Can Participatory Visual Methods Make a Difference? Responding to HIV and AIDS in rural South African Schools

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December, 2016
A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ABSTRACT

South Africa suffers from a generalized AIDS epidemic, with a disproportionate effect on girls and young women. The education system is part of the national response to the epidemic. However, teachers have difficulty engaging with learners on this topic. Barriers to HIV prevention education are amplified in under-resourced, rural schools. One possible response to these difficulties and barriers is the use of participatory visual methods such as photovoice, digital storytelling and cellphilming as a way for teachers to engage with learners to address HIV and AIDS. To date, these methods have been explored predominantly for their contributions to research. There is a paucity of studies that consider their feasibility and effectiveness when used by teachers in schools as a pedagogical approach to HIV and AIDS education.

This doctoral thesis aimed to answer two research questions: 1) What do learners, preservice teachers and inservice teachers identify as the contributions of participatory visual methods to education about HIV and AIDS, especially as they relate to rural contexts? 2) What educational challenges are associated with establishing and sustaining the contributions that participatory visual methods provide to enhance current and future HIV and AIDS teaching practices, particularly in under-resourced schools such as those found in rural KwaZulu Natal? To answer these questions, I used a range of qualitative and visual methods during my fieldwork, including one-on-one and group interviews, photo elicitation, photovoice, and participant observation in order to collect insights and experiences of learners, preservice teachers and inservice teachers who have used participatory visual methods to address HIV and AIDS. The findings of this study are presented in the form of three 'portraits,' or particularized analyses of (1) a digital story workshop process in a rural school, (2) a follow-up study of preservice teachers who received training in using participatory visual methods with rural learners, and (3) the experiences of rural inservice teachers who screened a collection of their cellphilms about HIV and AIDS to groups of learners at their school.

Participatory visual methods offer several contributions to HIV and AIDS education in rural schools: they are novel and engaging; they can help teachers negotiate contentious aspects of sexual health curriculum; they promote teachers' appreciation of learners' knowledge; they can facilitate teachers' reflexive learning about the epidemic; and they also contribute to producing resources that reflect local concerns. At the same time, barriers such as limited resources and

challenges as to how teachers are prepared to confront their discomfort with HIV and AIDS through teacher education must be addressed for these methods to be viable for use in schools. This study concludes that educators and learners in rural contexts would benefit from further training and support integrating participatory visual methods to address HIV and AIDS.

RÉSUMÉ

L'Afrique du Sud souffre d'une épidémie de SIDA généralisée, avec un effet disproportionné sur les filles et les jeunes femmes. Le système éducatif fait partie de la réponse à apporter pour contrer cette épidémie au niveau du pays. Pourtant, les professeurs rencontrent des difficultés à communiquer avec leurs étudiants sur ce sujet. Et ces difficultés sont particulièrement amplifiées dans les écoles rurales dont les ressources sont moindres. Une réponse possible est l'usage par les enseignants de méthodes visuelles participatives telles que le photovoice, la narration numérique et le cellphilming afin de parvenir à mieux échanger avec leurs étudiants sur le HIV et le SIDA. A ce jour, ces méthodes ont principalement été utilisées dans des situations de recherche. Par contre, peu d'études ont été réalisées afin de mesurer l'efficacité de cette approche pédagogique en milieu scolaire pour enseigner sur les sujets du HIV et du SIDA

Cette thèse cherche à répondre à deux questions de recherche : 1) Qu'est-ce que les étudiants, les enseignants preservice et les enseignants inservice identifient comme contribuant aux méthodes visuelles participatives sur le HIV et le SIDA, en particulier dans des contextes ruraux? 2) Quels sont les défis éducatifs que les méthodes visuelles participatives vont permettre de résoudre afin d'améliorer l'apprentissage d'aujourd'hui et de demain, en particulier dans les écoles en manque de ressources telles que celles situées en zone rurales du KwaZulu Natal? Pour répondre a ces questions, j'ai utilisé un panel de méthodes visuelles et qualitatives pendant mon travail sur le terrain, telles que les entretiens individuels ou en groupe, la photo-élicitation, la photovoice et l'observation des participants afin d'assembler les retours et les réactions des étudiants, des enseignants preservice et des enseignants inservice qui ont utilisé ces méthodes visuelles participatives pour adresser le sujet du HIV et du SIDA. Les résultats de cette recherche sont présentés sous forme de trois « portraits » ou analyses particularisées, à savoir (1) d' un processus d'atelier sous forme d'histoire digitale dans une école rurale, (2) d'un suivi auprès d'enseignants preservice en milieu rural qui ont reçu un apprentissage sur les méthodes visuelles participatives et (3) d'expériences effectuées par des enseignants inservice en milieu rural qui ont

présenté une collection de leurs cellphilm sur le HIV et le SIDA à des groupes d'étudiants de leur école.

Les méthodes participatives visuelles ont fourni plusieurs contributions à l'éducation sur le HIV et le SIDA en milieu rural : elles sont originales et engageantes; elles peuvent aider les enseignants à mieux négocier certains aspects difficiles du curriculum sur l'éducation sexuelle; elles mettent en avant l'appréciation des enseignants de la connaissance des élèves; elles peuvent faciliter l'apprentissage réflexif des enseignants sur l'épidémie; et elles contribuent aussi à produire du contenu qui tient en compte les préoccupations locales. Mais dans le même temps, les difficultés telles que le manque de ressource et la capacité des enseignants à affronter leur propre inconfort sur le HIV et le SIDA et à suivre les cours sur le sujet doivent être adressé pour que ces méthodes puissent prouver leur efficacité dans les écoles. Cette étude arrive a la conclusion que les éducateurs et les enseignants en milieu rural pourraient améliorer leur lutte contre le HIV et le SIDA grâce à l'introduction des méthodes visuelles participative dans les supports de cours et le matériel qu'ils utilisent.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to all of my research participants. Their insight, energy, and creativity are at the heart of this work. I will forever cherish our time together and what you have taught me.

I thank my supervisor, Claudia Mitchell. It is in her footsteps that this study follows and has taken shape. Her influence on my thinking is clearly evident throughout the thesis. I have been privileged to have Claudia as a mentor since I moved to Montreal and started my Masters almost ten years ago. Through the years and amidst her many projects, grant writing, travel and other students that she brings into her life, Claudia has always been generous with her time, expertise, and support. Thank you Claudia, it has been a phenomenal decade.

I would like to thank my committee members. Sarah Flicker consistently made herself available and her insights and knowledge have been invaluable in the development of my study and in bringing the thesis together. I always signed off from our skype meetings feeling reinvigorated and inspired. Lynn Butler-Kisber who carved out time to provide very thoughtful comments on my work. I appreciate her engagement with my ideas and the opportunity to learn from her expertise.

There are several people in South Africa who made my research possible. I am thankful for the support of The Centre for Visual Methodologies for Social Change (CVMSC). I would like to thank Naydene de Lange for reviewing my first chapter and the manuscript, *Two years later: Preservice teachers' experiences of learning to use participatory visual methods to address the South African AIDS epidemic* and allowing me to link with her research projects. I am deeply appreciative to Relebohile Moletsane who, as acting director at the CVMSC, was supervisor to many of my projects while I was in South Africa. She has written several letters of support that have contributed to success. She has also vouched for me and my work at the community level. Jean Stuart was a source of support and insight during the YAKP research.

I would like to acknowledge and thank Lukas Labacher for co-facilitating the digital storytelling workshop with me. I am grateful to Arielle Aaronson and Susann Allnutt for copy editing my thesis and Michelle Harazny for administrative support. I would like to thank the faculty and staff in the McGill Faculty of Education. Anthony Paré has been a critical friend and teacher through this process and I aspire to teach like Ronald Morris. To my colleagues in DISE and at the

Participatory Cultures Lab, and especially my friends Stephen Peters, Casey Burkholder and Joshua Schwab-Cartas, I want to extend a special thank you.

Jennifer Thompson and April Mandrona have been my best friends throughout my studies. Our talks over dinner at my apartment, over skype across continents and somehow also through text messages have been invaluable to me. You help me articulate my ideas in a way that reminds me that I really do know what I'm talking about and I do have something important to say. I am so incredibly grateful to you both and I am excited about what the future holds for us.

Finally, I would like to express my love to my family. I have missed birthdays, holidays, and thousands of Sunday dinners. Knowing that you were all at home and cheering me on has given me the courage to fly across the world and take advantage of the many opportunities that have come my way. When I have questioned my resolve and capacity, it is your unwavering support and confidence in me that has given me the strength to move forward.

