionalist', rural modes) shared social and symbolic systems, toward an imagined, unspecified world out there (Ferguson, 1999).

Critical to understanding the notion of cosmopolitan cultural style is that it can*not* be understood to reflect a singular meaning system. The notion thus allows for more nuanced, less teleological analysis in that different modes of being (more or less 'traditional/rural' or more or less 'modern'/urban) are not interpreted as either symbolising a traditional world and culture or, alternatively, as heralding a new modern age and culture. Instead, they are viewed as contingent modalities that emerge in particular settings.

Crucially, upending the understanding of cultural styles as referring to shared systems of meaning also allows for shifting the understanding of communication as participation in a common code. Instead, communication needs to be recognised as characterised by *partially* shared meanings, power hierarchies and diverging understandings of varyingly situated actors (Ferguson, 1999). Instead of assuming community, it may be more useful to centre the ways in which processes of meaning-making intersect with various lines of social differentiation. Ferguson (1999: 228) contends that, rather than working from the assumption of a common code, there should be respect for uncertainty, diversity and miscommunication.

The notions of cultural style and the partiality of shared meaning are pedagogically salient. The idea of cultural style might be usefully related to Dewey's ideas

concerning knowing, intelligence and education as a process of growth (Dewey, 1916). As detailed in Chapter four, Dewey defined 'knowing' in terms of the continuous process of problem solving, and 'intelligence' as the ability to act or inquire in particular ways. A cultural style may be regarded as expressive of intelligence, in that it is based on a particular form of knowing the world. Knowing must be a contingent modality in that it cannot be separated from, among other isues, the knower's place in that world. The embodied, performative nature of the idea of cultural style may then be viewed as a form of expressing (both in an individual and collective level) a particular form of knowing the world. The idea of style arguably adds an element of play and imagination to Dewey's pragmatic and what might seem a more purely problem-oriented philosophy.

Education, in Dewey's view, being synonymous with the notion of growth, occurred in and through processes of joint meaning-making. The process of growth was open-ended and continuous in that the outcomes could neither be predicted nor were fixed, stable entities. According to Dewey, every experience changed the individual and their surroundings, leading the individual to interact differently with the world which, in turn, led to more unfamiliar and problematic experiences in need of some form of resolution.

Dewey's understanding of education as an ongoing process arguably allows for a more patient approach to creating joint meaning, acknowledging this is likely to start from a situation of partial commonality. Additionally, acknowledging and respecting the likelihood of noise and dissonance in and through processes of communication opens the door to viewing education in a more semiotically open-ended manner, as the 'encounter with the unexpected' Morris refers to (2005: 417). A shared code may neither be the point of departure nor the end point of education (or communication), but it may be that, by assuming difference and possible miscommunication, more joint meaning can be reached. Crucially, however, departing from an awareness of the partiality of understanding allows for a view of education as serving more than what is deemed 'useful' and, instead, as a 'site' for surprise and suspense.

9.4 Extending and contextualising the tripartite framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education

The discussion reveals some of the important ways in which the two conceptual frameworks interlink. In particular, it shows how in different ways the approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education intersect with educational aims concerning the promotion of autonomy and (civil) enculturation, but also how at all times this is a matter of degree. For instance, while the notion of autonomy underpins participant narratives concerning rights, none of those taking part in this study *consistently* conceptualised the individual woman or man in the liberal *a*social sense, nor viewed education as ideally aimed at promoting an *a*social autonomy.

Various conceptions of autonomy might, furthermore, be understood to underpin the cultural approach to HIV prevention education in that, in important ways, the approach was grounded on the ideal of the rational, scientifically informed individual. Additionally, the attempt to imbue young people with a sense of cultural pride and Mozambicanness needs to be seen against the backdrop of a broader (and arguably contrasting) ideal of entrepreneurial, self-sustaining citizens capable of solving their own and others' problems. Here it is not so much the moral independence of the rational individual that is emphasised but instead the link between the idea of freedom and the minimalist state.

As was detailed in Chapter three, it is not possible to neatly separate the approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education. It was clarified that the presentation of the approaches as distinct was done with a view to facilitating the analysis of HIV- and AIDS-related education, and specifically, to identify different forms of discourse underpinning this form of education. The primary data analysis confirmed this point revealing how, for instance, participant accounts with regard to the notion of rights were suffused with a sense of morality. Noteworthy in this regard was the way in which participants conceptualised the claiming of rights in terms of moral duty to the self (at the level of international actors) or the collective (at the level of national and local levels). Finally, the discourse of scientific knowledge and modern values (e.g. abstinence and fidelity) were woven through the narrative as a whole and seemed construed as critical to realising the various ideals of the capable citizen. Specifically,

scientific knowledge and modern values seemed to be perceived as a tool to support the ability to make informed decisions, whether these decisions were to be made by the empowered citizen of a democratic rights based society (of international actors) or the 'cultured' citizen of a unified harmonious nation (of national and local actors).

Earlier in the chapter reference was made to the ideal (sexual) citizen underpinning the 'cultural' approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education. Here this idea is engaged with in more detail, concluding with a visual depiction of the different characteristics of the capable citizen that are invoked in the various narratives. Simply put, the following conceptions of the good citizen might be seen to underpin the different approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education:

a. scientifically informed approaches: the good citizen is autonomous, rational, and able to make informed decisions by drawing on an established body of knowledge;

b. approaches informed by notions of rights: the good citizen is the agentic holder of rights who by enacting her/his rights ensures her/his own health and well being; and

c. moralistically informed approaches: the good citizen is morally upright, conforming to pre-existing (oftentimes faith based) code concerning appropriate social and sexual behaviour;

d. approaches informed by notions of culture: the good citizen is a 'cultured' being, who has become rooted in the beliefs and value systems of her/his community. This citizen is patriotic and committed to ensuring the betterment of the greater whole.

Common to all four approaches seems the implicit assumption that the good or capable citizen is the effective, self-managing individual. While both the body of knowledge (i.e. established scientific knowledge, abstract rights, or pre-existing (secular/faith based) normative canons) and the locus of morality (i.e. placed in the individual or the collective) may vary, the desired outcome appears to be similar, i.e. self-possessed, responsible individual persons who are able and willing to fulfil their duty to themselves and/or to the collective. Figure 9.3 offers an overview of the approaches and the ideal citizen they appear to call up.

Figure 9.3: Expanded analytic framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education

Approaches	drawing upon:	Underpinned by imagery of the good citizen as	Locus of moral duty
Scientifically informed HIV- and AIDS-related education	➢ *Biomedical knowledge and understanding* ➢ *Insights from experimental psychological studies* ➢ *Evidence from epidemiological & behavioural studies*	➢ *Rational, (morally) autonomous decision maker. Rationality implicitly equated with responsibility.*	*Self making citizen; moral duty to self*
Rights informed HIV- and AIDS-related education	➢ *Formal notion of rights* ➢ *Looser definition of rights*	➢ *Agentic rights' claimant. Claiming rights conceived as a responsibility to self.*	

Figure 9.3: Continued

Moralistically informed HIV- and AIDS-related education	➢ *Explicit conservative (often faith based) moral values* ➢ *Implicit conservative moral values*	➢ *Responsible, adheres to pre-existing moral code*	*Contextually defined personhood; moral duty to collective*
Culturally informed HIV- and AIDS-related education	➢ *Traditional practices, knowledge and beliefs* ➢ *Intangible and tangible cultural heritage* ➢ *Modern de-culturalised urban life* ➢ *Modern scientific knowledge and values*	➢ *Mature, socially committed member of the community*	

9.5 Concluding section

This chapter has provided a more in-depth engagement with three substantial themes emerging from the data, reflecting on the ways in which the notions of culture, rights and gender intersected with ideas and feelings concerning modernity and tradition. The chapter examined the various ways in which the notion of culture was deployed by the different actor groups and in MINED policy documents. Building on the data gathered in Mozambique, it was suggested the conceptual framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education should be expanded to include a fourth broad approach, namely that informed by notion(s) of culture.

The chapter reflected on the ways in which, in practice, in the context of Mozambique, the four different approaches intersected with educational ideas concerning autonomy and (civil) enculturation. Concerning the former, participant narratives seemed too suffused with contradictory, gendered perspectives with regard to the relationship between the individual and the collective to allow for drawing neat distinctions. With regard to the notion of (civil) enculturation, attention was drawn to the ways in which the four approaches to HIV prevention education all appeared to be grounded in a particular conception of the good (sexual) citizen.

The analysis suggests that Kelly's (2006) call to re-examine the meaning and purpose of education needs to be taken up in two important ways. To begin with, the thesis has illustrated the multiple diverging interpretations of key concepts underpinning the various approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education. The thesis revealed not only critical tensions between different actor groups but also *within* pedagogical narratives of particular groups. Crucially, however, it was argued that despite these subtle and crucial areas of difference, as a whole the narrative was rooted in the teleological, linear discourse of modernisation and, by implication, international development. Reference was made to the growing body of scholarly work that has argued for a conception of time - and hence 'development' - not as a steady onward march, but as a process that 'whirls and eddies' (Harman, 2009: 68).

It was argued that acknowledging the non- and counter-linear loops and reversals of time and (life) histories *and* the limited impact HIV- and AIDS-related education can

be expected to have (Chapter two) highlights the pedagogical salience of interlinking Ferguson's (1999) notion of cultural style and Dewey's educational philosophy. Cultural styles may then be understood as socio-economically and politically contingent forms of self-making or, drawing on Dewey, as forms of 'knowing' in particular problematic situations.

The value of viewing education from a Deweyan perspective was highlighted. Within this view, education should not be conceived as leading to certainty but as a means to respond to and deal with *un*certainty. From this perspective, HIV- and AIDS-related education should be geared toward developing young people's abilities to engage in a continual process of inquiry into given problematic situations, forming warranted assertions about such situations and acting in accordance with their expectations.

Additionally, acknowledging and respecting the likelihood of noise and dissonance in and through processes of communication was found to open the door to viewing education in a more semiotically open-ended manner, as the 'encounter with the unexpected' Morris refers to (2005: 417). It was argued that a shared code may neither be the point of departure nor the end point of education or other communicative processes, but that it might be by assuming difference and possible miscommunication that greater understanding can be achieved.

Finally, the chapter elucidated the ways in which the various analytical tools developed for the purposes of this thesis might support the conceptual clarification needed to re-imagine education and development in a world with HIV and AIDS. The final chapter of this thesis explores the potential of the conceptual instruments in relation to the fields of research, policy and practice in more detail.

Chapter ten: Reflections on the study

10.1 Introduction

This final chapter reflects on the merits and the possible limitations of the thesis. In doing so, the chapter sets out the contribution the study makes to scholarly debates and the theorisation of HIV- and AIDS-related education. This also seeks to advance some key policy and practice recommendations based on the findings of the study.

The chapter is composed of four sections. Section 10.2 reflects on the relative strengths of the thesis and its contribution to existing debates. Section 10.3 discusses the possible implications of the study with regard to research, policy and practice. Section 10.4 engages with issues of the reliability and validity of the study. This section focuses in particular on the possible occurrence of reactivity during the course of the study. Section 10.5, finally, provides a brief overview of key issues that have been considered in the chapter.

10.2 Reflection on thesis strengths and contribution to knowledge

This thesis contributes to existing literature, policy and practice of HIV- and AIDS-related education in the following four different ways. Firstly, the thesis provides an analytical overview of research into the quality of HIV- and AIDS-related education conducted during the past 15 years. It was clarified that within this broad field of research, a distinction could be drawn between four broad types, namely, studies that: a) examine programme quality in terms of impact on individual knowledge and behaviour, b) investigate programme quality in terms of the degree to which they address issues of class and gender, c) directly engage with young people's perspectives on HIV prevention education, and d) attempt to distinguish between different forms of HIV- and AIDS-related education.

The second set of contributions offered by the thesis emanate from the engagement with Kelly's (2006) observation regarding the need to re-examine the meaning and

purposes of education in a world with HIV and AIDS. The thesis contributes to the scholarly debate as well as international and national policy-making work by engaging with Kelly's call for action in various ways.

To begin with, the thesis elucidated the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives delivered around the world. This was done with a view to engaging with a fundamental gap in current literature and policy debates concerning (school-based) HIV- and AIDS-related education. This gap relates to the lack of agreement as to what 'good quality' may be taken to mean in HIV prevention education (Miedema et al., 2011; Aggleton et al., 2012). It was argued that meaningful debate with regard to 'quality' and, specifically, the *best* form(s) of HIV prevention education is only possible if and when there is greater conceptual clarity as to the different forms this education *may* take. By drawing a distinction between different approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education the thesis thus offers insight into multiple possible understandings of critical notions and discourses underpinning this form of education. As such, it allows for more informed policy debate and research.

To achieve greater conceptual clarity, a comprehensive review was conducted of a multidisciplinary body of literature and materials of HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives implemented around the world. A distinction was made between three broad approaches to this form of education, namely those grounded on moral values, science and/or rights. The thesis closely examined the different approaches, identifying two to three subtypes within each of them. The three approaches and their sub-types formed the tentative conceptual framework constituting the second core contribution of the study.

The study subsequently examined the potential value of the analytical framework for understand the design, delivery and experience of HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique. It was found that, in varying degrees, research participants drew on all three approaches, albeit in oftentimes new and unexpected ways. In addition, the primary data analysis revealed participants drew on discourses other than those identified in the tripartite framework. A fourth broad approach to HIV prevention education was identified, namely one building on various understandings of culture.

