

SEXUAL TENSION

The imagined learner projected through the recontextualising of sexual knowledge into pedagogic communication in two curricula in South Africa and Ontario, Canada

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature

Date: November 10, 2014

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This study conducts a textual analysis of the structure and discourses present in two sets of sex education curriculum documents— one from South Africa and one from Ontario, Canada. It did so to make visible the imagined learner projected by these curricula in the recontextualising of sexual knowledge into pedagogic communication. Using a deductive framework built on Basil Bernstein’s concepts of classification, framing, vertical and horizontal discourse and instructional and regulative discourse to recognise the structure, and an inductive coding process complemented by Louisa Allen’s discourse of erotics to recognise the discourses and strategic silences present and absent, it concludes that the imagined learner would have a sex negative, context independent orientation to meaning, be heterosexual and not yet be sexually active. The study problematises this learner, presenting statistical evidence that the vertical discourse of the school is significantly disconnected from the horizontal discourse of the everyday. The research raises questions about the role of recontextualising in reproducing a sex negative hegemonic discourse of adolescent sexuality and, through a unique coding scheme, provides a framework for recognising the relative implicitness and explicitness of regulative discourses and their respective relations to power and control over sexual knowledge.

KEYWORDS: sex education, adolescent sexuality, recontextualisation, regulative discourse, instructional discourse, classification and framing, discourse of risk, discourse of desire, discourse of erotics, sexual agency, knowledge/practice gap

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1 Introduction and context

1.1 Introduction and research questions

What should young people be taught about sex and when? This is a broad and controversial question but one that is vital to developing sex and sexuality education that is relevant to young people's lives. There are many arenas in which sex education can and has been considered. One that is an important, if often overlooked, is the development of curriculum. This study is concerned with the process of recontextualisation in relation to curriculum around sex and sexuality and focuses on illuminating the particular form of pedagogic discourse created by what is essentially the institutionalising of sexual knowledge, in two settings: South Africa and Ontario, Canada. Using a collection of Basil Bernstein's conceptual tools from his 'pedagogic device' (1990) and Louisa Allen's 'discourse of erotics', the research looks closely at the structure and discourses of the two regions' sex education curricula, seeking to answer the question: what kind of imagined learner is projected by the recontextualising of sexual knowledge into pedagogic communication? To be able to answer this primary question it asks two secondary questions. First, how are these two curricula structured? And second, what discourses are present in these curricula? Bernstein asserted that "curriculum is what counts as valid knowledge" making recontextualising agents (or curriculum writers) in this area the arbiters of sexual knowledge's validity (1975: 85). Considering this, the intention of this study was to develop an understanding of what sexual knowledge constituted the two curricula, in order to shed light on the overarching sexual discourse in the two settings.

This study traces a hypothetical learner through the two curricula (one provincial: Ontario, Canada's Health and Physical Education and one national: South Africa's Life Skills and Life Orientation), drawing out the major skills and knowledge required by the instructional discourse and the nature of control suggested by its accompanying regulative discourse. By interrogating what discourses recontextualising agents employ and create, we can understand what they intend for learners to know, and what attitudes and behaviours they are signalling for them to adopt. This makes it possible to provide a description of the principles of power and control suggested by these two sex education curricula and what

they suggest more grandly about the cultural reproduction of attitudes toward sexuality. Finally, this allows for a consideration of the effectiveness of these of curricula on the sexual realisations of the young.

1.2 Rationale

The impetus for this research was a long standing interest in the significant disconnect often present between what young people learn at school and the way they conduct their sexual lives. Allen (2001) describes this as a “knowledge/practice gap” between what information learners are given at school and their lived sexual experiences. Working for a major sexual and reproductive healthcare service provider has made the reality of this long evident to me. While there were many avenues available to explore this gap one that I saw as having significant potential for making large-scale impact was curriculum. That is why, of the wide variety of delivery modes for sex education (ie. after-school programs, NGO initiatives and public health offerings) I chose to focus this study on school-based sexuality education curricula presented by government and delivered (ideally) to all students in an education system. Given that all, or least the majority of, learners are set to receive the same information this is one way their knowledge and skills will be jointly established, reducing the variation in sexual information and awareness (and hopefully practice). Through the analysis of a curriculum we can begin to acquire a sense of a community or region’s norms, standards and mores associated with sexuality. Since a curriculum forms the starting part for both teachers’ and learners’ interaction with course content this study sought to understand the role one may play in shaping understandings of sexuality and what implications that is likely to have on learner’s lived experiences.

1.3 Locating sex education

In the two curricula analysed for this research sex education falls under general life skills, a subject area that requires the school to teach children and adolescents how to go about actually living in the world. It is a project intended to create a learner equipped not only with knowledge but tangible skills, who is able to apply that knowledge and those skills to real world experiences. The adults responsible for the creation of the curricula are tasked with finding balance between sex education as a benefit to the individual learner (designed to allow learners to lead happy, healthy sexual lives) and as a means of

regulation and social control (reducing incidence of HIV, unwanted pregnancy, and, in some cases, adolescent sex entirely). High rates of sexually-transmitted infections (STIs), HIV, unwanted pregnancy and early sexual debut occurring in spite of educational interventions are serious cause for concern. They are often pointed to as signs that school-based sex education's regulative function is failing- that a fundamental gap exists between what learners are taught at school and the manner in which they choose, or are pressured, to exercise their sexual lives.

To consider a curriculum's possible role in creating or maintaining this gap, two curricula were chosen for analysis, allowing for contrasts and comparisons. South Africa and Ontario, Canada's curricula were chosen for analysis for a number of reasons. Both of the curricula were written and introduced at similar times with comparable progressive mandates to reflect the multicultural, socio-economically varied and rights-based approaches of their governing constitution/charter of rights. Both boards of education have previously incorporated non-traditional, progressive Outcomes-Based Education to varying degrees, but both have shifted back toward more traditional approaches, including the use of standardised testing (Ontario much more recently so). Both regions are perceived as politically liberal and fiscally committed to education, with a focus on effectiveness and a significant percentage of the national and provincial public budgets dedicated to deliver quality schooling. Lastly, both curricula are currently in flux, as South Africa introduces and implements the new Curriculum Assessment and Policy Statement (CAPS) and Ontario continues to debate the province-wide introduction of a new sexuality curriculum, making this analysis particularly relevant to the contemporary context.

The two regions in question have distinct pressing concerns in regards to sex education. In South Africa, HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancy and sexual violence affect young people at alarming rates, while in Ontario, bullying and suicide (specifically of gay, lesbian and transgender learners), online predators and the effects of drug and alcohol abuse on sexual choices and coercion are paramount concerns. Both areas have diverse communities to whom school content must apply. In Ontario, the specific requirements of First Nations communities, various religious denominations and diverse immigrant populations (particularly in urban areas) need to be taken into consideration. In South Africa, language pluralism, diverse cultural backgrounds as well as the legacy of apartheid

and its consequent socio-economic implications must be addressed.

To recognise the social and regulative properties of sex education on adolescents it is important to understand the context from which the subject area developed. The following aims to provide a brief history of sex education as a school subject as well as the contemporary circumstances of sex education in the two regions of focus for this study: Canada (specifically the province of Ontario) and South Africa.

1.3.1 History of school-based sex education

Including sex and sexuality as a formalised element of the school curricula is often a decision fraught with anxiety and debate. However, in recent years, the ravages of the international HIV/AIDS crisis have required even sex education's harshest critiques to recognise the role the school can play. Yet, the contemporary HIV/AIDS epidemic is not the first time school-based sex education has been put in place as a reaction. Rather, the learning area has been characterised by a series of reactive measures by schools and governments to address increases in disease and teenage pregnancy as well as premarital sex in general. In order to place this research's analysis in its larger context the following provides a brief history of the subject as it has progressed in the school. It begins with the United States (since the history of the learning area there continues to hold sway over the policy and practice surrounding it in the rest of the world) and continuing into its evolution in Canada and South Africa, the two contexts for this study.

1.3.1.1 Sex education in the United States

The initial call for sex education in schools in North America and Western Europe and its colonies (including South Africa) came about due to the syphilis and gonorrhoea outbreaks among soldiers returning from the Second World War (Saueteig and Davidson 2009:15, Lichstein 1944). Prior to the war, growing urbanisation had led to increased public education campaigns hoping to stem the corrupting tide of big city social ills such as prostitution, alcoholism and unwanted pregnancy, particularly children born to unmarried women (Moran 2000, Irvine 2002: 34, Hall 2009: 22). Most of these campaigns and their supporting materials did not address sex directly, but rather referred to it euphemistically through terms such as sanitation and 'social hygiene.' The American Association for Social Hygiene was founded in 1913 with a mandate to address concerning population issues

(Simmons 1993: 52), although an underlying eugenics agenda also characterised their work. Other organisations share these eugenics-related origins such as the Planned Parenthood Federation of America and Marie Stopes clinics in the United Kingdom; however they have adapted over time to reflect more modern incarnations of sex education and public health (Simmons 1993).

As soldiers returned from World War II the problem of sexually-transmitted infections or STIs (then called venereal diseases or VD) became so widespread that advocates successfully argued for the introduction of sex education into the school curriculum. The existing social hygiene associations provided many of the early films, textbooks, pamphlets and other materials for schools (Hall 2009: 28). During the 1950s the learning area was transformed into ‘family life education’, which was intended to “raise the standards of home life and enable people of all ages to live more constructively” (Moran 2000:138). Teachers deemphasized sex education specifically and focused rather on productive daily living, marriage and parental responsibilities. Dating was only discussed insofar as it led to marriage, and the possibility that adolescents were engaging in pre-marital sex went largely ignored by these curricula reflecting the conservative, family values-focused attitudes indicative of the times (Moran 2000).

Things shifted dramatically in the 1960s, “from the theatre to women’s magazines, the media in the early to mid-sixties screamed sex” (Irvine 2002: 19). With the growing influence of mass media, sex had begun to lose its taboo, which meant schools were required, many begrudgingly, to address it in a more forthright manner (Irvine 2002: 19). Sex educators successfully advocated for schools to provide information about the (relatively new) forms of contraception, pregnancy, STIs and other then controversial topics.

The sexual revolution continued into the 1970s, along with increased availability of contraception, allowing women to delay marriage and children and enter the workforce en masse. At the same time, in spite of the accessibility of contraception, teenage pregnancies continued to rise (Luker 2006). The result of both of these phenomena was a backlash against sex education, with many conservative American school boards refusing to allow sex education as a learning area. Some even refused to include coverage of the reproductive system in biology classes (Boonstra 2009: 6/7).

This changed quickly and dramatically as the AIDS crisis struck in the mid-1980s and 1990s. This removed, for many, doubts that schools needed to be a site where adolescents learned about sex. In 1986, the Surgeon General issued a report calling for comprehensive AIDS and sex education in public schools (Carter 2001: 230). State governments and school boards that had previously ignored calls for sex education had to face the AIDS epidemic with new curricula. Unfortunately, this also deepened America's politicisation of sex education, as the AIDS crisis "multiplied the possible sites for controversy, and by making certain sexual behaviors a matter of life or death, it imparted to these controversies a grim intensity" (Moran 2000: 205).

No longer able to problematise the mere presence of sex education in schools American conservatives began to put funding and support behind abstinence-only education. They drew on "individuals' and the culture's sexual shame and fear, to galvanize residents to oppose comprehensive programs" (Irvine 2002: 193). Advocates from both sides loudly argued the merits of abstinence-only versus *comprehensive* sex education programs (meaning those that would cover sexual activity as well as contraception, abortion and the prevention of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV. The debate between the two approaches has continued ever since, with much of the academic literature of the last two decades, including both qualitative and quantitative studies, aiming to confirm the preferable approach.¹

1.3.1.2 Sex education in Canada

In Canada, sex education shared a similar coming of age story with the US, growing out of the social hygiene movement into today's skills-for-learning approach. Despite regional, religious and conservative resistance during the first half of the 20th century it became accepted, to varying degrees, as part of most provincial curricula in the late 1960s (Barrett et al. 1995). First included in biology lessons and then as life skills from the 1980s, it has been folded into various learning areas depending on the era and the province. As social values liberalised so too did attitudes around sex and sexuality. Canadian Prime

¹ The researchers who carried out the *Federally Funded Adolescent Abstinence Promotion Programs: An Evaluation of Evaluations*, concluded that they were aware of "no methodologically sound studies that demonstrate the effectiveness" of abstinence-only curricula (Boonstra 2009: 6). Rather, substantial research has concluded that it is comprehensive programs that are most effective in achieving positive adolescent behaviour change. This includes lowering the rate of pregnancy and STIs as well as raising the age of sexual debut (Planned Parenthood 2008, Kirby 2001a, Kirby 2001b, Duberstein Lindberg et al. 2006, SIECUS 2011).

Minister, Pierre Trudeau, was famously quoted in 1967 as saying that “there’s no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation” referring to reforms his government was making to laws around divorce, abortion and homosexuality (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 1967). Trudeau’s sexual liberalism characterised his two separate terms in office, including the 1982 adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which much of the country’s life skills, citizenship and sex education learning are meant to draw on in promoting equal rights between genders and people of different sexual identities (Trudeau 1993, Beaudoin and Ratushny 1989). Despite social progressiveness, provincial education departments have been slow to reflect this in curricula, and many inconsistencies exist across the country. From the age at which given topics are introduced, to the larger learning area to which it is attached (Health and Physical Education, Language, Life Skills and Career Planning, etc.) the curriculum looks different in many provinces, both in content and requirements. In a number of provinces parents are permitted to have their children removed from lessons touching on sexuality (Barrett 1994). Some liberal school boards, not keen to wait for province-wide curriculum reform have introduced their own content, notably the Toronto District School Board’s Challenging Homophobia and Heterosexism: A K-12 Curriculum Resource Guide (2011). A number of provinces’ attempts to update their sex education curricula have met with public backlash. For example, in 2005 curriculum the New Brunswick government was forced to remove references to masturbation, anal sex and orgasm from their curriculum (CBC News 2005). In Ontario, since the 1950s the province’s sex education has been incorporated into a number of subject areas. It moved from family life to hygiene and eventually health, where it remains currently, forming part the official health and physical education curriculum (Ontario Department of Education 1955, 1988).

1.3.1.2.1 Ontario curriculum reform debate

In May 2010, Ontario released a revised Health and Physical Education (HPE) for Grades 1 to 8 which addressed previously uncovered topics (including gender identity, anal intercourse and masturbation) as well as indicating some previously covered topics at an earlier stage (such as sexual orientation). It was shelved by the Premier less than two days after it had been released due to heated public and political reaction (Benzie 2010). One media sound bite that polarised public opinion during coverage of the debate was a

conservative, opposition party politician who accused the Premier of teaching children about sex when “they are just learning to tie their shoes” (Artuso 2010). He was referring to the proposed new curriculum’s indication that learners in Grade 1 should learn the names for all of their body parts including the penis and vagina. Proponents such as the Sex Information and Education Council of Canada, citing research and trends in sexual behaviour among Canadian youth, defended the revised curriculum. “Before any type of education takes place in the schools, many kids are going to be walking through the doors with that awareness anyway. The curriculum is appropriate and knowledge is preferable to ignorance” (Carlson 2011). Even though sexual intercourse was not actually slotted to be covered until the fifth grade, the resulting public outcry meant the damage had been done. The revised sections for other HPE learning areas: physical education, drug awareness and personal safety were implemented but the sections titled “Human Development and Sexual Health” were held back for review² and replaced with the old content from the 1998 curriculum’s “Growth and Development” segments (Carlson 2011, Hammer and Howlett 2012).

1.3.1.3 Sex education in South Africa

South Africa also experienced a social hygiene movement, influenced by Britain, its former coloniser in Western Europe (South African Institute of Race Relations 1926). However in South Africa, the movement was embedded in a deeper trend of racist discrimination against Africans. Organisations such as the Transvaal Hygiene Association called for a compulsory physical examinations of all people entering the domestic service and the Women’s Missionary Society claimed it had a “responsibility to shepherd” African women, who its members labeled as the parties responsible for social ills such as urban lawlessness, illicit beer brewing, prostitution, overcrowding and disease (ibid). Around the same time, for privileged White learners, sex as it related to the reproductive system was introduced as part of the biology curriculum in the senior grades. However shortly thereafter apartheid began and, under the restrictive system, discussions around sex along with countless other areas of social life became highly restricted and conservative. This

² The results of this review were still pending at time of writing, February 2014

meant sex education gained little traction and saw it regulated to vague mentions in family life education (part of the Scripture course) and biology for more than thirty years.

The 1991 curriculum is the first document to reflect the new subject area Life Skills (then called Life Style Education), composed of Guidance, Religious Education (formally Scripture), Economic Education and Physical Education. Sexuality, or even the more general Health Education, was not singled out but some elements of health and family life were incorporated under the Guidance banner (Committee of Heads of Education Departments 1991). In 1993 the Department of Education and Culture formally introduced 'Health and Family Life Education' into the primary curriculum which touched on introductory elements of sexuality as well as abuse, drug use and healthy eating. Historically in Africa the task of educating youth on sexuality had been the responsibility of a strong peer group during age cohort initiation with support from the larger community. However over time migration, colonialism and poverty led to the breakdown of many traditional knowledge channels, including initiation rites (Delius and Glaser 2002). Thus the involvement of the school in sex education became increasingly requisite as governments and communities across sub-Saharan Africa faced the need to address the immense challenge of HIV (Ngwana and Akwi-Ogojo 1996, Hughes and McCauley 1998 and Shongwe 1998). In 1995 South Africa ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which calls for access to sex education and it became requisite in all government schools from January 1996 (Van Rooyen 1997). The reactionary nature of sex education that took place elsewhere in the world (around VD and urbanisation) characterised the trajectory of the South African curriculum as well. As HIV spread, the country was caught in a 'swirl of controversies' as it faced the growing public health concern (Mbali 2005: 322). While there were some similarities to the debate in the US, South Africa faced the added burden of a President who initially refused to acknowledge that the virus was sexually transmitted. President Thabo Mbeki's AIDS denialism caused significant delays in the large-scale access of anti-retroviral treatment for HIV positive individuals (ibid). The response, led by the Treatment Action Campaign (a group who fought for access to anti-retroviral therapy), was one of the most significant civil society movements in the country's history. However, this slow start added to the eventual sense of crisis for many. Reacting to high rates of teenage pregnancy and the HIV/AIDS pandemic in 2002 South Africa's

Minister of Education Kader Asmal mandated the teaching of sexuality nationwide:

Since my ministry declared HIV/AIDS a priority three years ago, we have mandated, as part of Curriculum 2005, a programme of life skills and HIV/AIDS in all of our schools. We need to make more rapid progress in this area, continuing to refine curriculum content, producing the learner support materials, training our teachers, establishing this as a professional component of our teacher education programmes. We cannot afford to be slack about this. The lives of children may depend on the education we can give them in this area (Asmal 2002: 5).

Post-apartheid, and with curriculum reform efforts that led to the introduction of the progressive Curriculum 2005, sex education was placed under the umbrella of Life Skills/Orientation, along with other life skills topics such as civic, environmental and religion education (Rooth 2005, Department of Education 2003) where it remains to date. A sketch of the current research in the field of Life Skills and Life Orientation is provided in the literature review in Chapter 2.

Beyond the school the larger issue of adolescent sexuality, always a controversial topic in a country marked by religious and cultural pluralism and major socio-economic divides, has recently garnered significant attention. This is due to a decision by the constitutional court to strike down two sections of the Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act which had made it illegal for young people under the age of consent to engage in sexual intimacy with their peers. The Act had previously “made it illegal for adolescents to engage in consensual sexual acts, including kissing and hugging. While public opinion on the decision was divided, the court defended its position stating that the sections in question “infringe on adolescents’ right to dignity” (Parker 2013). Debate surrounding the Act has brought about broader conversations around adolescent sexuality and its related social problems as well as discussions about the role of schools in better preparing learners to manage their sexual lives.

1.4 Conclusion

Having located the subject area of sex education in its educational, historical and contemporary contexts, it becomes possible to consider the discussions around it in the academic and practical research fields. The next chapter presents a review of the existing

field of research around recontextualising, sex education and adolescent sexuality in general.

2.1 Introduction

Initial studies on sex and sexuality education focussed largely on making the case for the acceptance of school-based sex education. Next research became strongly focused on analysing these programmes insofar as they affected behavioural change, generally by evaluating small-scale education programmes such as after school programmes and public health initiatives. The existing body of research illustrates the adult priority of sex education as a tool in preventing disease and unwanted pregnancy, using declines in these indicators as the central measure for evaluating success. Very little research has analysed large-scale provincial or national policies, save the unique case of the United States where much of the academic dialogue is fractured by the debate over abstinence-only vs. comprehensive programs (Epstein and Johnson 1998, Irvine 2002, Levine 2002, Luker 2006). Tracing the narrative of this subject area historically and internationally, the reactionary nature of school-based sex education, explored in Chapter 1 reveals itself in the literature on sex education content and curriculum. Whether it be the danger of sexual deviance and disease caused by urbanisation and second World War soldiers returning from the front, or the HIV/AIDS pandemic, curricula around sexuality have consistently focused on what Fine labels the “discourse of risk” (1988). This chapter begins by providing the following overview of the existing international literature addressing sex education: trends in research; common discourses around sex education and the suggested value of acknowledging sexual agency. Next it focuses in on South African and Canadian research, the areas concentrated on in this study. Finally, it touches on other studies that employ Bernstein’s concept of recontextualisation in relation to life skills and curriculum generation.

2.1.1 Trends in sex education research

A great deal of early work in the field was focused on the value, aims and logistics of sex education, essentially making the case for its inclusion in the curriculum (Sears 1992, Reiss 1993, Epstein and Johnson 1998, Moran 2000). Studies such as those by Kirby (1992, 1995, 2000, 2001, Gilbert 2007) were interested almost exclusively in effects on behaviour

change. Most of these sought to validate and promote comprehensive sexuality education in schools, often by contrasting its introduction into a given school or school system with statistics such as a higher age of sexual debut (age at first intercourse), adherence to condom use or a decrease in unwanted pregnancy, abortion rates and STI infections amongst their test groups (Kirby et al. 2005, Fisher and Fisher 1998, Halstead and Reiss 2003, Nash 2002, Saewyc et al. 2008). According to Sears this focus on behaviour changes illustrates the prevailing view of sex education as a “prophylactic for the unwelcome consequences of freewheeling sexual behaviour” (1992: 17).

As a knowledge/practice gap (Allen 2001) began to emerge between what sex education presupposed learners should know and their actual sexual practices, studies sought to identify how to offer the most *effective* sexuality education (Kirby et al. 1994, Woloshyn and Rye 1995, Epstein and Johnson 1998, McKay et al. 2001, Kirby 2002, Aresu 2007, Smylie and Boyd 2008). Researchers also began to widen their scope from statistical impacts to perceived value, looking to stakeholder (teachers, parents, learners) opinions and perceptions of sex education in an effort to improve best practice. Many of these studies looked at parents as co-facilitators in the cause of sexuality education due to their role in the home (the primary socialising context or local pedagogic context). A large number of studies focussed on how parental objection to sexuality education programmes affected their success, or even their initial implementation (Verby and Herold 1992, Langille et al. 1996, McKay 1996, McKay et al. 1998, Epstein and Johnson 1998, Langille et al. 2001, Elliott 2010a, 2010b, 2010c, 2012). A number of studies, particularly in South Africa, have considered teacher perceptions in regards to: their comfort level teaching topics regarding sexuality; their impressions of learner needs and their perceptions of the effectiveness of the programmes they teach on adolescent behaviours (McKay and Barrett 1999, Buston et al. 2002, Prinsloo, 2007, Van Deventer 2008, Van Deventer 2009, Mangano 2011). Masinga’s revealing self-analysis (2006) acknowledges her own prejudice and “demons” which affected her ability to offer objective sex education to her Grade 6 learners. She argues that teachers need to acknowledge and overcome their own biases to improve themselves as teachers. Masinga’s experience is reinforced by other studies that have found that teachers own sexuality education, and sexual attitudes are filtered down to their students (Francis 2010, Beyers 2013a).

Eventually, the trend of researching adolescents' opinions and self-perceived needs with respect to the form, content, and sources of sex and sexuality education began. While studies on learners' self-perceived needs (Fine 1988, McKay and Holowaty 1997, McKay 1998, Hughes and McCauley 1998, Measor et al. 2001, Langille et al. 2001, Benoit et al. 2003, Measor 2004, Connell 2006, Jacobs 2011) are extremely helpful in understanding the general weaknesses of sex education curricula they often problematise school-based sex education generally and curricula broadly, drawing attention to their discourse of risk but without offering clarity as to specifically what is lacking. Allen's unique research with learners' in New Zealand is characterised by a deep and thorough listening to learners' specific objections to sexuality education as well as their suggestions for its improvement (Allen 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007, 2008). This work will be explored further in the thematic analysis of Chapter 5.