Institutional acknowledgements and statement of contributing parties

This research was made possible with the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, including the Joseph Armand-Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship and the Michael Smith Foreign Study Supplement. I would also like to acknowledge and thank April Mandrona for her co-authorship of the manuscript, *From discomfort to collaboration: Teachers screening cellphilms in a rural South African School*, included in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABR	Arts-based Research
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARV	Antiretroviral Treatment
CAPS	Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement
CAPRISA	Center for the AIDS Programme of Research in South Africa
CBPR	Community-based Participatory Research
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CVMSC	Centre for Visual Methodologies for Social Change
DBE	Department of Education
GBV	Gender-based Violence
HEAIDS	The Higher Education and Training HIV/AIDS Programme
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
ICT	Information and Computer Technology
ISHP	Integrated School Health Programme
KZN	KwaZulu Natal
LGBQTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Queer, Transgendered, Intersexed
LO	Life Orientation
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NDOH	National Department of Health
NRF	National Research Fund
NSP	National Strategic Plan
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
PE	Participatory Evaluation
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PrEP	Pre-Exposure Prophylactics
RCT	Randomized Control Trial
REB	Research Ethics Board
RTEP	Rural Teacher Education Project
SACE	South African Council of Educators
SANAC	South African National AIDS Council
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
SSHRC	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TB	Tuberculosis
UKZN	University of KwaZulu Natal
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
WHO	World Health Organization
YAKP	Youth as Knowledge Producers

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

THE CONTEXT: SOUTH AFRICA AND HIV

Globally in 2014, there were almost 40 million people living with HIV[1], two million new infections and over one million deaths (WHO, 2015b). Between 2008 and 2012, the number of new infections in South Africa increased by 1.2 million (HSRC, 2014). Estimated national prevalence rates for 2015 include 7 million people living with HIV; 4 million of these people are women aged 15 and over (UNAIDS, 2015c). South Africa is the epicentre of this global epidemic (WHO, 2015a). Of course, numbers can be deceiving. While a cure for the virus remains elusive, increasing infection rates also reflect improvements in access to treatment; people are living with HIV longer (UNAIDS, 2014b). AIDS is described now as a mature epidemic: we understand how the virus is spread, we have highly effective methods of prevention, and treatment is also increasing in efficacy. In several communities, HIV is now considered a chronic yet also manageable illness. Global policy frameworks are focusing on preventive and treatment services for specific populations and locations at highest risk (UNAIDS, 2015b). There is a need for sophisticated prevention and treatment programs that respond and adapt to HIV incidents rates in different populations (UNAIDS, 2014b).

The rate of HIV and AIDS amongst girls and young women is a particular concern in South Africa. While there has been an overall stabilizing in the number of new infections amongst young people, Black African women aged 20-34 years as a population remains at high risk (HSRC, 2014). Every week, there are almost2000 new HIV infections of young women ages 15-24 (Van der Merwe, 2016). In rural areas of the country, young women under the age of 20 years are up to eight times more likely than their male peers to contract

1. The Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) attacks the immune system, killing cells that protect the human body from infection resulting in an increasing susceptibility to illness and disease. HIV leads to Auto-immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) whereby the body's immune system is damaged to such a degree that it can no longer protect itself from everyday viral and bacterial exposure. Although currently there is no cure for HIV, antiretroviral therapy (ARV) when available and taken regularly prevents the virus from multiplying, which effectively reduces the damage to the immune system and decreases the chance of viral transmission to others.

HIV (Abdool Karim, 2013; Abdool Karim et al., 2014). There are physiological challenges that can be treated effectively and affordably,[2]the most recent of which is the development of oral post-exposure prophylactics (PrEP) that can reduce HIV transmission to HIV negative women by 90% (Bhavaraju, 2016; Van der Merwe, 2016). Still, girls and young women continue to struggle with access to proper education and sexual health services, which greatly reduces the likelihood of access to this life saving drug for those who need it most.

There remain several structural factors that are contributing to the increased risk to HIV and AIDS among girls and young women that remain difficult to address. Amongst the most pressing social issues affecting girls' risk of HIV infection are: gender-based violence and sexual coercion; the gendered inequality of sexual relationships and the impact of transactional relationships; poverty; poor access to health services (especially sexual and reproductive health services) and education, low risk perception; and policy that is not translating into action (Kasedde, Luo, McClure, & Chandan, 2013; Mavedzenge, Doyle, & Ross, 2011; UNAIDS, 2014b).

The risks for young women are diverse, shifting and multifaceted. Practising safer sex is not always an appreciated priority for young people who live in poverty and with high rates of violence (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002). If you are worried about finding food and avoiding physical harm today, the threat of a virus that will kill you in several months or even years may seem less important. Poverty can motivate women to enter into transactional relationships. These are known to also inhibit their ability to negotiate safer sexual practices (Toska, Cluver, Boyes, Pantelic, & Kuo, 2015). The lack of contraception use increases their risk of HIV exposure. Moreover, the stigma of HIV—the fear of illness, contagion and death due to AIDS—tends to exclude from society and from appropriate care people who are living with HIV or those associated with people living with HIV (Brown, Macintyre, & Trujillo, 2003; Mall, Middelkoop, Mark, Wood, & Bekker, 2013; Strauss, Rhodes, & George, 2015). A culture of patriarchy constrains the sexual agency[3]of

[2] Research emerging from CAPRISA and presented at the 21st International AIDS Conference in Durban this year reports a common imbalance of certain vaginal bacteria can increase women's risk of HIV infection and inhibit the effectiveness of PrEP (Van der Merwe, 2016). This imbalance is easy and affordable to treat when women have access to health care.

[3]Much has been written that contests theories of sexual agency and girls' individual and collective rights and abilities to self-identify and express sexuality (McRobbie, 2012; Ringrose & Renold, 2012; Tolman,

girls and promotes misogynist behaviour among boys (Jewkes & Morrell, 2012; Lesch & Kruger, 2004; Pattman, 2005). There is also concern that the AIDS epidemic has provoked a demonization of women across sub-Saharan Africa that contributes to, and certainly intersects with, a concurrent epidemic of violence against girls and young women (Campbell, Foulis, Maimane, & Sibiya, 2005a; Clüver, Elkonin, & Young, 2013; Leach & Mitchell, 2006).

HIV prevention has at times further exacerbated this situation. For example, the media aimed at educating people about prevention that draws primarily on a discourse of vulnerability and danger has left some young people feeling like they are powerless (Mitchell & Smith, 2003). Didactic and gender-specific language used in HIV policy and education can prompt amongst young people resentment and anger towards HIV education (Norton & Mutonyi, 2010). More than a decade ago Mitchell and Smith (2003) were working with young people who were 'sick of AIDS' prevention messages that did not connect with their lived realities. AIDS fatigue remains a consistent problem amongst young people (Ybarra et al., 2014). Feeling disillusioned or saturated with HIV preventive messages distracts young people from applying their knowledge of prevention (Shefer, Strebel, & Jacobs, 2012). Concentrated effort is required to address the compounding impact of gender inequality and AIDS fatigue on the South African AIDS epidemic.

GLOBAL POLICIY FRAMEWORKSFOR ACTION ON EDUCATION, HIV AND AIDS

There are a number of global initiatives that have shaped the international response to the gendered epidemic of HIV and AIDS. The *Dakar Framework for Action*(UNESCO, 2000), with support from the *Education for All* (EFA) movement (UNESCO, 2015), made a

Anderson, & Belmonte, 2015). I find McNay's (2013) discussion, which draws on concepts of gender, sexuality, identity and power put forth by the likes of Butler, Sedgwick, and Foucault, useful for its explanation of how limited our understandings of female sexual agency can be when constructed through a relational theory of meaning and exclusionary logic (i.e. I am passive because he is active). This conceptualization, McNay concludes, "leaves unexplained the capabilities of individuals to respond to difference in a less defensive and even, at times, a more creative fashion" (n.p.). However, I also note that the majority of this debate is situated within the northern hemisphere. Hunter (2010) comments on the sense of sexual empowerment that young women in urban South African might feel from their ability to 'juggle' multiple transactional relationships (see also Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). The relationship between gender, sexual agency and condom negotiation is not clear-cut. How sexual agency is played out at the individual and community level is becoming increasingly tied to an homogenization of global teen-culture that has yet to be explored, especially relating to the AIDS epidemic and sexual health.

commitment to implement youth-friendly HIV and AIDS education. EFA recognized that access to a general education is an important protective factor against HIV and AIDS, especially for girls and young women. The UNAIDS (2001)*Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS* and the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs)[4](UN, 2000) prioritized global attention and preventive efforts in Africa aimed at young women. In 2006, UNAIDS' (2006) *Political Declaration on HIV/AIDS* advanced this comprehensive global response by highlighting education as a key preventive strategy and stressing the importance of evidence-based education for girls as a health-enabling initiative. Five years later, UNAIDS (2011b) released *The youth track: Building a new generation of leadership for the AIDS response*, which thrust youth-leadership in the HIV and AIDS response to the centre of the global agenda. This document represents the first global commitment to ensuring young people are active agents in the HIV and AIDS response from the global to the local levels (UNAIDS, 2011, p. 9).