The quadripartite conceptual framework that has emerged from the study allows for a nuanced understanding of key discourses and notions that are deployed in debates with regard to HIV- and AIDS-related education. This forms the third central contribution offered by the thesis. As will be clarified in the sections below, this framework can be used within the context of Mozambique but can also be drawn on to analyse and compare initiatives implemented in other parts of the world.

The fourth contribution relates to the way in which the thesis has responded to another gap in the literature, namely the lack of engagement of HIV- and AIDS-related education with the theory and philosophy of education (see also Clarke, 2008). Building on Jonathan (1983), it was argued that logically prior to attending to questions as to what and how schools should teach about HIV and AIDS, it is crucial that the aims of education as a whole are interrogated and debated. The thesis therefore also examined key conceptions of education and educational aims, and studied the ways in which these underpinned the stated aims of HIV prevention education.

The analysis of participant narratives concerning the aims of education proved critical in that it illuminated the perceptions underpinning participant and policy narratives with regard to the relationship between the individual and the collective and the functions of education in the 'modern day' world. The analysis of data gathered in Mozambique revealed that, in important ways, participant conceptions regarding the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education were grounded on narratives regarding the aims of education more broadly. This was not necessarily a straightforward relationship, however, and at times conceptions within narratives appeared to conflict. By taking the analysis a step further - i.e. by engaging with questions of educational philosophy - the thesis offers a novel and crucial framework for more nuanced understanding of educational responses to the HIV epidemic. Specifically, the framework for education offers a critical advancement of existing knowledge in that it clarifies, among other issues, possible interpretations of 'education' and 'being educated' underpinning HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives.

A fifth contribution offered by this thesis relates to the constant comparison it offered between the perspectives of different sets of actors active in the Mozambican

education sector. As similarly noted by other authors (see e.g. Ahmed, 2011), national education agendas in the Global South are often negotiated against the backdrop of a drive to gain foreign aid. For this reason, the study engaged with different sets of key actors involved in the design, delivery and uptake of HIV prevention education in Mozambique. The analysis revealed that, on the surface, different actor groups could be understood as drawing on similar notions, such as culture and rights. However, careful reading of participant accounts suggested that these notions were varyingly interpreted and employed. Meanings were often only very partially shared, in other words. Greater understanding of the diverging interpretations of key discourses is crucial, particularly in view of efforts to achieve greater harmonisation between the approaches and efforts of development partners.

The analysis detailed in this thesis suggests that Kelly's call to debate the meaning(s) and purpose(s) of education in a world with HIV and AIDS is more complex than it perhaps seems at first glance. This thesis has found that such re-examination entails understanding the ways in which different sets of actors involved in the education sector understand and take up the idea of 'education'. Crucially, however, it also requires more nuanced understanding of perceptions of key actors with regard to 'a world with HIV and AIDS' or, more to the point, factors relating to the spread and impact of the HIV epidemic. As this thesis has elucidated, these conceptions too can diverge considerably and, in turn, need to be understood as interweaving with understandings of education, ultimately shaping what forms of HIV- and AIDS-related education is developed and delivered in schools.

With regard to the actor groups involved in this study, for instance, educators and policy makers largely attributed the epidemic to factors associated with modernity and modern life styles. Staff members of international agencies, on the other hand, drew largely on developmental and rights discourse, explaining the epidemic in terms of gender, poverty and balances of power more broadly. While at times these narratives overlapped, this thesis has highlighted the crucial differences between narratives. It has clarified that in the context of Mozambique, these differences need to be understood against the backdrop of efforts to 'imagine' Mozambique following independence (Pitcher, 2002; Meneses, 2012).

As noted in Chapter two, this thesis builds on Higgs (2012) when he states that: 'it is only when one is presented with a range of meanings [of education, for instance] that the most emancipatory potentialities can be chosen' (p.48). This thesis has made five critical contributions to current literature and debates concerning the field of HIV prevention education. When combined, these different contributions offer a range of means to develop more nuanced understanding of the possible meanings attached to HIV- and AIDS-related education in theory as well as in practice. As a whole, therefore, the thesis offers a set of critical tools to critically debate and, ultimately, engage in negotiated process of choosing the most appropriate forms of HIV- and AIDS-related education for young women and men.

10.3 Implications for research, policy and practice

The following sections discuss the possible avenues offered by, and key implications of the study in relation to the following issues: understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education a) in different types of contexts and b) in Mozambique, means of moving beyond dichotomies of individual/social and traditional/modern, and young women's and men's concerns. Within each sub-section the implications of the study and the possibilities offered by the thesis are teased out in terms of the development of policy, research and/or practice of HIV- and AIDS-related education.

10.3.1 Developing understanding of HIV- and AIDS-related education in different contexts

Drawing on the review of literature and HIV education initiatives implemented around the world, Chapter three discussed a tentative conceptual framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education. As mentioned, the analysis of data gathered in Mozambique revealed that, in varying degrees, participants drew on the approaches and forms of discourse identified in the tentative framework. The data furthermore revealed that notions such as moral values, science and rights could be taken up in yet other ways than were distinguished following the review of secondary data and literature. More to the point, while the analysis suggests that the conceptual framework provides critical theoretical footholds, it should be understood as only offering an *initial* point of entry.

Understanding the meanings and levels of affect imbued in notions of rights, for instance, entails going beyond drawing on the subcategories of formal and 'informal' interpretations of rights. Elucidating the ways in which different actors build on 'moral values' equally necessitates going further than the question of whether they do so overtly or more implicitly. This kind of analysis is only possible by seeking out rich narrative data from key stakeholders, and engaging in discussions with these actors. Arguably, however, a set of tools is also needed to support this process of generation and analysing the perspectives constructed by international agency staff, policy makers and practitioners. The thesis offers a series of such tools for future policy-makers to draw on when having conversations with others aiming to develop and improve national and level efforts to design and deliver HIV prevention education. These tools include the expanded, quadripartite framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education and tripartite framework for understanding conceptions of the aims of education (see also Appendix XV).

Similarly, the analysis in this thesis shows that the meaning and purpose of education and HIV- and AIDS-related education can vary – overtly or much more subtly – and should be made sense of in relation to an actor's views of the nature of the epidemic. Specifically, future research in this area needs to include identifying the kinds of social determinants that are associated with the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS. Such analysis is also crucial to policy makers' and development partners' efforts to achieve greater alignment and harmonisation.

Another important area for future research concerns the quadripartite framework itself. The preceding chapters have highlighted the different ways in which participants drew on varying combinations of notions of culture, rights, science and moral values when they reflected on the aims and means of (HIV- and AIDS-related) education. Within the present study, the framework primarily served as a heuristic device, to enable identification of possible different forms of discourse underpinning HIV prevention education initiatives. Identifying approaches as distinct categories constitutes a first step. A second step would be to examine theoretically how the various approaches connect and differ from one another, for instance by investigating the ways in which, in social and political theory, notions of science, rights and morality might be seen to intersect.

10.3.2 Understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique

As detailed in Chapter nine, an additional approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education was identified, namely, one grounded on various understandings of culture. The seeming importance of the unifying narrative of culture to policy makers and educators suggests international agency staff need to be mindful of this when they design strategic plans for the context of Mozambique. At the same time, it is crucial to acknowledge that the nationalistic narrative is likely to be one of several, existing alongside and at times possibly colliding with parallel constructions of 'culture' (see also Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; Meneses, 2012).

From this perspective, it would be valuable to investigate the extent to, and ways, in which HIV- and AIDS- related education initiatives delivered in other parts of Mozambique and in other countries are grounded on ideas of culture. This would allow for an examination of the degree to which the 'cultural approach', as currently defined in this thesis, resonates with or differs from cultural approaches elsewhere. Analysis such as this may serve to inform not only the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education, but also that of educational philosophy, anthropology and international development.

For instance, in relation to the field of educational philosophy, an important future line of enquiry may relate to possible reconfigurations of the notion of *ubuntu*. In Chapter nine it was pointed out that, in important ways, in the context of Mozambique HIV- and AIDS-related education builds on the African ethics of *ubuntu*. If this conclusion is correct, this arguably raises questions as to the possible impact of the modernising project on the meaning of the human. Thus, if according to *ubuntu* philosophy becoming human entails a process of integration into the community (which requires taking part in its various forms of sociality), how will the introduction in communities of modern (liberal) elements change the meaning of these practices and their function in creating a sense of community? How, in other words, will modern liberal values impact on the process of becoming (fully) human? While the thesis does not wish to romanticise the notion of *ubuntu*, it is argued that the field of educational philosophy can benefit from more in-depth consideration of this matter. At the very least, the analysis suggests policy makers and educators need to be alert to the problematic nature of an approach which seeks to modernise the traditional while

maintaining it to a certain unspecified degree. Not only because this 'project' is grounded on a various dichotomous understandings (of traditional/modern, object/subject, female/male, irrational/rational), it also assumes that the imposition of what are perceived to be modern ingredients (rationality, abstinence) on 'traditional' social systems will produce a young person equipped to function in, to paraphrase one of the participants, 'both the formal [modern] and the traditional world' (Giulia, individual interview, 16/12/2010).

In its present form, the framework can be utilised to support efforts to achieve a greater measure of conceptual clarity in what has been revealed is a particularly complex philosophical and theoretical terrain. The framework offers a set of critical conceptual tools to support those involved in the design, delivery and uptake of HIV- and AIDS-related education to a) engage in critical discussions about the aims and means of such education, b) design of initiatives and c) conduct meaningful evaluations of the quality of the education provided. Crucially, these tools may offer programme designers to bypass sidestep he conceptual limitations and inconsistencies within current initiatives (see also Miedema et al., 2011).

This point may be illustrated using the example of rights informed initiatives. As was clarified in Chapter three, approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education drawing on concepts of rights struggle to move beyond what seems a rhetorical use of notions such as accountability and participation. This difficulty seems to be underpinned by a conception of rights in abstract individual terms, i.e. separate from social relations, and historical, socio-economic and spatial contexts (Corrêa et al., 2008).

Future efforts to develop rights-informed HIV- and AIDS-related education thus need to pay more careful consideration to the importance of social relationships for people's sense of well-being. Rights and rights-related concepts such as participation and accountability need to be engaged with against this broader backdrop. With regard to accountability, for instance, more careful attention needs to be given to the question as to who is accountable to (individual) young women and men. Education should do more than engage with the duty of the 'rights' claimant', (to her/himself and/or the collective). It should equally provide learners tools to critically reflect on and debate the extent to which collectives are and can be held accountable. As Freire

observed (1972), it is by naming the world that people may begin to transform it.

As the current analysis has furthermore shown, future rights-informed endeavours need to be based on a more systematic examination of ideas concerning 'responsibility' and its relation to the concept of rights. Additionally, underlying ideas concerning the relationship between the individual and the collective need to be debated, both in the design and delivery of rights informed HIV- and AIDS-related education. Crucially, as the current study has shown, this debate needs to pay attention to the question of who may be held accountable for rights' violations of (individual) young women and men.

By creating greater conceptual clarity, the framework for understanding HIV prevention education is also expected to support efforts to assess the various possible impacts of programmes on young people. The more nuanced understanding of the underpinnings of HIV- and AIDS-related education initiatives around the world examined in the current thesis will hopefully enable more clear-sighted and appropriate evaluation of programmes.

10.3.3 Moving beyond dichotomies of individual/social and traditional/modern

This thesis started from an interest in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education and what might be defined as the degrees of 'conceptual alignment' between partners responsible at various levels for the design and delivery of HIV- and AIDS-related education. The original body of literature the thesis drew on thus largely related to the field of education, HIV prevention education, and international development. This corpus gradually expanded to include the fields of anthropology, philosophy of science, gender, sexuality and political science.

Crucial to the study has been the different ways in which many scholars operating within these academically distinctive realms strive to unpack and challenge juxtapositions of individual/social and traditional/modern. This thesis has benefited greatly from this broader corpus of literature. Educational- and international development-related policy and practice may also benefit from the kinds of disciplinary crossovers such as those that guided the development of the thesis. In particular, it may support moving beyond dichotomous categories such as those

mentioned above and their underpinning linear logic.

Relinquishing this logic need not mean the embracing of a pessimist world view such as that put forward by authors such as John Gray (2008; 2013), who seems to suggest that all attempts to bring about a change for the better are fundamentally deluded. Instead, the more challenging - and hopeful - Deweyan notion of uncertainty is proposed as a means to better understand the historically and socially contingent ways in which different actors deal with problematic situations. The idea of cosmopolitan cultural styles (Ferguson, 1999) was used to illustrate how within particular settings different sets of actors devise their own layered and multi-interpretable forms of knowing and responding to the world. As argued, these styles do not reflect either a traditional or a modern 'take' on the world. Instead, they need to be understood as socio-politically contingent modalities. The thesis argued that the acceptance that access to others' systems of meaning (knowing, styles) will never be complete also allows for less teleological interpretations and expectations of both education and 'development'.

10.3.4 Engaging with young women and men's concerns

This study sought to investigate perspectives and concerns of various actor groups and, crucially, to interrogate the ways in which these related to one another and the broader political, social and educational setting. Given the research was primarily geared to elucidating different ways of understanding the design and delivery of HIV- and AIDS-related education, the thesis was only able to offer limited space to young people's perspectives on their lives and on the HIV epidemic. The many and lengthy discussions with young women and men while in the field were illuminative, however, and have helped to shape the analysis which led to the contributions made. They highlighted, among other things, the issues young people associated with HIV and AIDS, and the impact of the epidemic on their lives.