2.1.2 Sexual agency and the discourses of risk, desire and erotics

Sears describes the common contemporary approach to teaching sex education as the "techno-rational approach", in that it prioritises rational decision-making and focuses exclusively on the technical/ physiological aspects of human sexuality such as the prevention of STIs and unplanned pregnancy (1992). Sears (1992) and others (Fine 1988, Morris 1997, Allen, Phillip and Fine 1992, 2006, Francis 2010, 2011) have problematised sex education's inability to achieve its dual mission, to reduce social ills and also to promote the individual learner's happiness and health. According to Fine the latter is ignored in favour of a "discourse of risk" which fundamentally problematises adolescent sexuality. She argued that to be relevant sex education needs to grow to include a more positive "discourse of desire" (1988). Aggleton et al. (2000) forwarded the notion that teaching sexual health should be affirmative, promoting "a state of well-being imbued with positive qualities, not merely the absence of the undesired." The preference toward a risk or prevention-based discourse is attributed, in much of the literature, to a social perception that young people should preferably be non-sexual (Sears 1992, Thomson 1994, Silin 1995, Monk 2001) as well as the "strong belief that sexual knowledge compromises the 'natural' innocence and ignorance of young people" (Valiatis 2011:1). Both regions of focus for this study suffer from a history of limited inter-generational sexuality education due to colonialism, religion and, uniquely in South Africa, apartheid. This is evidenced by the

failed introduction of the new Ontario curriculum and the powerful backlash with which it was met. Similar sentiments have been reflected of late by the South African public reacting to the amendment to Sexual Offences Act described in Chapter 1.³ Bay-Cheng suggests that this kind of discourse around sexuality formulates a particular kind of sex education curriculum and a potentially negative pedagogic relationship (2003). This is echoed by South African researchers on this subject, including Francis (2010) whose desk review of sex education literature in South Africa identified insufficiency in addressing young people's needs and minimal inclusion of their lived experiences. The focus on a negative, risk-based approach meant schools failed to "span the whole spectrum of discourses, from disease to desire (Francis 2010: 314). Macleod further subdivided into two: a discourse of danger and one of disease. She linked this to South Africa's unique history of colonial oppression- in particular the manner in which a negative definition of adolescence has remained (2009). A number of studies help to further contextualise these types of negative discourse as a broader adult anxiety around adolescent sexuality. This research also presents some of the consequences that the exercise of that anxiety can provoke. According to Monk it often results in the creation of a curriculum that does not so much address the needs of the young people it is designed to teach, but rather the "sensitivities and anxieties of adults" (2001: 279). Francis attributes this to the manner in which learners are traditionally positioned, as blank slates or "innocents" rather than "knowers" who bring their own varied, pre-existing knowledge to lessons on sex and sexuality (2010: 315). Much of the literature in this area found that adults (curriculum writers/ recontextualising agents, government officials, parents, teachers) often seek to maintain power and control through an approach to sex education that keeps certain information from learners, and provides them only with the risk-specific knowledge and skills they believe is age-appropriate, leaving out all other areas of human sexuality (Monk 2001, Nash 2002, Bay-Cheng 2002, 2010). Fine identified these other areas (which include a discussion of the social elements of sexuality, including love, sexual pleasure and

³ In response to an article titled "'Its time we had a talk about sex' say SA school kids" numerous commenters (many of whom identified themselves as parents) dismissed the value of school-based sex education, insisting parents had the right to control what their children and adolescents knew about sex and when and insisted that informing young people about sex and sexuality deprived them of their innocence. One commenter warned, "What folks seem to miss in such debate is that once you start teaching children about the subject of mating then you do not have children anymore but adults" (Mail and Guardian 2012).

response) as the missing element in sex education (1998).

Allen has conducted a series of studies that attempt to contextualise what precisely is missing and effecting the resonance of sex education. Through the frame of her theory of the ‘discourse of erotics’ (2006a) her research has focused on what learners themselves identify as being absent from the curriculum.

A persistent comment about programme content was that it was often irrelevant to young people’s lives, boring and/or repetitive. A young woman (16 years old) from Matai College explained that, ‘the stuff we are taught in class most people already know, so it gets kind of boring. New interesting info would be better’. What was perceived to make sexuality education boring was its ‘scientific’ approach—it should be ‘Less scientific and more reality based’ (Pohutakawa College, female, 17 years old)—and the fact that information was repeated each year without being extended to meet young people’s evolving needs: ‘Giving new information not the same stuff over and over again’ (Silverbeech College, male, 17 years old). Young people attributed the repetition of content to the fact that schools ‘take a naive approach to students’ sexual experience’ (Totara College, female, 17 years old) and were thought to underestimate what they already know about sexuality (2006a: 397).

Similarly in a study by Measor et al., participants complained that sex education ‘did not deal directly with sex and with the experience of sexuality [and] it failed to give them explicit information about a number of topics’ (2000: 122). This, Allen says, is not “an empowering sexual subjectivity that credits young people with the agency to act in sexually responsible ways” and may cause them to disengage from the content and seek the information they require elsewhere (2006a: 397). This proposal, that sex education which fails to meet learners’ self-perceived needs may be devalued by learners in favour of experiential learning or the use of peers as information sources, is consistent with other research in the field (Fine 1988, Appleton et al. 2000, Connell 2006, Francis 2010). The risk of disengagement is further illustrated by studies that focus on youth efforts to circumvent adult control over their sexuality (Best 1983, Renold 2003). These provide evidence that youth are often distrustful of sexual regulation by their parents and teachers. Much of the existing scholarship points to the improvement of peer-to-peer information systems as a means of addressing this challenge. The literature suggests attributing greater value to more informal knowledge networks rather than ignoring they exist. MacPhail and Campbell suggest that peer groups can provide “the context for the collective negotiation of

alternative sexual norms,” allowing adolescents to jointly negotiate threats to their sexual well-being, such as coercion (2001:1613). Evans and Tripp also make the case for peer relations within school-based sex education through opportunities for debate and role playing (2006). They have found that this type of active skills-learning creates space for greater learner engagement on questions of sexuality, and gives them the opportunity to question perceived norms. However MacPhail and Campbell (2002) warn against some common pitfalls of peer education, particularly that they can often reinforce the school-based dialogue on sexuality and establish certain learners as more entitled to information than others. Their research, concentrating on a township setting in South Africa, found that certain forms of peer education could even serve to reinforce negative gender norms and inequalities (ibid: 331). Evans and Tripp’s research identifies adults as necessary facilitators in the process of quality sex education, to avoid negative myths being perpetuated by misinformed peers, and simultaneously to allow for youth-to-youth discussions of the issues that affect their sexual lives- elements that are often missing from their adult-imposed curriculum. They caution that adults fail to facilitate such spaces at their own risk, echoing Allen that young people will seek information elsewhere, including through experience. They suggest that this actually increases pressure to engage in sex to “feel normal” (2006: 95). Allen argues that the fact that adolescents indicate their desire for “content about emotions in relationships, teenage parenthood, abortion and how to make sexual activity pleasurable offers insights into how they understand themselves as sexual subjects” (2008: 573). She furthers that this content makes up the ‘discourse of erotics’, which includes information about desire, pleasure and sexual embodiment which is necessary for effective sex education (Allen 2006a).

A significant challenge is presented by the need to address the disconnect between adult and “young people’s sense of what constitutes important content” in sex education (Allen 2008: 574). It has been argued (Holland et al. 1998, Allen 2008, Beyers 2013b) that providing sexual agency to learners is the only way adolescents will be adequately prepared to make decisions in support of their own sexual health and well-being. The literature suggests that by focusing on learner, not teacher, priorities (Beyers 2013b), positioning them as “knowers” with pre-existing knowledge of their own (Francis 2010) and generally affording them sexual agency is a means of addressing the

knowledge/practice gap (Allen 2006a, 2008). Engaging learners through lessons that constructs them as agents in their own acquisition of sexual knowledge (in the school, just as they are inevitably in the local pedagogic context or community) has the potential to improve their health outcomes through more holistic application of their school-based knowledge around sexuality (Fine 1988, Allen 2008, Connell 2006, Aggleton and Campbell 2000). Some of the key studies explored in this section of the literature review will be expanded upon in Chapter 5's thematic analysis, allowing for a more in-depth understanding of them as they relate to the findings of this research.

2.1.3 Sex education research in Canada and South Africa

Contemporary Canadian studies have focused on adolescents' opinions, self-perceived needs, and current and preferred sources of sexuality education (McKay and Holowaty 1997, Langille et al. 2001, Connell 2006). However, much of the research there is focused on the link between individual programmes and their effects on behaviour change (Woloshyn and Rye 1995, McKay et al. 2001, Saewyc et al. 2008, Smylie & Boyd 2008). The bulk of the research in Canada has concentrated on either parental opinions, adult attitudes and anxieties around youth sexuality and how these have affected governments' education initiatives (Barrett 1994, McKay 1996, Langille et al. 1996, McKay et al. 1996) or the effectiveness of this programmes in bringing about behaviour change (Wolosyn and Rye 1995, Saweyc et al. 2005, Smylie and Boyd 2008). Meanwhile in South Africa, most relevant research has been qualitative analysis at the classroom level on the Life Orientation subject overall with some focussing in on its sex education components specifically. Studies have included narratives from teachers and learners around the perceived failings of the subject area but most of their criticisms have been linked to problems in practice (the field of reproduction) and questions of resource allocations for materials such as textbooks and teacher training (Rooth 2005, Christiaans 2006, Van Deventer 2009, 2011, Abraham 2008, Skosana 2010). As this is still a relatively new research area much of the available literature is unpublished graduate writing, usually small-scale or province-wide cases studies. The other central focus for sex education research in South Africa has been its effect on knowledge and practice around HIV/AIDS (Ngwena 2003, Bhana et al 2005, Vethe 2011). Studies have found that contemporary sex

education in general seeks to regulate, and even prevent, sexual agency based on an adult understanding of adolescents' behaviour and anxiety over the blurred distinctions between childhood, adolescence and adulthood (Thorogood 2000, Nash 2002, Aggleton et al. 2000). This has been found to be consistent in South Africa where adults often “construct adolescents as children in need of protection, rather than as youth who have the right to relevant information about their own bodies and sexuality” (Mitchell et al. 2004: 36). According to Mokwena, young people are not engaged with as active subjects in their own acquisition, and the sexual knowledge they have gained informally is trivialised, “missing out on opportunities to engage in frank discussions about sex” (2011). At the same time, media and public discussion of adolescent sexuality often present teenage pregnancy and abortion rates as rampant and thus evidence of a threatening, uncontrolled adolescent sexuality (John 2012, Parker 2013).

2.1.4 Recontextualising sexuality: the role of curriculum

While much of the recent research on sex education has problematised teacher knowledge and comfort, learner engagement, resources and parental control, very little has looked closely at the level of the curriculum—the site of recontextualisation. Those that have tend toward analyses of very specific absences or silences within a given document, or the creation of a particular feminine (Allen 2006b, Fine 2008, Connell 2006), masculine (Whatley 1989, Connell 1996, Skelton 2001, Allen 2006c) or homosexual (Blake et al. 2001, Rofes 2005) identity. Morris' work does consider sex education curricula in Canada and globally, advocating a Values Clarification approach that allows learners to not only learn the biological elements of sex at school but explore attitudes, feelings, values and perspectives that may influence their sexual choices (1999: 296).

Outside of sex and sexuality specifically, other life skills research has been conducted that considers the role of curriculum, which were useful in providing context for this study. Butterwick and Benjamin's critical discourse analysis of the employment-related content of the Life Skills course in British Columbia, Canada offered insight into the means through which particular subject identities are formulated in life and living skills texts. Kirk and McDonald's (2010) analysis of the larger subject area of Health and Physical Education made a case for greater teacher involvement not only in the field of reproduction

but also recontextualisation, given their intimate knowledge of their learners. This is echoed by work by Marsh (2007) who advocates the inclusion of “out-of-school” discourses of children and young people toward more collaborative recontextualising of content from the horizontal discourse of the everyday. Most comparable to this research in regards to theory were studies by Evans et al. (2004) and Johns (2005). Evans et al. considered health education’s role in projecting particular learner identities and Johns’ physical education study points to the disconnects which emerge when recontextualising a biomedical discourse into a physical education curriculum. It does so in the face of the “massive consumer culture of modern youth”, one that often contradicts learning on healthy living (ibid: 70). This same blurred boundary, between the school and learners’ everyday world, features significantly in this study in relation to sexual knowledge into pedagogic communication.

For the purposes of this study, significant literature from Bernstein (1975, 1990, 1996, 1999 and 2003) was reviewed, with a focus on the field of recontextualisation- the space where knowledge is adapted for the school and curriculum is developed. All elements of his work that related to the school as a site of power and control along with the role that education plays in reproducing cultural and moral norms formed part of the review. Applicable concepts were identified in Bernstein’s own work as well as those from academic analyses, critiques and applications of his pedagogic device (Atkinson 1985. Singh 2002, Williams 1999). These concepts and their applications are outlined in detail in Chapter 3, method and conceptual framework.

2.2 Conclusion

This study looks to fill a space left in the discussion around the knowledge/practice gap by considering two particular sex education curricula. Having established an understanding of the existing research in the field it becomes possible to undertake an analysis of the two sets of texts in question. It will do so by using Bernstein’s conceptual tools and Allen’s discourse of erotics (2006a) to interrogate the structure and discourses of these two curricula, all toward an understanding of the recontextualising taking place and the imagined learner eventually realised. The next chapter will identify the method applied

in collecting and analysing the data and outline the conceptual toolbox used to carry out the analysis.

3 Method and conceptual framework

3.1 Introduction

With the goal of answering the primary research question, what kind of imagined learner is projected by the recontextualising of sexual knowledge into pedagogic communication?, this research applied two secondary questions to make the process and product of such recontextualising visible. They were: how are these two curricula structured?, and: what discourses are present in these curricula? The following chapter outlines the research method used to answer these questions as well as the conceptual framework applied. The research method section: describes the research sample (two curriculum texts from South Africa and Ontario, Canada); provides definitions of the units of measurement specific to the study and details the criteria for selection. The research framework section defines the concepts used and describes them in relation to sex education.

3.2 Research sample: Data sources

This study compares and contrasts two sets of texts: education department/ministry curriculum documents dealing with sex education. The two primary data sources were: from South Africa, the Department of Basic Education's Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for Life Skills Grades R⁴-3 and 4-6 and Life Orientation Grades 7-9 and 10-12, a total of 221 pages (DoE⁵ 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2011d) and from Ontario the Ministry of Education's Ontario Curriculum for Health and Physical Education Grades 1-8, Interim Edition, Revised and Grades 9-10 and 11-12, a total of 289 pages (MoET⁶ 2010, 1999a and 1999b). Both are the formal curriculum intended to be offered nationwide (South Africa)⁷ and province-wide (Ontario).

⁴ Reception year

⁵ Department of Education

⁶ Ministry of Education and Training

⁷ While these may have different levels of adherence or elaboration across South Africa depending on the school board, school governing body or region that may impact teacher assignments, timetabling and resource allocation, the interest of this research was to remain in the field of recontextualisation- at the level of the intended curriculum.

It may be expected that an analysis of one curriculum from South Africa and another from Canada would focus on the differences between the two, using divergent content and approaches to reveal stark contrasts and elicit meaning from these. However, from the initial engagement with the data what became clear was that these two sets of texts were remarkably similar. In spite of their different geographical locations and the cultural and economic diversity that entails, thorough analysis of the LS/O and HPE documents revealed comparable: learning outcomes, sequencing, content covered and language used. Bernstein notes that “the most outstanding feature of educational principles and practices is their overwhelming and staggering uniformity, independent of the dominant ideology,” which he attributes to the distinct relay of pedagogic communication (1990: 169). However some differences between the two were identified and they, along with the many similarities, are described as they relate to each section of Chapter 4 and 5.

3.2.1 Description of Life Skills/ Orientation, South Africa (LS/O)

In South Africa, sex education falls under the Life Skills (Grade R to 8) and Life Orientation (Grade 9 to 12) subject area, which is compulsory for all learners from grades R through 12. In the early grades Life Skills is comprised of Beginning Knowledge and Personal and Social Well-being, Physical Education and Creative Arts (Department of Education 2011a:7). Beginning knowledge includes both natural and social sciences and life skills, which are then separated into their own learning area in the later grades. Most of the life skills begin to fall under Life Orientation from Grade 9 latest, which includes: Study Skills, Careers and Career Choices, Democracy and Human Rights and Development of the Self (in Society) (DoE 2011d: 9). For the purpose of this analysis much of this life skills content (unrelated to sexuality) was removed. However it is important to understand the subject in its larger context so that references in this study *to sex education* are understood as comprising a small part of the Development of the Self (in Society) component of the larger Life Orientation curriculum. The existing body of literature on the subject of Life Orientation is often critical of the overburdening of the subject (Abraham 2008, Christiaans 2006, Jacobs 2011, Prinsloo 2007, Rooth 2005, Skosana 2010, Vethe 2011). In a study that included interviews with Life Orientation teachers from three Cape Town high schools, respondents acknowledged the nature of the subject area. One said:

“LO has a lot to cover. We’re talking about the constitution; we’re talking about career choices, putting together resumes, how to conduct yourself at a job interview. There’s a lot that can side track the sexuality stuff” (Thompson 2013: 127).

3.2.2 Description of Health and Physical Education, Ontario (HPE)

In Ontario, sex education makes up a component of the Health and Physical Education curriculum, which is compulsory for all students up to Grade 9 (approximately age 14/15), after which learners can choose to continue to follow courses in Health and Physical Education.

3.2.2.1 HPE learning strands

HPE in Grades 1 to 8 is composed of three sets of required competencies or “learning strands”: Active Living, Movement Competence and Healthy Living (MoET 2010). In large part, the Active Living and Movement Competence strands relate to Physical Education, however some curriculum units do apply to other forms of health literacy. The bulk of the units relating generally or directly to sex education fall within the Healthy Living strand. Healthy Living is further divided into: Healthy Eating, Personal Safety and Injury Prevention, Substance Use, Addictions and Related Behaviours and Growth and Development. Growth and Development is the component that deals specifically with sexual development, sexuality and reproduction (MoET 2010).

3.2.2.2 HPE living skills

In Grades 1-8, HPE is further characterised by an overarching set of life skills called Living Skills. These remain uniform across all grades and are designed to be integrated into all of the learning strands. These Living Skills encompass a variety of desired social competencies and are divided into three categories: Personal Skills, Interpersonal Skills and Critical and Creative Thinking Skills (MoET 2010).

In Grades 9-12, HPE operates similarly except that Living Skills (simplified into three categories: Decision-Making, Social Skills and Conflict Resolution) are listed as one of the learning strands, along with Physical Activity, Active Living and Healthy Living. However, Living Skills are uniquely highlighted in the introductory text as designed to be incorporated and evaluated as overarching the three other strands. The Healthy Living strand in Grades 9-12 is comparable to the earlier grades; it is comprised of: Substance Use

and Abuse, Personal Safety and Injury Prevention and Healthy Growth and Sexuality (MoET 1999a, 1999b).

3.3 Units of measurement

In the interest of clarity, despite its position as a subset of two larger subjects (Health and Physical Education and Life Skills/Orientation) this study refers to sex education as a *subject area*, one made up of topics, referred to as *curriculum segments* (usually indicated in the documents through a distinct heading), further divided into *curriculum units* (usually indicated in the documents through a bullet or dash). A curriculum unit was defined as a single instruction or desired learning expectation (skill or content) and was the central unit of measure for this study. In order to separate the relevant portions of each curriculum the content of each unit was analysed and coded according to a number of factors.

In HPE the curriculum is divided into ‘overall expectations’ and ‘specific expectations’. In this study a *curriculum segment* is equivalent to HPE’s overall expectation and *curriculum unit* is equivalent to HPE’s specific expectation. An example of an overall expectation or curriculum segment is: “By the end of the course, students will: explain the consequences of sexual decisions on the individual, family, and community” (MoET 1999a: 10). An example of a specific expectation or curriculum unit is: “By the end of the course, students will: describe the relative effectiveness of methods of preventing pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases” (ibid).

LS/O does not formally define its segments or units with terms equivalent to general and specific expectations but different segments are clearly indicated by headings (ie. Development of the Self) and units are indicated as bulleted lists, for example:

“Development of the self in society (*1x segment*)

- values such as respect for self and others, self-control, right to privacy, right to protect oneself, right to ‘No’ and taking responsibility for own actions (*1x unit*)
- where to find help regarding sexuality and sexual health” (*1x unit*) (DoE 2011d: 15).

3.4 Criteria for selection

In order to establish a relevant data set, strict criteria for selection had to be developed. This section explains which units were selected for analysis and which were removed.

To begin, entire sections not considered relevant to an analysis of sex education were excluded such as Physical Education and Creative Arts from LS/O and Movement Competence and large portions of Active Living from HPE. The study then selected for analysis all units relating to matters of sexuality, both implicit and explicit references. Implicit references required a certain degree of interpretation especially in earlier grades where sex is not yet discussed. Instead foundational knowledge and skills (ie. decision-making, communication, self-control, self-esteem) that may be more suitably described as *pre-sex education*, were selected for analysis.

Selection of the units for analysis was achieved by working backwards in the curriculum, looking at the skills and knowledge that would be required by learners once they were being taught explicitly about sexuality (sexual behaviours, reproduction, healthy sexuality, intimate partner relationships and tracing the genesis of those skills back through the generic health and personal safety teaching offered in the early grades. For example an early skill such as hand washing reinforces the importance of self-protection and care, a skill that could be used later to negotiate safe sex through condom use. Likewise practicing how to stand up to bullies builds assertiveness skills that can be applied to resisting peer pressure and risks of sexual coercion. This content from early grades was included only insofar as it related later to sexuality content and its associated skills. All units relating to the following skills and content knowledge were removed for analysis:

- Personal responsibility
- Self-management and self-control
- Self-care and self-protection
- Self-esteem and self-awareness
- Peer pressure
- Showing respect to others
- Recognising abuse or violence
- Refusal skills
- Communicating effectively
- Building and managing relationships
- Decision-making
- Problem solving
- Managing others and communal responsibility
- The body
- Care for the body and hygiene
- Individual rights
- Gender and gender equality

- Puberty
- Reproduction
- Sexual intercourse and sexual activities
- Sexual expression
- STIs and HIV/AIDS
- Pregnancy
- Sexuality
- Sexual orientation
- Sexual violence and coercion
- Other forms of violence

These units were then collated to form the central data set for this analysis (Appendix 1). The data set retained each curriculum’s order, units were grouped according to grade and in the same order they initially appeared to allow for analysis of the influence of sequencing on the discourses that were present. Selection continued until saturation was reached, wherein the above categories could be identified as encompassing all curriculum units related to sexuality in both texts.

3.5 Data selected for analysis

A total of 311 units from the two curricula met the criteria for selection as relating to, or providing the foundation for, sex education. These units were unevenly distributed across the grades, with the largest number of units meeting the criteria for selection appearing in Grade 5 in both curricula as well as Grade 8 and Grade 9 in LS/O and HPE respectively. Table 3-1 provides a breakdown of the units selected for analysis across the two curricula. It also indicates in which grades the largest number of units met the criteria for selection.

Table 3-1: Curriculum units selected for analysis from HPE and LS/O

Grade	Units selected from Life Skills/Orientation	Units selected from Health and Physical Education
Grade 1	10	11
Grade 2	6	8
Grade 3	7	5
Grade 4	16	7
Grade 5 *	24*	14*
Grade 6	10	7
Grade 7	12	13
Grade 8 *	30*	9
Grade 9 *	17	19*

Grade 10	17	10
Grade 11	15	16
Grade 12	11	17
Total units	175 units	136 units

**Largest number of units met criteria*

3.5.1 Sex-specific curriculum units

After the full data set was established a secondary categorisation was applied, highlighting the units that referenced sex and sexuality directly. Referred to as *sex-specific* units for the purpose of this study, these were lifted out and coded separately so that they could be distinguished as comparative units of analysis. To be coded as sex specific units need to contain the word: sex, sexuality, sexual activity, sexual intercourse, sexual behaviours and sexual health or refer to the functions of the reproductive system (including puberty, pregnancy and childbearing).⁸ Table 3-2 indicates the breakdown of sex-specific units across the two curricula as well as what percentage of the total data set is sex specific. Of the total 311 units, 65 (or 21%) meet these criteria as relating directly to sex or sexuality specifically. As indicated in Table 3-2, sex-specific units make up a larger percentage of the total units in HPE (28%) compared to LS/O (15%). This is particularly evident in the later grades; for example in Grade 12 HPE there are five sex-specific units versus only one in LS/O. This may, at least partly, be due to the fact that the structure of the HPE curriculum lends itself to the inclusion of sex-specific topics as it contains a section in each grade headed ‘Growth and Development’ designed to relate specifically to the body and consistently includes sex-specific topics from Grade 3 onwards. The section becomes ‘Healthy Growth and Sexuality’ from Grade 9 to 12. In LS/O the structure is less consistent, with units under the section headings ‘Development of the Self’ and later ‘Development of the Self in Society’ intermittently touching on the physical body and the specific sub-headings ‘Sexuality’ and ‘Sexual behaviour and sexual health’ only appearing in Grade 8 and Grade 9.

⁸ Of importance to potential replication of this study is the distinct coding used for units relating to HIV/AIDS. This study did not code references to HIV/AIDS that occur in the curriculum before the coverage of puberty as sex-specific. This was based on a reading of the curriculum within the context of *age-appropriate* sequencing wherein HIV is identified first as a communicable, blood-borne disease only later to be discussed as a sexually-transmitted disease. For example in Grade 4 LS/O: *Transmission of HIV through blood can be compared to grade 8 LS: “Informed, responsible decision-making about health and safety: HIV and AIDS”* a unit which is sequenced after a section introducing concepts around sex and sexuality for the first time. Only instances comparable to the second unit were coded as sex-specific.

Table 3-2: Sex-specific curriculum units in HPE and LS/O

Grade	Life Skills/Orientation	Health and Physical Education
Grade 1	0	0
Grade 2	0	0
Grade 3	0	1
Grade 4	0	0
Grade 5	0	2
Grade 6	1	1
Grade 7	3	5
Grade 8	7	7
Grade 9	7	7
Grade 10	7	5
Grade 11	1	5
Grade 12	1	5
Total sex-specific units	27	38
Sex-specific units as percentage of total units	15%	28%

Having established which data was selected for analysis, the next section will outline the framework and method applied to recognise the eventual imagined learner.