In 2015, the MDGs were replaced by the *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs) (UNAIDS, 2014a). Building on the priorities set by the former framework for action, the SDGs highlight the interconnectedness of social development. There are 10 treatment targets to be met by 2020 that are meant to work together in order to end the AIDS epidemic by 2030. Amongst these are Target 3, which aims to provide 90% of the youth with the skills, knowledge and ability to protect themselves from HIV, and Target 7, which strives to have 90% of the women and girls free from gender inequality and gender-based violence. The SDGs are ambitious as well as broad, reflecting the current multi-sectoral approach to the epidemic. The SDGs bring a more holistic approach to health care (Buse, Jay, & Odetoyinbo, 2016). This is no longer an emergency response to a growing epidemic but rather, one that reflects the movement towards a more long-term plan to deal with HIV as a chronic disease (Nixon, Hanass-Hancock, Whiteside, & Barnett, 2011). Nattrass (2014) explains the impact:

> "as the international AIDS response matured beyond its initial emergency phase, UNAIDS, PEPFAR and The Global Fund deliberately sought greater synergies within the public health sector (such as streamlining HIV and TB

[4] Goal 6 of the MDGs includes universal access to HIV treatment by 2010, halting and reversing the spread of Tuberculosis, HIV and AIDS by 2015 (http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/aids.shtml)

> treatment services), which meant that the distinction between funding for AIDS and funding for health services became increasingly difficult to draw in any meaningful way" (p. 241).

Notwithstanding the development of these various global frameworks, there have been a number of criticisms of this global response. On the one hand, this global framework has helped NGOs like the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) organize on the national level to lobby South Africa's governments to change its HIV and AIDS policy (Nattrass, 2014). At the same time, translating international policy so that it results in meaningful change at the local level is a challenge. According to Fukuda-Parr, Yamin, and Greenstein (2014) "the essence of the MDGs is that they frame the concept of development as a set of basic needs outcomes, rather than as a process of transformative change in economic, social and political structures" (p. 111). Buse and Hawkes (2015) argue that the international agenda demands too much of the global health funding and oversimplifies the development process to a system of monitoring and evaluation activities. What a multi-sectoral approach actually looks like, what it asks of the different sectors, and how the different sectors are to work together towards broader health objectives is still under-developed.

HIV preventive strategies

Located within these frameworks, the development of HIV prevention is dominated by two narratives, one that is essentially biomedical and one that is social in essence (Kippax & Stephenson, 2012). However, public media, structural change and culturally-based narratives are also identifiable. Each discourse represents an epistemic variation, or what Adam (2011) describes as 'fault lines' dividing understandings of HIV and AIDS. These divisions are based on fundamental differences in the comprehension and constructions of HIV and AIDS risk, responsibilities and proposed solutions.

The biomedical discourse constructs HIV and AIDS as an epidemiological problem, and has received a considerable amount of attention and funding (Parkhurst, 2012). Treatment and prevention efforts are aimed at the individual, the body and technologies of prevention. Examples of these technologies would include recent advances in male circumcision and ARV treatment as prevention (UNAIDS, 2015a). STI treatment and the development of both male and female condoms (Ramjee & Whitaker, 2011), the

CAPRISA research on microbicide gels—which has had some promising results at inhibiting HIV transmission in women in the rural area where my doctoral study also took place (Kashuba et al., 2015)—and the oral PrEp discussed earler are all examples of the biomedical response.[5]Of course, finding a cure or a vaccine to prevent HIV is arguably the most anticipated solution expected from the biomedical approach.

A second prominent strategy follows a behaviour change narrative. This strategy aims to modify risk behaviour or promote health enabling behaviour[6] among individuals (Coates et al., 2008; de Wit, Aggleton, Myers, & Crewe, 2011). This is the dominant approach informing curriculum-based prevention efforts. Meta reviews conducted by Gallant and Maticka-Tyndale (2004) and Kirby, Laris, and Rolleri (2006) of school-based programs in Africa helped establish this model as the dominant approach to HIV prevention education for young people in the sub-Saharan context. They identified behavior change interventions with the most impact follow social cognitive theory.[7]However, there has been recent research into adolescent cognitive development that questions the accuracy of these theories when it comes to individual decision-making (Suleiman & Brindis, 2014), and others have criticised this model's reliance on Western concepts of individualism for use in the African context (McKee, Manoncourt, Yoon, & Carnegie, 2008).

Since the beginning of the epidemic there has also been an emphasis on prevention through public media campaigns (radio, TV, print and on-line) (Govender, 2010). While a media campaign is not necessarily a narrative, in and of itself, these campaigns have been influential in the widespread dissemination and construction of social narratives about HIV and AIDS. The KwaZulu Natal Department of Health has used radio campaigns and over

[5]Bhavaraju (2016) noted that access to oral PrEP is currently limited, generic brands are not yet available, and South Africa has only made the Truvada brand available to sex workers and MSM. Young women can experience considerable discrimination when trying to access sexual health and reproductive services and family members also present a barrier.

[6] Health enabling behaviours are usually described as: delaying the start of sexual activity, decreasing the number of sexual partners, increasing protected sexual acts (e.g. consistent condom use), encouraging HIV testing and counselling, encouraging biomedical prevention strategies (e.g. male circumcision), decreasing the sharing of needles and syringes and decreasing substance use, for example alcohol and drugs (Coates, Richter, & Caceres, 2008). From this description one can also determine the pathologized sexual behaviour: sexual debut; multiple sexual partners, unprotected sex, not knowing one's HIV status and HIV stigma, needle sharing and excessive drug use and alcohol consumption.

[7] Referred to generally as social cognitive theory, there are actually a number of theories considered within this framework, including theory of reasoned action, the health belief model, the theory of planned behavior and the information, motivation and behavioral skills model.

800 road-side billboards targeted at men and young women to raise awareness of the dangers of age-disparate, 'Sugar Daddy,' or 'blesser,'[8] relationships.[9] The billboards were later criticised for portraying a disempowered image of young women (Brouard & Crewe, 2012). A more recent intervention is the *Zazi*[10] campaign. *Zazi*uses social media to target girls and young women. The campaign's song highlights its intention to inspire strength and self-awareness amongst young women:

> Your choices matter whether big or small
> No it don't take that long to look inside
> you. So keep it going just keep it moving on cause life is better when
> you know who you are
> Don't follow nobody. You are too
> somebody. Your voice has a sound just
> Turn it up loud.

The website provides information and encouragement on contraception use. The on-line initiative reflects a larger movement in AIDS prevention interested in taking advantage of widespread cellphone and mobile internet access in the country (Forrest et al., 2015). To date, there is no reliable evidence that these types of initiatives are a successful mode for prevention and education (Muessig, Pike, LeGrand, & Hightow-Weidman, 2013).

Interventions that identify and address overarching social and systemic factors that shape or constrain individual behaviours take what Gupta, Parkhurst, Ogden, Aggleton, & Mahal (2008) call a structural approach to prevention. This approach attempts to address issues such as HIV stigma, poverty, sexual cultures and gender-based violence. Tomlinson, Rohleder, Swartz, Drimie, and Kagee (2010)review school-based feeding programs and junior farmer initiatives for their potential in addressing the compounding effects of

[8] 'Blessers' and their counterparts 'blessies' is a recent phenomenon developing on social media that is normalising, if not encouraging, transactional relationships between older men and young women (Vesser, 2016)

[9] http://www.kznhealth.gov.za/sugardaddy.htm

[10] Zazi (a Nguni word meaning know yourself) was developed by the *South African National AIDS Council* (SANAC), *SANAC Women's Sector* and is funded by USAID and PEPFAR in partnership with the South African Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities, the Department of Health and the Department of Social Development. Zazi's *#bagituseit* campaign started in August 2015 uses images of the First Princess Miss South Africa holding a strip of condoms and a sign reading, "I take control of who I am and I challenge you to do the same!!" Girls are encouraged to add their own pictures on social media using the campaigns hashtag. More information at: http://www.zazi.org.za

poverty, lack of nutrition and HIV risk on young people.[11]These types of activities can work alongside and support several NGO micro-credit programs and national income and disability grants to ensure that families have money to buy food and send their children to school. Abolishing school fees would be an example of a structural intervention that can increase young people's, especially girls' and AIDS orphans', access to the protective factors provided by school attendance. While working 'on the ground' to impact the immediate needs of young people, these types of initiatives are also attempting to affect the AIDS epidemic at a systemic level by strengthening social assets. While there is a general consensus that structural approaches can address the root causes of the epidemic, there is little evidence to illustrate this outcome (Ogden, Gupta, Warner, & Fisher, 2011). Causal pathways to change are difficult to predict when following this model (Parkhurst, 2014). Pursuing structural changes requires commitments at the global and national levels and profound changes to many aspects of the sub-Saharan societies (e.g. living conditions, land tenure, education) (Parkhurst, 2012).