The accounts provided by young people were extensive and, not surprisingly, considering the subject at hand, deeply troubling. Stigma, discrimination, isolation and 'losing the will to live' (as a result of, among other factors, the isolation experienced) formed central themes in their narratives. Thus, considering the centrality of the notions of a) social cohesion and b) problem solving skills to policy

makers and educators in Mozambique, as well as c) HIV and AIDS-related stigma and discrimination on the global stage, the kinds of inputs provided by young people potentially provide valuable points of entry for the development of more meaningful HIV- and AIDS-related education. The analysis revealed the various social concerns that young school-going people in Mozambique spoke of in relation to the HIV epidemic, for instance in relation to HIV positivity and 'self-stigmatisation'.

While learner accounts suggested they first and foremost expected HIV- and AIDS-related education to enable them to deal with personal concerns, the analysis pointed to the broader social and normative underpinnings of their questions. Young women's queries to me regarding fertility and HIV positivity, for instance, revealed uncertainties with regard to biomedical issues. Crucially, however, it was also indicative of the centrality of the reproductive capacity to definitions of femininity. Arguably, a question such as this potentially provides a concrete point of departure for future school-based efforts to reduce young people's HIV related vulnerability and risk.

Engaging with young people on issues which they indicate are of direct concern also provides a means to give more meaningful content to educational efforts to improve young people's problem solving skills. As was noted in Chapter eight, 'problem solving' and self-sufficiency were key expected qualities of a secondary school graduate in Mozambique. It may also provide a means to link policy maker and educators' emphasis on problem solving skills with Crewe's call for HIV- and AIDS-related education to enable young people to 'think in complex abstract ways, who can philosophise, who can dream ...' (Crewe, 2004: 7). Engaging with young people on such 'daily' yet socially complex matters furthermore allows them to critically reflect on their positioning in their local as well as global(ised) communities. The conceptual analysis offered in this thesis may allow for shifting from the limited and often moralistic interpretation of 'problems' currently underpinning MINED policy and participant narratives to more open-ended, socio-political understandings thereof, thereby potentially making HIV- and AIDS-related education more truly educative.

10.4 Reflecting on the study process

10.4.1 Study context

Early on the decision was made to conduct the study with relatively small numbers of participants in one locality in Mozambique. These decisions were made in keeping with the underpinning logic of enquiry, namely to conduct an in-depth, qualitative piece of research. Limiting the study to the capital city of Mozambique and to a small number of schools within the capital does imply the study findings may not be generalisable to other sites in or beyond Mozambique. Had the research been conducted in various localities within the country, this may have allowed for greater generalisability. Considering the available time frame, this would have necessitated a more restricted and hence more superficial engagement with participants' perspectives. It is likely this would have affected the richness and thus authenticity of the data gathered.

It is important to note that, as observed in Chapter five, the relevance of the concept of generalisability has been contested in qualitative research such as the kind detailed here. The significance of the notion has been debated in view of the non-standardised research instruments generally applied in qualitative studies and the kind of data that are generated, i.e. relating to social actors' understandings of social reality (Donmoyer, 1990; Janesick, 2000; Cohen et al., 2007). Despite these arguments against a traditional conception of generalisability, the research was designed in such a way as to heighten the transferability of results (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This included providing a thorough description of the research context and a reflexive approach to enquiry (Trochim, 2006).

10.4.2 Sampling

Previous experience and existing contacts in Mozambique proved critical to the success of the current study. I was able to speak to a wide variety of professionals working in the field of (HIV- and AIDS-related) education in Mozambique prior to developing the final samples. This was particularly valuable in relation to the sampling of policy makers and international agency staff in that the period of consultation allowed for a careful, iterative selection process. It was thus possible to have a sample of professionals on the basis of their current and active involvement

and influence in the field of secondary school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education. Although numerous other policy makers and international agency staff members could have been involved in the study, this would have meant involving those that were more tangentially engaged with the subject of school-based HIV-related education. In addition, due to time restraints, including more participants may have impacted on the richness of the data gathered.

When requesting formal permission from MINED to conduct research in schools, I submitted various documents, including a list of potential secondary schools in which to conduct the study. This was done with a view to avoid sampling being driven by MINED preferences but instead was purposively guided by the underpinning theoretical interests (i.e. with regard to learners and educators in the intersection between conceptions and experiences of education and class). Requesting formal approval took a considerable amount of time and delayed the onset of research activities in schools. The various steps required to acquire permission and the numerous MINED officials I had to consult in the process did allow me to become reacquainted with the Ministry, its 'who's who' and the internal machinations. This renewed insight was critical to gaining access to potential research participants and to relevant documentation.

Upon arrival in the three schools I experienced first hand the extent to which sampling could be influenced by key gatekeepers, which in this case were the *directores pedagógicos*. In the school where the pedagogic director was *least* interested in the study, I found I had most freedom to conduct the sampling and recruitment process as it had been designed. In the two other schools, the directors were more active in suggesting the types of learners that in their view ought to take part. In one school in particular, it was only after sustained engagement in the school that I was able to speak to learners other than those proposed by the director. The extensive and frequent interaction with learners also allowed me to move beyond the initial narratives of the 'good' young female/male of the sample guided by the preferences of the director.

On the whole, young people seemed interested to take part and, in important ways, the research may have offered a form of extra-curricular activity young people otherwise

seemed to lack. That said, it is likely the research did not include young people who *did* have other extra-curricular activities and/or chores they either preferred to engage in or were not at liberty to postpone or refuse.

The purposive sampling strategy in schools provided me an opportunity to examine intersections of gender and conceptions of HIV- and AIDS-related issues and education. As detailed in Chapter five, the intention had been to also interrogate the significance of socio-economic class (specifically, middle and lower class). The particular complexity of defining 'middle' class in the context of Mozambique precluded this comparison.

As discussed in Chapter five, there is a corpus of research on HIV- and AIDS-related issues in the context of private schools and with elite youth in Maputo (e.g. Machel, 2001; Manuel, 2005; Groes-Greene, 2009a, b, 2010, 2011). The findings of the current study may therefore usefully be compared and contrasted with those emanating from these pieces of scholarly research. It would be particularly valuable to investigate the extent to which the reportedly more favourable working conditions for educators and the higher socio-economic background of young people may impact on their conceptions of education and HIV prevention education, for example.

However, such enquiry would need to build on more nuanced understanding of the notion of class in the context of Mozambique. Some of the most recent work mapping on to the notion of socio-economic background in the context of Maputo City is that by Groes-Greene (2009a, b, c). Groes-Greene draws a distinction between middle class and 'poor' youth, defining the former as:

> [Y]oung people attending schools and living in urban parts of the city … characterised by a great number of concrete houses [and] a modern infrastructure …. Most families in concrete Maputo have a high and steady income and usually one or both parents have completed a higher education (2009a: 666 f.1).

Groes-Greene contradistinguishes this with 'poor', suburban youth, defined as:

> [Y]oung people living in and attending schools on the outskirts of the city … where a majority of houses are made of reed … Families in this area suffer from unemployment, an unsteady income, malnutrition and rarely have family members completed any formal education (2009a: 666 f.1).

This study revealed that a) distinctions between middle and working class were more nuanced and b) the relationship between working class learners and suburban[28] schools was less linear than Groes-Greene suggests. Various key informants involved in this study indicated that the city centre was populated by, among other people, *antigos combatentes* (former military personnel). Formerly part of the (economic and political) elite, this group - and their offspring - has reportedly lost much of its economic resources. Since the end of the armed struggle, many of the former *combatentes* have had to sell their property and move into shacks built in between the brick houses of the new elites (Dhorsan, 20/08/10; Muianga, 13/01/11). Today, therefore, the centre of Maputo is characterised by a high degree of socio-economic diversity. Public schools in the city centre (as well as the periphery) are equally diversified. Future research on the subject of (HIV prevention) education in Mozambique could therefore benefit in important ways from more contextualised understandings of class (see for instance, Paulo et al., 2007).

Young people's religion was not systematically taken into account in the data collection or analysis. This decision too was motivated by the desire to limit the number of variables the study would take into account and to allow for a more in-depth analysis. Religion was found to play in the lives of many young people taking part in the study, however. Education policy and practice may benefit from more systematic research on the significance of religious denomination in terms of young people's experiences of education and conceptions of HIV and AIDS (see for instance, Agadjanian, 2005; Kamp, 2011; 2013).

10.4.3 Researcher positionality; personal reactivity and rapport

A possible threat to the validity of findings relates to personal reactivity, i.e. the way in which characteristics of the researcher shape the behaviour and responses of research participants (Cohen et al., 2007). In view of this particular threat, as well as the possibilities for establishing rapport with research participants, I strived to reflect on my position vis-à-vis the various sets of research participants prior to, but

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[28] The term 'suburban' potentially being misleading. In many (Western) settings it is often associated with residential areas for middle class families. In the context of Maputo, the term 'periphery' is more appropriate.

particularly during, the process of data collection and analysis. In addition, I attempted to clarify and be aware of my personal views on, among other subjects, HIV prevention education, notions of 'international development', rights and gender. I furthermore attempted to clarify how these might shape the process of data collection but also the lens(es) adopted during data analysis. Reflecting on issues of proximity to and rapport with research participants, a number of issues warrant particular attention.

Upon return to Mozambique, I quickly became aware of an apparent change in attitude towards me. This time, I was not a single, young female but a married mother. These significant changes in my personal life made being in Mozambique a distinctly different experience. As most foreigners coming to Mozambique will experience, an important line of questioning when meeting someone new relates to a person's marital status and whether or not that person has children. Previously, I had always had to answer both questions in the negative and this seemed to shut off a various areas of shared meaning. This time I could confirm that 'yes, I was married', and 'yes, I did have a child'.

For obvious reasons, being married made having a child more legitimate. My marital and reproductive status seemed to affect the tone of the conversation I had with all actors groups. It seemed to establish my maturity (which as the analysis revealed was a central notion in policy maker and educator narratives) and femininity. As such it seemed to equalise relationships with 'adult' participants, meaning rapport was more easily established.

At the same time, it widened the distance between young people and myself. Many young people indicated they thought I was in my early 20s and, as such, might have still been considered quite young. However, having a family seemed to rule out the possibility of my still engaging in what were considered 'youthful' activities. One young man, for instance, asked me whether it had been hard to *leave the time of parties behind'*, now I was married and had a child? Upon hearing I was 36 years old, young people often seemed surprised (and possibly shocked), some kindly pointing out I was as old as their fathers (not mothers, but fathers, suggesting I was, in other words, really old). Considering, among other factors, my age, it is likely young people

did not share all of what they may have believed were deemed indications of 'adolescent immaturity'. Illustrative of this was young women's tendency - at least initially - to construct images of themselves as morally virtuous.

At other times, the gap between 'adult' participants and myself may have widened. For instance, distancing may have occurred when I spent time with young people outside 'formal' research sessions. This may have given the impression to educators that I sided with young people and, as such, could have formed an obstacle to establishing and maintaining rapport with this group of participants. Despite creating a situation in which rapport could not be taken for granted, the richness of the data gathered seems to suggest participants felt sufficiently comfortable in my presence. The potential disadvantage of gathering data from educators and young people from the same school is, furthermore, believed to have been outweighed by the possibility of drawing comparisons between views voiced within the context of one school.

To reduce the threat of personal reactivity, I made use of triangulation and member-checking (Robson, 2002; Cohen et al., 2007). The comparison of primary and secondary data, for instance, revealed important areas of convergence but also distinction between narratives. Non-participatory observation provided insight into tensions and comparability between policy, participant accounts and *in-situ* implementation. For instance, as clarified in PGB manuals the programme is grounded on the notion that peers engage more easily on 'sensitive' issues such as sexuality. However, observation of PGB sessions, and discussions with *activistas* and learners revealed that this 'finding' is far less straightforward (see also Turner & Shepherd, 1999). While the thesis has not explicitly engaged with the many different areas of tension or agreement between narratives, these have served as a means to contextualise study findings as a whole.

In an attempt to reduce the level of personal reactivity when engaging with young people, I also spent time chatting with participants outside the 'formal' research moments. I spent time with young people in the school canteen, in and around the PGB counselling room (where available), school sports grounds, and cafés. To reduce personal reactivity in relation to educators, I spent time talking with various staff members (including research participants) during lunches in staff rooms and informal

meetings in school corridors. I would often meet educators outside school hours, which allowed for more peaceful settings to get to know one another. At times, establishing rapport seemed to depend on the very basic; handing over my lunchtime apple to a highly pregnant and, as it turned out, hungry teacher did wonders for the flow of the interview, for example.

The research was furthermore conducted in an iterative manner, identifying and exploring themes with participants and key informants as they emerged during the process of data collection. During an interview, for instance, I might present a 'finding' arising from previous interviews (with other participants) and ask the interviewee's views on the subject. For example, early on in the data collection, I was struck by the central role educators and policy makers seemed to accord to notions of 'self-esteem' and the *homem novo*. During subsequent interviews, and where relevant opportunities arose, I therefore enquired into other policy makers' and educators' perspectives on these subjects, which provided fresh insight into the multiple layered meanings of these terms.