3.6 Research framework

Sex education requires the transmission of the incredibly personal, often stigmatised issue of sexuality into a school-appropriate pedagogic discourse. This pedagogic discourse “embeds rules which create skills of one kind or another and rules regulating their relationship to each other, and rules which create social order.” Bernstein called these instructional and regulative rules (1996: 32). An instructional discourse is one of competence- knowledge and skills, while a regulative discourse is one of social order, specifically order, relation and identity (1990: 183). Due to the inherent privacy associated with sex and a particular discomfort around intergenerational dialogue on sexuality, it is a compelling school subject to use to consider how “power, knowledge and discourse are brought into play as regulative devices” (1990: 134). Most school-based sex education produces a space where adults try to manage and control a perceived onset of adulthood in adolescents- sexual activity, by prescribing appropriate behaviour— the regulative discourse of the curriculum and school. Therefore, Bernstein’s theory is useful in analysing sex education’s general problematic (the knowledge/practice gap) as it provides

descriptions of the creation and maintenance of social boundaries. Thus the conceptual framework for this study is Bernstein's pedagogic device and its regulative practices, complimented with Allen's discourse of erotics to assist in identifying the significance of specific inclusions and absences on the formulation of the instructional discourse. The following section defines the figurative toolbox of concepts used to carry out the analysis. It outlines the major Bernsteinian concepts applied against the data, using a deductive approach to reach conclusions about the structure of the curricula as well as Allen's discourse of erotics, the relevance of which was identified by an inductive analysis of the content and discourse trends.

3.6.1 Recontextualising sex education

Before Bernstein introduced his idea of the pedagogic device, the focus of educationalists was on what was relayed (Singh 2002: 572). His device shifted focus onto the relay itself. He generated the concept of the device in answer to the question "are there any general principles underlying the transformation of knowledge into pedagogic communication?" (1996: 25) His answer was yes, and he outlined those rules as the distributive, recontextualising and evaluative: the pedagogic device. The three rules exist hierarchically and together generate a pedagogic discourse that becomes "a symbolic ruler of consciousness", determining who has access to what knowledge and therefore to power. It allows for particular discourses (in the case of this research a discourse around adolescent sexuality) to become privileged when translated into curriculum.

Bernstein's fields of the pedagogic device (production, recontextualising, and reproduction) are the "social spaces of conflict and competition" wherein the rules of the pedagogic device play out (Singh 2002: 573). The recontextualising field is the space "in which the forms of content and the means of their transmission are determined", where *the what* and *the how* of curricula are formed (Williams 1999: 113). The recontextualising rule regulates the constitution of a specific pedagogic discourse through relation, selection, sequencing and pacing. Recontextualising occurs when knowledge about sexuality is delocated from its origins, relocated into a particular discourse and refocused broadly in the curriculum around concepts like self-protection, decision-making and personal responsibility. The resulting curriculum looks very different from the knowledge in its original form. So was the case with Bernstein's example of woodworking class, as

compared to the real world career of carpentry, which he used to illustrate the distinction between the real world context and the classroom, or fields of production and reproduction (Bernstein 1996: 33).

3.6.2 Invisible subject

Bernstein's theory "seeks to make visible the social messages relayed through pedagogic interaction, messages whose circulation produces normative subject-positions for learners and teachers" (Sriprakash 2012:182). The pedagogic device thus makes visible both the process of recontextualisation and the "subject positions" it creates for learners, based on what Bernstein describes as the social and political motivations and practices of schooling (1990: 189). Thus recontextualising creates not only *a what* but *a whom*. This research sought to look closely at that whom, questioning how, through recontextualisation, knowledge is transformed and what subject position this creates. Bernstein labels this position the imaginary subject (1990: 184). His concept allows for a discussion of what this study calls the *imagined learner*— one hypothetical learner who represents the embodiment of the intended curriculum. This learner is a theoretical individual possessing all of the curriculum's indicated knowledge and skills, as well as the social norms and behaviours projected through the pedagogic device.

3.6.3 Instructional and regulative discourse

After accepting that this theoretical imagined learner is projected through the process of recontextualisation, it becomes vital to understand how this process brings the instructional and regulative dimensions into relation. Bernstein further defined pedagogic discourse as the rules for embedding and relating two discourses, selectively created by the process of recontextualising: the instructional and regulative, where the latter dominates the former (ID/RD) (1990: 183). The idea of the pedagogic discourse as the product of an instructional discourse embedded in a regulative discourse is evident in relation to sexual education, where there is no distinction between the transmission of skills and the transmission of values; the former are embedded in the latter, into one discourse. The pedagogic discourse of sex education concerns itself with both equipping students with skills and knowledge to successfully manage their personal sexual lives (instructional) and maintaining social order by avoiding unwanted pregnancy, sexual assault and the spread of

sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS (regulative). The effect the regulative has over the instructional can offer insight into where priority (and control) lies and is thus a key area of analysis for this study.

3.6.3.1 A model for recognising explicit and implicit regulative discourse

Regulative discourse serves two functions: first, it creates a moral regulation (rules of order, relation and identity) of the social relations of transmission and acquisition (teaching and learning) and second, it creates a (less obvious) regulation of order, relation and identity within the instructional discourse (1990: 185). This study identified both of these forms of regulative discourse as present in the two curricula, categorising them as either *explicit* (moral regulation) or *implicit* (regulation embedded within the structure of the instructional discourse). For the purpose of this study explicit regulative discourse is the means by which social morals and norms are being openly conveyed (ie. instructions for learners to demonstrate “positive” means of expressing themselves or identifying “negative” reactions to pressure from peers). Implicit regulative discourse, for the purpose of this study, is a matter of regulation being indicated tacitly, through selection (what content is included and excluded) and sequencing (ie. in which grade a topic is indicated—often referred to in sex education as “age-appropriateness”).

3.6.4 Classification

According to Bernstein classification refers to *what*, while framing is concerned with *how* meanings are to be put together (1996:27). Classification controls the specialisation and distribution of different forms of meanings, in other words the boundary between learning areas. Sex education lacks the strong isolation from other school subjects that the hard sciences and to some degree languages, have from one another. These boundaries, and their relative strength, have implications on learner identities. Strong classification projects a specialist learner identity, someone with specific expertise in an area of knowledge. The learning area specific to this study, rather than helping to generate specific educational identities is focussed preparing students for living a good life (as opposed to preparing them to be experts in a given field). This is clear from the way it is recontextualised and even named (Life Orientation, Living Skills). However, it should not be assumed that the interdisciplinary nature of the subject does not allow for clear roots in

the field of knowledge production (ie. biology) and thus a sex education curriculum that contains some degree of strong classification. In the context of this research, topics or curriculum segments and units with strong isolation from other subjects were considered strongly classified and more integrated segments or units were considered weakly classified.

3.6.5 Framing

Framing indicates the degree of control between subjects- teachers and learners. It defines the way school puts together meaning through the nature of the social relationships that go along with that process (Bernstein 1996:27). It usually applies to discussions of control in the field of reproduction- the classroom. However, in the field of recontextualising some implications can be drawn about the *intended* framing being suggested. This allows for a consideration of how much relative control teachers and learners are expected to have over the selection and sequencing of segments and units, essentially over what is included as school content. In the context of the highly sensitive and controversial nature of sex education this study considers framing somewhat uniquely as being indicated by who controls the boundary between the inclusion of mundane (everyday) and esoteric (school) knowledge. While that boundary alone might be considered a component of classification what makes it framing is the degree to which the intended curriculum allows, or calls for, the inclusion of learners' own experiential learning in the local pedagogic context (home, community, peer group, Internet, media, etc.) This is framing because it marks a weakening of the strict social boundary between learner as merely acquirer and teacher as sole transmitter. Learning to be a teacher (or transmitter), according to Bernstein, entails "the acquiring of rules of social order, character and manner which become the condition for appropriate conduct in the pedagogical relation" however he acknowledges that in any given relation "the rules of conduct may to different degrees permit space for negotiation" (2003: 198).

Through an analysis of the intended curriculum, on whose experiences and expertise are being projected as valued, we can consider where this traditional boundary may be interrupted or renegotiated. Instances where learners are encouraged to contribute knowledge from their local pedagogic context signal that they have some influence over the framing relation, sharing control with the teacher. Appeals to the local pedagogic context

indicate learners' contribution to the maintenance or relaxation of the boundary between school and everyday knowledge, between pre-existing adult knowledge and developing adolescent knowledge. For this to happen in a sex education context a particular permission needs to be granted (implicitly or explicitly) to engage with matters of the everyday in a school setting; the teacher must weaken the framing. Thus a teacher, or a curriculum, that does not want to allow the inclusion of knowledge from the local pedagogic context maintains a strictly academic discourse through strong framing. For the purpose of this study a sex education segment or unit intended to be strongly controlled by the teacher (who is tasked with imparting particular content backed by a set of norms dictated by the curriculum) is strongly framed. A segment or unit which appeals to learners to engage in a discussion around their lived experience (signalling that they have some control over the boundary between the inclusion of school and everyday knowledge and is therefore weakly framed.

3.6.6 Horizontal and vertical discourses

“The move from the original site of discursive production to reproduction in pedagogic discourse requires selection and ordering of the content according to some set of principles” (Williams 1999: 111). Bernstein called this ordering “discourses”, wherein a horizontal discourse is made up of everyday knowledge and a vertical discourse made up of school knowledge (Bernstein 1990). An interest of this study was the boundary between the horizontal and vertical, as well as what space was created for engagement between the two. The multidisciplinary nature of the site of production of knowledge around sexuality means that some elements of both a horizontal and vertical discourse are likely to be included in a sex education curriculum.

3.6.7 Horizontal and vertical knowledge structures

Any given school subject area, according to Bernstein, is formulated in either a horizontal or vertical knowledge structure. A curriculum can be set out as in a series of building blocks, requiring one to move forward to the next (a vertical knowledge structure) or a series of segments complimentary to, but relatively independent of, one another (a horizontal knowledge structure). The goal of a knowledge structure is the creation of a specialised learner with a focused area of expertise (ie. physics- vertical, history-

horizontal). As specialisation is not the desired result of sex education (and life skills more generally) it represents a unique case for considering the type of knowledge structure formulated by a sex education curriculum.

3.6.8 Discourse of erotics

The last conceptual tool employed by this study is not Bernstein's but Allen's. Her discourse of erotics⁹ is essentially a descriptor for all of the "other" (often positive, or emotionally-charged) content often excluded from sex education, in particular as it relates to learners' lived experiences. Interestingly, Allen's work came to the attention of this researcher during the research process, and only after a thorough examination and initial coding of the two sets of curriculum documents. In attempting to contextualise the various silences, particularly an absence of the many positive elements of human sexuality, her discourse of erotics provided a useful frame of reference. Her research found that in spite of common adult priorities for sex education, adolescents spend more time talking through the discourse of erotics where "knowledge acquired through practice was perceived of as having a greater status and being more useful" than the discourse they acquire at school (Allen 2001: 113). Her theory posits that the knowledge/practice gap in sexuality education is, at least partly, due to the absence of this discourse. According to the learners in Allen's studies, sex education's central flaws are that it is: clinical, de-eroticised, didactic and repetitive.

This section identified the conceptual tools used to recognise the structure and discourse of the curricula. Next, a consideration of the particular method applied can be described, specifically how these concepts were put to use. That research method will be explored in the following section.

3.7 Research method

The analysis of this research was conducted using both a deductive and inductive approach. First by projecting the two curricula through the lens of Bernstein's pedagogic device, using his concepts of: classification and framing, knowledge structures and discourse, to understand the implications of recontextualising on an eventual imagined

⁹ Fine conceived of a similar 'discourse of desire' however it looked specifically at female learners (1998). For the purpose of this study Allen's 'discourse of erotics' was a suitably broad, holistic framework for understanding the gaps in sex education, and was built on a strong empirical base that allowed this exclusively textual analysis some useful insight into learners' experiences and expectation.

learner. Second, it used what was revealed, particularly about regulative discourse, to recognise curricular themes and interpret the emergent discourse or discourses present in the curricula and then compared them to the findings of other researchers, in particular Allen. An analysis chapter is dedicated to each of these approaches: one conceptual, one thematic. The following describes the methods applied to elicit the results for each.

3.7.1 Conceptual codification

A method was developed to allow for an interrogation of both the structure and features of the texts, where *structure* related to how the curricula were constituted, for example sequencing (ie. incidents of repetition and redundancy or where a particular topic is placed, at what age/grade level) and *features* related to what was selected to be covered in the curricula (ie. word choice, vagueness and particular inclusions and exclusions of particular topics). This method began with preliminary readings of the established data set (all units which met the criteria for selection described earlier in this chapter) to identify which Bernsteinian conceptual tools relating to the pedagogic device were most suited to an interdiscursive analysis of the curriculum documents. Those identified were: classification (and horizontal/vertical discourse), framing, instructional discourse and regulative discourse. A coding scheme was developed to ground Bernstein's concepts in the context of these curricula and to allow for the effective communication of this research's findings. This included a sets of codes related to classification (WC and SC), a set of codes related to framing (WF and SF) a set of codes related to instructional discourse (ID1 and ID2) and a set of codes related to regulative discourse (RD1, RD2 and RD3), the application of which made visible the structure of the curricula and allowed for further analysis to take place.

Classification between subjects was coded as being either weakly classified (WC) or strongly classified (SC), depending on how insulated a given unit was from other subjects in the field of production.

Framing between teacher and learner's control over the inclusion of everyday (or context independent and context dependent) knowledge was coded as either weakly framed (WF) or strongly framed (SF). This was based strictly on an interpretation of the intended framing projected by the curriculum, signalling the degree of control teachers and learners

are anticipated to have over content.¹⁰ Units that were coded as weakly framed were then further divided into direct appeals, and non-direct appeals, depending on whether they explicitly called on learners to engage their own lived experiences.

Instructional discourse was divided into two categories: skills and content knowledge. These were coded according to the central learning expectation of a given unit. Units requiring the demonstration of a skill were coded as skills-based (ID1) and units requiring the acquisition of knowledge were coded as content-based (ID2).

Regulative discourse was coded as either explicit (openly regulated social and moral norms) or implicit (regulation through sequence or selection). Units were coded for three varieties of regulative discourse: one explicit and two implicit. Units where regulative discourse could be read directly through stated moral expectations (ie. good/bad) were coded as explicit regulative discourse (RD1). Units where regulative discourse could be read through ordering were coded as implicit regulative discourse- sequencing (RD2). Units where regulative discourse could be read through association, combination, inclusion or omission were coded as implicit regulative discourse- selection (RD3).

Table 3-3: Coding scheme applied to data set ¹¹

Strongly framed (SF)
Weakly framed (WF)
Direct appeals (DA)
Strongly framed: sex specific (SF: SS)
Weakly framed: sex specific (WF: SS)
Direct appeals: sex specific (DA: SS)
Strongly classified (SC)
Weakly classified (WC)
Strongly classified: sex specific (SC: SS)
Weakly classified: sex specific (WC: SS)
Skills- based instructional (ID1)
Content-based instructional (ID2)
Skills- based instructional: sex specific (ID1: SS)

¹⁰ This study's consideration of the intended curriculum's projected control of the boundary between school and the everyday may be significantly different in the actual, realised field of reproduction. Without classroom observation of the realised curriculum, the distinction between the boundary suggested in the curriculum and the boundary established or relaxed by the teacher in the field of reproduction is unknown. It is however an interesting site of further research.

¹¹ Each unit was initially coded for sex specificity (SS). After this the other coding sets were applied.

Content-based instructional: sex specific (ID2: SS)
Explicit regulative discourse (RD1)
Implicit regulative discourse- sequencing (RD2)
Implicit regulative discourse- selection (RD3)
Explicit regulative discourse: sex specific (ExSS)
Implicit regulative discourse: sex specific (ImSS)

Further detail as to how these coding sets were applied to the data is included in the introductions of each section of the conceptual analysis in Chapter 4. The chapter also outlines both the qualitative and quantitative results of the coding exercise.

3.7.2 Thematic identification

Using the conceptual analysis to establish the nature of the relay taking place in the field of recontextualisation- *the how*- allowed for an in-depth analysis of what was being relayed- *the what*. The discourses within the pedagogic device result in a distinct pedagogic communication, which, while varied, contains many consistent themes. An inductive approach was applied to bring these themes to light, moving from specific observations about the selection and sequencing of content within individual units to broader generalisations about the formulation of the instructional discourse in each curriculum. The raw data was analysed to gain insight and eventually identify a manageable set of themes that sufficiently described the data set. These were recognised through patterns and regularities as well as by conducting a search for various codes (key words and topics) related to sex and sexuality (ie. contraception, masturbation, intercourse, etc.). Major items that were found to have been omitted were classified as *silences*. It is important to note that the initial readings of the data, though informed by research in the field and the awareness of the problem of the knowledge/practice gap, was undertaken as objectively and neutrally as possible. The themes that emerged were not predetermined but rather the result of exhaustive coding to saturation- wherein the most common inclusions and exclusions were identified and contrasted against the varied realisations of human sexuality in everyday life. Through engagement with the data, as well as the established work in this field on the trends in sex education tone and content (Fine 1988, Phillip and Fine 1992, Allen 2004, 2006a, 2007, Bay-Cheng 2003, Bay-Cheng and Lewis 2006, Macleod 2009) three primary themes could be identified in both curricula. They were: sex negativity, strategic silences

and an age-related construction of the adolescent. These three primary themes and their supporting secondary themes were identified as:

SEX NEGATIVITY

- Sex as a threat
- Personal responsibility as culpability
- Decline of the self

STRATEGIC SILENCES

- Pleasure and erotics
- Consensual sex
- Heteronormativity and difference

CONSTRUCTION OF THE ADOLESCENT

- Role of adults
- Danger of the subject
- Age-related

The inductive analysis led to further research, particularly around sex negativity in school curriculum and the absence of discussions around pleasure, desire and the role of sex in social bonding. The themes that emerged supported theories by both Fine (1988) and Allen whose discourses of desire and erotics provided a language of description for the sex negativity and absence of agency in sex education generally and reflected within the curricula of focus for this research. The fact that the themes present in HPE and LS/O are comparable to the findings of major studies by Bay-Cheng, Allen and others further supports Bernstein's commentary on the "overwhelming and staggering uniformity" of educational principles and practices. The findings around these emergent themes and evidence of each (provided as direct extracts from the curricula) are presented in Chapter 5.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has established the conceptual framework and methods applied during the research process in order to identify the imagined learner projected by these two curricula. It outlined the manner in which the structure and discourses created in the field of recontextualising were able to be identified. The next two chapters present the findings of this study, through both a conceptual and thematic analysis. The conceptual chapter (Chapter 4) uses elements of Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device as a tool to build a framework for recognising the structure of these two curricula's sexuality-related content. Once established, this framework allows for the next chapter (Chapter 5): a thematic analysis, to consider the features of the content. Chapter 4 looks closely at the formulation,

the how, of the curricula produced in the field of recontextualisation, while Chapter 5 is a consideration of *the what*, the content itself, and the consistencies that are present therein. The goal was to analyse not merely the content being relayed but the relay itself, to look closely at the structuring and discourses that are generated within the field of recontextualisation.

4 Conceptual results and analysis

4.1 Introduction

This research looked for recontextualisation in the various forms in which Bernstein indicates it can be realised: selection, simplification, condensation and elaboration (1990: 91). The pedagogues and policy makers at work in the field of recontextualisation face the challenge of translating knowledge about sex into a discourse appropriate for discussion in schools. Using the method outlined in the previous chapter this analysis sought to compare and contrast the recontextualising taking place in the Ontario Health and Physical Education and the South African Life Skills/Life Orientation curricula, tracing learning on sex and sexuality from school start to finish. The goal of this chapter was to answer the secondary research question: how are these curricula structured? With the larger aim of answering the primary research question what kind of learner is generated through the process of recontextualisation? In order to fully identify their structures the conceptual analysis will consider each curriculum's: framing of the inclusion of everyday knowledge and the direct appeals specific to weakly framed content; classification between school subjects; the form of the instructional discourse and the relative implicitness and explicitness of the regulative discourse.

4.2 Framing between school and the everyday

Life skills curriculum writers are called upon to design courses that allow each learner to gain a broad understanding of the relevant topics and a grasp of generic social competencies. This generally requires a certain amount of each learner's everyday life to permeate the school content in order to ensure it is relevant and applicable. Bernstein called this kind of context-dependent knowledge mundane, arising "directly out of bodily encounters with the world, with other people, with reality" and depending on "experiential particulars" (Muller and Taylor 1995: 263). What was of interest to this study was whether or not these intended sex education curricula were strongly or weakly framed in regards to the control of the boundary between teacher and learner control over content and, if one or both were weakly framed, whether that creates genuine opportunities for learners to engage with their 'experiential particulars'. This section will address the question of control first by

reaching a conclusion about the curricula as weakly or strongly framed and then drilling down into what is signalled about framing and control by particular word choice and direct appeals to learners’ experiences.

4.2.1 Strongly framed (SF)

Units were coded as strongly framed when their content drew a clear boundary between the school and the everyday and their content was grounded in adult-held knowledge and expertise. Units that appealed to single, concrete sources were coded as strongly framed, for example a law, such as in this unit from Grade 8 LS: “prevention of violence against women: law on sexual offences”. Here context independence is signaled through the source material (a legal document), and it is clear that learner’s everyday world is not being acknowledged or appealed to. This can be compared with the following unit, which was coded as weakly framed: “emotional, health and social impact of rape and gender-based violence”. While the units touch on similar content the former is strongly framed. The analysis found very few such context independent curriculum units in either curricula. As indicated in Table 4-1 a total of 7% of total units are strongly framed between school and the everyday, while the other 93% are (to some degree) context dependent, or weakly framed, with a relaxed boundary between adult-held and adolescent-held knowledge.

Table 4-1: Strength of framing boundary from the everyday in HPE and LS/O

Strength of framing	Life Skills/Orientation	Health and Physical Education
Strongly framed	6%	5
Weakly framed	94%	95%

Table 4-2 presents examples of units that were coded as strongly framed. This units have their clear origins in the field of knowledge production, evidence that the lessons (at least insofar as the intended curriculum) are meant to be teacher led and controlled.

Table 4-2: Examples of strongly framed units in HPE and LS/O

<p>In Grade 3 HPE: outline the basic human and animal reproductive processes (e.g., the union of egg and sperm)</p>
<p>In Grade 4 LS: Transmission of HIV through blood</p>
<p>In Grade 6 HPE: relate the changes at puberty to the reproductive organs and their functions</p>
<p>In Grade 7 HPE: distinguish between the facts and myths associated with menstruation, spermatogenesis, and fertilization</p>
<p>In Grade 8 LS Defining gender-based violence</p>
<p>In Grade 9 HPE describe the relative effectiveness of methods of preventing pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases (e.g., abstinence, condoms, oral contraceptives)</p>

4.2.1.1 Sex-specific strongly framed

While few units were coded as strongly framed, those that were provided insight into each curriculum's structural approach to sex-specific content. In HPE 89% of the units coded as sex-specific were coded as strongly framed as they adhere to a more content independent discourse and often deal with the scientific or biological functions of the human body as they relate to reproduction. In LS/O sex-specific units are weakly framed (none were coded as strongly framed), as they integrate a number of sub topics, making it challenging for a unit to be context independent and not acknowledge the lived, everyday world. For example in Grade 11 LO, "risky behaviour and situations: personal safety, road use, substance use and abuse, sexual behaviour, risk of pregnancy, teenage suicides, hygiene and dietary behaviour, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), HIV & AIDS and peer pressure". This is significantly more integrated and context dependent than in Grade 10 HPE, for example: "describe the relative effectiveness of methods of preventing pregnancy and sexually-transmitted diseases".

4.2.2 Weakly framed (WF)

To be coded as weakly framed a unit needed to have minimal insulation between the school and the everyday, relaxing the framing relationship and acknowledging learners' local pedagogic context. Units coded as weakly framed are, at least partially, context dependent due to the inclusion or acknowledgement of the learner's external world. In some units this external world is appealed to directly (direct appeals). In other units it is implied or assumed based on references to social interaction, psychological implications or moral regulation, essentially a generic "real world" (non-direct appeals). Curriculum units were coded as weakly framed (WF) when they contained:

- Acknowledgement of the self
- References to learners' experiences as having bearing on lesson
- Encouragement of personal reflection
- References to learners' lives outside the school
- Allusions to the generic 'real world' outside the school
- Indications of social interactions, psychological or moral norms or requirements

The results of the analysis were that an overwhelming majority of the units are weakly framed, with blurred boundary or control over the inclusion of content from the everyday. Over 90% of both curricula either appeal to the learners lived experience (coded as direct appeals) or acknowledge the generic real world (coded as non-direct appeals). Both contain a weakened boundary between the vertical discourse of the school and the horizontal discourse of the everyday. Table 4-1 provides a breakdown of the units between weakly and strongly framed and table 4-3 presents some examples of curriculum units that were coded as weakly framed.

Table 4-3: Examples of weakly framed units in HPE and LS/O

In Grade 3 HPE: apply their understanding of good safety practices by developing safety guidelines for a variety of places and situations outside of the classroom
In Grade 3 LS: rules to keep my body safe
In Grade 4 LS: Strategies to avoid conflicts

(continued) Table 4-3: Examples of weakly framed units in HPE and LS/O

In Grade 5 HPE:

identify factors (e.g., trust, honesty, caring) that enhance healthy relationships with family, friends and peers

In Grade 7 HPE:

describe age-appropriate matters related to sexuality (e.g., the need to develop good interpersonal skills, such as the ability to communicate effectively with the opposite sex).