Another approach to HIV and AIDS prevention employs a cultural narrative. According to Gould (2007), a cultural approach to HIV and AIDS prevention "sets out to systematically engage with the 'webs of significance' that people create; it takes account of the cultural context in which communities and groups exist; it negotiates with local social hierarchies and living patterns; and it draws on local forms of communication and expression to engage people" (p. 2). This approach is characterised by the use of artistic and other creative forms of cultural expression. Taking a cultural approach recognizes local systems as assets to be integrated into prevention efforts, and it is therefore sometimes associated with studies exploring the role of religious leaders and traditional healers in HIV prevention (Kang'ethe, 2014). However, there are also examples of this approach being co-opted by "highly moralistic external agendas for prevention" (Gould, 2007, p. 4), such as some southern African leaders promoting virginity testing as a 'traditional practice' to control young women's sexuality in the name of HIV and AIDS prevention (Moletsane, 2011). Gould (2007) argues that taking a cultural approach requires a significant change in

[11] People living with HIV require a higher caloric and protein consumption to promote optimal immune health and health is compromised when people are hungry (Tomlinson, Rohleder, Swartz, Drimie,& Kagee, 2010).

assessment and evaluation practices so as to recognize the culturally-specific communication practices of a particular community. This is a strategy that starts in communities and needs to weave itself upwards through regional and national systems to inform prevention strategies at the national and international levels. Therefore, like the structural approach, it takes considerable time for any direct and measurable impact on HIV rates to reveal themselves.

SOUTH AFRICA'S RESPONSE TO HIV AND AIDS: POLICIES AND PRACTICES

In this section I review the South African policy response to HIV and AIDS, starting with a summary of the role of presidential leadership in shaping the national response. I review the national policy measures and the education sector policy. I then go on to outline the specific policy on teachers and teacher education that positions all teachers as leaders in the education sectors response to HIV and AIDS.

On the significance of leadership

South Africa has been tracking the growing rates of HIV since the 1990s but implementation of a national HIV and AIDS policy was stunted by the transition to democratic leadership in 1994(Schneider & Stein, 2001). At this time, the new African National Congress (ANC) government, led by Nelson Mandela, funneled resources into housing, education and health care, but the "as-yet invisible epidemic" (Van der Vliet, 2003, p. 81) was largely ignored. The bulk of the blame for government mismanagement of the HIV and AIDS response, however, falls on the nation's second ANC president, Thabo Mbeki (seated between 1999-2008) and his Health Minister, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang (Geffen, 2010; Nattrass, 2008). An AIDS denialist, President Mbeki eschewed global initiatives for HIV prevention and actively inhibited generic drug production and the development of a national ARV treatment program (Nunn, Dickman, Nattrass, Cornwall, & Gruskin, 2012). These deliberate actions meant access to life saving drugs in hospitals was catastrophically limited (Gibbs, 2009). Elsewhere in the world at this time ARVs to prevent mother-to-child transmission and treat HIV infection were readily available and saving lives. It is estimated that in five years Mbeki and the Health Minister's

actions caused upwards of 330,000 premature deaths and 35,000 infants to be born with HIV (Chigwedere & Essex, 2010).

The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), heralded as the most influential civil society group in South Africa (Gibbs, 2009), eventually managed to sidestep Mbeki's debacle. In 2001, with the help of international agencies and local communities, TAC successfully petitioned the Supreme Court to allow hospitals to dispense critical life-saving drugs and, starting in 2003, organized continual political rallies against the delays in the national ARV rollout (Nattrass, 2014). Jacob Zuma succeeded Mbeki in May of 2009, but the AIDS conspiracy theories, myths and folklore propagated during Mbeki's tenure continue to circulate and interfere with public health programs (Nattrass, 2013; Dickinson, 2013). While Zuma was heralded as a new hope by AIDS activists in the country, he has garnered his own criticisms for proliferating hegemonic masculinity that feeds a culture of gender-based violence (Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger, 2012). TAC and other local organizations continue to address problems with stockouts[12] and other issues related to access to care and treatment.

National policy

Despite poor leadership and financial mismanagement, international and non-governmental organization pressure helped support several national and regional structures[13] to develop the education sector's response to HIV and AIDS (Nattrass, 2013). The National Department of Health (NDOH) (2003) *Operational Plan for Comprehensive HIV and AIDS Care, Management and Treatment for South Africa* was one such early national response. Campaigning on a promise to build a government-sponsored national HIV and AIDS response, soon after he entered the presidential office Zuma spearheaded the *National HIV Counselling and Testing Campaign Strategy*(SANAC, 2010), which was followed by the *National Strategic Plan on HIV, STIs, and TB* (NSP) (SANAC, 2011). The NSP names the education sector as part of a partnership of national departments and ministries with a role to play in the country's response to HIV. It outlines:

[12]Stockouts refers to when local clinics and hospitals run out of ARVs, which is an ongoing challenge across the country (see http://www.tac.org.za).

[13] For example, Coombe (2000) draws attention to *The South African National AIDS Council* (SANAC), *The Inter-Ministerial Committee on HIV/AIDS* (IMC), the *Inter-Departmental Committee on HIV/AIDS* (IDC), and *The National AIDS Coordinating Committee of South Africa* (NACOSA).

> In partnership with [the National Department of Health] NDOH, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) is implementing the Integrated School Health Programme (ISHP) within schools. The programme is designed to make sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and youth-friendly services accessible in the school setting, augmenting prevention efforts among youth and making certain they remain HIV-negative. Retaining youth in schools and increasing access to post-school education and work opportunities reduces the vulnerability of young people to HIV infection (SANAC, 2011, p. 47).

The education sector is a key site of HIV prevention and treatment for young people. The Department of Social Development (2015) produced the *National Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights Framework Strategy, 2014-2019*, which further highlights the rights of young people to access comprehensive sexual and reproductive services and education.

Education sector HIV and AIDS policy

In 1999, the *National Policy on HIV/AIDS for Learners and Educators in Public Schools, and Students and Educators in Further Education and Training Institutions*[14] identified three key areas of action: 1) increasing awareness and HIV knowledge; 2) teaching and learning prevention and treatment practices; 3) reducing stigma and discrimination associated with the virus (Coombe, 2000). In 2000, the *Higher Education and Training HIV/AIDS Program* (HEAIDS) was formed to assess and systematize the implementation of HIV and AIDS at the higher education institutional level (HEAIDS, 2016). *White Papers 6: Special needs education* (DBE, 2001) recognized the impact of HIV and AIDS on the education system and on learners'[15] well-being as a focus of inclusive education policy. Also at this time, the South African Department of Basic Education (DBE) produced revised curricular statements that introduced the topic of HIV and AIDS into the Life Skills and Life Orientation (LO) subject areas (DBE, 2002, 2003). In 2006 a revised *National*

[14] Amongst the first education-focused government policies are Republic of South Africa, Government Gazette No. 20372 (August 1999), *National Policy on HIV/AIDS for Learners and Educators in Public Schools, and Students and Educators in Further Education and Training Institutions* (see http://www.education.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=9aYGEBg0Rhc%3D&tabid=188&mid=498).

[15] *Learners* is the common term used in South Africa to refer to students in elementary and secondary school. In general, the term *students* refers to university students.

Strategic Plan (NSP) for HIV and AIDS and STIs, 2007–2011 was launched (Simelela, Venter, Pillay, & Barron, 2015) and subsequently the DBE (2008) produced guidelines for the prevention and management of sexual violence and harassment in public schools. Most recently, the *Department of Basic Education: Integrated strategy on HIV, STIs and TB, 2012-2016*(DBE, 2012a) identifies three broad objectives of an in-school response to HIV and AIDS: 1) increase HIV, STI and TB knowledge among learners, educators and officials; 2) reduce risky sexual behaviour among learners, educators and officials; 3) reduce barriers to retention of learners, especially those most vulnerable to sexual violence. Clearly there is a robust framework of school-specific policy to address HIV and AIDS at the school level. This lays the groundwork, so to say, for the development of more teacher-specific educational policy and directives from which classroom practice might be shaped to reflect a growing understanding of HIV and AIDS in South African society.