10.4.4 Procedural reactivity

The external validity or generalisability of the research may have also been affected by procedural reactivity. Procedural reactivity relates to the possible effects on the production of responses by the ways in which the research is carried out (Sapsford & Jupp, 2006). Important in this regard has been the use of Portuguese as the primary medium of research. Doing so has entailed missing opportunities to gather more contextualised knowledge (see e.g. Chilisa and Ntseane, 2010).

Prior experience in Mozambique meant I was possibly more aware of important contextual issues and sensitivities, ranging from those related to gender relations to the internal workings of the Ministry. Combined with the sustained engagement with the various actor groups during the course of the fieldwork this will have, at least to some extent, compensated for some of the possible loss of detail as a result of conducting the study in Portuguese. Data triangulation and member-checking furthermore helped to safeguard against loss of data by allowing me to clarify seeming inconsistencies in narratives and add further depth to my understanding of, for instance, gender relations and class.

As detailed in Chapter five, focus group discussions were held with young people. It was noted that a potential disadvantage that applies to such discussions concerns the possibility that these are dominated by one or two persons (Robson, 2002). During the course of the fieldwork I encountered this problem in varying degrees. When and where such situations occurred I found it was often (certain) young men that dominated the conversation, and young women or less vocal young men who would withdraw. At times, therefore, I had to intervene more actively to ensure all participants had a chance to voice their opinion.

Drawing on experience gained during the pilot, I decided to make use of flipcharts during initial focus group sessions. I would request participants to write down one or more key words and, once everyone had written down their initial inputs, to explain these to the group. While this may have created a more school like setting, I believe it did establish the grounds for more dialogical encounters. The value of ensuring all participants were able to provide their inputs - both in terms of the richness of data as well as, crucially, process - offset the possible disadvantages of what might have been understood as a more lesson-like set up.

As noted by Kelly (2003), the dynamic of group discussions offers the researcher the opportunity to gauge the strength of participants' commitment to their views. A risk is the phenomenon of 'group think', i.e. whereby the position and perspectives of dominating participants becomes that of the group (Lim & Tan, 2001). Contrary to what might be expected, participants who were initially less vocal were not necessarily more easily swayed or silenced by others. While in certain groups many would begin by stating (to my dismay), *'like my colleague just said…'*, they would then often move on to express a view that was not 'like' previous statement(s). Although I initially found the group discussions most challenging to manage, the discussions did take on a dynamic of their own and, crucially, they appeared to provide a space in which participants generally seemed comfortable to express their (diverging) perspectives. Although comfort levels of young women seemed to grow during each subsequent group discussion, on the whole young men appeared to feel most at ease and eager to voice their views in the group set up.

With regard to *activistas* I found that it was often older male *activistas* who initially seemed most at ease with the interview situation. Younger and female *activistas*, on the other hand, seemed more wary of me and the interview setting. In all cases, I strived to break the ice by asking *activistas* to talk about their work, and what they did and did not enjoy. With younger and some female *activistas* I took extra time prior to starting the interview by asking them about various day-to-day issues not directly related to the research. At times, I also found it was helpful to deploy the role of 'ignorant outsider'. Asking participants to clarify issues which I - for instance, as a foreigner - struggled to fully comprehend appeared to diminish power differentials. As such it appeared to increase participant comfort with the interview situation and rapport (see also Forbes & Weiner, 2013).

At the start of interviews or meetings, some educators, policy makers and staff members of international agencies would initially warn me they were too busy to spend much time engaging with me on the research questions. In situations such as these, I reiterated participants' rights to call a halt to the interview if and when they wished to do so. This offer was never taken, however, even when at times interviews lasted far longer than the estimated length of time indicated at the start of the interview. I experienced the interviews in much the same way as Cohen and colleagues (2007) define it, namely as an 'interchange of views between two … people on a topic of mutual interest' (p.349). That said, I was aware of the power differentials between myself and (potential) research participant, and how these might shift during an interview (as well as prior and subsequent to an interview). It was at all times, therefore, more than a 'mere' interchange of opinions.

Another key lesson learned related to my position of relative dependency on (potential) participants' good will, and particularly that of senior professionals. This new role differed markedly from the position I had previously held in Mozambique, i.e. as a staff member of an (albeit relatively under-resourced) UN agency. In my new role, I varyingly found myself positioned as the 'demanding' outsider, the expert as well as the insider (as a woman, a co-international actor, a former colleague within the MINED HIV and AIDS Working Group, 'young'ish' or adult).

Illustrative of some of the shifts in positioning that took place in relation to one particular person was the interview with Sr. Mateo, the *Gandhi* school director. At the start of the interview, the director seemed impatient, indicating he had very little time. I suggested we start and that, if need be, conclude the interview at another time. As the interview progressed and turned to perceptions of the meaning of education, appeals started to be made to my judgement. A few times, for instance, the director concluded a response by saying: '*I don't know, what do you think?*' (19/11/10).

While I strived to avoid stating my personal opinion, at moments such as these the power dynamics seemed to shift, with the director turning to me in the seeming expectation I had some (expert) knowledge about the issue at hand. Then, when I thanked the director for his time at the end of the interview (which lasted more than two hours), the director observed:

> *I can say that I am the one that thanks [for the interview]. Conversations are part of life, it distracts a little. Concentrat[ing] on work all the time is not good. ... Since last week my head is suffering, thinking [about work all the time], so this conversation was good. It distracted me a bit.*

The difference in tone and affect upon parting was appreciable from that at the beginning of the interview and, since that time, the director and I have remained in contact.

The flexibility of semi-structured interviews is at times considered a disadvantage as it poses the risk that questions may vary and comparability of responses is thus compromised (Cohen et al., 2007). The possibility to adapt to research participants in accordance with their needs proved essential to the data collection process and, as a result, to the depth of the data gathered. 'Respect' and 'modesty' were not only qualities policy makers and educators expected of young people, they were also expected - and appreciated - from an outsider such as myself. Adopting a 'modest' stance is furthermore thought to have created space for participants to express their views more confidently; when my perceived expertise was appealed to, for instance, I often fell back on my lack of knowledge. In critical ways, therefore, the possible disadvantages of semi-structured interviews were outweighed by the possibilities they offered to adapt to participants.

10.4.5 Context and reactivity

As was noted in Chapter five, the context in which research is conducted is also likely to affect the ways in which participants engage with the researcher and the research topics. The specific setting in which research is conducted may, in other words, facilitate production of *particular* sets of meanings (David et al., 2001; Allen, 2003).

The risk that the context in which the study was conducted affected the study findings was particularly present in relation to the discussions and interviews with young people, which mostly took place on school grounds. As indicated earlier, I made sure to engage with young people outside the formal research activities and experienced these more informal moments as particularly instructive.

I had approached all other participants and was largely interested in their opinions *as professionals*. Conducting interviews in participants' offices was therefore not believed to constitute too great a risk in terms of contextual reactivity. Given all participants were senior policy makers, they tended to have their own rooms, the door to which was closed during the interview. Three professional participants requested the interview was conducted outside their office premises. In two cases, this was motivated by practical reasons; in the third case, I believe this primarily had to do with the participant's feelings of discomfort with regard to her current employment and colleagues.

10.4.6 Data analysis and positionality

During the data analysis, I initially strived to stay as close to participants' accounts as possible. I used Portuguese terminology and slang used by (young) participants, only at a later stage translating these. In addition, during the early stages of the analysis, I refrained from using the categories developed previously (of approaches to HIV- and AIDS-related education, for instance). This was done to limit, as much as possible, the extent to which I would start to interpret participant narratives in terms of the frameworks developed prior to commencing the fieldwork.

As mentioned earlier, substantive themes were identified in an iterative manner. The analysis consisted of identifying themes, crosschecking the data, seeking for examples that might confirm, negate or nuance 'findings' and refining themes. In relation to the subject of 'rights', I designed additional steps in the data analysis process. I did this in

view of my personal interest in the topic and the importance of ensuring I was not reading my personal interest into the data. To develop an understanding of the relative importance of the notion of rights in participant accounts, I identified, among other things, when during the interview the subject was first raised. Crucially, what I wanted to find out was whether a participant first engaged with the subject when I posed a question about it, or whether they did so at a (much) earlier stage.

I kept a daily research journal for the duration of the fieldwork, detailing steps in the study process, reflections on conversations held and unexpected occurrences. I also used the journal to reflect on personal feelings, views and experiences of the various steps in the study. The journal supported the process of data analysis in that it helped me recall situations, things said, issues of body language that had particularly struck me, and so forth. As such the journal not only supported the contextualisation of data gathered but also, and crucially, creating greater awareness of personal views that could indicate a lack of neutrality (see also Reich, 2003; Srivastava, 2006).

10.4.7 Dissemination of findings

A Portuguese summary of the thesis has been shared with all participants. As had been clarified to participants, a full copy of the thesis will be made available to them upon request. I am currently seeking funds to allow me to disseminate findings to research participants and to the key actors within the Ministry of Education, as well as international and national organisations involved in the field of HIV prevention education in Mozambique.

One academic peer reviewed article has been developed detailing the conceptual framework for understanding HIV- and AIDS-related education. I am currently working on an article on researcher positionality with colleagues who conducted their fieldwork in Mozambique at roughly the same time I did. I hope to develop additional articles on, among other subjects, rights-informed HIV- and AIDS-related education.

10.5 Concluding comments

This chapter provided a reflection on the merits of the thesis and the contribution it makes to existing knowledge with regard to HIV- and AIDS-related education. The

rationale for the study and its main contribution lie in identifying the lack of, and subsequently offering a potential framework for, a conversation between the broader philosophical underpinnings of education within the development, delivery and take-up of HIV- and AIDS-related education. The inclusion of *different* sets of key actors in discussions about HIV and AIDS, education and school-based HIV prevention education in Mozambique is another significant strength of the study. Such an analysis has allowed for an in-depth comparison of perspectives within and between actor groups, to examine the extent of overlap and/or difference between them. Thus, the study highlights particular points where closer alignment between actors' perspectives can be identified and engaged with to continue developing HIV- and AIDS-related education.

The chapter has also considered the potential areas of weakness of the thesis. Issues of sampling bias, personal, procedural and contextual reactivity were discussed, identifying the possible threats to the trustworthiness of the study. The use of multiple methods, in-depth, extended engagement in the field and a good balance between familiarity with the context but a degree of 'outsideness' to it as well allowed for rich data to be generated. The extended analysis, furthermore, from an inductive approach to the cross-comparative enquiry and application of the various sensitising notions developed, allowed for considered novel and important findings to be made.

In conclusion, the quadripartite framework outlined in the thesis offers a means to further current debates with regard to the quality of HIV- and AIDS-related education, and specifically the forms of education that are more likely to support the aim of managing the epidemic. By providing a means to enhance conceptual clarity within this complex field, the framework allows for researchers, policy makers and educators to engage in critical discussions regarding the aims and means of HIV- and AIDS-related education. It furthermore enables them to more carefully examine underpinning ideas concerning the aims of education more broadly and as a result should enable the HIV- and AIDS-related curricula to be more appropriately embedded and aligned with school-based education leading, hopefully, to more coherent and, ultimately, more meaningful and emancipatory HIV- and AIDS-related education.

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Appendix I: Interview schedule: International agency staff

Thank the participant for agreeing to take part and clarify how long the interview is expected to take. Introduce the study and its aims. Request permission to make an audio-recording of the interview. Clarify that a copy of the interview transcript will be shared and explain how researcher will ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Request participant to read through and sign consent form.

1. Could you tell me a little about the work of your organization in Mozambique and what your role is?

Probe:

In relation to work in the education sector in Mozambique, what is the primary focus of your organization's work?

2. Thinking about the work your organization does within the education sector – how would you describe your organization's understanding of the role of education – its intended purpose and possible outcome?
   a. In relation to children and young people;
   b. Here, in Mozambique?

3. Could you briefly describe the nature of your organization's relationship with the Ministry of Education and Culture? (If not clear, ask for examples of current forms of collaboration.

Probe:

Which other actors in the field of education does your organization work with directly? (E.g. educators, teacher colleges, civil society and/or young people.) Can you tell me a little about what this work tends to consists of?

4. Does your organization support the development of, or deliver HIV- and AIDS-related education here in Mozambique? If so – can you describe the nature of the work?

Probe:

* What does your organization see as being the most important aims that should be achieved through HIV- and AIDS-related education?

* Can you tell me a little as to how your organization developed its particular approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique?

* Have you made use of any particular sources of information in the development of your programme? Are there any particular studies you have found especially useful, whether conducted in Mozambique or elsewhere?

* From your organization's perspective, in what way are the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education related to the broader purposes of education?

5. From your experience, when teaching about HIV and AIDS are there particular issues that need to be taken into account in relation to:

      a. young women

      b. young men

      c. sexual minorities?

(If not specified by RP, ask for e.g. of the kinds of issues that should be taken into account.)

Probe:

* Do you think there are particular messages we should get across to young women and men in Mozambique as part of an HIV- and AIDS-related education programme? (If so, what are they?)

* Are there particular values you believe young Mozambican men and women should learn within the framework of an HIV- and AIDS-related education programme? If so, what would you consider to be key values?

* Are there particular contextual issues that need to be taken into account in HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique? If so, in your opinion what would these be and how should these factors be taken into consideration in HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes?

(n.b. Probe to clarify whether such issues should primarily inform the education provided (and the mode and method of delivery) or whether such issues should, in the opinion of the research participant, be addressed in other ways, e.g. through

community based initiatives. If the latter, ask for examples as to how the organization believes this should be done.)