In Grade 7 LS:

Strategies to enhance self-image through positive actions: respect for self

4.2.2.1 Direct appeals

After curriculum units were identified as weakly framed they were further coded as direct or non-direct appeals. A direct appeal calls on learners to engage their own experience, for example in Grade 3 HPE, “identify some of the characteristics that make them unique, and think about things they may have done or said that acknowledged the unique characteristics of others in a positive way or that were disrespectful or hurtful to others.” The direct nature of this appeal is made clear by word choice, through use of the directive “think about things they may have done...” which requires learners to consider their own lived experiences. Such units are common in HPE.

LS/O is more ambiguous in this regard but there are units that appeal to learners directly or present an expectation that learners will draw on their lives outside of the school. The use of directive verbs proves a central indicator in identifying direct appeals. Units that make direct appeals and/or are weakly framed call on learners to *demonstrate*, *practise* or *discuss* in regards to skills or content knowledge. In both curricula, many instances where learners are being encouraged to draw on their own existing knowledge, life experiences or non-school knowledge the verb *discuss* is used, an indicator that the learner is being invited to reflect personally. In the units that are strongly framed, learners are rather asked to *describe*, *identify*, *define*; these often anticipate context independent responses. For example in grade 3 HPE “outline the basic human and animal reproductive processes (e.g., the union of egg and sperm)”.

The most notable finding around the weakening of the boundary between school and everyday knowledge, and thus teacher and learner control, was the manner in which the

frequency of direct appeals decreases dramatically in both curricula as the learner progresses. There is a marked decline in direct appeals between earlier and later grades, as indicated in Table 4-4. The older learners become the more rarely they are encouraged to engage personal reflection by the intended curricula.

Table 4-4: Direct appeals as a percentage of total weakly framed units in LS/O and HPE

Grade	Direct appeals in LS/O	Direct appeals in HPE
Grade 1	70%	67%
Grade 2	83%	63%
Grade 3	57%	80%
Grade 4	31%	29%
Grade 5	25%	29%
Grade 6	30%	57%
Grade 7	33%	23%
Grade 8	13%	11%
Grade 9	24%	21%
Grade 10	18%	40%
Grade 11	0%	12%
Grade 12	18%	12%

4.2.2.1.1 Sex-specific direct appeals

There is a distinct absence of direct appeals that relate to sex directly, with none that relate to the physical body. Compare for example a direct appeal in Grade 1 LS: “protecting *our* bodies from illness” which is not sex-specific, to a sex-specific unit in Grade 5 HPE “identify the major parts of *the* body by their proper names”¹² (emphasis added). Here the concept of the body is abstracted away from the learner’s own. This is consistent across the sex-specific curriculum units. Of the two curricula’s 64 sex-specific curriculum units, only four make a direct appeal to the learner. All four appear in the HPE curriculum and of those, three are redundant, asking learners to demonstrate the same set of skills three grades in a row. These three units are indicated in Table 4-5.

¹² Standing alone this may not appear to be a sex-specific unit but based on its sequencing in relation to other units and its location under the Growth and Development segment the curriculum appears to intend for full names of all body parts, including genitals, to be introduced here (MoET 2010: 83).

Table 4-5: Instances of direct appeals in sex-specific units in HPE

In Grade 8 HPE:

apply living skills (e.g., decision-making, assertiveness, and refusal skills) in making informed decisions, and analyse the consequences of engaging in sexual activities and using drugs;

In Grade 9 HPE:

demonstrate understanding of how to use decision-making and assertiveness skills effectively to promote healthy sexuality (e.g., healthy human relationships, avoiding unwanted pregnancies and STDs such as HIV/AIDS)

In Grade 10 HPE:

demonstrate understanding of the factors affecting human sexuality as it relates to themselves and others

4.2.2.1.2 Non-direct appeals

The remaining weakly framed units- the ones that do not make direct appeals- allude to the generic real world. For example, in Grade 8 HPE, one unit covers “*long and short-term consequences of substance abuse: link to crime, violence and educational outcomes*”. While this is clearly grounded in the external, everyday, and relatively context dependent (media, community, wider everyday context) world of the learners it makes no obvious direct appeal. This type of units become more common in later grades, slowly abstracting the subject from “me” “my” “they” “their” in early grades to “one” or “one’s” in later grades. Units continue to acknowledge the realm of the everyday, but only insofar as the content relates to the generic real world, not the one unique to the learners.

Most of these units are relatively ambiguous about the degree to which they represent genuine opportunities for learners to appeal to their lived experience. At the level of the intended curriculum it is impossible to know whether these will be administered as weakly framed (at least partly learner controlled) or strongly framed (teacher controlled) when realised in the classroom, or field of reproduction. In Grade 5 LS teachers are told to cover “skills to manage emotions in a positive way.” While it is very likely that learners would be asked to draw on experiences from outside the school during such a lesson, it is possible that a list of pre-determined skills may be presented for them, for example via a textbook. Some teachers may make direct appeals to learners, encouraging them to reflect on their out-of-class knowledge to complete these lessons while others may not. In a very weakly framed setting, learners may even actively volunteer their real world knowledge

without being appealed to to do so. However this is not known based on a textual analysis alone. The conclusion that can be reached is that such units acknowledge the generic real world and are therefore, at least potentially, weakly framed as defined in the context of this study.

4.3 Classification between subjects

In Bernsteinian terms, a subject is weakly classified when a strong boundary between it and other subject areas does not exist. The purpose of strong classification is widely understood to be aimed at generating a specialist learner. The value of a strongly classified sex education curriculum is thus unclear given that, with sex education, the creation of specific educational identities is not the ultimate goal. Instead it holds a general purpose, to prepare students for living a healthy sexual life. What is desired is a learner who is able to take the life skills he or she learns at school and cross apply them to a variety of lived experiences. Bernstein asserted that “power is never more eloquent and penetrating than, in the insulation it produces between categories” (1977: 198). Seeking the form of discourse present in these two curricula required an understanding of how strongly or weakly classified the units selected for analysis were between sex education and other subjects. The goal was to interpret the form of classification insofar as its role in structuring the curricula. Thus an analysis of the strength of the boundary between sex education and other school subjects follows. First those units that were coded as weakly classified, followed by those coded as strongly classified.

4.3.1 Weakly classified (WC)

Curriculum units where the distinction between sex education and other subjects is not clearly defined were coded as weakly classified (WC). To be considered weakly classified, a unit needed to

- have shared, integrated, often psycho-social origins
- draw on a number of subjects in the field of production from which sex education is drawn (ie. some sociology, some psychology, some science, etc.).
- relate to generic social competencies

Since such units lack a clear site of production, origins cannot be attributed to one distinct learning area, for example in Grade 1 HPE “practise listening carefully to show you care

about someone.” Such units require learners to apply skills; self-reflect and show concern for their behaviour’s effect on others. In HPE these areas are clearly identified as personal skills, interpersonal skills, and critical and creative thinking skills, while in LS/O they are mixed with more content-based curriculum units. In both curricula this type of units relate to a set of generic social competencies that share a psycho-social, context-dependent origin—skills and knowledge required for simply living in the world. These include: communicating, conflict resolution, self-expression and even basic survival skills expressed through the maintenance of personal safety. Table 4-6 presents examples of units that were coded as weakly classified.

Table 4-1: Examples of weakly classified units in LS/O and HPE

<p>In Grade 1 LS: How I am different from my friends</p> <p>In Grade 3 LS: Good ways to express what we feel</p> <p>In Grade 5 LS: Stigma about people with HIV and AIDS</p> <p>In Grade 8 LS: Positive self-talk: individuality, uniqueness and personal achievements and Emotional, health and social impact of rape and gender-based violence</p> <p>In Grade 11 HPE: explain the advantages, disadvantages and possible consequences of risk-taking behaviour</p>

These types of weakly classified units made up the majority of both curricula. In HPE 75% of the units are weakly classified and in LS/O 85% of the units are weakly classified, as indicated in Table 4-7. This majority is largely composed of the units dealing with generic social competencies or ‘life skills’ many of which have hybrid psycho-social origins.

Table 4-2: Strength of classification between sex education and other subjects in units in HPE and LS/O

Strength of classification	Life Skills/Orientation	Health and Physical Education
Strongly classified	15%	25%
Weakly classified	85%	75%

The sequencing of these broad, generic social competencies are not indicated as linear signalling a horizontal knowledge structure where content is non-hierarchical and segmented. While certain skills such as self-protection, assertiveness and decision-making appear across the units and the grades in both HPE and LS/O, they are not formulated as ‘building blocks’ requiring that they be imparted in any particular order. In the early grades for example, learners are expected to respond to ‘developmentally’ or ‘age appropriate’ scenarios such as dealing with a conflict with a friend or family member in a positive manner. Later they are called upon to use similar skills to resist pressure from peers to engage in risky behaviour. However neither curriculum formalises a foundation of skills and knowledge to be drawn upon later, nor signals to learners that they are being asked to reapply skills already covered in earlier grades. Rather the assumption seems to be that learners have grasped these skills at each phase, and will instinctively be able to apply them to various age-specific scenarios with which they will be presented later on.

4.3.2 Strongly classified (SC)

Curriculum units where there was demarcation between sex education/life skills and other subjects were coded as strongly classified (SC). For this demarcation to be evident, the source of the curriculum unit was analysed. Table 4-8 contains examples of units coded as strongly classified. A unit was coded as strongly classified due to its insulation from other subjects if it:

- clearly draws on a single subject area in a field of production
- has a source subject that is a clear professional knowledge area (ie. medicine, law)
- is an explicit direction to further resources

Table 4-3: Examples of strongly classified units in HPE and LS/O and their origins in a field of production

In Grade 1 LS:

Different parts of my body (*source: anatomy*)

In Grade 1 HPE:

be able to use proper terminology to name their body parts (*source: anatomy*)

In Grade 3 HPE:

outline the basic human and animal reproductive processes (e.g., the union of egg and sperm) (*source: biology*)

In Grade 8 LS:

Prevention of violence against women: law on sexual offences (*source: law*)

Prevention and safety issues relating to HIV and AIDS (*source: epidemiology*)

In Grade 9 HPE:

describe the relative effectiveness of methods of preventing pregnancies and sexually-transmitted diseases (*source: pharmacology, biology*)

In Grade 10 LO:

Physical changes during puberty (*source: biology*)

As indicated in Table 4-7, the majority of the units in both curricula are weakly classified between subjects. Only a total of 25% in HPE and 15% in LS/O are strongly classified. Many of the curriculum units that were coded as strongly classified related directly to the physical body. Of the 65 curriculum units that met the criteria to be coded as strongly classified, 29 (or 45%) were connected to anatomy or biological functions of reproduction. Another 12 of those were explicit directions to further resources and support.

This strong classification relating to the physical and biological elements of sexuality has significant implications on the discourse being created by the process of recontextualisation. These strongly classified units signal a certain degree of verticality in an otherwise horizontal knowledge structure. The content they cover are ‘building blocks,’ where initial knowledge must be understood before new knowledge is provided, and where there is a progression from one area to the next (ie. body parts, menstruation, sexual intercourse, pregnancy). While sequencing will be discussed in further detail later in this analysis it also has bearing on an understanding of this emerging, yet fragmented, verticality. While relatively vertical, it is also fragmented in that the biological, body-based

and sex-specific curriculum units that are strongly classified between subjects tend to stand-alone and are often not integrated with the rest of the more psycho-social elements of a segment. This results in two distinct and separate knowledge structures, running alongside one another but not seeking complementary coverage of content. What results is a fragmented knowledge structure, and thus a fragmented discourse around sexuality in these curricula.

A notable pattern emerged in the few instances where the more vertical elements (those which are strongly classified from other subjects) of the curricula intersect with the majority horizontal elements. Such units are, almost exclusively, sex negative in tone. Examples of these sex negative, integrated (strongly and weakly classified topics sequenced together) units are indicated in Table 4-9.

Table 4-4: Examples of sex negative integrated units

<p>In Grade 7 LS: How peer pressure may influence an individual: use of substances, crime, unhealthy sexual behaviour, bullying and rebellious behaviour</p> <p>In Grade 9 LO: Unwanted results of unhealthy sexual behaviour: teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), HIV and AIDS, low self-image and emotional scars</p> <p>Or in Grade 8 HPE: - “identify symptoms, methods of transmission, prevention, and high-risk behaviours related to common STDs, HIV, and AIDS; - identify methods used to prevent pregnancy; - apply living skills (e.g., decision-making, assertiveness, and refusal skills) in making informed decisions, and analyse the <i>consequences of engaging in sexual activities and using drugs</i>” (emphasis added)¹³</p>
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Another significant finding was the distinct manner in which strongly classified verticality emerged over time. In early grades, where the life skills and knowledge of the body that eventually become sex education are being introduced, they are not at all insulated from one another. Pre-sexuality topics relating to a variety of different elements drawn from biology, sociology and psychology appear together as “beginning knowledge” in LS and “living skills” and “healthy living” in HPE. The stronger form of classification

¹³ Implications of the consistent sequencing of sex in relation to drug use is explored further in Chapter 5.

only emerges as the curriculum progresses. While sex education as a whole remains weakly classified the biological elements, relating to reproduction and the transmission of disease evolve into a more distinctive, recognisable sub-category. In HPE it even moves from being a unit integrated into other curriculum segments (ie. Growth and Development in Grade 1 to 8 HPE) to becoming its own curriculum segment (ie. Healthy Growth and Sexuality in Grade 9 to 11 in HPE). This progression signals the deliberate ‘age-appropriate’ or ‘developmentally-appropriate’ sequencing that each curriculum mentions in its introduction. The sex-specific elements, instead of contributing to the horizontal discourse of the everyday that characterises the bulk of the curricula are substantially recontextualised into an attempted vertical discourse of the school and further, a vertical knowledge structure. Table 4-10 and 4-11 illustrate the growing strength of classification across the grades in each curriculum.

Table 4-5: Strength of classification across grades between subjects (LS/O)

Grade	Percentage strongly classified (%)	Percentage weakly classified (%)
Grade 1	20	80
Grade 2	0	100
Grade 3	0	100
Grade 4	25	75
Grade 5	12	88
Grade 6	0	100
Grade 7	8	92
Grade 8	17	83
Grade 9	24	76
Grade 10	24	76
Grade 11	0	100
Grade 12	18	82

Table 4-6 Strength of classification across grades between subjects (LS/O)

Grade	Percentage strongly classified (%)	Percentage weakly classified (%)
Grade 1	9	91
Grade 2	0	100
Grade 3	20	80
Grade 4	0	100
Grade 5	29	71
Grade 6	29	71

(continued) Table 4-7 Strength of classification across grades between subjects (LS/O)

Grade	Percentage strongly classified (%)	Percentage weakly classified (%)
Grade 7	46	54
Grade 8	44	56
Grade 9	37	63
Grade 10	0	100
Grade 11	47	63
Grade 12	18	82

Obviously, trying to communicate all the required content while including learners' experiences would be neither viable nor appropriate. Classes would be titillating and distracting, not to mention highly controversial among parents, school board members and other adults. It follows that some material needs to be lifted off of its context, and become, to a certain degree, context independent or esoteric. Bernstein discussed this in terms of transmitted meanings. He warned that if meanings "have a direct relation to a material base these meanings are wholly consumed by the context" (Bernstein 1999: 30). However the motivation for lifting particular units (those specific to sexuality and the body) off their context is unclear, as this serves to separate key topics from previously learned skills and knowledge, particularly many of the weakly framed units to which they directly relate.

Having built an understanding of the framework of these curricula using Bernstein's conceptual tools, it is now possible to take a closer look inside of the two curricula, considering the contents of their discourses- instructional and regulative- and the pedagogic discourse they come together to communicate.

4.4 Instructional and regulative discourse

Bernstein defined pedagogic discourse as "the rule, which embeds a discourse of competence (skills of various kinds) into a discourse of social order" (1990: 183). The first he called instructional discourse, the latter regulative. In the sex education and related life skills components of these two curricula, the instructional discourse is tasked with preparing learners for life by helping them acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to become decision-making, self-managed individuals, while the regulative discourse plays the role (implicitly and explicitly) of reinforcing societal mores, norms and behaviours aimed at ensuring learners appropriately apply the learned knowledge and skills. For

Bernstein, curriculum is defined through principles of selection, combination and association. All knowledge contents are subject to some degree of selection and separation, as without these a curriculum would be infinite, stretching on forever into the “entire universe of possible knowledge and experience” (Atkinson 1985: 133). This necessary process of selection, the picking and choosing of content to include and exclude, is the very essence of curriculum generation; what remains becomes valid knowledge. Criteria allow the learner to interpret what is considered a communication, a social relation and a legitimate or illegitimate position. This acquisition of legitimacy is a key to understanding the unique pedagogic communication of sex education- where learners are oriented into a particular moral and social understanding of sexuality, and required to acquire a series of related knowledge and skills. It is impossible then to truly separate instructional and regulative discourse because “competence is condensed into order” as is “order into competence” (Bernstein 1990: 188). However for the purpose of this analysis the two were analysed separately, to allow a clearer picture of the strength and role of each to be established. A distinct coding scheme was developed to identify two forms of instructional and three forms of regulative discourse. The five codes that make up the scheme are described in this section.

Instructional discourse (ID)

Bernstein called the discourse responsible for transmitting specialised competences and their relation to each other instructional discourse. The instructional discourse makes explicit what a learner is expected to know and to be able do at the end of a given course. Each set of curriculum documents being analysed for this study frame their instructional discourse differently. HPE states its intention to impart the curriculum largely through skills-based ‘health literacy’ learning while the LS/O favours indicates its intention to balance “values, knowledge and skills”. HPE is structured around the acquisition of an overarching set of Living Skills while LS/O is set up in a more content-driven format, with lists of topics to be covered. This analysis coded each curriculum unit by unit in order to identify whether each was skills-based (ID1) or content-based (ID2), paying particular attention to what approach was used to cover sex-specific content.

Units were coded as skills-based (ID1) when they:

- Make direct reference to skills or competencies
- Include instructive action verbs (ie. practice, demonstrate)
- Ask learners to identify or create strategies
- Call for practical applications of knowledge

Units were coded as content-based (ID2) when, rather than imparting a particular skill or competency, they contained data, facts, or content knowledge. Table 4-12 provides some examples of the distinction between units coded for skills (ID1) versus those coded for content knowledge (ID2).

Table 4-8: Examples of units coded for instructional discourse (ID1-skills and ID2-content) in HPE and LS/O

<p>In Grade 1 LS: Safe and unsafe situations and places - such as waiting for transport, alone in shopping areas” (<i>ID2- content-based</i>) Practising saying ‘No’ (<i>ID1- skills-based</i>)</p> <p>In Grade 4 HPE: Identify risks associated with communications technology (e.g., internet and cellphone use) (<i>ID2- content-based</i>) Describe precautions and strategies for using these technologies safely (<i>ID1- skills-based</i>)</p>

The results of the coding for instructional discourse were very similar across both curricula. Both are majority content-based curricula that also place a significant focus on skills-based learning. Content-based units make up 74% of the units in HPE and 63% of the units in LS/O as indicated in Table 4-13.

Table 4-9: Instances of instructional discourse in HPE and LS/O

Type of instructional discourse	Life Skills/Orientation	Health and Physical Education
Skills-based (ID1)	37%	26%
Content-based (ID2)	63%	74%

4.4.1.1 Skills and sex specific units

As previously discussed in relation to framing, the degree to which units appeal to the learner to reflect on his or her own lived experience and/or knowledge acquired outside

of the school is inconsistent across the curricula. This has bearing on the skills-based learning elements of these curricula as well. While some of the skill-based units do appeal to the everyday world beyond the school, the majority are broad statements of skills to be acquired and tested for with the aim of learners developing certain generic social competencies as well as positive personal habits and behaviours. While many of these units provide potential opportunities for the inclusion of existing knowledge or personal reflection in the application of skills required, this is often not explicitly stated. The skills-based instructional discourse (when it does relate to the sex-specific curriculum units) is notably unspecific, with limited instructional or evaluative criteria. For example in Grade 9 HPE: “demonstrate understanding of how to use decision-making and assertiveness skills effectively to promote healthy sexuality (e.g., healthy human relationships, avoiding unwanted pregnancies and STDs such as HIV/AIDS)”. This type of unit does not appeal to learners’ own everyday. The majority of the skills-based units that do make direct appeals appear in the early grades, and decline considerably as the curriculum begins to address sexuality more directly, as indicated in Table 4-9. Despite the degree to which both curricula reference and even promote skills-based learning and health literacy, this is scarcely applied to sex-specific units. Sex-specific content is almost entirely expressed, across both curricula, as content knowledge. Only five of the units that relate to sex specifically were coded as skills-based.

Table 4-10: Sex-specific units in the instructional discourse

Type of instructional discourse	Sex-specific units in Life Skills/Orientation	Sex-specific units in Health and Physical Education
Skill(s) (ID1) units	1 of 27 (4%)	4 of 37 (11%)
Content knowledge (ID2) units	26 of 27 (96%)	33 of 37 (89%)

These conclusions regarding the instructional discourse cannot, as previously indicated, be divorced from their relation to the regulative discourse- where sequencing and selection play an important role in understanding what is eventually realised as the instructional discourse. Due to the fact that instructional discourse is embedded within regulative discourse, what knowledge, and perhaps even moreover what skills, are chosen

to be covered and how they are covered are manifestations of the regulative discourse which will be explored in the next section.

4.4.2 Regulative discourse (RD)

Grandly, Bernstein's concept of the regulative applies to everything that positions a learner "in the moral system, its backing and practices"(1996:29). He furthered this concept in his theory of pedagogic discourse that he defined as the "principle which delocates a discourse from its substantive practice and content and relocates that discourse according to its own principle of selection reordering and focussing. This section contextualises regulative discourse in relation to the two curricula selected for analysis. It then explains the coding scheme developed during the research process that allowed for the recognition of the relative explicitness and implicitness of regulative discourse. Next, it indicates trends that were observable in regulative discourse across the curricula. Finally, it concludes with an analysis of those trends, raising their implications for the pedagogic discourse of these curricula.

Starting from the basic understanding that particular skills (ie. self-control, decision-making) should even be taught at school there is evidence of a regulative discourse. It represents a particular reordering of the everyday world into the school as decided by the agents in the field of recontextualisation. Bernstein calls a recontextualised pedagogic discourse a signifier for "something other than itself." In this case that something else is the larger discourse on adolescent sexuality. This draws attention to the importance of selection (of what from the field of production is chosen to be included and excluded) as a realisation of regulative discourse.

The other role played by regulative discourse is in the "intrinsic orderings of competences to be acquired", the manner in which the content is sequenced. Regulative discourse decides how, and as importantly when, *the what* of the curriculum is imparted. In the two curricula being analysed a close look at the regulative discourse can illuminate the project of sex education most clearly. In many ways subjects such as sex education and life skills generally are tasked with encouraging learners to adopt a particular school-oriented approach to their engagements with the everyday. This is done partly through the instructional discourse but more significantly through the regulative discourse both explicitly (telling learners openly what is and is not considered an acceptable behaviour or

response) and implicitly (giving learners access to certain information at certain ages, or strategically including or excluding particular content). To recognise where and how this was happening in these curricula a coding scheme was developed to identify the form of regulative discourse present in each curriculum unit. Units were coded as one of three forms of regulative discourse: explicit (RD1), implicit- sequencing (RD2) and implicit-selection (RD3), each of which is explained in the next section.

4.4.2.1 Explicit Regulative Discourse (RD1)

Explicit regulative discourse was coded as RD1, and refers to instances where behavioural or moral regulation is made explicit to the learner. This regulation is evident in a unit through references to a “value” or “values” or the use of words relating to social mores such as: good, bad, appropriate etc. Units were coded as RD1 when they include:

- Good/bad
- Right/wrong
- Advantages/disadvantages
- Positive/negative
- Appropriate/inappropriate
- Responsible/ irresponsible
- Respectful/ disrespectful
- Healthy (in regards to relationships- when used as a synonym for good, positive)

And which:

- Ask learners to indicate how to do something appropriately or best or explain why something is important to adolescents
- Make references to something as being a value or part of a group of values

Units coded as explicit regulative discourse tend to clearly indicate their evaluative criteria. They make clear that there is a right or wrong answer, or series of answers, that are acceptable and appropriate. Some examples of content coded as explicit regulative discourse are provided in Table 4-10.

Table 4-11: Examples of units coded as explicit regulative discourse (RD1)

In Grade 5 HPE:
demonstrate the ability to deal with threatening situations by applying appropriate living skills

In Grade 8 LO:
appropriate ways to sustain a relationship

In Grade 10 LO:
making good decisions

In Grade 11 HPE:
demonstrate the skills needed to sustain honest, respectful and responsible relationships

In Grade 12 LO:
building good relationships

4.4.2.2 Implicit Regulative Discourse- Sequencing (RD2)

Implicit regulative discourse- sequencing was coded as RD2 and refers to instances where regulation is evident based on where a given unit is placed in the curriculum. This includes at what grade level and/or how it is juxtaposed with other content, creating implications by association, examples of which are presented in Table 4-11. Units were coded as RD2 when:

- They introduce a topic or concept that corresponds with the stages of emotional physical and reproductive development between childhood and adulthood
- Their place in a sequence ascribes a unique meaning to the surrounding units
- They appear to be *misordered* or are repetitive (in that a topic is being introduced in advance of the more foundational knowledge relating to it/required to understand it)

Table 4-12: Examples of units coded as implicit regulative discourse- sequencing (RD2):

In Grade 2 HPE:
demonstrate an understanding of practices that enhance personal safety in the home (e.g., observing precautions for answering the phone and door....)

In Grade 4 HPE:
Healthy Living: describe how being aware of their feelings can help them adjust to physical and emotional changes at puberty

In Grade 6 LS:
Understanding and respecting body changes

In Grade 7 HPE:
describe age-appropriate matters related to sexuality (e.g., the need to develop good interpersonal skills, such as the ability to communicate effectively with the opposite sex)

In Grade 7 LS:
Changes in boys and girls: puberty and gender constructs

In Grade 10 LO:
Changes associated with development towards adulthood: adolescence to adulthood
-physical changes: hormonal, increase growth rates, bodily proportions, secondary sex/
gender characteristics, primary changes In the body (menstruation, ovulation and seed
formation) and skin problems.