Teacher-specific policy

In 2013, there were just under 13 million learners and students reported to be in the basic education system, attending over 30,000 education institutions served by upwards of 440,000 educators (DBE, 2015a). With influence over such a large segment of the population leading up to and during their sexual debut,[16] the DBE commits teachers to a "duty of care" for learners and employees who are affected by HIV and AIDS(DBE, 2012a, p. 9). This is supported by the DBE (2000) *Norms and Standards for Educators*, which specifies the pastoral role of teachers in addressing the impact of HIV and AIDS on communities and promotes teachers adopting an 'ethics of care' to enhance learners' resilience in the face of this epidemic (Goldstein, 2002; Theron & Engelbracht, 2012). In other words, teachers are responsible for teaching their subject specialization as well as the pyscho-social well-being of students (Schoeman, 2012). The *Norms and Standards* require teachers to have practical, foundational and applied competencies that demonstrate a culture of respect and social justice in their practice (Grosser & de Waal, 2008). The South African Council for Educators' (SACE, 2000) *Code of Professional Ethics* prompts teachers to respect, show compassion, ensure safety and avoid violence or sexual coercion

[16] While South Africa has made progress in removing barriers to school enrolment between 2000 and 2015 (UNESCO, 2015a), Clarke (2008) highlights that the young people most vulnerable to new HIV infection and experiencing the greatest barriers to treatment are those not in school.

of learners. Consequently, all teachers are expected to assume a high degree of responsibility for the care and protection of their learners. However, how teachers actually go about doing this remains uncertain.

HIV PREVENTION IN SCHOOLS: MAPPING THE TERRAIN OF SEXUAL HEALTH AND HIV AND AIDS EDUCATION

In this section I review the literature on school-based HIV and AIDS education in order to illustrate how schools are taking up the HIV and AIDS policy described in the previous section. I have divided my review in reference to three key educational components: 1) HIV curriculum; 2) HIV pedagogy; and 3) teaching and teacher education. Put simply, curriculum (what is taught) is strongly influenced by pedagogy (how it is taught), which in turn, is influenced by teachers and teacher education. In presenting the literature in this way, my intention is to illustrate the complexity of these specific areas as well as how they intersect in a mutually substantive way.[17]

HIV curriculum

The policy described in the previous section suggests that all teachers play a role in addressing HIV and AIDS, and this was the foundation of HIV and AIDS related curriculum development. However only the *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement* (CAPS) for Life Orientation (LO)[18]incorporates HIV and AIDS directly as a topic for instruction (DBE, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c). It is not a nationally examinable subject, but it is

[17] A further factor overlaying the educational response to HIV and AIDS that I will not be taking up in my discussion is the historical influence of South Africa transition from the apartheid rule and the Bantu education system. With the end of apartheid in 1994, the South African education system, from primary levels to the system of higher education, was totally re-structured and a new curriculum was created to reflect the democratic ideals of the new political system. There was also considerable damage done to the culture of education during the era of struggle leading up to the end of apartheid that also needed to be addressed (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). There is still a great deal of inequality between schools which can be traced back to the impact of the apartheid system and that continues to entrench large groups of learners into a system of poverty (Van der Berg et al., 2011). This is an extensive area of study unto itself. Implementation of the revised Outcomes Based Educational (OBE) reform was met with widespread criticism of its overemphasis on outcomes and increased demand on unprepared teachers (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Cross, Mungadi, & Rouhani, 2002). In 2002 there was another revision and a new curriculum was implemented in 2012 that is still in effect (DBE, 2015b). Critics of the curriculum have highlighted the fraught environment surrounding each revision and the consistent under-valuing of teachers and teacher professionalism in the country (Msibi & Mchunu, 2013).

[18] There are three levels of CAPS: 1) R-3, which is also called the Foundation Phase; 2) 7-9, known as the Senior Phase; and 3) 10-12, also called the Further Education and Training Phase.

a required course that is introduced in the foundation phase and continues into the senior phase right up until matriculation. Prinsloo (2007) identifies LO as one of the major achievements of the post-apartheid South African curriculum. Mainstreaming of sexual health topics into the curriculum like this puts South Africa at the forefront of the educational response to the epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa (Aggleton et al., 2012). The curriculum reflects what is generally considered 'good practice' by HIV and AIDS education scholars (Francis, 2010b; Kirby, Laris, & Rolleri, 2007) by covering sexual health related topics comprehensively following a behaviour change narrative. The curriculum is constructed in such a way that topics like violence, alcohol and drug use, social inequalities and personal decision-making, are all required topics of instruction at the high school level (DBE, 2011b, 2011c) andcould be interwoven and explored for how they intersect with sexual practices and HIV and AIDS risk. In this way, teachers have had a lot of discretion in how they relate LO topics in their classrooms.

Despite its potential, there have been numerous criticisms of the LO curricular approach. It struggles for legitimacy next to nationally examined subjects and is not always treated as a priority learning area by learners or their parents (Moult, 2013). Francis (2010b) argues that the LO curriculum remains tethered to a public health framework that reduces HIV and AIDS instruction to the basic facts of transmission without addressing the broader needs of young people. Others have argued that the curriculum prescribes behaviour change while ignoring the structural challenges learners face in relation to HIV and AIDS (Baxen & Breidlid, 2009). This is echoed in the available resources and teacher's guides (Moult, 2013). Baxen (2010) asserts that the curriculum on HIV and AIDS is falsely presented as a neutral, value-free policy, but in fact it is highly controversial as it encompasses with much difficulty a wide range of personally sensitive and socially contentious topics.

Following these critiques are recommendations for curricular development. The literature advocates that school-based education avoid prescriptive curriculum that delivers predetermined information to learners and calls, instead, for responsive engagement with learners in order to tailor programs to their needs and the specific community challenges (Harrison, Newell, Imrie, & Hoddinott, 2010). At the same time, there is a need for more rigorous engagement with gender and gender construction and how these hinder or support

the health promoting activities of young people (Pattman & Chege, 2003; Small, Nikoloba, & Narendorf, 2013). Despite South Africa's progressive stance on homosexuality, Francis and DePalma (2014) argue that the rights of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Queer, Transgendered, and Intersex (LGBQTI) and the idea of sexual diversity are completely missing from the curriculum (DePalma & Francis, 2014), and is poorly expressed in LO textbooks (Potgieter & Reygan, 2012). Francis & DePalma (2014) also recommend that curricular content cover the risks while simultaneously acknowledging and discussing the satisfaction and fulfillment that can come from sexual relationships.

There is variation on how teachers integrate HIV and AIDS curriculum in their classrooms, with some teachers avoiding the topic all together (Ahmed, Flisher, Mathews, Mukoma,& Jansen 2009; Baxen, 2010; DePalma & Francis, 2014). Teachers may worry that discussing sex, and especially sexual pleasure, will encourage youths' sexual activity (despite research dispelling this concern [Kirby, Laris,& Rolleri, 2007]) or invite parental complaints (Ahmed et al., 2009). In an effort to improve teachers' LO curriculum delivery, the DBE (2012b) *Integrated Strategy on HIV, STIs and TB, 2012-2016* recommended educators be introduced to child-centred pedagogies. The report states clearly, "plans to improve teacher training for delivery of the Life Skills and LO programme must include efforts to equip educators to teach LO using participatory and child-centred pedagogies" (p. 33). At the same time, the DBE seems to be moving in the direction of implementing scripted LO lesson plans for grades 7 to 9. Scripted lessons are a teacher-centred pedagogy where the teacher delivers 'bottom-up,' step-by-step instructions (a script) of curricular content to learners (Hummel, Venn, & Gunter, 2004). The DBE strategy is an effort to standardise sexual health and HIV teaching across the country (Adams Tucker, George, Reardon, & Panday, 2016), and seems in stark contrast to the academic and grey literature, which I review in more depth later, that calls for participatory, child-centred and adaptive strategies.