6. Some organisations believe HIV- and AIDS-related education should be informed by rights (in other words, should be 'rights based'). What are your organization's views on this?

Probe (if RP indicates organization considers it important to build on rights):
* Are there certain rights your organization considers as being particularly important in relation to HIV and AIDS?
* How does your organization see the balance between rights and responsibilities on the part of young Mozambican women and men?
* Should in your opinion, HIV- and AIDS-related education be informed by sexual rights? If so, can you tell me which kinds of sexual rights you consider as being especially important? (Probe to get a sense of research participant's organization's definition of the notion of sexual rights.)
n.b. if RP does not seem to have a particular view on sexual rights or know how to interpret the term when I use it, provide examples such as 'right to be sexually active or not with partner of one's choice, whether or not to have children'.)

* In your opinion, *how* should HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes be informed by rights? Should we teach young people that they have particular rights, such as right to full information, health & freedom of expression (and if so, how might this be done?), or is it about an HIV- and AIDS-education programme facilitating the realization of these rights through other means (and what might these other means be)?

* In your opinion are there any difficulties in implementing HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes that promote young people's rights?

7. To what extent do you think we should engage with young people on matters such as sexual desire and pleasure as part of a formal HIV- and AIDS-related education?
Probe:

What are your views on supporting young women and men to explore the meaning they ascribe to different kinds of sexual practices and sexual relationships as part of such a formal education programme? (Ask around these issues to clarify interviewee's thoughts.)

8. In your experience, what would you consider good practice in terms of developing and implementing good quality HIV- and AIDS-related education for young school going people in Mozambique?

* Should it be locally designed (part of the 20% local curriculum content),

* Should it be developed at national level, i.e. designed as part of the regular curriculum?

* Build on the points raised by the interviewee, engaging her/him on question as to the kinds of actors that might be involved and how.

9. What do you consider to be the most distinctive aspects of your organization's approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education? (Ask for examples to clarify points.)

Probe:

* Which organizations in particular would you consider apply a (very) different approach to your organization? (Ask for clarification as to how their approach differs.)

* Do you feel the various HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes complement each other, overlap or to a certain degree actually conflict?

10. In what way do you think your organization's approach differs from that of other organizations? (Ask for examples to clarify points raised by research participant.)

11. Enquire whether research participant would like to add any additional points or has any questions.

Appendix II: Interview schedule: Policy makers

Thank the participant for agreeing to take part and clarify how long the interview is expected to take. Introduce the study and its aims. Request permission to make an audio-recording of the interview. Clarify that a copy of the interview transcript will be shared and explain how researcher will ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Request participant to read through and sign consent form. Answer any questions participant may have.

1. Could you tell me a little about the work of your institution/directorate/department in Mozambique and what your role is?

Probe:

What is the primary focus of your institution/directorate/department's work?

2. Could you briefly describe the nature of your institution's relationship with the Ministry of Education and Culture? (If not clear, ask for examples of current forms of collaboration.)

Probe:

Which other actors in the field of education does your institution/directorate/department work with directly? (E.g. educators, teacher colleges, civil society and/or young people.) Can you tell me a little about what this work tends to consists of?

3. In your view, how would MINED and your institution describe the role of education – its intended purpose and possible outcome?
   a. In relation to children and young people;
   b. Here, in Mozambique?

4. Does your institution/directorate/department support the development of, or deliver HIV- and AIDS-related education here in Mozambique? If so, can you describe the nature of this work?

5. What does your institution/directorate/department see as being the most important aims that should be achieved through HIV- and AIDS-related education?

Probe:

Can you tell me a little as to how your institution developed its particular approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique?

6. Have you made use of any particular sources of information in the development of your programme? Are there any particular studies you have found especially useful, whether conducted in Mozambique or elsewhere?

7. From your institution's perspective, in what way are the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education related to the broader purposes of education?

8. From your experience, when teaching about HIV and AIDS are there particular issues that need to be taken into account in relation to:
   a.   young women
   b.   young men
   c.   sexual minorities?

(If not specified by RP, ask for e.g. of the kinds of issues that should be taken into account.)

Probe:

Do you think there are particular messages we should get across to young women and men in Mozambique as part of an HIV- and AIDS-related education programme? (If so, what are they?)

9. Are there particular values you believe young Mozambican men and women should learn within the framework of an HIV- and AIDS-related education programme? If so, what would you consider to be key values?

10. Are there particular contextual issues that need to be taken into account in HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique? If so, in your opinion what would these be and how should these factors be taken into consideration in HIV- and

AIDS-related education programmes?

(n.b. Probe to clarify whether such issues should primarily inform the education provided (and the mode and method of delivery) or whether such issues should, in the opinion of the research participant, be addressed in other ways, e.g. through community based initiatives. If the latter, ask for examples as to how the institution believes this should be done.)

11. Some organisations believe HIV- and AIDS-related education should be informed by rights (in other words, should be 'rights based'). What are the views of your institution/directorate/department on this?

Probe:

Are there certain rights your institution/directorate/department considers as being particularly important in relation to HIV and AIDS?

12. How does your institution/directorate/department see the balance between rights and responsibilities on the part of young Mozambican women and men?

13. Should in your opinion, HIV- and AIDS-related education be informed by sexual rights? If so, can you tell me which kinds of sexual rights you consider as being especially important? (Probe to get a sense of research participant's institution/directorate/department's definition of the notion of sexual rights.)

14. In your opinion, *how* should HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes be informed by rights? Should we teach young people that they have particular rights, such as right to full information, health & freedom of expression (and if so, how might this be done?), or is it about an HIV- and AIDS-education programme facilitating the realization of these rights through other means (and what might these other means be)?

15. In your opinion are there any difficulties in implementing HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes that promote young people's rights?

16. To what extent do you think we should engage with young people on matters

such as sexual desire and pleasure as part of a formal HIV- and AIDS-related education?

17. In your experience, what would you consider good practice in terms of developing and implementing good quality HIV- and AIDS-related education for young school going people in Mozambique?

Probe:

* Should it be locally designed (part of the 20% local curriculum content),

* Should it be developed at national level, i.e. designed as part of the regular curriculum?

* Build on the points raised by the interviewee, engaging her/him on question as to the kinds of actors that might be involved and how.

18. What do you consider to be the most distinctive aspects of your institution/directorate/department's approach to HIV- and AIDS-related education? (Ask for examples to clarify points.)

Probe:

* Are there institutions/directorates/departments that you consider apply a (very) different approach to your institution/directorate/department? (Ask for clarification as to how their approach differs.)

* Do you feel the various HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes complement each other, overlap or to a certain degree actually conflict?

19. Enquire whether participant has any additional points or questions.

Appendix III: Interview schedule: School principals

Thank the participant for agreeing to take part and clarify how long the interview is expected to take. Introduce the study and its aims. Request permission to make an audio-recording of the interview. Clarify that a copy of the interview transcript will be shared and explain how researcher will ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Request participant to read through and sign consent form. Answer any questions participant may have.

1.   Could you tell me a little about yourself?

Probe:

How long have you been principal of this school?

What were you doing before you became a principal of this school?

Where are you from/are you from Maputo, where do you currently live?

2.   Can you tell me a bit about your school?

Probe: When was it established, how many teachers and learners does the school have, how many shifts does the school make per day?

3.   In your opinion, what is the role of education? What would you consider to be its purpose and possible outcome?

        a.   In relation to young people;

        b.   Here, in Mozambique?

Probe: What do you consider as being the mission of your school?

4.   Does your school provide HIV- and AIDS-related education to young people? If so – can you describe how the subject is taught - i.e. as part of the curriculum, during extra-curricular activities, is it taught by teachers, peer educators and/or guest speakers?

Probe: Can you tell me a bit about how the HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes delivered in your school have been developed? Are they national

programmes? Have you adapted them in any way?

5. Can you tell me a little about the different kinds of partners your school works with in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education?

Probe:

* Could you describe the ways in which your school collaborates with MINED in this particular field - at national, provincial and district level?

6. Does your school have a conselho escolar [school council]? If so, who sits in the conselho and can you tell me a bit about the work of the conselho [council] in your school in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education?

7. Does your school work with other government actors active in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education (e.g. health, women's affairs & social action and/or youth & sports)? If so, could you briefly tell me about this work?

8. Does your school work with any other civil society actors active in the field of HIV- and AIDS-related education? If so, could you tell me briefly what this work consists of?

9. What do you consider as being the most important aims that should be achieved through HIV- and AIDS-related education?

Probe:

* From your perspective, in what way are the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education related to the broader purposes of education?

10. From your experience, when teaching young people about HIV and AIDS are there particular issues that need to be taken into account in relation to:

      a.   young women

      b.   young men

      c.   sexual minorities?

(If not specified by research participant (RP), ask for examples of the kinds of issues that should be taken into account.)

Probe:

* Do you think there are particular messages we should get across to young women and men in Mozambique as part of an HIV- and AIDS-related education programme? (If so, what are they?)

* Are there particular values you believe young Mozambican men and women should learn within the framework of an HIV- and AIDS-related education programme? If so, what would you consider to be key values?

11. Are there particular contextual issues that need to be taken into account in HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique? And in (this particular part of) Maputo?

12. If so, in your opinion what would these be and how should these factors be taken into consideration in school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes?

N.B. Probe to clarify whether such issues should primarily inform the content of the education provided or also the means used to provide such education? Ask for examples.

13. To what extent do you feel the current programme in your school builds on these contextual factors?

14. Some organisations believe HIV- and AIDS-related education should be informed by rights (in other words, should be 'rights based'). What are your school's views on this?

Probe (if research participant indicates s/he considers it important to build on a particular notion of rights):

* Are there certain rights you consider as being particularly important in relation to HIV and AIDS?

* How do you see the balance between rights and responsibilities on the part of young Mozambican women and men?

15. Should in your opinion, HIV- and AIDS-related education be informed by sexual rights? If so, can you tell me which kinds of sexual rights you consider as being especially important? (Probe to get a sense of research participant's definition of the notion of sexual rights.)

N.b. if RP does not seem to have a particular view on sexual rights or know how to interpret the term when I use it, provide examples such as 'right to be sexually active or not with partner of one's choice, whether or not to have children'.)

16. In your opinion, *how* should HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes be informed by rights? Should we teach young people that they have particular rights, such as right to full information, health & freedom of expression (and if so, how might this be done?), or is it about an HIV- and AIDS-education programme facilitating the realization of these rights through other means (and what might these other means be)?

17. In your opinion are there any difficulties in implementing HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes that promote young people's rights?

18. To what extent do you think we should engage with young people on matter such as sexual pleasure and desire as part of a formal HIV- and AIDS-related education?

Probe:

* What are your views on supporting young women and men to explore the meaning they ascribe to different kinds of sexual practices and sexual relationships as part of such a formal education programme? (Ask around these issues to clarify RP's thoughts.)

19. In your experience, what would you consider good practice in terms of developing and implementing good quality HIV- and AIDS-related education for young school going people in Mozambique?

Probe:

* If not mentioned by research participant, ask after views as to whether curriculum should be locally designed (part of the 20% local curriculum content), or primarily developed at national level, i.e. designed as part of the regular curriculum?

20. What kinds of actors might be important in the process of designing and delivering HIV- and AIDS-related education? In your opinion, what would be the role of the kinds of actors (i.e. as mentioned by RP)?

21. What do you consider to be the most distinctive aspects of the way in which HIV- and AIDS-related education is provided in your school?

Probe:

* Enquire whether research participant knows of schools where approach is (very) different, and if so, in what way do they differ (can RP give any examples of such schools)?

22. Do you feel the various HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes - i.e. those promoted by different departments of MEC, NGOs/CBOs - within your school complement each other, overlap or to a certain degree actually conflict?

23. Enquire whether research participant would like to add any additional points or has any questions.

Appendix IV: Educators

Thank the participant for agreeing to take part and clarify how long the interview is expected to take. Introduce the study and its aims. Request permission to make an audio-recording of the interview. Clarify that a copy of the interview transcript will be shared and explain how researcher will ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Request participant to read through and sign consent form. Answer any questions participant may have.

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself?
    Probe:
    * How long have you been teaching (at this school)?
    * Where are you from, where do you currently live?

2. In your opinion, what is the role of education? What would you consider to be its purpose and possible outcome?
    a. In relation to children and young people;
    b. Here, in Mozambique?

3. Can you tell me a bit about the ways in which HIV- and AIDS-related education is provided to young people in your school?
Probe:
* Is it taught as part of the curriculum and if so, when and in what subject is this mainly integrated? And/or is it (mainly) taught during extra-curricular activities. If so, can you tell me a bit about how this is done (who is involved and how, what kinds of methods are used)?
* Can you briefly tell me about the kinds of topics that are addressed during sessions on HIV- and AIDS-related issues?
* How long have you been involved in the school's HIV- and AIDS-related education programme? What is the nature of your involvement? (E.g. are you primarily involved in the sense of providing support to peer educators and/or do you teach

young people about HIV- and AIDS-related issues yourself? Probe to find out how research participant views her/his role, asking examples of the kinds of activities s/he might do.)

4. What do you consider as being the most important aims that should be achieved through HIV- and AIDS-related education?

Probe:

* From your perspective, in what way are the aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education related to the broader purposes of education?

5. From your experience, when teaching about HIV and AIDS are there particular issues that need to be taken into account in relation to:

   a. young women

   b. young men

   c. sexual minorities?