In Grade 12 HPE:
describe the communication skills needed to discuss sexual intimacy and sexuality in a
relationship

4.4.2.2.1 Age-appropriateness and signaling developmental stages

Certain topics were of particular significance to this analysis of sequencing as they act as markers in time, signally certain stages (real or perceived) of adolescent development toward adulthood. Two very important such markers were puberty and sexual debut (age at first intercourse). Where the units relating to these topics are placed in the curricula represent the realisation of sequencing, referred to in sex education curricula as *age appropriateness*. Age-appropriateness is the concept that certain information around sexuality is permissible for young people to be made aware of at a particular age. In some instances age-appropriateness is stated explicitly in the text, for example in Grade 7 HPE: “describe age-appropriate matters related to sexuality (e.g., the need to develop good interpersonal skills, such as the ability to communicate effectively with the opposite sex).” This can prove problematic when taking into consideration that many areas of the sexual experience affect different learners at different times. It is more problematic when there does not appear to be a standard statistical or developmental protocol motivating the sequencing choices of the recontextualising agents, for example with the timing of menarche (first menstrual cycle).

Median menarcheal age is indicated as 12.5 years in South Africa and 12.7 in Canada (Jones et al. 2008 and Harris et al 2008). Yet, in the LS/O curriculum puberty is not

indicated as a topic to be covered until Grade 7, when learners are approximately 13, and “changes during puberty” is to be addressed again when learners are approximately 16. In HPE, menstruation and other topics related to puberty, are set to be covered at ages more closely connected to their actual physical manifestations, however, the units relating to puberty in Grades 5 (first reference), 6 and 7 repeat almost the same content for three years in a row. Many similar instances of repetitiveness are discussed in other sections of this analysis (for example the three units coded as skills-based in Grade 8, 9 and 10 HPE); these too were coded as RD2.

Some instances of units coded as RD2 (implicit regulative discourse- sequencing) where repetition or misordering is evident follow. For example, in Grade 4 HPE the terms homophobic and sexual harassment are mentioned in advance of any other subjects related to sexuality, sexual identity or gender difference: “explain how a person’s actions (e.g., negative actions such as name calling, making homophobic or racist remarks, mocking appearance or ability, excluding or bullying, sexual harassment...” In Grade 7 LS “How peer pressure may influence an individual: use of substances, crime, unhealthy sexual behaviour, bullying and rebellious behaviour”. Sequencing is important here as “unhealthy sexual behaviour” is the first direct reference to sexuality to appear in the curriculum. The term appears again in grade 9, as the introductory unit to the segment ‘Sexual behaviour and sexual health’. This inferred sex negativity is explored in detail in Chapter 5.

An instance of content coded as RD2 (implicit regulative discourse- sequencing) when a unit’s place in a sequence ascribes meaning to the surrounding units (essentially meaning by association) in Grade 7 LS:

“Changes in boys and girls: puberty and gender constructs

-Physical and emotional changes

-Understanding the changes and how these impact on relationships”

Here the placement of the unit coded as RD2 “understanding the changes and how these impact on relationships” seems to call for an introduction of the topic of sexual feeling or attraction to others but this is implicit and can only be inferred based on the sequencing of this unit with others related to puberty. This relates to the fragmented vertical and horizontal discourse described previously, where opportunities to relate biological and psycho-social units are not engaged. In Grade 7 HPE, immediately after the first-ever direct

reference to sexuality in the curriculum is a unit where learners must identify the symptoms of STIs, drawing a clear association between the two:

- “explain the male and female reproductive systems as they relate to fertilization;
- distinguish between the facts and myths associated with menstruation, spermatogenesis, and fertilization;
- identify the methods of transmission and the symptoms of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and ways to prevent them”

Units containing references to STIs are consistently sequenced in conjunction with units regarding sexual activity/intercourse. In LS/O units, four of the five grades that cover sexual activity sequence references to intercourse directly prior to those containing references to STIs, with the exception of Grade 8. In HPE, all of the units in the six grades that cover sexual activity sequence them in conjunction with STIs. This type of regulation, implied by the association of units or segments, was coded as RD2.

4.4.2.3 Implicit Regulative Discourse- Selection (RD3)

Implicit regulative discourse- selection was coded as RD3 and refers to instances where regulation is evident through what content is included and excluded, as well as word choice- where regulation is occurring due to the way in which a particular statement or set of statements is expressed. Coding for instances of selection allows for an analysis of the excluded, as well as included topics, in particular in relation to sexuality. This can be made most evident when sexuality is compared against other sensitive topics such as drug use and gender-based violence. Units were coded as implicit regulative discourse-selection, RD3, when they infer regulation based on:

- Choice of words
- Inclusion of a particular topic
- Exclusion of a particular topic

Two examples of how word choice can communicate regulation in Grade 9 HPE are: “demonstrate understanding of the pressures on teens to be sexually active” and “explain the consequences of sexual decisions on the individual, family, and community.” Here the choice of the words *pressure* and *consequences* convey a unique meaning through these units: that sexual activity is something adolescents engage in due to pressure and

which results negatively on them and those around them. The implications this has on the discourse of these curricula is explored in further detail in the next chapter.

Word choice also affects the way sex-specific units can be compared and contrasted with other units. For example in Grade 9 HPE: “demonstrate understanding of how to use decision-making and assertiveness skills effectively to promote healthy sexuality (e.g., healthy human relationships, avoiding unwanted pregnancies and STDs such as HIV/AIDS)”. This unit mirrors the unit related to the avoidance of drugs in Grade 8: “apply living skills (e.g., decision-making, assertiveness, and refusal skills) in making informed decisions, and analyse the consequences of engaging in sexual activities and using drugs”. Sexual activity is implicitly linked to drug and alcohol use and abuse in both curricula through sequencing and selection. Drug abuse however is presented as something which learners can seek recourse for should it become out of control, evident in the unit in Grade 8 LS: “rehabilitation options: where to find help, care and support and likewise, in Grade 8 HPE: “identify the school and community resources involved in education, prevention *and treatment* with respect to alcohol, tobacco and other drugs” (emphasis added).

Recourse is also indicated for learners who find themselves a victim or perpetrator of gender-based violence. In Grade 10 HPE: “assess solutions and strategies for preventing and eliminating relationship violence.” No similar recourse is provided for learners who fall pregnant or contract an STI or HIV. Instead these are presented as, seemingly unavoidable ‘consequences’ with no support made clearly available should they arise.

There are other exclusions present in these curricula, highlighted by the regulative discourse of selection, which will be outlined in the following chapter’s thematic analysis. Many of these relate to contents that Allen identified as being part of a discourse of erotics. One example of this absence is the manner in which the decision to engage in sexual activity is described in the curricula. In Grade 8 LS: “social pressures including media that impact on sexuality” and in Grade 9 HPE: “demonstrate understanding of the pressure on teens to be sexually active” are the only units that attempt to offer any explanation as to why adolescents may engage in sexual activity. Both attribute it exclusively to pressure from peers, media etc. Neither acknowledge desire (physical or emotional).

4.4.3 Trends in the regulative discourse

Based on the findings regarding implicit and explicit regulative discourse it became possible to analyse the overall regulative discourse for trends across grades in both curricula. While the two forms of implicit regulative discourse (sequencing and selection) were helpful in coding and recognising their realisations in the curriculum, for the purposes of interpreting the data and ascribing meaning to the phenomena at play they were condensed to into one code: implicit regulative discourse. For the remainder of the analysis they are jointly referred to as implicit regulative discourse, and thus the inverse of explicit regulative discourse. The majority of the content in both curricula is characterised by implicit regulative discourse with 76% of LS/O and 70% of HPE units coded as implicit. The breakdown between the instances of explicit and implicit regulative discourse is indicated in Table 4-12.

Table 4-13: Instances of regulative discourse in HPE and LS/O

Type of regulative discourse	Life Skills/Orientation	Health and Physical Education
Explicit regulative discourse (RD1)	24%	30%
Implicit regulative discourse (RD2, RD3)	76%	70%

As learners progress through the curricula the role of regulative discourse becomes more pronounced and more tacit. While the regulation present in earlier units relates to some relatively inarguable ‘good’ and ‘bad’ behaviours (ie. sharing, bullying) and skills (ie. personal safety in the home), a more subjective morality is present in later grades. Knowledge and skills are increasingly coupled with inference of social implications and moral regulation as units begin to relate more specifically to sex and sexuality. For example, the risk prevention elements of the instructional discourse may say simply: “sex can lead to HIV” while the implicit regulative discourse sequences units such as: “sex can lead to HIV” next to units such as “abstinence as a positive choice for adolescents” creating a pedagogic discourse that effectively communicates: to avoid contracting HIV the best thing to do is not have sex. Examples like this illustrate the way in which the instructional

discourse is deeply embedded within the regulative discourse- and the various alternative understanding that implicit regulation, through particular sequencing and selection, can create. The shift toward more strongly and implicitly regulated content in both HPE and LS/O is the crux of the inherent similarity between the curricula and is where the significant differences in their external contexts are least influential. The power over what is intended to be taught sits within the regulative discourse and subordinates the minor instructional distinctions between the two curricula. Here, sexual knowledge is recontextualised into something consistent between the two regions, in the process becoming what Bernstein described as something “other than itself”.

In both curricula this clear shift in the particular form of regulative discourse can be observed. In early grades it is more explicit, with clear references to what is and is not appropriate and the distinctions between good and bad relationships, behaviour, manners etc. Regulation becomes increasingly implicit in later grades, as content becomes more specific to sexuality and the learner closer to being sexual active. This trend is indicated in Table 4-18 and Table 4-19.

Table 4-14: Trends in regulative discourse across grades in LS/O

Grade	Percentage explicit regulative (%)	Percentage implicit regulative (%)
Grade 1	71%	29%
Grade 2	59%	41%
Grade 3	69%	31%
Grade 4	82%	18%
Grade 5	33%	67%
Grade 6	21%	79%
Grade 7	21%	79%
Grade 8	29%	71%
Grade 9	38%	62%
Grade 10	24%	76%
Grade 11	30%	70%
Grade 12	32%	68%

Table 4-15: Trends in regulative discourse across grades in HPE

Grade	Percentage explicit regulative (%)	Percentage implicit regulative (%)
Grade 1	61%	39%
Grade 2	59%	41%
Grade 3	70%	30%
Grade 4	70%	30%
Grade 5	45%	55%
Grade 6	29%	71%
Grade 7	30%	70%
Grade 8	40%	60%
Grade 9	38%	62%
Grade 10	24%	76%
Grade 11	29%	71%
Grade 12	30%	70%

The shift toward an increasingly implicit regulative discourse is particularly clear in relation to the sex-specific units in the curricula, with implicit regulative discourse dominating sex-specific content. There are 38 instances of implicit regulative discourse in the sex-specific units of the two curricula cumulatively and only 4 were coded as explicit regulative discourse, as indicated in Table 4-15. Especially notable is that there were no sex-specific units in LS/O coded as explicit, while in HPE only 4 of 14 (28%) of the sex-specific units were coded as explicit.

Table 4-15: Instances of regulative discourse in sex-specific units in LS/O and HPE

Type of regulative discourse	Life Skills/Orientation, sex-specific units	Health and Physical Education, sex-specific units
Explicit regulative discourse (RD1) sex-specific units	0%	28%
Implicit regulative discourse (RD2, RD3) sex specific units	100%	72%

4.5 Conclusion

The implications of the overarching pedagogic discourse being created by this regulative discourse, including the manner in which it influences its embedded instructional discourse, is explored in further detail in the following thematic analysis. With *the how* of the creation of the pedagogic discourse in these two curricula understood through the

structuring of the curricula, an analysis of *the what* becomes possible. Chapter 5 will present the discourses and silences present, taking into consideration the findings of this chapter, that these curricula are: weakly classified, with a fragmented attempt at verticality; weakly framed but lacking direct appeals to the learners' experiences; largely content-based in their instructional discourses as well as strongly and implicitly regulated. What this means in relation to the discourses present in these curricula and the eventual imagined learner they project will be explored in Chapters 5 and 6.

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 allowed for a consideration of the content being relayed in the two curricula, using Bernstein's concepts to recognise the nature of the relay taking place, in the field of recontextualising. This chapter will outline what is being relayed; the nature of that content and the suggested discourses communicated therein. An understanding of the structure provided in the last chapter- *the how*- and the content and related discourses provided in this chapter- *the what*- will allow Chapter 6 to address *the who* by answering this study's central research question, what kind of imagined learner is projected by these curricula?

While the conceptual chapter applied a deductive method, building the analysis of the data on a conceptual framework provided by Bernstein, this chapter's thematic analysis used an inductive method to identify themes in both the content present in, and the content absent from, the two curricula through in-depth reading of the data set. This chapter presents the thematic findings garnered from the coding process described in the research method section of Chapter 3. This process allowed for recognition of three primary themes within the sex-specific components of the curricula: sex negativity, strategic silences and an age-related construction of the adolescent. These three primary themes and their supporting secondary themes were identified as:

SEX NEGATIVITY

- Sex as a threat
- Personal responsibility as culpability
- Decline of the self

STRATEGIC SILENCES

- Pleasure and erotics
- Consensual sex
- Heteronormativity and difference

CONSTRUCT OF THE ADOLESCENT

- Role of adults
- Danger of the subject
- Age-related

The previous chapter's conceptual analysis deliberately coded both curricula in their entirety, including both the pre-sex education (generic competencies and content

knowledge that provide the basis for sexuality learning) and the sex-specific units themselves. Now, this chapter narrows in on the sex-specific content with the earlier foundational skills and knowledge considered only insofar as they offer a useful means of comparison for recognising whether sex-specific content is treated differently than other, related life skills.

This chapter contains a section devoted to each of the themes and sub-themes. Each of these sections begins by describing the content theme or sub theme that was recognised (products of the pedagogic discourse- both the instructional and, to a much greater degree, the regulative discourse) and then explores how they relate to the existing body of knowledge on sexuality education and curriculum, drawing on sources identified in the literature review in Chapter 2. Each section then explains how the themes were recognised, by presenting examples from the curricula and trends identified from across the data set. Finally each section suggests implications for the discourses these inclusions and absences create, conclusions about which are reached in the research discussion in Chapter 6.

5.2 Sex negativity

Content analysis of the HPE and LS/O curricula found both to be sex negative in that they problematise, or ignore, consensual adolescent sexuality, which is consistent with the larger discourse on adolescent sexuality explored in the literature review. Fine's study of sex education in the United States uncovered what she labelled a "discourse of risk" (1988), which Bay-Cheng calls "fear-based" and Moran (2000) identifies as the "instrumentalist approach" (2002) focused almost exclusively on the potential negative outcomes of sexual activity. This sex negative discourse is generally justified by agents in the fields of recontextualising and reproduction as an attempt to protect adolescents from themselves, given the pervasive view that "teens are not only in need of adult regulation but are particularly at risk in the realm of sexuality" because "their underdeveloped sense of judgement and restraint make them vulnerable to an insurgent sexual drive" (Bay-Cheng 2003: 64). This analysis began by accepting the likelihood of the presence of a hegemonic sex negative discourse. Rather than merely problematise it, given the existing body of literature, the aim was to investigate the manner in which this sort of adult regulation manifests in the field of the recontextualisation and how its influence might be observable

in the intended curricula. The following explores three ways in which sex negativity was identified in the data, through: the decline in the value of the self; presenting sex as a threat and personal responsibility as culpability.

5.2.1 Decline of the self

Both the sequencing and selection of content related to the “self” and “society” are important to the projection of the imagined learner in both curricula. The self (as an individual) is the focus of the early grades and, as the learning advances, the focus shifts to the greater society. An explicit example of this is that Life Skills from Grades R to 7 contains a section titled “Development of the Self” that becomes “Development of the Self in Society” in Life Orientation from Grades 8 to 12. This represents a shift in personal responsibility that includes a greater sense of accountability and a social obligation to the broader community. Learners are increasingly encouraged to reflect on the communal implications of their actions as well as their civic responsibilities. For example, early grades’ references to violence, abuse and exploitation encourage learners to learn to protect themselves and apply agency to decisions about their bodies. The following examples from Grades 2 and 9 further illustrate this shift:

In Grade 2 HPE: “explain the importance of standing up for themselves, and demonstrate the ability to apply behaviours that enhance personal safety in threatening situations (e.g., speaking confidently; saying no; reporting exploitive behaviours, such as improper touching of their bodies)”

In Grade 2 LS/O:

- “Keep my body safe:
- We are not safe with everyone
- Rules to keep my body safe
- Trusting ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ feelings
- How to say ‘No’ to any form of abuse
- How to report abuse”

In Grade 9, HPE:

“Explain the consequences of sexual decisions on the individual, family, and community”

In Grade 9 LO:

“Social responsibilities including the knowledge and skills to make informed decisions and take appropriate action”

Learners at this level are now expected to consider their social responsibility to make informed decisions, as opposed to doing so simply in order to maintain personal well-being. This represents a clear shift in the approach toward personal safety with the emphasis changing as the curricula relate more explicitly to sexuality. While it is undoubtedly important for learners to acquire knowledge around accountability for their actions, the regulative discourse gradually positions learners as more accountable to others than themselves, and more accountable as they age, placing particular emphasis on their responsibility to the larger society in relation to their sexual choices. Alone this decline in the importance of the self may not be particularly significant but it stands out because it becomes intertwined with sex negativity's other secondary themes: threat and culpability.

5.2.2 Sex as a threat

In both curricula terms such as 'sexual activity' and 'sexual behaviours' are never defined. All sexual acts are framed as neutral or negative¹⁴, adhering to a strict, heteronormative¹⁵ definition of intercourse, exclusive of other demonstrations of sexual pleasure or affection. No discussion of sexual activities which are less likely to result in physical consequences, such as pregnancy, are encouraged, favouring what Fine calls the 'discourse of risk'. Even masturbation (alone or mutual), despite being a significant element of adolescent sexuality, is completely ignored by both curricula.

The preventative nature of the curricula is focussed on ensuring learners avoid sexual activity by presenting it as a threat to their health and well-being. This is achieved in the sex-specific units through a largely implicit regulative discourse, both sequencing and selection. In Grade 9 LO for example, one of the headings reads: "Sexual behaviour and sexual health" and the first topic sequenced beneath it is: "risk factors leading to unhealthy sexual behaviour." The second subtopic is "unwanted results of unhealthy sexual behaviour: teenage pregnancy, STIs, HIV and AIDS, low self-image and emotional scars." Both curricula consistently associate the transmission of STIs and unwanted pregnancy with sex. While they indicate, in most cases, that these are the results of 'unhealthy sexual behaviour', this terminology is never defined and learners are not presented with a picture

¹⁴ The sole exception is a sex positive reference in grade 8 HPE: "the positive aspects and the risks associated with close personal relationships and different levels of physical intimacy."

¹⁵ Heteronormativity is present when "structures and processes normalize heterosexuality, while casting homosexuality as the abnormal other" (Allen 2008: 576).

of the inverse: healthy sexual behaviour. Similarly, in Grade 8 HPE learners are asked to: “identify symptoms, methods of transmission and high-risk behaviours related to common STDs and HIV/AIDS.” Learners may be able to presume that the opposite (low-risk behaviours) exists and that participating in this may minimise their likelihood of contracting an STI. However, similar to the way that healthy sexual behaviour is never defined in LO, low-risk sexual behaviours (which would include mutual masturbation, protected oral sex, frottage, and other forms of non-penetrative sex) go unmentioned in HPE.

Many of the sex-specific curriculum units do not use clear value indicators such as high-risk or unhealthy that explicitly signal the regulative discourse. Instead, terms such as “consequences” or often used to indicate that sexual activity is likely to result in negative outcomes- physiological, psychological and otherwise. For example in Grade 8 HPE: “consequences of sexual activities” and “identify the type of support that is available to help with the various physical, emotional, cultural, social and psychological issues that can arise from sexuality and sexual health” and in Grade 9 HPE: “explain the consequences of sexual decisions on the individual, family and community.” This last unit is unclear but could infer that the decision to engage in *any* sexual activity has an impact on the family and community, as well as the individual. This is despite the fact that in most instances only when sex results in a negative outcome does it affect the family and community rather than just the individual and their sexual partner(s). Units that touch on sexuality are always sequenced in conjunction with those that discuss consequences, implying the two are inextricably linked. Both curricula reinforce sex negativity by associating the neutral, biological elements of sex with the ‘discourse of risk’, examples of which are presented in Table 5-1.

Table 5-1: Examples of sex negativity in sex-specific units in HPE and LS/O

<p>In Grade 7 HPE: menstruation, spermatogenesis, fertilization” is directly followed by: “identify the methods of transmission and the symptoms of STIs and ways to prevent them” and then “explain the term abstinence as it applies to healthy sexuality.</p> <p>In Grade 9 HPE: explain the effects (i.e. STDs, HIV/AIDS) of choices related to sexual intimacy</p>

(continued) Table 5-2: Examples of sex negativity in sex-specific units in HPE and LS/O

In Grade 11 LO:

Risky behaviour and situations, personal safety, road use, substance abuse, sexual behaviour, risk of pregnancy, HIV etc.

Both curricula also implicate sex as a threat by consistently covering areas of sexuality in conjunction with drug and alcohol abuse. For example in Grade 8 HPE: “apply living skills (ie. decision-making, assertiveness, refusal skills) in making informed decisions and analyse the consequences of engaging in sexual activities and using drugs.” The moral implication that sexual activity and drug use- a criminal activity- are somehow comparable behaviours casts sex in a considerably negative light.

5.2.3 Personal responsibility as culpability

The introduction to the document for HPE Grades 9-10 highlights the need for “greater personal responsibility” as learners mature and become increasingly responsible for the implications of “their own behaviour and learning” (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training 1999: 4). It asserts that upon completion of the course learners should be able to “make healthy, safe and wise choices” around sexuality and personal safety. The introduction to the document for grades 10-12 LO indicates that the curriculum “emphasises the importance of the application of skills and values in real-life situations”¹⁶. Clearly, decision-making plays a major role in both sets of texts, which calls for a thorough analysis of what kinds of decisions are being encouraged. One observable trend in the discourse around decision-making and personal responsibility is that of culpability. This analysis found that, as the learner progresses through each curriculum, references to personal responsibility begin to imply culpability on the part of the sexually active adolescent, insinuating fault for any of the consequences that can result from their exercise of sexual agency. Learners have limited decision-making opportunities presented to them by these curricula. A learner who finds him or herself sexually active is projected as having failed in applying skills such as self-control, self-management, self-esteem etc. and is often subtly accused of acting in contradiction to a set of ‘values’ that are never made fully

¹⁶ The words values and skills are used together and apart- often interchangeably- in the four LS/O texts.

explicit. For example, in Grade 10 LO: “values and strategies to make responsible decisions regarding sexuality and lifestyle choices to optimise personal potential.”

While there is a possibility that one of the responsible decisions to which the recontextualising agents are referring to in the unit above is practising protected sex, this is unlikely given that the unit sequenced immediately afterward is: “behaviours that can lead to sexual intercourse, teenage pregnancy, sexual abuse and rape.” The sequencing of these units associates consensual intercourse with abuse and rape. Further, they imply that similar behaviours (what these are are not outlined) can lead to these four very different instances. The strong moral regulation at play fails to communicate sexual knowledge accurately to learners, given that behaviour that can lead to pregnancy (having sex, not using contraception or a condom) are dissimilar to the other items in the list. The curriculum could be understood by some teachers or learners to be inferring that there are particular social ways of behaving (dressing? attending certain events? flirting?) that could lead to all of these- very different- results. Lastly, and perhaps most disturbingly, the regulative discourse of association and word choice in this unit suggests that certain behaviours *lead to* rape and abuse, a form of victim-blaming that assumes victims have some control over the circumstances of their assault. It is worthwhile noting that in earlier grades the blameless nature of childhood victimhood is made very clear. In Grades 3 and 4 LS, the curriculum: covers children’s rights in-depth; defines inappropriate physical contact; highlights the right to have control over one’s body and suggests places and people to report abuse to for help. However, as the learner grows and becomes a sexual agent who is potentially sexually active, implications that s/he should take responsibility for preventing abuse that may be perpetrated against him/her begin to appear.

Conversely, the recontextualising agents may have had potential perpetrators in mind with the lesson: “Behaviours that can lead to sexual intercourse, teenage pregnancy, sexual abuse and rape.” However this would remain problematic. By associating these contexts, implying that potentially similar behaviours may lead to both sexual intercourse and rape, learners may fail to distinguish between the two. This could be understood by potential perpetrators as reinforcing the harmful victim-blaming “s/he was asking for it” narrative present in other contexts. Conversely, it associates a request by a respectful partner wishing to enter into a consensual sexual relationship with one’s girlfriend or

boyfriend as somehow congruent with rape and abuse. Rather than encouraging a dialogue on the importance of how to make such requests respectfully and dealing appropriately with sexual rejection or delay, these types of units imply non-existent similarities between consensual sexual activity and rape.