HIV education pedagogy

Teachers draw on any number and combination of pedagogies during their teaching that affect how HIV- and AIDS-related messages are disseminated to learners (Baxen, 2010), many of which have been critisized as innapropriate or ineffective. For example,

highly moralistic interactions that advocate abstinence-only based on religious or purported cultural appropriateness[19] are argued to be the wrong approach (Baxen & Wood, 2013). Scare tactics (focusing on the dangers of STI infection, unplanned pregnancy, alcohol and drugs) are similarly inappropriate and they may actually promote AIDS stigma (Chege, 2006; Pattman & Stuart, 2011; Shefer, Kruger, Macleod, Baxen, & Vincent, 2015). Teachers' use ofpejorative language (e.g. using 'othering,' or binary 'us and them' language to refer to people who are HIV positive) can exclude and alienate learners (Wood & Rens, 2014, p. 71), and promote the idea that female and LGBQTI sexualities as dangerous (DePalma & Francis, 2014; Shefer & Ngabaza, 2015). It is also important to acknowledge that instances of sexual harassment, sexual coercion and gender-based violence at the hands of teachers actively contribute to learners' risk of HIV infection (Bhana, 2012; Leach & Mitchell, 2006). Teachers' and administrations' failure to address reports of sexual violence further contributes to the context of HIV and AIDS risk at schools.

According to Baxen (2010), the current approach to HIV and AIDS education misrepresents teaching as a passive process responsive to external structures. In other words, teachers are in classrooms to simply funnel the curriculum to inert groups of learners. Having observed LO teachers in classrooms and interviewed them in-depth on how their personal identities inform their teacher practice, Baxen asserts that rather than "mere deliverers of an uncontested, sanitised and agreed upon body of content" teachers are mediators of highly contested and shifting ideas on HIV and AIDS and what constitutes 'appropriate' and 'effective' prevention education. In this conception, "knowledge and mediation processes are themselves not neutral but charged and contradictory, and they also function to produce and reproduce competing identities" (p. 16). Compared to other subject areas–e.g. maths, sciences, and the languages—teachers can feel very uncomfortable when teaching about HIV and AIDS and the topic of sex and emotions comes up. These are generally not common topics of discussion in school classrooms. Baxen (2010) argues discussing these topics with learners often leads to teachers confronting their personal experiences of HIV and AIDS. Drawing on theories of power,

[19]See Moletsane's (2011) discussion of cultural nostalgia and traditional leaders' use of culturally appropriate HIV and AIDS responses.

subjectivity and performance informed by the work of Bourdieu, Giddens, Foucault and Butler, Baxen concludes LO teachers' actions in the classroom manipulate curricular as well as social and contextual resources so as to perform their own versions of "teacherliness" (p. 261). This performance allows teachers to deliver curricular information while at the same time conceal or obscure how HIV and AIDS and their sexuality is affecting their own lives. Baxen's theory, while somewhat dismissive of the role of learners in the classroom, presents the 'problem of HIV and AIDS teaching' not so much as the fault of the teacher but as a problem with a teacher education system that does not prepare teachers to deal with the personal side of HIV and AIDS teaching.

Teacher education in HIV and AIDS

Teacher education is the responsibility of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). It is a relatively new system that was developed since the transition in government and the national restructuring of education to reflect the newly democratic ideals. Since 1994, there has been a complete restructuring of the teacher education program at the tertiary level[20] alongside multiple revisions to the national curriculum such that teachers and teacher educators have needed to adapt quickly to new content and sometimes with very little support or opportunities for professional development to aid in this transition (Chisholm, 2005; Msibi & McHunu, 2013; Ramatlapana & Makonye, 2012; Smit, 2005).

Teacher education institutions operate somewhat independently and with diversity in terms of HIV and AIDS curricular development. In 2010, HEAIDS released a series of reports based on the pilot of the teacher education module *Being a Teacher in the Context of AIDS* (HEAIDS, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c). The module was experienced by close to 7,000 preservice and inservice teachers in the country. The study also included a review of23 HEIs'approaches to HIV and AIDS teacher education.The review concluded thatHIV and AIDS content and pedagogy at HEIs is disjointed and infrequent (HEAIDS, 2010d). The reportrecommended that HEIsapproach HIV and AIDS education with more transparency and accountability (HEAIDS, 2010c). Teachers were identified as requiring education in participatory, experiential and active learning techniques that develop an "*understanding*

[20] As I discuss in Chapter 4, Article 2, teacher education is the responsibility of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs).

of HIV/AIDS issues but also, and perhaps most importantly in terms of relationship sensitivities, *mutual support and ownership of the issues* involved" (HEAIDS, 2010c, p. 52 italics original). This HEAIDS research is one of the most comprehensive analyses of HIV and AIDS at the HEI level to date. Subsequent studies have further supported HEAIDS' recommendations by asserting that teacher education use teaching strategies that encourage them to reflect on their values and morals and expose teachers to diverse life experiences in order to develop their empathic and inclusive world views (Wood & Rens, 2014; Wilmot & Wood, 2012). Another area of significant interest has involved a process of teacher self-study where teachers use creative, often visual, methods to interrogate how personal experience and values mitigate their classroom practice (Pithouse-Morgan et al., 2013). Francis and DePalma (2015) prudently assert that not everyone can contend with the demands of teaching about HIV and AIDS. However, even if not every teacher will be a champion of the cause, self-awareness and understanding of HIV, along with sensitivity to the context of the epidemic, are needed by all teachers to feel equipped for the inevitable impact of the epidemic on education in South Africa.

An area of particular note emerging out of the HEAIDS pilot study was the establishment of a Community of Practice (CoP) in HIV and AIDS Education. The CoP, which has involved all 23 of the participating HEIs and has more recently also incorporated representatives from various Technical and Vocational Education and Training colleges in the country, is one of few ongoing initiatives aimed specifically at addressing the state of sexual health and HIV and AIDS teacher education in the country. The CoP was developed in order to promote country engagement with experts and teachers with means to address HIV and AIDS in teacher education (De Lange, 2016). Annual colloquia bring members together to discuss current issues and share best practices. They review and support curriculum integration, including but not limited to the inclusion of participatory visual methods.

TEACHERS AND LEARNERS IN THE CONTEXT OF RURAL EDUCATION

Notwithstanding the existence of a robust policy context for addressing HIV and AIDS in schools, there remain challenges in implementing this strategy in under-resourced schools,

many of which are in rural areas. There is some debate of the definition of what constitutes 'rural' in the academic literature and a rural school canbe situated in a wide range of locations: in former homeland areas, on former white farm lands, in areas under tribal authority, in farming communities or it may simply refer to a school that is outside urban areas (Pasensie, 2015). Masinire, Maringe, and Nkambule (2014) argue, "often, rural is formulated in comparison to the urban with strong assumptions of difference and deficit underpinning this binary. Such binaries present the rural place and rural education as objects of exploration awaiting philanthropic and exotic interventions" (p. 148). There is in fact a heterogeneity of rural settings that call for "differentiated planning responses" (Hlalele, 2014, p. 102). Curriculum and policy do not always integrate into rural areas the same way that they do in urban areas. Rural schools in South Africa are still suffering from the effects of the country's history of segregation and land dispossession. The impact of the Bantu Education system on rural education and the related ongoing community challenges with poverty and isolation contributes to many rural schools' lack of infrastructure, resources and access to qualified teachers (Balfour, 2015; Gina, 2015; Richter et al., 2005.). Classrooms are overcrowded (Mukeredzi, 2009). Moreover, these schools can struggle with gender-based violence, sexism, bullying and corporal punishment (Islam, 2012). Maringe, Masinire, and Nkambula (2015) contend rural schools are burdened with intersecting challenges and suffering from 'multiple disparities'. They explain:

> The notion of schools in challenging circumstances seems to leverage research that may explore single factors of deprivation, whereas the notion of multiple deprivations implies that there is a confluence of factors that conspire against the developmental aspects of a group of people. More often than not, therefore, it becomes important to look at the issues holistically, rather than from a single-factor perspective. There is a sense in which the notion of multiple deprivation suggests impacts that are more difficult to recover from than those occasioned by challenging circumstances. We thus take multiple deprivation as a concept that emphasises the centrality of poverty manifesting itself in several ways at once" (p. 366-367).

This definition of multiple deprivation applies in many ways to the rural schools in which my research was conducted. Alongside challenges with HIV and AIDS, I listened asparticipants described to me how their schools were struggling in varying degrees with: limited infrastructure, community poverty and unemployment, limited resources, teacher attrition, disgruntled teacher-administration relationships, poor parent involvement and dwindling numbers of learners. In the manuscripts in Chapter 4 I provide a description of the participants in this study. Therefore, in this section I take a closer look at the literature on rural education and how it distinguishes and presents rural teachers, rural teacher education and rural learners.