(If not specified by research participant, ask for examples of the kinds of issues that should be taken into account.)

Probe:

* Do you think there are particular messages we should get across to young women and men in Mozambique as part of an HIV- and AIDS-related education programme? If so, what are they and are these taught within the context of the HIV- and AIDS-related education programme in your school?

* Are there particular values you believe young Mozambican men and women should learn within the framework of an HIV- and AIDS-related education programme? If so, what would you consider to be key values? Do you feel these are sufficiently communicated through the current programme in your school?

* Are there particular contextual issues that need to be taken into account in HIV- and AIDS-related education in Mozambique? And in (this particular part of) Maputo?

* If so, in your opinion what would these be and how should these factors be taken into consideration in school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes?

N.B. Probe to clarify whether such issues should primarily inform educational content and/or also the means that are used? Ask for examples to illustrate RP's opinions as to issue.

* To what extent do you feel the programme implemented in your school builds on these contextual factors?

* In your experience, what kinds of teaching and learning methods are most suitable for teaching young people about HIV- and AIDS-related issues? (Clarify reasons why these are seen to be most appropriate.)

6. Some organisations believe HIV- and AIDS-related education should be informed by rights (in other words, should be 'rights based'). What are your views on this?
Probe (if interviewee indicates s/he considers it important to build on a particular notion of rights):
* What kinds of rights do you consider most important in relation to HIV and AIDS?
* How do you see the balance between rights and responsibilities on the part of young Mozambican women and men?
* Should in your opinion, HIV- and AIDS-related education be informed by sexual rights? If so, can you tell me which kinds of sexual rights you consider as being especially important? (Probe to get a sense of research participant's definition of the notion of sexual rights.)

N.B. if RP does not seem to have a particular view on sexual rights or know how to interpret the term when I use it, provide examples such as 'right to decide whether or not to be sexually active/have children, freedom to choose partner'.)

* In your opinion, *how* should HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes be informed by rights? Should we teach young people that they have particular rights, such as right to full information, health & freedom of expression (and if so, how might this be done?), or is it about an HIV- and AIDS-education programme facilitating the realization of these rights through other means (and what might these other means be)?

* In your experience, are there any difficulties in implementing HIV- and AIDS-related education programmes that promote young people's rights? (Enquire into examples of possible difficulties RP sees or has experienced.)

7. To what extent do you think we should engage with young people on matters such as sexual desire and pleasure as part of a formal HIV- and AIDS-related education?

Probe:

* What are your views on supporting young women and men to explore the meaning they ascribe to different kinds of sexual practices and sexual relationships as part of such a formal education programme? (Ask around these issues to clarify RP's thoughts and possible experience in discussing these issues with young people.)

8. In your experience, what would you consider good practice in terms of developing and implementing good quality HIV- and AIDS-related education for young school going people in Mozambique?

Probe (if not mentioned by research participant, ask after views as to):

* In your opinion, should the curriculum be locally designed (for instance as part of the 20% local curriculum content), or is it best developed at national level, i.e. designed as part of the national curriculum?

* What kinds of actors might be important in the process of designing and delivering HIV- and AIDS-related education? In your opinion, what would be the role of these actors (i.e. actors mentioned by RP)?

9. What do you consider to be the most distinctive aspects of the way in which HIV- and AIDS-related education is provided in your school?

Ask for examples to clarify points raised by research participant.

Probe:

* Do you feel the various educational programmes in your school that deal with e.g. health, gender and/or HIV and AIDS complement each other, overlap or to a certain degree actually conflict?

10. Enquire whether research participant would like to add any additional points or has any questions.

Note to self:

If during the course of the interview, the research participant uses terms such as: rights, values, science/evidence-based, cultural practices, life skills, choice, participation (of young people), autonomy/freedom, social change, agency, desire, pleasure and/or empowerment, enquire into the research participant's / organization's definition of these notions (and clarify whether this is an formal definition applied by the school/MEC or RP's own understanding of the term at hand).

Appendix V: Interview schedule: Peer educators

Thank the participant for agreeing to take part and clarify how long the interview is expected to take. Introduce the study and its aims. Request permission to make an audio-recording of the interview. Clarify that a copy of the interview transcript will be shared and explain how researcher will ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Request participant to read through and sign consent form. Answer any questions participant may have.

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself?

* How long have you been a peer educator (at this school)?

* How did you become a peer educator?

* What kind of activities do you do?

* Do you enjoy being a peer educator? Probe to find out what s/he enjoys about work.

* Where are you from, where do you currently live?

2. In your opinion, what is the purpose of education, what is its use?

    a.   For children and young people;

    b.   Here, in Mozambique?

3. Can you tell me a bit about the ways in which HIV- and AIDS-related education is provided to young people in your school?

Probe:

* Is it taught as part of the curriculum and if so, when and in what subject is this mainly integrated? And/or is it mainly taught during extra-curricular activities? If so, can you tell me a bit about how this is done (who is involved, what kinds of methods are used)?

4. Can you briefly tell me about the kinds of topics that are addressed during sessions on HIV- and AIDS-related issues?

Probe to find out what kind of support peer educators receive in school and from supporting NGO.

5. What do you think are the most important aims of HIV- and AIDS-related education?

6. From your experience, when teaching about HIV and AIDS are there particular issues that need to be taken into account in relation to:
   a. young women
   b. young men
   c. sexual minorities?

(If not specified by research participant, ask for examples of the kinds of issues that should be taken into account.)

Probe:
* Do you think there are particular messages we should communicate to young women and men in Mozambique as part of HIV- and AIDS-related education?
* If so, what are they?
* Are these taught within the context of the HIV- and AIDS-related education programme in your school?

7. Are there particular values you believe young Mozambican men and women should learn within the framework of an HIV- and AIDS-related education programme? If so, what are key values in your opinion? Are these sufficiently communicated through the programme in your school?

8. Are there particular issues (e.g. community issues/values/practices, youth cultures) that need to be taken into account in HIV- and AIDS-related education in (this particular part of) Maputo?

9. If so, in your opinion what would these be? Do issues such as these shape the HIV- and AIDS-related education provided in your school?

N.b. Probe to clarify whether such issues primarily inform educational content and/or also the means that are used. Ask for examples to illustrate RP's opinions.

10. In your experience, what kinds of teaching and learning methods are most

suitable for teaching young people about HIV- and AIDS-related issues? (Clarify reasons why these are seen to be most appropriate.)

11. Some people & organizations believe HIV- and AIDS-related education should promote young people's rights. What are your views on this?

Probe (if RP seems to consider it important to build on particular notion of rights):

* What kinds of rights do you think are most important in relation to HIV and AIDS?

Do you think there should be a balance between rights and responsibilities?

12. To what extent do you think we should explore issues such as sexual desire and pleasure as part of HIV- and AIDS-related education? (If answered in affirmative, ask for examples how to teach about these issues.)

13. In your experience, what are key steps in developing good quality HIV- and AIDS-related education for young school going people in Mozambique?

Probe:

* Who should be involved in the process of designing and delivering HIV- and AIDS related education?

14. Do you think the way in which HIV- and AIDS-related education is provided in your school is unique in any way? If so, what is different about it when compared to other school programmes that you know? (Ask for examples to clarify points raised by research participant.)

15. Enquire into whether research participant would like to add any additional points or has any questions.

Appendix VI: Discussion guide: Focus Group I (Young people, mixed group)

Thank participants for agreeing to take part. Mention the thematic focus of the discussion and that the researcher is interested in hearing young people's views.

Explain what the study aims to clarify. Request permission to make an audio-recording of the discussion. Clarify that a copy of the transcript of the discussion will be shared with participants and explain how researcher will ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Request participants to treat issues discussed during session as confidential. Request participants to read through and sign consent form. Answer any questions participants may have.

Key theme: exploring issues associated with HIV and AIDS

1. What do you think is the main point of HIV- and AIDS-related education?
Probe by asking whether they believe they need this form of education and for what reasons.

2. What do you consider to be the main issues *linked to* HIV and AIDS?

3. What are the main effects of HIV and AIDS on your communities and own lives?

Depending on the size of the group, split the total group into two sub-groups and ask them to discuss and list issues on flip charts (prepare separate flip charts for two questions, ask participants to list issues around the main theme indicated on the flip chart). During the subsequent discussion of the diagram(s) made by the participants, ask each group to present their diagram.

Depending on the issues mentioned during the group map discussion, explore the extent to which participants believe the following issues are linked to HIV and AIDS:

Rights   Desire   Power
Principles (values)   Silence

Probe to clarify participants' interpretations of these terms. Probe to clarify the importance participants attach to these notions in relation to HIV- and AIDS-related education.

Appendix VII: Discussion guide: Focus Group II (Young people, mixed group)

Thank participants for agreeing to take part. Mention the thematic focus of the discussion and that the researcher is interested in hearing young people's views.

Explain what the study aims to clarify. Request permission to make an audio-recording of the discussion. Clarify that a copy of the transcript of the discussion will be shared with participants and explain how researcher will ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Request participants to treat issues discussed during session as confidential. Request new participants to read through and sign consent form. Answer any questions participants may have.

Key theme: Quality and relevance of the school-based HIV- and AIDS-related education

1. Ask participants to think about the last time they took part in a school-based lesson on HIV- and AIDS-related issues. Enquire:
   a. Whether and what they enjoyed about the lesson.
   b. Did they learn anything new/interesting, something they did not know before?
   c. What could have been done to make it better/more useful & interesting?
   d. How does the lesson they've just had compare with other lessons they have had on HIV- and AIDS-related issues - which aspects did they enjoy more/less?
   e. Have there been lessons that have stood out in positive or negative sense, i.e. which they very much enjoyed or disliked?
   f. What was it about these lessons they really did or did not enjoy?

2. Should schools teach young people about HIV- and AIDS-related issues? For what reasons?

3. Where else do you learn about HIV and AIDS? (E.g. through family members, peers, media.)

4. Ask group to reflect on the following statement 'Schools should prepare young women and men for life in a world with HIV and AIDS'.
What do they think of this statement, do they agree or not?
What might 'preparing for life in a world with HIV and AIDS' mean to them?
What might it mean in the context of a city like Maputo and their neighbourhood?

Appendix VIII: Discussion guide: Focus Group III (Young people, single sex)

Thank participants for agreeing to take part. Mention the thematic focus of the discussion and that the researcher is interested in hearing young people's views.

Explain what the study aims to clarify. Request permission to make an audio-recording of the discussion. Clarify that a copy of the transcript of the discussion will be shared with participants and explain how researcher will ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity. Request participants to treat issues discussed during session as confidential. Request new participants to read through and sign consent form. Answer any questions participants may have.

Key theme: personal beliefs and concerns regarding sexuality and sexual relationships

1. Explore:
Young women/men's understanding of notions of sex, intimate & sexual relationships, sexual practices.

Ask the group to explore the following statements:
   a. 'Teachers understand the issues young women and men deal with in their intimate & sexual relationships';
   b. 'During HIV- and AIDS-related lessons, I am given the opportunity to express myself freely, to share my concerns, values and emotions'.

2. Ask the group to discuss the meaning they might ascribe to the following notions:
   a. Choice (in intimate & sexual relationships);
   b. Pleasure & (safer) sex in different kinds of relationships. Probe to find out what kinds of relationships may be relevant to them (e.g. namorado/a, pito/a,

saca cena, vizinhanço/a);

c. Transactional sex;

d. Sexual abuse.

3. Do you believe teachers should support young women and men to explore the possible meanings of and questions relating to terms such as these (and possible others) during lessons on HIV- and AIDS-related issues?

Are there other - informal - forms of HIV- and AIDS-related education they have received (outside school) which they felt was helpful? From whom or what did they receive this and what made it helpful/useful?

Appendix IX: Interview schedule: Young people

Thank the participant for agreeing to the interview. Request permission to make an audio-recording of the discussion. Clarify that a copy of the transcript of the discussion will be shared with participant and explain how researcher will ensure participant confidentiality and anonymity. Request participant to read through and sign consent form. Answer any questions the participant may have.

1. 'Tell me a little about yourself'
Probe to find out in which neighbourhood young person lives and for what length of time, how long they've been at the school. In addition, enquire into their parents/caregivers occupation and whether they are currently employed, what the young person's parent's/caregivers' educational background is.

2. Can you tell me about some of the most useful things you have learnt about HIV and AIDS-related issues?

3. Has learning about HIV- and AIDS-related issues in school been useful to you? If so, in what way? If not, for what reason(s)?

4. Have there been times in your life when you have had specific questions regarding for instance, HIV and AIDS?
Probe:
* Can you tell me a little about the main kinds of questions you have had regarding HIV and AIDS?
* Is there someone you can turn to in your school/community when you have questions regarding these kinds of topics? If so, who would this generally be?

5. Have there been times in your life when you have had specific questions regarding for instance, sex, sexual practices or sexual health?
Probe:

* Can you tell me a little about the main kinds of questions you have had regarding sexual health?

* Can you tell me a little about the main kinds of questions you have had regarding sex or sexual practices?

* Is there someone you can turn to in your school/community when you have questions regarding these kinds of topics? If so, who would this generally be?

6. Have you had and/or do you currently have a boy/girlfriend? Have you had boy/girlfriends in the past?

Probe:

* Refer to FGD discussion around notions of intimate & sexual relationships and ask what other meanings young person might ascribe to these terms.