5.2.3.1 Assumptions of personal agency

Both curricula appear to presume that all learners have the ability to communicate and negotiate with their sexual partner(s) and have equal access to self-determination and agency. However this ignores challenges present in many learners' everyday experiences—what Bernstein calls their local pedagogic context. For example, a study by South Africa's Medical Research Council on the intersection between love, sex and coercion/violence found that a sample of young women self-reported as unable to negotiate safety or consent. The study found that “conditions and timing of sex were entirely defined by male partners through the use of violence and through the circulation of certain constructions of love, intercourse and entitlement to which the women were expected to submit” (Wood et al. 1996: 1). South Africa's 2008 National Youth Victimization Survey found that only one in ten (11.3%) adolescent female respondents reported her sexual assault to the police, and 9.5% had notified the authorities at her school (Leoschut and Burton 2005: 62). Similarly, Statistics Canada reports that only one in ten Canadian women who are sexually assaulted report the crime (Brennan and Taylor-Butts 2008). These intended curricula's formulation of sexual activity as culpability does little to represent or reach learners who are victims of sexual violence or coercion.

5.2.3.2 Moralising abstinence

Another instance of personal responsibility as culpability appears in Grade 10 LO: “values such as respect for self and others, abstinence, self-control, right to say ‘no.’” A number of regulative elements are at play here. The explicit regulative discourse decides that these concepts/rights are all ‘values’. By labelling abstinence in such a way (rather than a contraceptive method or a personal lifestyle choice) it is elevated to the level of a value. This implies that to do the opposite- to have sex- would be to act in contradiction of what is *valued*. Similarly, in Grade 11 LO, immediately after the unit: “risky behaviour and situations: personal safety, road use, substance use and abuse, sexual behaviour, risk of

pregnancy, teenage suicides, hygiene and dietary behaviour, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), HIV & AIDS and peer pressure” learners are encouraged to understand the importance of “individual responsibility for making informed decisions and choices.” In this instance the first unit does away with the standard regulative markers (unhealthy, high-risk), defining all ‘sexual behaviour’ as ‘risky’. The second, through its sequencing, strongly insinuates that the desirable ‘informed decision or choice’ is to not engage in sexual activity. While these curricula both promote learners “right to say ‘no’”, notably absent is the right to say yes- to exercise their right to express sexual agency. The concept will be explored further in the following strategic silences section of this chapter.

5.3 Strategic silences

Fine was one of the first vocal critics of curricula that presented only the negative elements of sexuality to learners. She argued that they lacked the complimentary and necessary “discourse of desire” that would make sex education relevant to learners. Allen further developed the body of empirical data in this field, interviewing learners about their perceptions of sex education and similarly identifying an absent “discourse of erotics”. She describes this discourse as a discussion of the positive, relationship-related, pleasurable elements of sexuality. Fine and Allen’s work suggest that an analysis of what is excluded from such curricula can be as illustrative as what is included. The two curricula analysed for this research lack coverage of a significant number of topics relating to adolescent sexuality—content which is not valued by the pedagogic discourse of the school. These absences have been labelled strategic silences in the context of this research because they stand as symbolic indicators of what elements of sexuality recontextualising agents have, whether consciously or unconsciously avoided. Neither curriculum contains recognition of: pleasure, sexual problem solving, non-traditional gender roles or alternative sexual orientations and identities. These silences will each be explored in this section.

5.3.1 Pleasure and erotics

Both curricula are marked by the complete absence of the positive role intimacy plays in human relationships. Any discussion of physical desire along with emotional connection and love is avoided. In both curricula sex is presented as either a reproductive

function (where units relate to fertilisation, spermatogenesis, etc.) or a cause of disease or other negative social or psychological effects (where units relate to the negative consequences of unhealthy sexual behaviour). Neither curricula contain references to any of the following: masturbation, orgasm, foreplay, outer course, oral sex or anal sex. There are also no units aside from those relating directly to reproduction which explore sexual intercourse. The term ‘increased sexual intimacy’ does appear in HPE but is combined with a discussion of risk, so does not address the potential of, or desire for, intimacy in adolescent relationships. Thus there is a significant discontinuity between these curricula and the real world (media, movies, real talk) where sexual activities are understood to be a means of expressing romantic affection and/or deriving physical pleasure. The discourse of sex in these curricula, as merely a reproductive function, is not reflective of the everyday, horizontal discourse around sex as something pleasurable (physically and or emotionally) and excludes expressions of sexual desire that are not intercourse. This both prevents learners from gaining knowledge about safer sexual activities such as mutual masturbation and fails to express the serious risks posed by other forms of sex (anal, oral) in the transmission of infection and disease. This can also serve to escalate intercourse above other sexual activities, causing learners to form an understanding of it as the only ‘real’ form of sex.¹⁷ Research shows this can act as encouragement for adolescents seeking adult status to engage in sexual activity (Fine 1988, Appleton et al. 2000, Netting and Burnett 2004, Bay-Cheng 2003, Allen 2006, Connell 2006, Francis 2010).

5.3.2 Consensual sex

5.3.2.1 Hearing no and saying yes

Whatley (1987) asserts that there is little value in teaching girls to ‘say no’ without teaching boys to hear and understand ‘no’. Focussing on *saying no* can send the message that there is a greater onus on girls to exercise skills like self-control and personal responsibility, reinforcing the concept of culpability and creating a gender bias in the school- the field of reproduction. Neither curriculum contains units encouraging partners who are instigating sexual activity to respect their partner’s ‘no’. Instead they favour life

¹⁷ An example of this in South Africa is of “ukusoma” or thigh sex, historically a strong element of adolescent sexual experimentation in Zulu culture which slowly disappeared as intercourse became the only legitimate form of sex approved by Christianity since it led to the procreation of children (Delius and Glaser 2002: 34).

skills such as refusal and assertiveness in relation to sexual activity. Some units do prompt lessons on decision-making and self-control in relation to sexual activity, and LO as mentioned, calls for discussion of behaviours that could “lead to” rape. Such units leave recontextualising space for teachers who can choose to engage in a discussion about hearing no. However this is not explicitly called for in the intended curriculum that, as discussed, is characterised by ambiguous weakened framing with very limited sex-specific direct appeals.

Another significant silence in both LS/O and HPE is that of ‘saying yes’. This gives learners little guidance of what to do or how to conduct themselves if or when they do willingly decide to enter into a sexual relationship. Given that both curricula use the implicit regulative discourse of selection and sequencing to consistently present sex and sexuality as negative, they provide learners with little grounding in ways to recognise and exercise the positive elements of relationships that involve sexual intimacy, such as care, love, friendship, self-esteem and pleasure.

5.3.2.2 Practical prevention

The particular discourse being formed around sexuality in these two curricula becomes more evident upon comparison with curriculum segments where other threats to personal safety (including physical and mental health) are explored. Instead of inferring that learners avoid all threats to personal safety they are, generally, encouraged to think critically about strategies to protect themselves. Prevention of danger to health and personal safety is addressed directly in relation to other topics such as road safety, use of technology and sanitation. In earlier grades tactics to ensure road safety, including looking for cars before crossing the street or wearing a bike helmet to increase safety while cycling are highlighted as preventative options that allow one to continue to engage in a particular behaviour (even one that carries inherent risk) safely. The learner is not warned to never cross the street or avoid cycling altogether, but is instead taught the knowledge and skills required to do so safely. In regards to sexuality however, the insinuation that abstinence is the preferred method to maintain sexual health is reinforced consistently across both curricula. Both HPE and LS/O contain three separate references to abstinence, compared to contraceptives, which receive one mention in HPE and none in LS/O. There are also many missed opportunities to promote safe sex via condom use or the practice of lower risk

sexual activities. For example in Grade 9 HPE: “explain the effects (i.e. STDs, HIV/AIDS) of choices related to sexual intimacy”. Here diseases easily prevented by the use of condoms are presented as essentially inevitable if one is sexually intimate.

Studies by Kelly (2002) and Khoza (2004) point to the need for sex education that supports relationships and includes “practical information that allows learners to translate their knowledge into sustainable behaviour.” Studies by Abdool Karim et al. (1992) and Abel and Fitzgerald (2006) discovered a number of social and logistical barriers to condom-use among adolescents. These barriers included: the stigma of carrying condoms; where to purchase them; the belief that they limit sexual pleasure and the implication that asking a partner to use condoms has on perceptions of loyalty and love. Despite these and other considerations around pregnancy and STI prevention, LS/O contains no mentions of the word condom or condoms and HPE makes one reference to them. This is in Grade 9 in a list of contraceptive options: “describe the relative effectiveness of methods of preventing pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases (ie. abstinence, condoms, oral contraceptives).”

5.3.2.3 No space for mistakes

Both curricula are also silent on opportunities to correct or mitigate mistakes made in relation to sexuality. There is no discussion of antibiotics or other treatment of STIs such as syphilis and gonorrhoea for example, nor the possibility of being vaccinated against Hepatitis B and the Human Papilloma Virus (HPV). Anti-retroviral therapy (ART) to treat HIV/AIDS is covered in the LO curriculum, but in a separate section on the virus/syndrome, under the heading “Health, Social and Environmental Responsibility”, not the heading “Development of the Self in Society” where all other sex-specific content is listed. References to teenage pregnancy also stop at prevention and neither curriculum mentions either adoption or abortion as options for a pregnant learner. Teenage parenthood is not addressed by either curriculum, despite it being a reality for many learners. In fact, the only mention of an adolescent carrying a pregnancy to term appears in Grade 9 LO when learners are asked to demonstrate knowledge of the “adverse consequences and implications of teenage pregnancy for teenage parent(s) and the children born to teenagers.” The weak framing signaled in many of the units may create opportunities for proactive teachers to initiate discussions around topics such as pregnancy options, for example in

Grade 11 HPE: “describe sources of information on and services related to sexual and reproductive health”. However without clearly outlining these topics in the intended curriculum teachers may avoid them due to their own beliefs or fearing parental or administrative objections. Thus learners may not receive this information.

As discussed in relation to selection in Chapter 4, while neither curriculum suggest any possible recourse for learners who contract an STI nor are adoption or abortion outlined as choices when unprotected sex results in an unwanted pregnancy, both curricula contain references to drug and alcohol rehabilitation. For example in Grade 9 HPE, “identify the school and community resources involved in education, prevention and treatment with respect to abuse of alcohol and other drugs” and in Grade 8 LO, listed after the long and short term consequences of addiction is the unit: “rehabilitation options: where to find help, care and support”. Similarly, taking action is generally encouraged in both curricula around other issues of personal safety such as violence where learners are encouraged to strategise, practise and demonstrate the skills required to keep themselves safe. The following examples indicate this encouraged action:

In Grade 3 LO:

“Strategies to deal with abuse
Dealing with violent situations”

In Grade 12 HPE:

“demonstrate an ability to use skills and strategies (ie. refusal, self-defence) to deal with threats to personal safety and the safety of others”

However, this encouragement of action and individual agency decreases when the content deals specifically with sex. For example in Grade 8 HPE: “Explain the importance of abstinence as a positive choice for adolescents” or Grade 12 HPE: “describe the communication skills needed to discuss sexual intimacy and sexuality in a relationship.” Even here, with mature Grade 12 learners the instruction is not to “practice” or “demonstrate” such communication skills but merely to describe them. This trend of passive verb choices was outlined in the instructional discourse section of the Chapter 4’s conceptual analysis.

5.3.3 Heteronormativity and the concept of difference

Given that it is consistently referenced in conjunction with pregnancy, it would appear the recontextualising agents have in mind a narrow definition of sex, limited to heterosexual, penile-vaginal intercourse. Other indicators that the curricula are referring to a narrowly defined understanding of sex, is the reinforcement of conventional gender roles. Topics such as alternative sexual identities or orientations go completely ignored by these curricula- whether by accident, habit or because the recontextualising agents preferred to reinforce heteronormativity.¹⁸ There is a no acknowledgement of homosexuality in LS/O, and heterosexism is evident in the manner in which gender is presented. Instances of sexual identity outside of heterosexuality are absent in both curricula.

The invisibility of homosexuality, bisexuality and transsexuality are evidenced by direct references to a gender binary and a strong focus on the reproductive functions of men and women, seemingly intrinsic to gender identity as understood by the recontextualising agents. A unit in Grade 10 LO covers, “Difference between a man and a woman, reproduction and roles in the community, stereotypical views of gender roles and responsibilities.” Here a number of gender-related topics are sequenced together in one lesson, serving to conflate the social and biological differences between the genders, and potentially place more significance on them than is appropriate or even reflective of the learners’ experiences. At the same time, the implicit regulative discourse of selection uses the word ‘difference,’ highlighting a binary understanding of male and female bodies and social and sexual roles. Similarly in Grade 2 HPE learners are expected to: “describe the similarities and differences between themselves and others (in terms of body size or gender)”. Again this highlights difference, as does the following unit in Grade 7 HPE: “describe age appropriate matters related to sexuality (ie. the need to develop good interpersonal skills, such as the ability to communicate effectively with the *opposite sex*)” (emphasis added). Confusingly, in Grade 7 HPE learners are expected to “practice effective responses to someone who directs a homophobic or racial slur to them or another student.” References to homophobia appear twice in the HPE curriculum, and once in the introduction, however no units offer a definition or explanation of homophobia, and none

¹⁸ Riggs defines heteronormativity as the default presumption that all people, including children, are heterosexual and gender normativity as the presumption that any individual’s gender identity and behaviours align with the norms assumed for their natally-assigned sex (2013: 75).

contain references to homosexuality generally. Clearly, the curriculum assumes learners are already aware of homosexuality and therefore capable of recognising a homophobic slur. This makes inferences about what content learners are expected to have acquired in their local pedagogic context, the horizontal discourse of their everyday lives.

The silence on homosexuality and alternative sexual and gender identities poses harm to learners of all gender and sexual orientations, as it fails to develop tolerance for sexual and gender minorities. For LGBTI¹⁹ learners it fails to allow for the development of positive self-awareness and acceptance of identities outside of the so-called norm. By ignoring these learners, they are cast as ‘others’, and lack content in the curriculum to which they can relate. This means they are not being supported with knowledge or provide with the life skills they require to live in a healthy sexual life.

5.4 Construct of the adolescent

As learners age and their relation to sexual activity becomes more imminent the LS/O and HPE curricula develop a powerful, but implicit regulative discourse, which through sequencing, associates sex with negative outcomes and elevates the choice to abstain from sex to a *value* as previously discussed. Due to the fact that the pedagogic device is a tool to relay a particular orientation to meaning to learners, the danger with which adults perceive adolescent sexuality has the power to shape that meaning. What results in the case of these curricula is a particular construction of the adolescent. This is based on a discourse of adolescent sex as either dangerous or invisible. Dangerous (causing unwanted pregnancy or disease) in that it is in need of adult intervention. Invisible in that it is based on the assumption that sex is not happening since abstinence is framed as the desirable ‘value’ or ‘decision’ around sexual activity.

5.4.1 Danger of the subject

Levine (2002) describes the current approach to sex education, that focuses on adolescent sexuality as dangerous as the “sexual politics of fear” and Lesko (1996) argues that the goal in constructing adolescent sexuality in this way is to justify adult attempts to control it. The concept of dangerousness of the sexually mature adolescent manifests itself in the two curricula being analysed in the regulative discourse. In HPE in particular, this is

¹⁹ Lesbian, Gay, Transgender, Bisexual, Intersex

further evidenced by a decline in both the value attributed to experiential learning (a skills-inclusive instructional discourse) and sufficiently weakened framing to allow for the genuine inclusion of the learner’s everyday (direct appeals). All of these factors collide to imply that a learner who engages in sexual activity presents a danger to him or herself and, as importantly, to the larger society. Sex-specific units’ consistent inclusion of negative consequences and the silence around positive elements such as pleasure and intimacy prevent the curricula from engaging in a genuine discussion with the *dangerous* subject- a sexually active learner. The content projects a discomfort with adolescent sexuality, approaching sex-specific units with one of two tactics: sex negativity or avoidance. This avoidance is evident by the vagueness of many units relating to sexuality, a stark contrast to the specificity of examples and skills practice that characterise other less sensitive personal safety topics in the curricula (where much more specificity, especially in HPE) can be observed). This allows for broad, sweeping discussions of sexuality rather than specific knowledge that learners may require. In the hands of some teachers these broad units could be well employed to engage learners on topics of particular relevance to them. However a teacher who is uncomfortable or unwilling to delve deeply into conversations with learners around sex and sexuality can use the vagueness around these topics as an opportunity to gloss over them. Some examples of this vagueness are illustrated in Table 5-2.

Table 5-3: Examples of vagueness in sex-specific units in HPE and LS/O

<p>In Grade 9 HPE: demonstrate an understanding of factors affecting human sexuality as it relates to themselves and others</p>
<p>In Grade 10 LO: Behaviour that could lead to sexual intercourse and teenage pregnancy, sexual abuse and rape</p>
<p>In Grade 11 HPE: demonstrate an understanding of sexual and reproductive health</p> <p>demonstrate, in a variety of settings, the knowledge and skills that reduce risk to personal safety</p>

The curricula establish the danger of the sexual subject by: seeking to make them afraid of the consequences of sex; failing to engage with their everyday experiences;

excluding opportunities for the practice of vital life skills around sexual activity and negotiation and, as indicated in Table 5-2, using vague, generic terminology that does not expand their sexual knowledge, risking content being missed.

5.4.2 Role of adults

The selective transmission and acquisition that take place within the pedagogic device are products of socially constructed boundaries, such as that between adults and adolescents. While these boundaries cannot be fully observed outside of the field of reproduction, the discourse created in the field of recontextualising does signal a number of intentions or expectations, in particular about the role of teachers and learners and their relative access to knowledge, and thus, control. The subject position of the teacher in these curricula is not particularly strongly suggested. While the framing controlling the inclusion of knowledge from the everyday is weak the decline in direct appeals in relation to sex-specific content signals significant control ascribed to the teacher, placing the authority to decide how much of the horizontal discourse is permitted in the classroom with him or her. It also has significant bearing on the content knowledge, as teachers are able to include or exclude content as they choose. In many units there is potential for the teacher to weaken or strengthen the regulative discourse, dependent on his or her own personal subjectivities. Examples of these subjective units that are weakly defined appear in Table 5-3.

Table 5-4: Examples of units in HPE and LS/O open to teachers' subjectivity

In Grade 5 LO, safe and unsafe relationships contributions of men and women in different cultural contexts
In Grade 6 LO: Myths and realities about HIV and AIDS
In Grade 12 HPE: describe how society and culture effect individual perceptions and expressions of sexuality

Both curricula construct adults as fully aware, informed sexual agents and adolescents as the opposite- unaware, uninformed and lacking sexual agency. They present adults (informally as individuals or more formally through official structures such as

government) as the sole sources of guidance on matters of sexuality, evident in all units that direct learners to further resources, examples of which appear in Table 5-4.

Table 5-5: Examples of the role of adults in HPE and LS/O

In Grade 7 HPE: Identify sources of support (e.g. parents/guardians, doctors) related to healthy sexuality issues
In Grade 9 LO: Protective factors, where to find help and support: community structures that offer protection or resilience against high-risk behaviour
In Grade 9 HPE: explain how the role of the local community and other community agencies are involved in developing strategies (i.e. school's code of conduct) to prevent or end violence in youth people's lives
In Grade 9 LO Protecting oneself and others from acts of violence: where to find help National health and/or safety promotion programmes

5.4.2.1 Role of peers

Across both curricula adults are reinforced as problem-solvers while peers are framed as problem-creators. The role of the peer is heavily emphasised and always framed as negative (ie. peer pressure). Of the 20 references to peers or peer in the curricula only one was positive, 9 were neutral and 10 were negative, examples of which are presented in Table 5-5. Amongst the sex-specific units there were 4 references to peers, 3 of which were negative (referencing peer pressure) and 1, in Grade 8 LS, was neutral: “influence of friends and peers on one’s sexuality.”

Table 5-5: Examples of references to peer pressure in HPE and LS/O

In Grade 6 LS: appropriate responses to peer pressure in different situations
In Grade 7 HPE: clearly communicate refusal to participate in activities that are unsafe, particularly when peer pressure is involved;

(continued) Table 5-5: Examples of references to peer pressure in HPE and LS/O

In Grade 7 LS:

how peer pressure may influence an individual: use of substances, crime, unhealthy sexual behaviour, bullying and rebellious behaviour

In Grade 9 HPE:

– identify the major factors (e.g., environmental influences such as peer pressure, media influences, adolescent attitudes) that contribute to the use of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs;

In Grade 11 LO:

risky behaviour and situations: personal safety, road use, substance use and abuse, sexual behaviour, risk of pregnancy, teenage suicides, hygiene and dietary behaviour, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), HIV & AIDS and peer pressure

The assertion that all peer influence is *pressure* ignores the agency of youth to work out problems, find solutions and source valid information amongst themselves. Neither curricula attributes value to the establishment of a positive peer group, this is in spite of the fact that youth consistently rank peers as their first source of information around sexuality (Allen 2008: 536). Similarly, despite having been written in the digital age, neither makes reference to the Internet or attempts to equip learners with the ability to acquire accurate information about sexuality from online resources²⁰. This ignores that the Internet is a common source for information on sexuality (Barak 2001, Hillier et al. 2001, Lou et al. 2006, Allen 2008, Kumar et al. 2013). A study of recent high school graduates in Ontario found that 40% of the teenagers who answered a questionnaire about their sexual knowledge said the Internet was more useful than parents in providing information about sexuality and almost 25% of respondents rated the Internet higher than their school sex education classes (Kumar et al. 2013). Research indicates that whether it is acknowledged by their curriculum or not, adolescents find the means to acquire the sex-specific knowledge that is important to them; if school is not relevant they seek it elsewhere. Hillier et al. (2001) found that two thirds of same-sex attracted youth identified the Internet as an “important” or “very important” source of sex information²¹ and Bay-Cheng (2010)

²⁰ This was an element addressed in Ontario’s redacted 2010 HPE curriculum.

²¹ Access to Internet, in particular through the use of smart phones has grown exponentially across the world (and in South Africa in particular) since the majority of these studies were conducted.

identifies web-based sexuality education as a potential space for more discreet and less regulated learning around sex education.²²

5.4.3 Age-related construction

These curricula present an age-related construction of the adolescent in two ways: first, through the strategic sequencing referred to in their introductions as “age appropriate” and second, by ignoring eventual adulthood. The recontextualising agents may be driven by a number of intentions including the desire to preserve children and adolescents’ presumed innocence and to ensure content remains socially appropriate to the adults concerned.

5.4.3.1 The myth of age-appropriate

Given that the concept and particular sequencing of ‘age-appropriateness’ is an adult construction that involves providing certain sexual information to learners at certain times it is likely that it could contradict with understandings of sexuality learners gain outside of the school. The fact that learners experience growth and sexual development at different times in their local pedagogic context presents a significant challenge to design a relevant, age-appropriate curriculum. When the age markers that appear in the curriculum are based on accurate biological or developmental stages they are less problematic than when they are not. Similar to the way in which age at menarche (first period) is handled in these curricula (as described in the sequencing section of Chapter 4’s conceptual analysis), so too is first intercourse sequenced in a manner that is contrary to statistical indicators of sexual debut. Neither curricula base their sequencing on the lived experiences of learners as reflected in research on sexual activity.²³ The median age at first intercourse in South Africa and Canada are 18.7 and 18.1 respectively (Fonn 2003, Rotterman 2008). That means that approximately half of all learners will have had intercourse by the time they are 18 (and may well have been engaging in other sexual activities prior to intercourse). These curricula, with their unrealistic focus on abstinence, do not discuss sexual activity as something in which almost half of learners are engaged, many without negative consequences. Instead they focus on those learners’ whose sexual activity results in pregnancy and disease. Age-appropriateness in these curricula thus reveals itself to be

²² Bay-Cheng found that many websites built for the particular purpose of sex education mirrored their school-based counterparts “problem-based, gendered discourse” (2010: 241).

²³ Respondents in Allen’s 2006, 2007 and 2008 studies cited the redundancies and mistiming of their sex education as condescending, representative of a significant adult disconnect from adolescent sex as experienced in their everyday lives.

relatively arbitrarily unaligned with developmental realities evidenced by quantitative research.

5.4.3.2 Sex someday?

By presenting sexuality only insofar as it relates to adolescence these curricula ignore the reality of adulthood altogether, leaving learners' school-based understanding of sexuality frozen in time. Even learners who do choose to remain abstinent during adolescence will, in almost all cases, be sexually active as adults. While this sexual activity will then be presumably 'age-appropriate,' the skills and knowledge to deal with it that they will have acquired from these curricula during the period of life where learners have the greatest opportunity to gain new information and are being prepared to survive and thrive in an adult world will be limited. Both curricula state in their goals the desire to create learners who are capable of being responsible and making good decisions, yet persistently make a case for only one of the many decisions available to learners surrounding their sexuality: the decision to abstain from sex. This results in an age-related construct of the adolescent and ignores the eventuality that learners will lead sexual lives and are (whether sexually active or not) already sexual agents in their own right. New Brunswick health minister Madeleine Dube communicated this when she defended the Canadian province's more sexually direct content in 2005, "we have to give them the information they need, for the day they choose to become sexually active. That might be when they are 20 or 25. It might be on their wedding night. We don't know. But when they choose, they'll have the information" (CBC News: 2005).

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter sought to create an understanding of the discourse present by illuminating *the what* of these curricula. That discourse can be summarised as sex negative, silent on a number of sex-related topics and presenting a generic age-related construction of the learner. This analysis (complemented by a thorough understanding of the structure of the curricula, *the how*, uncovered in the previous chapter) allows for a picture of the imagined learner to emerge. The next and final chapter will discuss some implications of this structure and discourse and reveal the learner projected by the process of recontextualisation.

6.1 Introduction

To review, pedagogic discourse is a principle for “appropriating other discourses and bringing them into relation with each other for the purposes of their selective transmission and acquisition” (Bernstein 1990: 183, 184). According to Bernstein, learners are acquirers of the pedagogic discourse of their school or learning environment. The field of recontextualisation (curriculum generation) turns knowledge from the field of production into pedagogic communication, communicated through the pedagogic device. This device generates particular social identities and orientations to meaning for learners and thus projects a subject who this study labelled the *imagined learner*— the hypothetical product of the curriculum.