Rural teachers

Teaching in a rural area puts unique pressures on teachers (DBE, 2005). Historically, rural teachers did not require the same educational qualifications as teachers in urban contexts, which impacted the quality of education that learners in rural areas received (Mitchell, De Lange, Balfour, & Islam, 2011). Opportunities such as the Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) have been developed in order to support rural teachers in upgrading their qualifications and professional development is helping mediate this inequality (Council on Higher Education, 2010). Mukeredzi (2013) argues that professional development initiatives support individual teachers to upgrade their skills, however in-school support is also needed in order to sustain these developments. The remoteness of rural schools, lack of resources and poor infrastructure can effect rural teachers' morale and makes teacher attrition an ongoing challenge (DBE, 2005). A shortage of teachers in South Africa is felt most acutely in rural areas (Balfour, 2015) and recruitment of un- or under-qualified teachers in rural education reduces the quality of education for learners (Mitchell et al., 2011). Female teachers may not feel safe travelling in rural areas or in rural schools (DBE, 2005). Amidst these challenges, rural teachers are also recognized to have "vast internal and external resources" (Coetzee, Ebersöhn, Ferreira, & Moen, 2015, p. 12) that contribute to their resilience and commitment to serving the rural education sector.

Rural teacher education

Islam and Mitchell (2011) argue that improvements in rural teacher education is central to a sustainable response to the challenges of rural education in the country. The South African Government's Funza Lushaka Bursary has been implemented to encourage

preservice teachers towards rural teaching. Rural school-university partnership projects, such as *New teachers for new times: Visual methodologies for social change in rural education in the age of AIDS* at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University or the Witwatersrand school of Education's *Rural Teaching Experience*, were initiated to introduce preservice teachers to the demands and opportunities afforded through rural education (Khau, De Lange, & Athiemoolam, 2012; Kirumira, 2015). Preservice teachers require emotional and professional support when embarking on teacher education programs in rural schools, especially as it relates to countering the normative, decontextualized discourse of rural schools as backwards (Mukeredzi & Mandrona, 2013) and disrupting a tendency for new teachers to compare rural learners with urban learners (Khau, et al., 2013). It is suggested that developing communities of practice during preservice practicum experiences helps bolster the resilience of new teachers entering the rural school context (Islam, 2012; Mukeredzi, 2014).

Rural learners

Rural learners[21] bear the brunt of the challenges described in the previous two sub-sections. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that many learners attending rural schools do not matriculate (Mahlomaholo, 2012). High rates of school attrition threaten young people's employment opportunities, which are limited to begin with (Mlatsheni & Rospadé, 2002). Girls in rural areas may not see their school as a particularly safe space (Hallman, Kenworthy, Diers, Swan, & Devnarain, 2013) and there is some evidence that rural students have become normalized and perhaps accepting of high rates of violence in rural schools (Mampane, Ebersöhn, Cherrington, & Moen, 2014). Amidst these challenges, however, are reports of rural learners' resilience. Morojele and Muthukrishna (2012) discuss rural learners' ability to negotiate the rural context with agency and autonomy, and De Lange, Olivier, Geldenhuys, and Mitchell (2012) describe the rich everyday experiences of farm children attending farm schools. A normative social construction of rural girlhood is one of virginity, submissiveness and limited education. When rural learners are given the

[21] While I discuss rural learners in such a way as to suggest a fixed and stable population of learners, I recognize that there is a considerable amount of migration of young people between rural and urban areas (HSRC, 2005).

opportunity to participate in research on rural education, a more diverse and hopeful illustration of rural life and girlhood can emerge.

Reflecting on teachers, teacher education and learners in rural education

In this section I outlined several interrelated challenges in rural education as they relate to teachers, teacher education and learners. Acknowledgement and monitoring these barriers is important; however, it is also critical that rural education be recognized as a human right and for its transformative potential. As Hlalele (2012) remarks, "rural people tend to live in their communities by choice, and their decision to live in a rural place should not affect the quality of their children's education. While rural places frequently face substantial economic and social challenges, they also possess a number of assets" (p. 113). An influential shift in research on rural education emerged as a result of the Nelson Mandela Foundation's (2005) commissioned report, *Emerging Voices*, which set a precedent by involving rural communities in mapping critical issues in rural education and developing rural livelihoods. A movement in the scholarship on rural education is emphasizing the diversity of rural communities and the assets that they bring to solving social ills (Balfour, De Lange, & Khau, 2012; Belfour, Mitchell, & Moletsane, 2008; Myende & Chikoko, 2014). Participatory visual research has contributed to this initiative in its capacity to balance social action with knowledge production (Moletsane, 2012). Growing up at the epicentre of the AIDS epidemic and experiencing, in their different capacities, the effects of rural education situates learners and teachers as knowledge experts on the state of rural school-based HIV and AIDS education and prevention.

PARTICIPATORY VISUAL METHODS IN HIV AND AIDS RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

In my study I have focused on the ways that participatory visual methods respond to the educational dilemma in relation to HIV and AIDS described in the earlier sections. Participatory visual methods are a collection of research methods that involve research participants creating, analysing and disseminating visual texts such as photographs and videos to stimulate social change (Mitchell, 2011a). The interest in these methods in connection to the South African AIDS epidemic was advanced by Mitchell and Smith (2001) who, by identifying the connections between gender and HIV and AIDS as well as

the syndrome of AIDS fatigue amongst young people in South Africa, proposed a more youth-centred 'new literacy' in AIDS prevention and education (Mitchell & Smith, 2003).[22] Drawing on the influence of participatory and community-based methodologies, feminist theories and visual methodologies, groups of South African and international researchers began to explore how youth and teachers might employ various visual methods to respond to and create their own media representations of HIV and AIDS that spoke more directly to their experiences and needs (De Lange, Mitchell, Moletsane, Stuart, & Buthelezi, 2006; Mitchell, Walsh, & Moletsane, 2006; Walsh, Mitchell, & Smith, 2002). These projects garnered international attention when learners used photovoice to reveal clear and actionable areas for policy change in schools in order to address gender-based violence and poverty (Mitchell, De Lange, Stuart, Moletsane, & Buthelezi, 2007; Mitchell, Stuart, Moletsane, & Nkwanyana, 2006). Concluding their analysis of an audience's reactions to a documentary film produced by a group of young people in connection to the *Learning Together* project (PI: De Lange), Buthelezi et al. (2007) proposed: "visual and arts-based participatory methodologies offer such a possibility and could help break the silence around sex, health and sexuality. While we recognize that the use of this video is just an example of a tool which can open up spaces for dialogue, we think that it points the way for developing further interactive curricula" (p. 456). In other work, these methods are described as a type of 'engaged pedagogy' (Walsh, 2007) as well as a form of research as social change (De Lange, Mitchell, & Stuart, 2007a). Participatory visual methods have been integrated into a process of collaborative self-study in the area of teacher education in order to develop teachers' reflexive or situated engagement with the epidemic (Pithouse-Morgan et al., 2013; Stuart, 2006; Taylor, De Lange, Dlamini, Nyawo, & Sathiparsad, 2007). There are also examples of these methods being used by teacher educators to interrogate their approach to HIV and AIDS teacher education (Francis, 2014; Khau & Pithouse, 2008; Pithouse-Morgan, Khau, Masinga, & Van de Ruit, 2012). Participatory visual approaches offer several avenues in which to approach the topic of HIV and AIDS

[22] I focus on the developments in South Africa, however there were similar movements occurring, for example, in Australia and Canada (e.g. see Allen 2009; Larkin, Lombardo, Walker, Bahreini, Mitchell, & Dubazane, 2007).

education.[23] To date, however, these projects are research-based, and there is a paucity of research which considers in a more systematic fashion the contributions and challenges that might be incurred by integrating these strategies at the school and university level with an emphasis on their contributions to HIV and AIDS pedagogy.

Situating myself in the study

I have been dealing in one way or another with questions around HIV and AIDS education and participatory visual methods for almost a decade. My training in this area began in Western Canada where I worked with young people in housing crises and I volunteered with a youth-run organization that provided HIV and AIDS peer education in schools and community centres. My master's research was an exploratory case study of five youth-centred HIV and AIDS education interventions in Canada that were integrating participatory visual methods into their programming. Intrigued by what the literature on participatory visual methods claimed it could contribute to the field of HIV and AIDS research, my master's study asked representatives from these programs to describe their assessment practices, and how they came to understand if participatory visual methods made a difference in their work. While all the participants I talked to felt that participatory visual methods contributed something unique and significant to their program, they struggled to articulate this contribution. As one practitioner put it, "people within the arts are so often caught up in trying to prove why the arts are useful that the language ends up being very general—that the arts do this, the arts do that, well, the arts just *do*." Others felt that the analysis of the art that was produced during these initiatives was "superficial" and "simplistic" and they wanted a way to critically engage with how visual media affected the types of knowledge these projects were producing. A significant conclusion that emerged from this study was that assessment procedures have failed to keep pace and respond to the changing practices of youth-focused engagement and visual methodologies.