* Depending on answer to the question regarding girl/boyfriends, ask: 'Reflecting on your current and/or past intimate and sexual experiences, what would you want or have wanted to learn more about?' or 'Are there specific things you would want to learn more about before you start an intimate or sexual relationship?'

7. Does your school feel like a 'safe' place to you? (N.b. referring to 'safety' in a physical and emotional sense)

Probe:

* Do you feel at ease when you are at school?

*As a young woman/man, do you ever worry about being physically harassed or hurt in school (whether by school staff or peers)?

* Do your teachers encourage you to share your personal views and thoughts?

* Do you feel your views and thoughts are 'heard'/respected?

8. Can you tell me where you see yourself in 5 to 10 year's time?

Probe:

* What do you hope to be - both personally and in terms of work? (Where do you hope to live, do you hope to be in a (steady) relationship or not yet, what kind of work do you expect you'll be doing?)

9. Do you have any questions you would like to ask me? Anything I can clarify?

Appendix X: Excerpt of annotated transcript

The excerpt provided below is from an interview with a senior policy maker (i.e. MINED official). The annotations shown here were inserted following first careful reading of the interview transcript. Following this, relevant sections were taken from the transcript and inserted in a matrix that was structured on the key codes detailed in Appendix XI. In the current transcript, ==yellow highlights== indicate what were considered noteworthy statements regarding among other things, (the aims and role of) education, gender, and the social determinants of the HIV epidemic. ==Purple highlighted text== indicates my own, initial interpretations and associations of the narrative.

….

Esther: Could you tell me your views and those of YY (MINED directorate) the aims of education? That is, what the aims are in relation to children and young people?

XX: Right, at the end of the entire process, in my view, what they [children and young people] need to acquire about these cross-cutting components is essentially tools which will allow them to have competences and ability with which to manage their own lives, their own behaviour, in this case school health and HIV/AIDS. That is, I think in relation to all. Equally in questions with regard to gender, community development, I think in relation to all. [==ability to manage own life==]

Esther: and in a broader sense, what might, in your opinion, be the purposes of education in a broad sense??

XX: formal education complements non-formal education. So, I always learn for myself. Formal education, what we need to be concerned about around the world but particularly in a country such as ours is to provide, essentially, how should I put it, ... ==the art of reading and writing==. Because if you master reading and writing, ==you can==

understand the entirety of the process of knowledge. [later addition (15/02): i.e. need to be able to read and write to be able to comprehend all other kinds of things/knowledge/learning material]. So, for me, in my view, what does it mean to educate *well*? In the entire world, but especially in countries in development such as ours, it is to know how to read and write. A person needs to know how to read and write! And reading is not just reading but knowing how to interpret, understand, reading between the lines and understand immediately what s/he is reading. And consequently, know how to write and write with one's head.

Esther: do you mean there is a 'technical' part and a part that is ...

XX: a part ... psycholo ... of the mind. And after that we have another great challenge in the country - in all countries - never dissociate the educational process from the mother tongue. Not in the initial stage, no. It is crucial in a country such as ours where there is still 50% illiteracy - the majority of which is female even though today women are the ones that are aggressive; they go more to the literacy centres, it is they that go more to various forums, to the faculties, the universities. You go there to the general courses, the majority is female. In technical courses there are even vacancies because the men don't go, there are few men, few go because they are in search of a dynamic life. It is here, yes, ... [differences women/men]

....

Esther: in your opinion, what is the function of education for the country, for Mozambique?

XX: In Mozambique, in my point of view, the role of education is to offer the basic competences and abilities so that individuals can interact with both the internal and external aspects of society. This is the approach, or the mission, that the education sector has of teaching and learning. It tends to focus on a range of aspects: literacy, in which one must have a certain dynamic approach to reading and writing, which is not merely knowing how to read and write but also knowing how to work with what is being read or written, as well as understanding the formal role of the process. The

biggest challenge in Moz is that people must leave school and know how to do. [learning to do]

Esther: to know how to do what specifically?

XX: knowing how to do something in accordance with the region in which s/he lives.

Esther mm... to be able to sustain themselves?

XX: yes, because if I live in a fishing region, there is no sense when a learner is at school and they don't speak about fishing and he doesn't know, leaving that place, how to deal with a fishing net, with a fishing boat, all these things that are basic. [self-sustenance linked to region/community where young person lives]

Esther: if I am not mistaken, the current Minister of Education speaks a a great deal of abilities for ...

XX: for life [life skills]? Mmmh.. That's it, that is knowing to do.
Esther: it also has your particular interest, isn't it? If I've understood correctly.

XX: no, it is not just of the ministry, it's a challenge of the government. Knowing to do. Technical. [Esther: ah, ok] So, you are entering in a world of ... it doens't matter ... there isn't just a strong focus on bachelor degrees or medium level technical courses, it's [about] self-sustaining the developmental process of the country. [development, self-sustenance]

Esther: and when you look at - an educated person, in your view, what kind of values and skills should such a person have at the end of her/his formal education?

XX: at the end of his formal education, he must know himself, like himself. What they call 'self-esteem'[29], and he needs to have skills of reading and writing, and the art of communication. Because if you don't have that, you won't go far.

Esther: mmm... and the art of comunication - this is also considered important in HIV- and AIDS-related education, isn't it?

XX: yes, for this art of communication one needs some ethical basis, because the way in which I communicate with you is not the way in which I will communicate - in our culture - with my grandmother, with my mother. And how I want to transmit things to my grandmother, is not how I will transmit [these things] to you. ['art of communication' defined in terms of social appropriateness]

Esther: so, ethics concerns the way in which one relates to other people depending on their … age …

XX: age, social class, but above all, age! This is an important task - and these are positive things of our culture that are necessary … [inaudible section] age.

...

Esther: in your view, qhat are the principal objectives of HIV- and AIDS-related education?

XX: The primary objective of the approach to HIV/AIDS in the education sector is to provide or ensure that staff and learners have life skills and are able to manage the mitigation or impact of HIV/AIDS. This is overriding objective of the approach to HIV/AIDS in the sector at all levels.

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[29] When I went to see XX on 15/02 and asked her about the 'self-esteem' and whether she considered there to be a lack of self-esteem, she indicated that yes, there was. The lack of self-esteem was related to the lack of moral values and overall 'demoralização' (demoralisation) as a result of (1) 'the internal war, which was a war without target. As a result, 'people were destabilised' in the sense of social values, she said. This in combination with (2) globalisation which was directly tied 'consumerism' of (young) people nowadays. XX talked again of the external inputs, the films, videos etc., but also the consumption of donor aid projects, how for example 'gender' was consumed in packages (of projects), instead of integrating this into (existing) programmes. Consumption was stimulated / caused by 'external pressure by others'.

Esther: and how did this objective evolve?

XX: the objective evolved in the following manner: we said like this, HV/AIDS in the education sector cannot be treated like you would treat it in relation to miners, the grocers, because we have different clients. We have children. And then we have primary educaiton - from 0 to 4 years old, right? After that we have pré, post-primary, the primary cycle, the secondary which is EP2, after that we have … so, all these people when they go to school, what are they looking for? They are looking to obtain some kind of ability, some tools, some competences. So we with this issue are going to approach it from the perspective of … the philosophy of our mission which is teaching-learning. And when people sum up this totality of tools, what do we want to give? They are skills.

Esther: mmm… and for you, what are the fundamental skills for young people and adolescents?

XX: for me, for young people and adolescents, 1) it is to like himself, 2) it is to know himself, so like and know himself, … the art of questioning, and the young person hás to cultivate himself. When I say 'self-cultivat[ion]' - the child or the young person, i tis not just the young person - it [relates to] looking for things, not wait until everything is formally 'decanted' ['spilled, poured out'] by the teacher or provided through the orientation given by the teacher; the learner alone must do something in this sense. [importance of learning to take initiative, not wait]

Esther: mmm ... some teachers have also spoken of this; that young people should not wait until everything falls on their … (gestures to lap)

XX: yes, because the generation of today because of ... consumerism and globalisation, there are few that make an effort, they are few. Few ... [need to learn to take initiative linked to current generation & context of consumption]

Esther: consumption - this is another issue teachers and school directors spoke of a great deal. Is it an issue of concern? Is it considered to be serious?

XX: serious, yes, because we are from a generation that was [inaudible][30] and you find it a lot in the sector, in the city, because in the city you need to have access to it all! The child leaves in the morning, returns in the afternoon, eats a hamburger there, eats I don't know what, but I was educated [inaudible], you need to go to school in the morning, I go to school, return, if you need to do chores in the house, if I need to meet my mother, I go, Or I go to the machamba [family owned piece of land usually for subsistence farming]. But young people of today, few do this - in the urban zones. ... There is more instruction, but the prevalence [lack of 'impact' of instruction (education?)] So, he consumes all he receives, from outside, he does not harvest. While ... there is a difference, in the countryside, there are things that in the countryside, they say 'mm' [N.B. 'mm' as in 'no-no'], this here is nothing, i tis ugly, we will not do it. [drawing distinction urban-rural areas]

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30 15/02: I asked TC if she recalled what she'd said here regarding the 'generations'. The generations prior to the current one(s) had been 'generations with roots', she said. They knew what (external inputs) to adopt and which not. The current generation lacks these roots, she indicated. 'It weakenend the socio-cultural fabric', she mentioned and I believe this was linked to earlier remarks as to war and globalization. [roots/rooted, strong/fragile socio-cultural fabric]

Appendix XI: List of key codes

a. Purposes & aims of education

b. Aims of HIV-related education

c. Relation between aims of HIV-related education & aims of education in general

d. Means of HIV-related education

e. Main actors in HIV-related education

f. Young women

g. Young men

h. Sexual minorities

i. Main message in HIV-related education

j. Main values in HIV-related education

k. Contextual factors

l. Rights

m. Sexual & reproductive rights

n. Desire & pleasure

o. Research - kind & role

p. Role of the institution

q. What is distinct about institution/approach?

r. Science

s. Key elements of *good* quality school based HIV-related education programme

t. Other

Appendix XII: Example of coding

Overview main actor groups and themes(<mark>yellow highlight</mark> indicates (cross-cutting) issues thought not to have addressed previously (as such) in literature relating to Mozambique, <mark style="background:magenta">purple highlight</mark> signals seemingly important themes that may warrant particular attention). This matrix was developed during final stages of the analytical process. It was elaborated following:

a. initial analysis of individual transcriptions (illustrated in Appendix X);

b. development of overview matrices of the ways in which participants of a particular group (i.e. international, national and local, the latter sub-divided into educators, *activistas* and young people) engaged with key themes (according to the key codes detailed in Appendix XI); and

c. elaboration of summaries of overarching themes emerging from participant narratives at each of the different (sub)levels.

Actor/theme	International	National	Educators	Peer educators	Young people
Purposes of education	-Achieve higher good -Improve quality of life, wellbeing -*Conviver & ser empregável* ('live together & be employable)	-*Saber estar & ser* ('learning to be') -*Conviver socialmente* ('to live together (socially)') - Harmony -<mark>*Empreendedorismo*</mark>	-<mark style="background:magenta">*Homem novo*</mark> [understood as man with (new) ideals, ideals of /tmrw', one who took initiative, taking fate in own hands, not waiting for a (socialist) state to help]	-*O futuro de amanhã* ('the future of tmrw') -<mark>Dealing with globalised world</mark> -<mark>Protect sovereignty</mark> -*Saber desenvolver o país* ('to know how to	(not explicitly engaged with) - <mark>Place in globalised world</mark> - to learn new things (not learned at home) - <mark>to become someone</mark>

		('entrepreneurship') -Self-esteem - poverty [links to educators' concern that YP should learn not to '*ficar parado*' ('not stand still'), but also more broadly to national (presidential) discourse on poverty reduction & analysis of impact war & loss in/on Mozambique. Self-esteem and belief in ability to take fate in own hands] -Dealing with globalised world -Protect sovereignty	-*Não ficar parado*('not remain still/stagnant') -Ability to respond to the needs of tmrw, be useful to country (& not the interests of colonisers)	develop the country') -*Ficar no caminho*('to stay on the path') [Mozambican research participants oftentimes seeming to speak of education in the sense of 'upbringing' ('*ser bem/mal educado*' - being polite/impolite, or well/badly brought up). Other actors, excluding int'al ones, also spoke of education in this sense. E.g. XX referring to people wanting education to teach YP good morals.] -*Para tornar se alguém* ('to become someone')	
Aims of HIV- and AIDS-	-Reduce prevalence -Behaviour change	-Reduce prevalence -Reduce vulnerability	-Reduce prevalence, impact, discrimination	-*Uma sociedade livre de HIV* ('a society free[d] of HIV')	-Know how to protect self, *para não ter proble-*

related education	(prevent infection) -Mitigation (treatment, discrimination) -Protect labour base -Window of hope -Ability to critique, make choices -*Sexo discutido no contexto [da] normalidade da vivencia, assim possibilitando que isso é um direito* ('sex discussed as part of everyday life, as such making it possible for it [to be seen as] a right')	-'We can save children' -Gender equity (address male-female relations) -*Saber viver com seropositividade* ('to know [how] to live with zero-positivity')	-Prevent pregnancy, STIs -To achieve a '*triumphant battle*' -Not view HIV as end of the world -To not jeopardise development of country	HIV') -Advancement country -Prevention -Positive SRH, avoid pregnancy	*mas no futuro* ('so as not to have problems in the future') -*Quebrar o silencio* ('break the silence'); a person with knowledge will take precautions, discriminate less, seek (& adhere to) treatment, will not isolate her/himself & will not commit suicide -Help HIV positive people deal with discrimination -Reduce # infected people -Reduce impact traditions, e.g. widow cleansing -Prevent early pregnancy
Contextual factors	-Distance school-home, abuse by teachers -<mark>Social cohesion, war & rights</mark> -Drivers of epidemic	-<mark>Little parental involve-ment</mark> in ed children [<mark style="background:magenta">Absent parents</mark> cross cutting issue, see also study Underwood et al.	-<mark>Absent parents</mark> -Infected caregivers -Socio-ec inequality, vulnerability, -Power, gender based	-<mark>Absent parents</mark> -*Catorzinhas, mocinhos ricos, ATM* ('little fourteens, rich boys, ATM = source of cash/	-<mark>Absent parents</mark> -Dangers in & around school -Variety of caregivers -HIV positive family