This study first coded for and analysed the two data sets in relation to classification, framing, instructional discourse and regulative discourse, identifying *the how* or the structuring of the curriculum. Next it used an inductive thematic analysis to explore the content of the curriculum and then compared the themes that emerged with other research in the field to recognise *the what*. This generated answers to the secondary research questions: how are these curricula structured? and: what discourses are present in these curricula? A summary of these answers, based on the analyses in chapters 4 and 5, are described in this chapter in order to be able to conclude with an answer to the primary research question: what kind of imagined learner is projected by the recontextualising of sexual knowledge into pedagogic communication in these two curricula? This chapter will explore the implications of this imagined learner and finally will conclude with possible space for transformation in sex education curricula.

6.2 How are these two curricula structured?

The texts position learners as passive recipients of knowledge, dismissing their growing sexual agency. The framing that allows for a weakening of the boundary between teacher and learner-held knowledge fails to generate genuine opportunities for direct appeals to learners’ lived experiences and the strengthened classification around sex-specific content and the physical body fail to produce an instructional discourse with

sufficient practical, skills-based learning. This structuring of the curricula strongly grounds sex education in the biological particularities of intercourse, ignoring the psycho-social elements that also define sexuality. What results is a subject area that has been verticalised or abstracted beyond a major site of relevance: the horizontal discourse of the everyday.

The powerful nature of the regulative discourse undermines the learning potential and relevance of the instructional discourse. This coupled with the sporadic strengthening of classification and framing of sex-specific curriculum units result in a fragmented pedagogic discourse- where the horizontal discourse loses significance in relation to the vertical. In life however, most lived sexual experiences involve a combination of the two. By not combining them, these curricula are able to avoid covering complex topics such as pregnancy options, homosexuality or sexual pleasure.

The required generality of the sex education project is challenging. Teaching young people about sex requires a very low level of specialisation which would naturally incline the subject toward being weakly classified between subjects as well as weakly framed; however, due to the sensitive nature of the subject area, these curricula see occasional strengthening of these boundaries. Bernstein argued that the need for strong boundaries between the mundane and everyday is necessary to generate specialised, even individualised, competencies. However the goal of sex education is rather the opposite: to generate shared competencies, grounded deeply in the everyday. This is evidenced in Bernstein's comparison of age-group socialisation and rites of passage, a form of learning that he acknowledges as preferably unspecialised because it is designed to impart on all group members the same range of competencies and practices (Bernstein 1990: 207). This is very much like sex education. With other subject areas the goal of creating a specialist learner is achieved by lifting the content off of its context and separating it from other subjects through strong classification, marked by a vertical discourse. However, the successful generalist learner needs to be able to apply broad knowledge and a wide set of skills to their own context. Thus it would appear that in these curricula, the strengthening of classification fulfils a regulative purpose—of exclusion as opposed to specialisation, where knowledge or skills being made available to learners are increasingly narrowed.

The way sex-specific units tend to be more strongly classified around concepts of biology and the body and (especially in HPE) more strongly framed significantly divides

sex education between itself and other subjects and between the school and the everyday. This raises the verticality quotient of these two curricula, but unfortunately fails to negotiate the jarring shifts between the vertical and horizontal discourse which projects a learner who has unclear understanding of the ways in which the two have the potential to come together in regards to sexuality. By strongly classifying these particular topics learners' opportunities to critically apply their skills and knowledge to them may be limited. Based on the findings outlined in chapter 4 the likelihood that these curricula alone would provide learners with sufficient skills and knowledge to successfully navigate their sexual lives must be called into question. Williams' criticism of recontextualising is relevant here, in that it "does not mean to simply 'summarize' or 'restate' or even to 'treat reductively'. Rather the process of reproducing [real world experience and knowledge] into a description of valued pedagogic practice reshapes them in relation to dominant and dominating principles of social interactions" (Williams 1999: 116). In many ways the resulting structures of these curricula are rooted in these dominant principles, where what recontextualising agents and other adults of influence, want learners to know (and not know) is favoured over what may be most relevant to their learning on sexuality and the prospects for their application of that knowledge.

6.3 What kind of discourses is present in these two curricula?

Chapter 5's thematic analysis identified a sex negative discourse around adolescent sexuality. This means that as sex in the everyday world is recontextualised into pedagogic communication in these texts the focus is on its negative elements and risks. Both curricula remain silent on the discourse of erotics that is present in the world beyond the school. The sex negativity present, as well as the numerous silences, result in a remarkable number of learners being excluded from the pedagogic discourse. It is not surprising then that certain learners (ie. LGBTI, victims of sexual violence, even the half of all learners that will sexually active before they turn 18) go largely unacknowledged by the curricula.

Both curricula appear to contradict their goals to create learners capable of good decision-making by persistently making a case for learners to make only one of the many sexual decisions available to them: the decision to abstain from sex. Both curricula reinforce sex negativity, by consistently coupling sexual activities and drug use as equally negative, risky behaviours or by implying that the same set of unspecified 'behaviours' can

lead to both rape and sexual intercourse. These curricula naturalise a fundamental inappropriateness of adolescents engaging in sexual activities- however disconnected that may be from an estimated half of learners' lived experiences (Fonn 2003, Rotterman 2008). This speaks to the age-related construction of the imagined learner these texts create, one who is being completely unprepared for his or her eventual adulthood and sexual life. All of this results in a complete absence of a discourse of erotics or desire, with no understanding about sex for pleasure being formed. This is despite pleasure's status as a key motivator to engage in sexual activity, an observation even the most sheltered learner is unlikely to miss in their local pedagogic context.

After the themes and absences were broadly identified in chapter 5 they were considered in relation to Allen's empirical research amongst high school learners, with particular focus on what they considered were the failings of school-based sex education. This lens was useful in the interpretation of the raw inductive categories, allowing the research, having considered 'what is happening here' to ask 'what is the significance of what is happening?' and further, what it might suggest about the knowledge/practice gap. Allen's studies collated adolescents' objections to the sex education they were receiving into four identifiers: clinical, de-eroticised, didactic and repetitive. It became evident that these same four identifiers were revealed in the two curricula being analysed for this study, both in regards to the content and through the structural function at play in the field of recontextualising. These curricula make limited direct appeals to the learners' everyday and become strongly classified around concepts of biology and the body (clinical and de-eroticised). They also have a powerful regulative discourse that prescribes certain adult-approved morals and norms around adolescent sexuality (didactic) and cover the same content across a number of grades, with limited variation to enhance their learning potential (repetitive).

Curriculum and schooling more generally, set out to develop pedagogic subjects who take on particular values and adopt norms of behaviour consistent with the current hegemonic discourse. As we have seen, sex education in these two settings is hardly an exception. The contemporary debates around adolescent sexuality in general (South Africa's amended Sexual Offences Act) and sex education curricula in particular (Ontario's redaction of a progressive new curriculum), are evidence of a powerful hegemonic

discourse of sex negativity that we see recontextualised into sex negative curricula. This discourse is controlled by largely implicit regulation (through the use of sequencing and selection) and generates an age-related construct of the learner that reinforces societal norms of adult control over adolescent sexuality.

6.4 What kind of imagined learner is projected by the recontextualising of sexual knowledge into pedagogic communication in these two curricula?

The ultimate goal of this study was to interrogate the relay of sex and sexuality knowledge into school knowledge in a curriculum from Ontario and South Africa to illustrate what kind of *imagined learner* the two curricula create. This imagined learner is a construct of the process of recontextualisation, and the degree of agency s/he is or is not afforded is representative of the larger social boundaries of power and control over adolescent sexuality. Making this learner visible is, of course, a theoretical exercise, which assumes, the intended curriculum is a learner's sole source of skills and knowledge relating to sex and sexuality; in reality a learner would be strongly influenced by sexual knowledge from a variety of sources in their local pedagogic context. The focus here is the subject position created exclusively by the recontextualising of sexual knowledge into sex education curricula, however the intersection of these intended curricula with the local pedagogic context in the field of reproduction is certainly grounds for further research.

The inductive process of analysis saw a number of themes (sex negativity, strategic silences and a construction of the adolescent) emerge which were built upon a deductive understanding of the structuring of the curricula. These allow for the primary research question to be answered: who is the imagined learner? The findings of this research project a learner who is imbued with a clear understanding of sex and sexuality as negative and links personal responsibility to culpability for engaging in activities at an inappropriate age or outside of accepted social mores. Yet, he or she conceives of sexuality as it relates to other life skills and is able to cross apply skills related to personal safety, drug use and bullying with his or her sexual life. Based on those findings we can posit that each curriculum's imagined learner is:

- Sex negative
- Heterosexual
- Not a victim or perpetrator of sexual abuse/ violence

- Someone who always makes good decisions
- Empowered to self-protect and self-regulate
- Middle class with a context-independent orientation to meaning
- Not ‘dangerous’
- Controllable
- Able to put community needs above individual wants/desires
- Not sexually active

While one cannot be certain whether this paints a picture of the learner that the various recontextualising agents knew would be created when selecting and sequencing the content, it would appear that this imagined learner is undesirable. It is especially unlikely this construct was intended given that this definition of the imagined learner excludes such a large portion of average adolescents, including all those who are sexually active. Not only is their imagined learner a very specific adolescent, but given that he or she closely adheres to the preferred social norms and possesses a context-independent understanding he or she is actually less likely than others to require the guidance and intervention of the school and curriculum in navigating their sexuality. By projecting a narrowly defined imagined learner these curricula invalidate alternative subject positions. Consider for a moment learners who:

- get pregnant?
- contract an STI or HIV?
- are raped or sexually assaulted?

Or even more commonly, learners who:

- are sexually active?
- are consensually engaging in sex?

The learner projected by these curricula is a person who is supported and socialised in making self-protective decisions. References to the right to and control of the personal body in the younger grades, and the more philosophical “self” and his or responsibility to the larger community in the later grades mark the realisation of the imagined learner. We know that a problem is created wherein the process of recontextualising sexual knowledge

into pedagogic communication “is very likely to produce imaginary subjects...who are considerably removed” from the [sexual] experiences of the working class (Williams 1999: 115). This subject appears to be largely based on the middle-class experience, one where self-determination is possible, failing to consider the role of coercion, gender inequity and the economy that often more adversely affect sexual relationships in working class environments.

Learners from such environments are not catered to by these curricula and would not have opportunities to reflect their lived experiences, at least insofar as direct appeals are specifically signalled for inclusion. Let us take for example learners who are sexually active. These curricula’s imagined learners are presumed to have either the desire or ability to refuse sexual activity. This is evidenced by the consistent sequencing of sex-specific units with ‘refusal skills’ in both curricula. Yet, many adolescents’ sexual experiences are affected by their unwillingness (in the event of sexual pleasure and desire) or inability (in the case of sexual violence or coercion) to do so. These curricula create no subject position at all for learners who either choose to ‘say yes’ or who are unable to ‘say no’.

Another challenge is that very little learning is provided about correcting, learning from, or accepting mistakes. Learners, in both curricula, are taught that mistakes related to sexuality are to be avoided. Should a learner be sexually assaulted, infected with an STI, or become pregnant the options presented are few, and the related coping mechanisms absent altogether. This stands in stark contradiction to other challenging areas of social life such as child abuse, domestic violence and drug and alcohol abuse, all of which are framed as solvable problems in the field of recontextualisation.

While these curricula state intentions to connect school-based life skills learning with the outside world, in relation to sex and sexuality a great many learners lived experiences are ignored. The overpowering regulative discourse recontextualises and reproduces the culture’s hegemonic, sex-negative discourse around adolescent sexuality. John Corlett, Dean of the Faculty of Applied Health Sciences at Brock University in an editorial regarding the redaction of the Ontario curriculum blamed this formulation of adolescent sexuality on “the loud voices of those who seem to possess so little confidence in the ability of our children to learn and understand, in a world where they are awash in

information and yet starved for the knowledge that public education has a duty to provide” (2010).

6.4.1 Possible implications of the imagined learner

What are the possible implications of the imagined learner projected by these curricula? The most concerning is the role the expectations set out for this theoretical learner may play in disengaging real world learners. These curricula do little to actually prepare learners for leading a positive sexual life, even in adulthood. Rather, similar to the learners in Allen’s New Zealand studies, their sex negativity, strategic silences, and age-related construction of the adolescent infantilise “young people wishing to develop a sense of autonomous identity.” Allen warns that such positioning may be “counterproductive to fostering young people’s ability to make positive sexual decisions and view themselves positively” (2008: 584). Having their experiences and agency ignored has the potential to alienate learners. Those who do not see themselves reflected in the curricula may disengage from it, particularly if, sensing the power of the regulative discourse, they become dubious of adult attempts to subvert and control their sexuality. It is possible to speculate that this kind of disengagement is already taking place amongst real world learners, which may offer partial explanation of the knowledge/practice gap identified as a central challenge to successful sex education.

Content and structure that do not resonate with learners jeopardise the school as a valid site of knowledge and skills around sexuality and calls it into question as a site of power and control over adolescent behaviour. Francis (2011) found that programs that sought to teach HIV/AIDS education by moralising pre-marital sex only caused young people to fall silent on deeper discussions of such topics. When curricula do not address the possibility that learners will engage in sex before graduation they fail to impart information that many learners may be very much in need of. Allen argues that “youth cannot act as responsible sexual agents without being empowered” (2005: 390). However that kind of empowerment- to inform learners with an instructional discourse that truly prepares them to make a decision about whether to become sexually active- is absent from these two curricula. Mitchell et al. (2004) confirm that adolescents (on account of the information they receive directly and indirectly in the local pedagogising context) do not lack information about sex but may very well lack accurate and useful knowledge that would

help them make informed decisions about their sexuality. Since a great deal of the encoding and decoding on matters of sexuality is done by peers whom many young people identify as their primary source of sexual information (Wood, et al. 1996: 3), the school has a responsibility to engage with the constructions of sex being developed in that local pedagogic context. Peers can mystify sexual acts or provide misinformation, making experimentation- in the absence of useful content from the school- the only means by which to attain more accurate information. This can enhance the power of both peer pressure and curiosity in motivating sexual relations (Fine 1988, Appleton et al. 2000, Netting and Burnett 2004, Bay-Cheng 2003, Allen 2006, Connell 2006, Francis 2010).

6.5 Space for transformation

Is sex education thus doomed to reproduce sex negativity? Bernstein acknowledges that a space for transformation does exist. “Symbolic control which inscribes the legitimate, translates power into discourse, and discourse into modalities of culture may well unwittingly also be the guardian of the possibility of the new. There is a paradox at the heart of symbolic control. Control cannot control itself, any more than discourse can control discourse. Symbolic control, always a condition for somebody else’s order, carries within itself the potential for transforming the order of the imposing other” (Bernstein 1990: 159).

This *possibility of the new* has two potential starting parts, or some combination of the two, in relation to sex education curricula. The first is from adolescents themselves, the second is from adults. In the first instance, young people, especially in the information-empowered age of the Internet, may eventually demand relevant and appropriate information to guide their sexual lives, which would force the school to keep pace with their experiences in the primary or local pedagogic context. In the second instance, adults, by enhancing their understanding of sexual agency among learners have the potential to break down the age-related construction of the adolescent, recognising the fluidity of age-appropriateness, and being more responsive to learners’ experiences and exposure to sexuality. In some spaces this has already begun to happen, both within curricula and outside the boundaries of the school for example, those advocating for the progressive new Ontario curriculum to be introduced or the adolescent sexuality portions of the Sexual Offences Act in South Africa to be removed. These instances demonstrate large portions of

society that are beginning to come to terms with the need for an adolescent population who possess the sexual agency to make decisions that affect their futures whilst responding to their desires.

6.6 Conclusion

This research sought to contribute to the fields of sociology of education and sex and sexuality curriculum studies, by building a framework for evaluating the structure and discourses of a curriculum as a tool for recognising the imagined learner that curriculum creates. In doing so it further identified the most common relay between adults and adolescents, one of power and control and marked by sex negative regulation. This study raises questions about the current structure and content of the two sex education curricula under consideration, and closes with the suggestion that to break free of the current hegemonic discourse of sex negativity pervasive in these two curricula, recontextualising agents need to establish a deeper, and clearer understanding of how to integrate the school-specific vertical discourse with the horizontal discourse of the everyday. That discourse is one from which sex education (generally designed to be largely skills-based) can never entirely disconnect.

A reviewer, reading an initial draft of this study asked whether this recommendation for transformation underestimates the intense contestations in the field of recontextualisation, where agreement on a final curriculum is a compromise between opposing factions in which vague formulations are an inevitable response to dissension. This is a valuable insight, grounded in the empirical world of curriculum generation. However, if sex education's long and reactive history, described in chapter 1, provides evidence of anything it is that gradually (and unfortunately often reactively) the education system has grown to include much needed sexual knowledge. The form of that knowledge, and most importantly, the relevance of it will need to continue to evolve to meet the changing needs of young people. Failing to do so runs the risk of casting the pedagogic discourse of the school into eventual irrelevance. In this instance learners who feel uninformed and even condescended to by the curriculum will place greater and greater emphasis on external sources, even experiences, in the horizontal discourse, ever-widening the knowledge/practice gap.

November 2014

Health and Physical Education redaction

After the completion of this study and its submission to the University of Cape Town, a major development took place relating to the revised Health and Physical Education curriculum. Ontario's provincial government announced that a new curriculum, inclusive of the redacted components from 2010, would be reintroduced. Health minister Liz Sandals said: "In our increasingly interconnected world, students often get information from unreliable and inaccurate sources." She said this was why "an up-to-date, relevant and appropriate health and physical education curriculum is needed now more than ever, and is why we are committed to having one in place for the 2015 school year."²⁴

One parent from each elementary school in Ontario (approximately 4000) are set to be surveyed before the new document is finalised. The survey will ask whether they agree with statements such as "I believe that it's important for my child to learn about sexual health concepts before they face a situation where they might need this information."²⁵ What considerations will be made based on parents' feedback has not been announced.

The reintroduced curriculum is currently set to cover homosexuality and same-sex marriages in Grade 3, encourage conversations about puberty, including masturbation, in Grade 6 and discuss the transmission of sexually transmitted infections and HIV in Grade 7 (including through oral and anal sex). Sandals acknowledged the significant technological advancements that had taken place since the 2010 documents were drafted in 2008 and 2009 (when current Premier Kathleen Wynne was education minister). "I don't think the word sexting had even been invented. We've asked experts in various areas to have a look at the 2010 version of the curriculum to see if there are areas that need to be updated."²⁶

²⁴ Artuso, A. 2014. Queen's Park revisits sex ed curriculum changes. *Toronto Sun*.

<http://www.torontosun.com/2014/10/30/queens-park-revisits-sex-ed-curriculum-changes>. Retrieved November 4, 2014.

²⁵ Madely, S. & Sutcliffe, M. 2014. What you need to know in Ottawa today. 580 CFRA. <http://www.cfra.com/madelys-top-5/2014/10/31/madelys-morning-minute--oct-31>. Retrieved November 4, 2014.

²⁶ Leslie, K. 2014. Ontario Liberals to introduce updated version of sex education curriculum pulled in 2010 over religious objections. *National Post*. <http://news.nationalpost.com/2014/10/30/ontario-liberals-to-introduce-updated-version-of-sex-education-curriculum-pulled-in-2010-over-religious-objections/>. Retrieved November 3, 2014.

Sexual Offences Act amendments

In May of 2013, when South Africa's constitution court declared the two sections of the Sexual Offences Act that criminalised sexual activity between adolescents age 12 to 16 the court also placed a "moratorium on all investigations into, arrests of, prosecutions of, and criminal and ancillary proceedings against children under the age of 16 years in relation to sections 15 and 16 of the Act, pending Parliament's correction of the defects in the Act." The court granted Parliament 18 months to correct those defects in light of its judgment.²⁷ At time of writing (19 months after the moratorium) no amendments had yet been publically announced.

²⁷ Khampepe, J. et al. 2013. Teddy Bear Clinic and Rapcan v. Minister of Justice and and Constitutional Development and National Director of Public Prosecutions. *Constitutional Court of South Africa judgement*. <http://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZACC/2013/35.pdf>. Retrieved November 4, 2014.

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Appendix 1

Appendix 1: Complete Data Set (Sex and sexuality related units from Life Skills/Life Orientation (LS/O) and Health and Physical Education (HPE))

<u>LIFE SKILLS/ LIFE ORIENTATION (LS/O)- SOUTH AFRICA</u>	<u>SEX- SPECIFIC</u>	<u>HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION (HPE)- ONTARIO</u>	<u>SEX- SPECIFIC</u>
GRADE R			
<p><u>Beginning Knowledge and Personal and Social Well-being</u></p> <p>Me What makes me special - include name, language/s, gender How to express what I feel</p> <p>My body Identify and name body parts - include how many of each Who may or may not touch my body What my body needs to keep healthy</p> <p>Healthy living Good basic hygiene practices</p>			

<u>LIFE SKILLS/ LIFE ORIENTATION (LS/O)- SOUTH AFRICA</u>	<u>SEX- SPECIFIC</u>	<u>HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION (HPE)- ONTARIO</u>	<u>SEX- SPECIFIC</u>
GRADE 1		GRADE 1	
<p><u>Beginning Knowledge and Personal and Social Well-being</u></p> <p>Me How I am the same as my friends How I am different from my friends</p> <p><u>Healthy habits</u></p> <p>Keeping clean</p> <p><u>My body</u> Different parts of my body</p>		<p><u>Living Skills</u> (PS) (e.g., <i>Healthy Living: ask themselves whether they used a tissue or did a “sleeve sneeze” to cover their nose and mouth when sneezing in order to avoid spreading germs</i>)</p> <p>(e.g., <i>Active Living: apply knowledge of safety procedures to make themselves feel safer and more confident as they play on the playground; Movement Competence: try to express themselves positively when they are excited or disappointed during a game or when they are learning a new skill; Healthy Living: be able to use proper terminology to name their body parts, so they can explain where they may be hurt or sore</i>)</p> <p>(IS) (e.g., <i>Healthy Living: effectively communicate feelings they might experience in response to caring behaviours and exploitive behaviours</i>)</p> <p>(e.g., <i>Healthy Living: listen respectfully to show they care about someone</i>)</p> <p>(CT) (e.g., <i>Healthy Living: make and explain choices that protect them from the sun, such as wearing a hat and applying sunscreen</i>)</p>	

(continued) GRADE 1		GRADE 1	
<p><u>Keeping my body safe</u> Safe and unsafe situations and places - such as waiting for transport, alone in shopping areas Yes' and 'No' feelings</p> <p>Practising saying 'No'</p> <p>Protecting our bodies from illness</p> <p>-Never touching another person's blood</p> <p>Greeting people we know and greeting strangers</p> <p>Respecting other people and what belongs to them</p> <p><i>Notes: Use role play. Consolidate manners and responsibilities throughout the year</i></p>		<p><u>Healthy Living</u></p> <p>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention demonstrate an understanding of essential knowledge and practices for ensuring their personal safety (<i>e.g., knowing their home phone numbers; knowing how to contact 9-1-1; seeking help from a police officer, teacher, elder, or other trusted adult; knowing routines for safe pickup from school or activities</i>) [PS]</p> <p>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention demonstrate the ability to recognize caring behaviours (<i>e.g., listening with respect, giving positive reinforcement, being helpful</i>) and exploitive behaviours (<i>e.g., inappropriate touching, verbal or physical abuse, bullying</i>), and describe the feelings associated with each [IS]</p> <p>Growth and Development identify the major parts of the body by their proper names.</p>	

LIFE SKILLS/ LIFE ORIENTATION (LS/O)- SOUTH AFRICA	SEX- SPECIFIC	HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION (HPE)- ONTARIO	SEX- SPECIFIC
GRADE 2		GRADE 2	
<p><u>Beginning Knowledge and Personal and Social Well-being</u> Myself and others</p> <p>Dealing positively with conflict - include self esteem and bullying</p> <p>People who help us People who help us in our community - such as clinic nurse, after-care teacher, librarian How different people help me</p> <p>How I ask for information and assistance How I ask for help in an emergency -Who to contact -What information to give</p>		<p><u>Living Skills</u> (IS) (e.g., <i>Healthy Living: effectively communicate their objections or refusal to participate if someone is doing something that they do not like</i>) (e.g., <i>Healthy Living: use positive language when talking to peers, as part of developing good relationships, and encourage others to do the same</i>)</p> <p><u>Healthy Living</u> Personal Safety and Injury Prevention demonstrate an understanding of practices that enhance personal safety in the home (e.g., <i>observing precautions for answering the phone and door....</i>)</p> <p>explain the importance of standing up for themselves, and demonstrate the ability to apply behaviours that enhance their personal safety in threatening situations (e.g., <i>speaking confidently; stating boundaries; saying no; reporting exploitive behaviours, such as improper touching of their bodies or others' bodies</i>)</p>	

(continued) GRADE 2		GRADE 2	
		<p>describe how to relate positively to others (<i>e.g., cooperate, show respect, smile, manage anger</i>), and describe behaviours that can be harmful in relating to others (<i>e.g., verbal abuse, including name calling, insults, and mocking; deliberately ignoring someone; physical violence, including pushing, kicking, and hitting</i>)</p> <p><u>Growth and Development</u> describe parts of the human body, the functions of these parts, and behaviours that contribute to good health. distinguish the similarities and differences between themselves and others (<i>e.g., in terms of body size or gender</i>); describe how germs are transmitted and how this relates to personal hygiene (<i>e.g., using tissues, washing hands before eating</i>);</p>	

<u>LIFE SKILLS/ LIFE ORIENTATION (LS/O)- SOUTH AFRICA</u>	<u>SEX- SPECIFIC</u>	<u>HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION (HPE)- ONTARIO</u>	<u>SEX- SPECIFIC</u>
GRADE 3		GRADE 3	
<p><u>Beginning Knowledge and Personal and Social Well-being</u></p> <p>Feelings</p> <p>Recognising feelings - such as anger, fear, worry, loneliness Good ways to express what we feel</p> <p>Keeping my body safe</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are not safe with everyone • Rules to keep my body safe • Trusting ‘Yes’ and ‘No’ feelings • How to say ‘No’ to any form of abuse • How to report abuse <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -At home -At school -In our community -In the environment 		<p><u>Living Skills</u></p> <p>(PS) (e.g., <i>Healthy Living: identify some of the characteristics that make them unique, and think about things they may have done or said that acknowledged the unique characteristics of others in a positive way or that were disrespectful or hurtful to others</i>)</p> <p>(IS)(e.g., <i>Active Living: remind others about safety rules in a positive and supportive way; Healthy Living: explain to a friend who loves video games how real violence differs from fictional violence, and try to persuade that friend to choose less violent games</i>)</p> <p>(e.g., <i>Healthy Living: show leadership in identifying and avoiding peer pressure</i>)</p> <p><u>Healthy Living</u></p> <p>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention apply their understanding of good safety practices by developing safety guidelines for a variety of places and situations outside the classroom</p> <p><u>Growth and Development</u> outline the basic human and animal reproductive processes (e.g., the union of egg and sperm);</p>	

LIFE SKILLS/ LIFE ORIENTATION (LS/O)- SOUTH AFRICA	SEX- SPECIFIC	HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION (HPE)- ONTARIO	SEX- SPECIFIC
GRADE 4		GRADE 4	
<p><u>Development of the self</u> Respect for own and others’ bodies: privacy, bodily integrity and not subjecting one’s body to substance abuse How to respect and care for own body</p> <p>Dealing with conflict: examples of conflict situations at home and school</p> <p>Strategies to avoid conflicts</p> <p>Useful responses to conflict situations</p>		<p><u>Living Skills</u> <i>(PS) (e.g., Healthy Living: describe how being aware of their feelings can help them adjust to physical and emotional changes at puberty)</i></p> <p><i>(e.g., Active Living: play fairly by maintaining self-control and sharing opportunities to play; Healthy Living: explain what they can do, when sending text messages or communicating online, to avoid saying something that they wouldn’t say face to face; identify some of the teachings of First Nation, Métis, or Inuit cultures that can help them strengthen their own relationships)</i></p> <p><i>(CT) (e.g., Active Living: think through and apply the steps they will take to avoid injury while participating in a physical activity; Healthy Living: with a classmate, brainstorm ways of avoiding unhealthy behaviours or situations that make them feel uncomfortable, and list healthy alternatives)</i></p>	

GRADE 4		GRADE 4	
<p>Understanding own emotions: appropriate ways to express own emotions</p> <p>How to understand and consider others emotions</p> <p><u>Social responsibility</u> Children’s rights and responsibilities: name, health, safety, education, shelter, food and environment Children’s rights as stipulated in the South African Constitution Children’s responsibilities in relation to their rights</p> <p>Health and environmental responsibility Basic explanation of HIV and AIDS Transmission of HIV through blood How HIV is not transmitted How to protect oneself against infection through blood</p>		<p>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention</p> <p>identify risks associated with communications technology (<i>e.g., Internet and cell phone use, including participation in gaming and online communities and the use of text messaging</i>), and describe precautions and strategies for using these technologies safely</p>	

LIFE SKILLS/ LIFE ORIENTATION (LS/O)- SOUTH AFRICA	SEX- SPECIFIC	HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION (HPE)- ONTARIO	SEX- SPECIFIC
GRADE 5		GRADE 5	
<p><u>Development of the self</u></p> <p>Positive self-concept formation</p> <p>Influence of others on self-concept: adults and peers</p> <p>Action plan for continued positive self-concept formation</p> <p>Coping with emotions: empathy, compassion, anger, disappointment and sadness</p> <p>Skills to manage emotions in a positive way</p> <p>Relationships with peers, older people and strangers:</p> <p>Safe and unsafe relationships</p> <p>Bad and good relationships</p> <p>Benefits of good and safe relationships</p>		<p><u>Living Skills</u></p> <p>(PS) (e.g., <i>Healthy Living: describe some of the factors or situations that cause them to experience stress</i>) (e.g., <i>Healthy Living: identify how to get help in different situations –in emergencies, when confronted with violence, when being bullied or witnessing someone else being bullied, to prevent injury</i>)</p> <p>(IS) (e.g., <i>Healthy Living: practise using refusal skills if presented with choices or peer pressure regarding use of alcohol or tobacco</i>) (e.g., <i>Healthy Living: show respect for others by giving classmates encouragement and praise and by avoiding behaviours such as calling people names or excluding them</i>)</p> <p>Healthy Living</p> <p>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention identify people (e.g., <i>parents, guardians, neighbours, teachers, crossing guards, police, older students, coaches, elders</i>) and supportive services (e.g., <i>help lines, 9-1-1, Telehealth, public health units, studentservices</i>) that can assist with injury prevention, emergencies, bullying, and abusive and violent situations [PS]</p>	

(continued) GRADE 5		GRADE 5	
<p>Social Responsibility Violation of children’s rights: discrimination, stereotype and bias Responses to violations of children’s rights: ways to protect self and others from violations and where to find help</p> <p>Different forms of child abuse: physical and emotional Strategies to deal with abuse Where to get help and report abuse</p> <p>Dealing with violent situations:</p> <p>Identify potential violent situations at home, school and community Responding effectively to violent situations</p> <p>Ways to avoid and protect oneself from violent situations and where to find help</p> <p>Issues of age and gender in different cultural contexts in South Africa: Responsibilities of boys and girls in different cultural contexts Contributions of women and men in different cultural contexts</p>		<p>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention demonstrate the ability to deal with threatening situations by applying appropriate living skills</p> <p><i>(e.g., personal skills, including self-monitoring and anger management; interpersonal skills,</i></p> <p>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention explain how a person’s actions (<i>e.g., negative actions such as name calling, making homophobic or racist remarks, mocking appearance or ability, excluding, bullying, sexual harassment; positive actions such as praising, supporting, including</i>) can affect the feelings, self-concept, emotional well-being, and reputation of themselves and others [PS, IS]</p> <p>Growth and Development describe physical, emotional, and interpersonal changes associated with puberty identify strategies to deal positively with stress and pressures that result from</p>	<p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p>

(continued) GRADE 5		GRADE 5	
Health, social and environmental responsibility HIV and AIDS education Stigma about HIV and AIDS Dealing with stigma		relationships with family and friends; identify factors (e.g., trust, honesty, caring) that enhance healthy relationships with family, and peers; describe the secondary physical changes at puberty (e.g., growth of body hair, changes in body shape); describe the processes of menstruation and spermatogenesis; describe the increasing importance of personal hygiene following puberty.	 X X X X

LIFE SKILLS/ LIFE ORIENTATION (LS/O)- SOUTH AFRICA	SEX- SPECIFIC	HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION (HPE)- ONTARIO	SEX- SPECIFIC
GRADE 6		GRADE 6	
<p><u>Development of the self</u> Positive self-esteem: body image</p> <p>Understanding and respecting body changes Other influences on body image: media and society</p> <p>Acceptance of the self</p> <p>Examples of peer pressure in different situations: school and community Appropriate responses to peer pressure in different situations</p> <p>Gender stereotyping, sexism and abuse: definition of concepts Effects of gender stereotyping and sexism on personal and social relationships Dealing with stereotyping, sexism and abuse</p> <p><u>Health and environmental responsibility</u> Myths and realities about HIV&AIDS including risks and perceptions about HIV& AIDS</p>		<p><u>Living Skills</u> (PS) (e.g. <i>Healthy Living: reflect on how their body image affects their self-concept, and identify other factors, including acceptance by others, that influence their sense of themselves</i>)</p> <p>(CT) (e.g., <i>Healthy Living: describe what can be done to challenge stereotypes and assumptions, and to encourage respect for and acceptance of differences and inclusion of all people in social activities</i>)</p> <p><u>Healthy Living</u></p> <p>Substance Use, Addictions, and Related Behaviours identify people and community resources (e.g., <i>elders, family members, community agencies, churches, mosques, synagogues, public health units, telephone help lines, recreation facilities</i>) that can provide support when dealing with choices or situations involving substance use and</p> <p>addictive behaviours</p> <p><u>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention</u> apply personal skills and interpersonal skills (e.g., <i>self-awareness and self-management skills,</i></p>	

(continued) GRADE 6		GRADE 6	
		<p><i>including anger management; communication skills, including listening skills and assertiveness skills) to promote positive interaction and avoid or manage conflict in social situations</i></p> <p><u>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention</u> demonstrate an understanding of related safety practices and appropriate procedures for responding to dangerous situations (<i>e.g., safe practices for preparing food; responses to allergic reactions, fire, sports injuries, dental emergencies, hypothermia, bullying</i>) [PS, IS]</p> <p><u>Growth and Development</u> relate the changes at puberty to the reproductive organs and their functions; apply a problem-solving/decision-making process to address issues related to friends, peers, and family relationships.</p>	X

LIFE SKILLS/ LIFE ORIENTATION (LS/O)- SOUTH AFRICA	SEX- SPECIFIC	HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION (HPE)- ONTARIO	SEX- SPECIFIC
GRADE 7		GRADE 7	
<p>Development of the self in society</p> <p>Self-image</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify and reflect on positive personal qualities: relationship with self, family, friends - Strategies to enhance self-image through positive actions: respect for self <p>Changes in boys and girls: puberty and gender constructs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physical and emotional changes - Understanding the changes and how these impact on relationships - Respect for own and others' body changes and emotions - Appreciation and acceptance of the self and others <p>Peer pressure: effects of peer pressure</p>	X	<p>Living Skills (IS)(e.g., <i>Active Living: clearly communicate refusal to participate in activities that are unsafe, particularly when peer pressure is involved; Healthy Living: practise effective responses to someone who directs a homophobic or racial slur to them or to another student</i>)</p> <p>Healthy Living</p> <p>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention describe benefits and dangers, for themselves and others, that are associated with the use of computers and other technologies (e.g. <i>dangers: cyberstalking....</i>) and identify protective responses</p> <p>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention assess the impact of different types of bullying or harassment (e.g., <i>intimidation, ostracism, pressure to conform, gang activities</i>) on themselves and others, and identify ways of preventing or resolving such incidents (e.g., <i>communicating feelings; reporting incidents involving themselves</i>)</p>	

(continued) GRADE 7		GRADE 7	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Appropriate responses to pressure: assertiveness and coping skills - Negotiation skills: ability to disagree in constructive ways - Where to find help 		<p>Growth and Development</p> <p>describe age-appropriate matters related to sexuality (e.g., the need to develop good interpersonal skills, such as the ability to communicate effectively with the opposite sex).</p> <p>explain the male and female reproductive systems as they relate to fertilization;</p> <p>distinguish between the facts and myths associated with menstruation, spermatogenesis, and fertilization;</p> <p>identify the methods of transmission and the symptoms of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and ways to prevent them;</p> <p>use effective communication skills (e.g., skills, active listening) to deal with various relationships and situations;</p> <p>explain the term <i>abstinence</i> as it applies to healthy sexuality;</p> <p>identify sources of support with regard to issues related to healthy sexuality (e.g., parents/guardians, doctors).</p>	<p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p>

(continued) GRADE 8		GRADE 8	
<p>Relationships and friendships: relationships at home, school and in the community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Appropriate ways to initiate a relationship - Appropriate ways to sustain a relationship - Problem-solving skills: appropriate behaviour in a relationship - Communication skills: ability to disagree in constructive ways and appropriate ways to end a relationship <p>Problem-solving and decision-making skills: strategies to respond to emotions in challenging situations (depression, grief, loss, trauma and crisis)</p> <p><u>Health, social and environmental responsibility</u></p> <p>Social factors that contribute to substance abuse including community and media</p> <p>Appropriate behaviour to stop and avoid substance abuse: refusal and decision-making skills</p>		<p><i>school counsellors, social workers, youth programs, shelters, restorative justice programs) [CT])</i></p> <p><u>Growth and Development</u></p>	
		<p>explain the importance of abstinence as a positive choice for adolescents;</p> <p>identify symptoms, methods of transmission, prevention, and high-risk behaviours related to common STDs, HIV, and AIDS;</p>	X
		<p>identify methods used to prevent pregnancy;</p> <p>apply living skills (e.g., decision-making, assertiveness, and refusal skills) in making informed decisions, and analyse the consequences of engaging in sexual activities and using drugs;</p>	X
		<p>identify sources of support (e.g., parents/guardians, doctors) related to healthy sexuality issues</p>	X

(continued) GRADE 8		GRADE 8	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long and short term consequences of substance abuse: link to crime, violence and educational outcomes 			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rehabilitation options: where to find help, care and support 	X		
<p>Informed, responsible decision-making about health and safety: HIV and AIDS</p>	X		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Management with medication, diet, healthy living and positive attitude 			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prevention and safety issues relating to HIV and AIDS 	X		
<p><u>Constitutional rights and responsibilities</u></p> <p>Gender equity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Defining gender-based violence - Emotional, health and social impact of rape and gender-based violence - Prevention of violence against women: law on sexual offences - Sources of help for victims: safety for girls and women 			
<p><u>Health, social and environmental responsibility</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reasons that violence occurs in families and communities and among friends and peers - Alternatives to violence: problem-solving skills and managing conflict - Protecting oneself and others from violence 			

<u>LIFE SKILLS/ LIFE ORIENTATION (LS/O)- SOUTH AFRICA</u>	<u>SEX- SPECIFIC</u>	<u>HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION (HPE)- ONTARIO</u>	<u>SEX- SPECIFIC</u>
GRADE 9		GRADE 9	
<p><u>Development of the self in society</u> Goal-setting skills: personal lifestyle choices -Influence of media, environment, friends and peers, family, culture, religion and community on personal lifestyle choices -Appropriate responses to influences on personal lifestyle choices: Informed decision-making skills: positive and negative influences Assertiveness skills: confident and firm decision-making</p>		<p><u>Healthy Living</u> <u>Healthy Growth and Sexuality</u> - identify the factors that contribute to positive relationships with others; – identify the developmental stages of sexuality throughout life; – describe the factors that lead to responsible sexual relationships; – describe the relative effectiveness of methods of preventing pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases (e.g., abstinence, condoms, oral contraceptives); -explain the consequences of sexual decisions on the individual, family, and community; – demonstrate understanding of how to use decision-making and assertiveness skills effectively to promote healthy sexuality (e.g., healthy human relationships, avoiding unwanted pregnancies and STDs such as HIV/AIDS); – demonstrate understanding of the pressures on teens to be sexually active; – identify community support services related to sexual health concerns.</p>	
Sexual behaviour and sexual health:	X		
-Risk factors leading to unhealthy sexual behaviour	X		
-Unwanted results of unhealthy sexual behaviour: teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), HIV and AIDS, low self-image and emotional scars	X		X
-factors that Influence personal behaviour including family, friends, peers and community norms	X		X
-Strategies to deal with unhealthy sexual behaviour: abstinence and change of behaviour	X		X
-Protective factors, where to find help and support: community structures that offer	X		X

(continued) GRADE 9		GRADE 9	
<p>protection or resilience against high Risk behaviour -Adverse consequences and implications of teenage pregnancy for teenage parent(s) and the children born to teenagers</p> <p>- Problem-solving and decision-making skills: Strategies to respond to emotions In challenging situations (depression, grief, loss, trauma and crisis)</p> <p><u>Social and environmental responsibility</u></p> <p>Social, constructive and critical thinking skills necessary to participate in civic life: - Social responsibilities including the knowledge and skills to make Informed decisions and take Appropriate action</p> <p><u>Health, social and environmental responsibility</u></p> <p>- Common acts of violence At home, school and In the community - Reasons that violence occurs In families and communities and among friends and peers - Alternatives to violence: Problem-solving skills and managing conflict - Protecting oneself and others from acts of violence: where to find help National health and/or safety promotion programmes</p>	X	<p><u>Substance Use and Abuse</u></p> <p>identify the major factors (e.g., environmental influences such as peer pressure, media influences, adolescent attitudes) that contribute to the use of alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs; – identify the school and community resources involved in education, prevention, and treatment with respect to alcohol, tobacco, and other drugs; – demonstrate and use both decision-making and assertion skills with respect to media</p> <p><u>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention</u> – describe solutions and strategies to address violence in the lives of young people;</p> <p>– explain how the school, the local community, and other community agencies are involved in developing strategies (e.g., a school’s code of conduct) to prevent or end the violence in young people’s lives;</p>	

(continued) GRADE 9		GRADE 9	
		<p><u>Living Skills</u></p> <p><i>Conflict Resolution</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – demonstrate understanding of personal values that can lead to conflict; – use assertiveness techniques to avoid escalating conflict; – demonstrate active listening skills (e.g., identifying non-verbal feelings expressed by others, paraphrasing the message, asking questions for clarification) when managing conflict) – demonstrate the appropriate steps of conflict resolution in situations encountered in class, at school, with friends, and at home; – demonstrate understanding of the triggers of conflict (e.g., defensive behaviour in a group situation) to prevent escalation; – identify coping skills (e.g., involvement in physical activity, talking it out, participating in alternative activities or hobbies) to deal with the internal conflict and stress that often accompanies change. 	

(continued) GRADE 10		GRADE 10	
<p>- Influence of gender inequality on relationships and general well-being: sexual abuse, teenage pregnancy, violence, STIs including HIV and AIDS</p>	X	<p>– demonstrate understanding of how to use decision-making skills effectively to support choices related to responsible sexuality.</p>	X
<p>Changes associated with development towards adulthood: adolescence to adulthood</p>		<p><u>Living Skills</u></p>	
<p>-physical changes: hormonal, increase growth rates, bodily proportions, secondary sex/ gender characteristics, primary changes In the body (menstruation, ovulation and seed formation) and skin problems</p>	X		
<p>-emotional changes: maturing personally, depth and control of emotions, feelings of insecurity, changing needs, interests, feelings, beliefs, values and sexual interests</p>	X	<p><i>Decision Making</i></p>	
<p>- Social changes: relationships with family, interaction with Social groups, need for acceptance by and dependence on peer group, moving into workforce and increase responsibilities</p>		<p>By the end of the course, students will:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – identify short- and long-term goals for personal growth (e.g., using a student planner); – analyse the impact of media and culture on decision making; – produce a sequential action plan (e.g., using the IDEAL model) to achieve personal goals related to new situations (e.g., those requiring time management); 	
<p>Coping with change: importance of communication and making friends</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – explain their reasoning for their personal choices and actions related to health and well-being. 	
<p>Values and strategies to make responsible decisions regarding sexuality and lifestyle choices to optimise personal potential</p>			

(continued) GRADE 10		GRADE 10	
- Behaviour that could lead to sexual intercourse and teenage pregnancy, sexual abuse and rape	X		
	X		
- Values such as respect for self and others, abstinence, self-control, right to privacy, right to protect oneself, right to say 'No' and taking responsibility for own actions	X		
- Skills such as self-awareness, critical thinking, decision-making, problem-solving, assertiveness, negotiations, communication, refusal, goal-setting and information gathering relating to sexuality and lifestyle choices	X		
- Where to find help regarding sexuality and lifestyle choices	X		

<u>LIFE SKILLS/ LIFE ORIENTATION (LS/O)- SOUTH AFRICA</u>	<u>SEX- SPECIFIC</u>	<u>HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION (HPE)- ONTARIO</u>	<u>SEX- SPECIFIC</u>
GRADE 11		GRADE 11	
<p><u>Development of the self in society</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Important life goals and prioritising: family marriage, parenting, career choices and relationships - relationships between personal values, choices and goal-setting - relationships that contribute or are detrimental to well-being: rights and responsibilities In relationships, Social and cultural views that Influence and/or affect relationships, qualities sought In different relationships and individuality In relationships - Impact of the media on values and beliefs about relationships. <p>Health and balanced lifestyle choices:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -characteristics of a healthy and balanced lifestyle: physical, psychological, Social, emotional and spiritual facets -factors that Impact negatively on lifestyle choices <p>Accidents; types of accidents; lack of knowledge and skills; unsafe attitudes and behaviours; unsafe environments and emotional factors</p>		<p><u>Healthy Living</u></p> <p><i>Healthy Growth and Sexuality</i></p> <p>demonstrate an understanding of sexual and reproductive health;</p> <p>demonstrate, in a variety of settings, the knowledge and skills that reduce risk to personal safety;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – describe factors (e.g., environmental, hormonal, nutritional) affecting reproductive health in males and females; – demonstrate an understanding of causes and issues related to infertility; – demonstrate the skills needed to sustain honest, respectful, and responsible relationships; – describe sources of information on and services related to sexual and reproductive health; – assess reproductive and sexual health care information and services. 	<p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p>

(continued) GRADE 11		GRADE 11	
<p>Risky behaviour and situations: personal safety, road use, substance use and abuse, sexual behaviour, risk of pregnancy, teenage suicides, hygiene and dietary behaviour, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), HIV & AIDS and peer pressure</p> <p>- Individual responsibility for making Informed decisions and choices: coping with and overcoming barriers regarding behaviour and seeking support, advice and assistance Gender roles and their effects on health and well-being: self, family and society</p> <p>- Unequal power relations, power inequality, power balance and power struggle between genders: abuse of power towards an individual (physical abuse), in family (incest), social (domestic violence and sexual violence/ rape and work settings (sexual harassment)</p> <p>- negative effects on health and well-being</p> <p>- Addressing unequal power relations and power inequality between genders</p>	X	<p>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention</p> <p>– describe different types of violence (e.g., relationship violence – physical, verbal, sexual, emotional);</p> <p>– demonstrate an understanding of the causes of relationship violence;</p> <p>– identify and analyse the indicators of violence in interpersonal relationships, as well as appropriate intervention strategies;</p> <p>– assess solutions and strategies for preventing and eliminating relationship violence;</p> <p>– evaluate the effectiveness of different types of treatment for the most common communicable diseases (e.g., hepatitis B, tuberculosis, STDs, HIV/AIDS);</p>	

(continued) GRADE 11		GRADE 11	
		<p><u>Living Skills</u> <i>Decision Making</i> – apply strategies to establish priorities and set goals; – identify common obstacles to successful decision making; – explain the advantages, disadvantages, and possible consequences of risk-taking behaviour; – describe how to determine whether a risk is worth taking or not.</p>	

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GRADE 12		GRADE 12	
<p><u>Development of the self in society</u> Life skills required to adapt to change as part of ongoing healthy lifestyle choices: stressors, change and quality of life</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify stressors: physical, emotional, social and environmental factors (abuse, vocation, life crises, personality and social pressure) - Stress management: coping mechanisms and/ or management techniques, develop and implement own strategy - conflict resolution skills: inter personal and intra personal - Initiating, building and sustaining positive relationships: importance of communication (understanding others, communicating feelings, beliefs and attitudes) - Factors that influence effective communication: personality, attitudes and values, acceptance of responsibilities, appropriate expression of views and feelings, respect the feelings of others - Adapting to growth and change: change in circumstances <p>Personal lifestyle plan to promote quality of life</p>		<p><u>Healthy Living</u></p> <p><i>Healthy Growth and Sexuality</i></p> <p>describe how society and culture affect individual perceptions and expressions of sexuality;</p> <p>demonstrate an understanding of strategies that promote healthy relationships.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - analyse the factors (e.g., culture, media) that affect gender roles and sexuality; - demonstrate an understanding of the factors(e.g., attitudes, values, and beliefs about gender roles and sexuality) that affect the prevention of behaviour related to STDs, AIDS, and pregnancy; - describe the factors (e.g., healthful eating, abstinence from smoking and alcohol) that contribute to healthy pregnancy and birth;) - describe the characteristics of healthy, respectful, and long-lasting relationships; 	<p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p> <p>X</p>

(continued) GRADE 12		GRADE 12	
<p><u>Health, social and environmental responsibility</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - lifestyle diseases as a result of poverty and gender imbalances: cancer, hypertension, diseases of the heart and circulatory system, tuberculosis, sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS <p>- Contributing factors: eating habits, lack of exercise, smoking, substance abuse and unsafe sexual behaviour</p> <p>- Intervention Strategies: prevention and control, early detection, treatment, care and support</p>	X	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - assess the skills needed to maintain healthy, respectful, and long-lasting relationships; - describe the communication skills needed to discuss sexual intimacy and sexuality in a relationship <p><i>Personal Safety and Injury Prevention</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - analyse the causes of certain types of interpersonal violence (e.g., stalking, date rape, family violence, extortion); - describe the possible effects of violence on individuals who are exposed to it in their personal lives (e.g., becoming violent themselves, thereby continuing the cycle of violence and abuse); 	X

(continued) GRADE 12		GRADE 12	
		<p>– identify sources of support for individuals exposed to violence (e.g., within the family, the school, or the community);</p> <p>– demonstrate an ability to use skills and strategies (e.g., refusal, self-defence) to deal with threats to personal safety and the safety of others;</p> <p>– explain why adolescents and young adults are overrepresented in traffic fatalities;</p> <p>– assess strategies for reducing risks to their own safety and that of others in various situations (e.g., while participating in outdoor winter sports activities or driving cars, boats, and snowmobiles).</p> <p><u>Living Skills</u></p> <p><i>Decision Making</i></p> <p>– demonstrate an ability to use strategies that assist in changing and maintaining behaviour to achieve personal healthy active living goals;</p> <p>– demonstrate an understanding of the impact of complex personal decisions and the ethical considerations associated with these decisions;</p> <p>– explain the influence of cultural norms (e.g., related to religion, gender roles) on decision making.</p>	