	-Transactional, intergenerational sex -Clash trad & modern ed -Gender relations, reproductive capacity & definition of a woman -Hierarchical society [Not mentioned by other actor groups, but see 'gendered education' and *'aquele complexo'* suggesting awareness of gendered power relations (although this is not extended as is done at int'al level to societal relations more broadly]	(2011) in Botswana, Mozambique, & Malawi] -Historical context: colonialism, war, trust (enemy?) -Loss in Africa -*Curandeiro* (traditional healer) -Threat of modernity & moral deficit -Gendered education -Transactional sex -*Cidade - campo* -Alcohol & drugs	violence -Threat of modernity & moral deficit -Woman as property, *aquele complexo* ('that[inferiority] complex') - *Cidade - campo* - Alcohol & drugs	usually men) -*Zona suburbana vv urbana* ('suburban zone vv urban') -'Prostitution' -Many pregnant girls = negative role models -Shame/secrecy sex & HIV -Alcohol & drugs	members -*Gravidez, epa todas as escolas!* ('pregnancy, goodness in all schools!') -Gendered restrictions & demands home front -Shame/secrecy sex & HIV -*Ficar no caminho*
Young people (YP) (young women (YW), young men	- Pregnancy (question) - 'Adolescence': emotions, feelings of '(un)fitting' [At all levels	-Pregnancy (fact) -Adolesc: conflict, psy & moral immaturity [Ties in with threat of modernity;	-Pregnancy (& policy) -Adolesc: phase of conflict, psy & moral immaturity	-Pregnancy, abortion (prevention, risks) -Infidelity YM -Lack of parent-child	-Pregnancy (fear of) -*Interesseiras* -*Financeiro, secretario* -*Pita/o*

| (YM)) | view held of adolescence as period of sturm und drang]

- *O rapaz tem que apreender os limites da mulher* ('YM need to learn about the limits/ limitations of YW') in light of limited negotiation power YW
- YW: little initiative or insight in gender issues | YP not able to distinguish between good & bad]
- *Jovens só querem curtir/ aproveitar* ('YP only want to enjoy things, not work for them'*), *vazio* ('[moral] emptiness')
- *Ambição*
- Blaming of YW versus defining in terms of socio-ec inequality,
- Extra attention for timid YW. YM 'in the know'[Therefore do not need much attention] | -YW: responsible for country progress, suffer more, *ambição* & need to learn how men think
-African/Mozambican men: undependable & desire 'to know' many women [Broadly speaking, at all levels seeming tendency to essentialise notion of masculinity in particular] | communication
- *ATM, Maria Gasolina*
- *Tchillar* ('relax', 'chill')
-*Eu vou curtir a vida antes que á vida me curta* ('I will enjoy life before it 'cuts me off'/ before it's over') | -Cheating (wo)men
-*Se entregam* ('giving her/himself')
-Trust (*fofoca*)
-Peer pressure
-Violence (meaning of)
-Responsibilities |
| **Socially relevant HIV and AIDS-related education** | Instrumental approach (The) socio-cultural approach
-Tradition - what to keep, how to use? | Social & cultural harmony + sovereignty
-Shared knowledge& life meaningful
-Multiculturalism & need | Social & cultural harmony + sovereignty
-Know how to position self vv other social beings, cultivate proper & | -Respect for: elders, people living with HIV, for women (& their right to say 'no')
-Showing reality (video, | -More time & openness teachers & parents
-Interest/understanding in/of YP
-Addressing sexual |

-Witchcraft & disease causation - trust -'Idealism' - pragmatism -(Avoid) conflict -'*Zulu*' (BD) origins & meaning of being a woman [Emphasis reproductive capacity as defining a woman in Mozambique. Emphasis at other levels (when reference was e.g. made to '*gendered education'* or *'aquele complexo'*, this referred primarily to respectively, a woman being educated to be x, a man y, and women's 'inferiority complex', or 'always feeling she is below the man']	for solidarity [Related to nation state bldg and need for cultural harmony (playing down of cultural heterogeneity). Discussed elsewhere in lit - see IESE, 2010] -Respect local values, elders	accepted/ able personality [Embedding in social fabric] -Decentralise education -Local leaders -Respect for women	pictures) -*O importante dar é de nome as coisas* ('what is important is to call things by their name') [n.b. here entering into perspectives on key elements of good HIV- and AIDS-related education… Possibly use in write up but not (necessarily) in relation to topic of 'socially relevant education'] -Involvement parents	harassment/abuse -Providing advice (help YP *ficar no caminho* ('stay on the path') - *Não fugir do assunto* ('to not run away from the topic [at hand]')

* loosely translated

(Other) Cross cutting:

- Play with language which confirms oft heard gender stereotype of young women wanting money and men wanting sex: Maria Gasolina (woman whom dates/has sex with men with cars), and *meu ATM/Millenium Bim* (my ATM/bank, Millenium Bim being Mozambique's largest bank)*, meu secretário/financeiro* (my secretary (of state), my financier)*, Ministério da Educação/Ministério das Finanças* (ministry of education/finance, used to specify which bills the man in question pays, in this case school fees or provision of general funds). The terms used to relate to young women refer to their youth and being morally loose, those relating to men are arguably a play on their sexual 'predictability' and willingness to pay for sexual favours.

- Where are the men? E.g. Educators and peer educators voiced some disapproval of older men seducing young women and men deserting their families, but most condemnation befell young women (becoming involved with older men/sex for material gain) and the onus of responsibility for the progress of the country was largely placed on their shoulders.

- Being young/adolescent

- Pregnancy & school drop out

- 'Trust' as part of context/socio-cultural approach? YP talking about lack of trust in peers, educators, parents (what then is appropriate place for HIV- and AIDS-related education?), at national level talking about trust in relation to the war (whom was an informer/enemy, whom wasn't?) and this being translated very explicitly in the message parents give their children ('don't trust people as you do not know what they will do with this information'), and trust being talked about - more at international level (although indirectly also at national level in relation to curandeiro) in terms of witchcraft. N.b. as discussed will need to think further about different, more useful ways of conceptualizing notion of trust.

Appendix XIII: Information sheet young people

<div style="text-align: right">Maputo, …. 20XX</div>

Dear student of …

My name is Esther and I am a student at the University of London. I am looking into what young people in Mozambique want to learn in schools with regard to HIV and AIDS, and sexual and intimate relationships. This letter is to tell you about my study and to ask whether you might like to take part. It is important for you to know that you are under no obligation whatsoever to take part, however.

I am doing this study out of personal interest but also hope that in the long run this will contribute to more attention for opinions of young people in HIV- and AIDS-related education in schools. I hope doing this study will not only be interesting and fun for me, but also for those who decide to participate.

If you agree to take part, I will ask you to join about 2 mixed (boys and girls) group discussions which will focus on among other things, what group members consider to be the main effects of HIV and AIDS on their communities and lives. I am also interested to hear about what you enjoy and dislike about HIV- and AIDS-related education.

I would also like to hold separate focus group discussions with young women and men. During these separate group discussions, I would like to ask you about the importance of different kinds of friendship and relationships for young people. Finally, I would like to hold individual interviews with those that take part in the study. These will focus more on personal experiences and thoughts regarding being young, (girl/boy)friends and what kind of HIV- and AIDS-related education you think young women and men should receive. All focus group discussions and interviews will last about 1 hour.

It is important that you know that any information you provide during the course of this study will be kept confidential and private. I would like to make an audio recording of the group discussions and interviews, but will check with you whether you are happy with this before starting a group discussion or interview. In principle, I will be the only one to have access to the information you provide and I will not share this with anyone without your explicit consent.

You can come to me and/or … (assistant) with any questions, additional inputs you want to share and/or complaints regarding this study at any time. My contact details are: …, those of (assistant) are: . If you prefer, you can also speak to … should you have any complaints regarding how the study is done. Any input you provide is very welcome and will be taken into account.

I look forward to hearing who would like to take part.
Thanks!
Esther

Appendix XIV: Participant consent form

Please take your time to read the information sheet and ask me any questions you have before signing this consent form.

I confirm that I have been clearly informed about the research and that my questions have been answered in a satisfactory manner. I voluntarily agree to take part in the study in the realisation that I may stop at any moment and that at any time and without providing a reason, I may withdraw my permission for the investigator to use data resulting from my participation.

Should the results of the interview with me be used in scientific publications or be made public in any other way, this will be done on an anonymous basis. No third party will be given access to my personal data without my written permission.'

Should you wish to receive any additional further about the research, now or in the future, please contact me at XXX, or via e-mail: eajmiedema@gmail.com). Should you have any complaints with regard to this study, please refer to my supervisor Professor Peter Aggleton at the University of Sussex, Brighton, Tel. XXX, e-mail: XXX).

....
Name   Date

....
Signature

Appendix XV: Letter and information sheet for parents/caregivers

Maputo, …, 20XX

Dear parent/caregiver,

My name is Esther Miedema and I am a student at the University of London. I am studying what young people in Mozambique want to learn in schools with regard to HIV- and AIDS-related issues. I am doing this study out of personal interest but also hope that it will support efforts to make HIV- and AIDS-related education more relevant to young people.

I have been given permission by the Ministry of Education and the school management to conduct my study in the XXX school. After having explained what the study was about and entailed, your daughter/son/ward agreed to take part in my study. This letter is to inform you about the study and what in practical terms, it will mean for those that participate.

I will ask all learners that have agreed to take part to join about two mixed (boys and girls) group discussions that will focus on among other things, what group members considers to be the main effects of HIV and AIDS on their communities and lives, and what they enjoy and dislike about HIV- and AIDS-related education they receive.

I would also like to hold separate focus group discussions with young women and men. During these separate group discussions, I would like to ask learners about their views as to the importance young men and women attach to friendship and relationships. Finally, I would like to hold individual interviews with those that take part in the study. These will focus more on personal experiences and thoughts regarding being young, friends and the 'ideal' kind of HIV- and AIDS-related

education young women and men in Mozambique. All focus group discussions and interviews will last between 1-2 hours.

It is important that you know that any information provided by participants during the course of this study will be kept confidential and private. I would like to record the group discussions and interviews, but will check with participants whether they are happy with this before starting a group discussion or interview. In principle, I will be the only one to have access to the information provided and I will not share this with anyone without participants' explicit consent.

Should you not wish your daughter/son/ward to take part in the study, please inform the School Director. Should you have any questions or doubts about this study, please do not hesitate to contact me (Tel. XXX), … (my research assistant) (Tel. XXX), or the School Director.

Very best wishes,

Esther Miedema

Appendix XVI: Example matrix providing an overview of various actors' perspectives

The matrix below offers a simple means to create an overview of participant perspectives and, as such, may serve an additional practical tool for policy makers and programme staff. It is designed to support developing greater conceptual clarity with regard to conceptions of education and HIV- and AIDS-related education of different sets of actors in a particular context. The quadripartite framework may (subsequently) be used to position the different perspectives detailed in the matrix. In the example below, quotes are drawn from the primary data gathered in Mozambique. These have been included to illustrate how the matrix may help to elucidate areas of similarity and divergence between actor groups. The matrix may also be adapted to create an overview of perspectives within specific actor groups.

		Local actors **a. Educators** **b. *Activistas*** **c. Young people**	**National actors** **a. National** **b. Municipal**	**International actors**
(Contextual) factors associated with HIV epidemic	Young women	a. *Open market economy* b. *Transactional sex* c. '*Girls want to show that they have this one because he is good looking, this one because he has a car*'	a. *Brazilian soap operas* b. *Absent parents*	*Daily violation of rights* *Hierarchical society*

	Young men	a. Irresponsible b. *'Desire to know many women'* c. *'Don't want peers to call them 'matreco' [loser]'*	a. *Men are in search of dynamic life'* b. *'Men can oblige women to do what they want'*	*'Boys grow up thinking men are not caregivers'*
Purposes of education		a. *'To reduce dependence on the state'* b. *'So we depend less on nature'* c. *'So I won't have to clean others' shoes'*	a. *'To prepare people to fulfil their functions as social beings'* b. *'To learn to be'*	*'To enhance wellbeing'* *'To build peace'*
Purposes of HIV- and AIDS-related education		a. *'So we don't lose a social layer'* b. *'That we complete our studies without becoming infected'* c. *'So a person becomes less afraid of being rejected'*	a. *'To create healthy citizens'* b. *'To enable young people to finish school, to work and live a long time'*	*'To ensure developmental gains are not lost'* *'To allow [a person] to create a better life'*