In 2008, following my master's degree, I had the opportunity to visit South Africa as an intern with the Rural Teacher Education Project (RTEP).[24] My role was supporting

[23] Other possible participatory and interactive strategies discussed in the literature explore interactive games and experiential and service learning (Wilmot & Wood, 2012).

[24] My internship with RTEP was funded through Partnerships for Change (PI: David Dillon). RTEP organized teacher practice for preservice teachers in two rural high schools in the Vulindlela region of KwaZulu-Natal province. Submersed in the project for a month, on the weekdays I lived alongside 18 South African students, three international students, and three other Canadian interns, and on the weekends I stayed

preservice teachers during their four-week practicum at two schools in a rural region of KwaZulu Natal.[25] During this time, I was introduced to some of the complexities of addressing HIV and AIDS in schools.The setting of the resource-deprived schoolwas quite different from any of my schooling experiences in Canada or in Europe and was also a new experience for many of the practicum teachers who had grown up in comparatively affluent urban settings in South Africa. I facilitated the preservice teachers' day-to-day activities, including daily debriefing sessions of their practicum experiences. I integrated participatory visual methods such as collage and drawing into these sessions to encourage self-study on how we saw ourselves in this context. I also encouraged the teachers to integrate issues of HIV and AIDS into their classroom practice. Noting that the preservice teachers were quick to identify challenges but less sure of possible solutions, I hoped that integrating a 'starting with ourselves' approach (Pithouse, Mitchell, & Weber, 2009; Pithouse-Morgan & Van Laren, 2013; Van Laren, 2011a) alongside these participatory visual methods would encourage teachers to develop a sense of agency in the face of what was otherwise an avalanche of emotions and reactions to the challenges observed at the rural schools.

Facilitating a workshop with the preservice teachers where we interrogated their roles in addressing HIV and AIDS was a particularly poignant learning experience for me. As I have discussed elsewhere (MacEntee, 2011a), the participatory methods that we used during the workshop were useful in providing an outlet for the teachers to identify and voice their sense of isolation and unpreparedness in addressing these challenges. Through groupdiscussions, it was clear that the teachers struggled to reconcile their sense of being knowledgeable about HIV and AIDS with the frustration and hopelessness that they felt when trying to act on this knowledge in the school setting. As one preservice teacher explained, "If I see a student crying by him or herself, I don't want to go over and see what is wrong because I don't know what I can do to help." In my experiences in Canada, I had met similar feelings of powerlessness by seeking out connections with likeminded individuals working in the field of public health. To my surprise, or perhaps I should say

on the UKZN Faculty of Education Campus. For more information about RTEP see Islam and Mitchell (2011).

[25] I was one of three Canadian interns and we worked as a team to organize activities and take care of the administrative side of the preservice teachers' experiences while in the rural area.

my naivety, developing allies with community health clinics and likeminded teachers was met with skepticism by the preservice teachers. They knew from their own experiences in trying to access sexual health services as young adults that many people trained in health care propagate HIV stigma and misinformation. This workshop was eye opening for me as I was introduced first-hand to the types of challenges that are involved with teacher education in HIV and AIDS in South Africa. I began to contemplate my role as workshop facilitator in guiding discussions so that emphasis on challenges did not overwhelm the types of 'so what?' questions that would encourage a more hopeful and agentic look to the future and solutions. When faced with the preservice teachers' feelings of being overwhelmed and underprepared, I questioned whether or not teachers and schools were well suited to address these complex challenges of HIV and AIDS in rural communities. Since this experience I have also wondered how the preservice teachers themselves were understanding and experiencing the use of participatory visual methods. Were these helpful methods? How did drawing and collage contribute to their understandings? Did they aid in sorting through their emotions? Or did they feel like a sort of new-age gimmick? Did they see themselves integrating these methods into their future teaching?

WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES THIS MAKE? FRAMING THE STUDY

It was against this backdrop of global and national policies and practices alongside criticisms of HIV and AIDS education in rural schools, as well as the potential response suggested by participatory visual methods to these challenges that I came to my doctoral research. Acknowledging that knowledge about HIV and AIDS has developed considerably over the last two decades and there have been significant reduction in the global rates of infection, the complexities of prevention education continue to frustrate efforts on the ground in communities. No one approach will prevent the spread of HIV on its own and research, activism and education need to work together to end the epidemic. The overlapping and intersecting factors of normative gender roles and high rates of GBV that are affecting girls and young women need also to be addressed through or in relation to this process. It is common, therefore, for intervention programs to incorporate aspects of different approaches, although the specificities of this integration is sometimes difficult to discern.

Certainly, the state of the AIDS epidemic in South Africa contributes to the sense of urgency in figuring out 'what works' or how best to prevent the spread of HIV and AIDS. However, these answers will have global resonance. This is reflected in recent calls for evidence-based programming (Stephenson, Imrie, & Bonell, 2009) and what O'Flynn (2010) describes as the "ground swell of activity" around developing Monitoring and Evaluation Frameworks (M&E) and tools to measure impact. This has also contributed to a sense of competition between researchers. Different approaches and foci can seem to be at odds with one another. Alongside the need for funding, there are other motivations for assessment that are also important to acknowledge, such as its contribution to: the validity of findings, community accountability and advancing a project's credibility. As Kippax and Stephenson (2012) contend, the distinction between biomedical and social dimensions of HIV and AIDS prevention, and the medicalization of prevention, is hindering the success of either strategy. Rather than a dichotomous approach, a flexible continuum of prevention that emphasizes the social approach but without dismissing the contributions of coming at the problem with a concern for individuals is growing in favour (Gilbert, 2012; Mavedzenge, Olson, Doyle, Changalucha, &Ross, 2011).

These debates over the different approaches to HIV and AIDS response largely overlook how school contexts and how associated actors influence the implementation of these programs (e.g. how teachers are situated within schools as sites of HIV and AIDS education and how schooling takes shape within different urban or rural contexts). While the previous sections outline what is a rather extensive literature on the state of HIV and AIDS education in South Africa, this body of work remains relatively isolated from a prevention and intervention discourse that is dominated by public health, if not more so by biomedical, discourses.

Mitchell et al. (2009) outline the movement towards participatory visual research on HIV and AIDS education in sub-Saharan Africa characterized by a series of interrelated short-term projects conducted by a group of scholars in or connected to HEIs in the sub-Saharan region. Scholars like Claudia Mitchell, Naydene de Lange, Relebohile Moletsane, Jean Stuart, Linda Theron, Kathleen Pithouse-Morgan and Leslie Wood, along with their graduate students, make up a core community dedicated to exploring how participatory visual methodologies in HIV and AIDS education is taking shape in South(ern) Africa. In

their chapter *What difference does this make? Studying southern African youth as knowledge producers within a new literacy of HIV and AIDS*, Mitchell et al. (2009) assert, "an emerging agenda of this work is one of fine-tuning analytic frameworks and tools of evaluation within arts-based research and within development studies more broadly" (p. 220). They stress participant inclusion, especially young people, in a critical inquiry into the ways in which creative and participatory methodologies promote a sense of engagement and reflexivity as well as studies on the longitudinal impact of this work in the lives of community members. It is this context and around these questions that my doctoral study has developed.

Research questions

My study responds to the interconnected challenges in HIV and AIDS education. First, the research responds to the challenges in teaching and learning in HIV and AIDS education in South African contexts. I consider the contributions and challenges of integrating participatory visual methods into education as HIV and AIDS pedagogy as it relates to rural schools and with regards for girls. Second, the research responds to the need to critically engage with the ways that research interventions are informing teacher preparation for HIV and AIDS education with further attention to resource-limited contexts in rural schools. In order to address these challenges, I worked with two interrelated questions:

1) What do learners, preservice teachers and inservice teachers identify as the contributions of participatory visual methods to research and education about HIV and AIDS, especially as they relate to the rural context?

2) What educational challenges are associated with establishing and sustaining the contributions of participatory visual methods to enhance current and future HIV and AIDS teaching practices, particularly in under-resourced schools such as those found in rural KwaZulu-Natal?

Participatory visual methods in HIV and AIDS education: Is it working?

I drew attention above to my own experiences in HIV and AIDS education, and my experience facilitating a workshop in South Africa, to highlight the various experiences that led me to my doctoral research and position me to conduct this study. Similar to the findings from my Masters research in Canada (MacEntee, 2009), Mitchell et al. (2009)

observed in the South African context that "while the field of arts-based participatory work is rapidly growing, it seems that ways of evaluating or studying this work are less developed" (p. 220). As I have already noted, the trend in HIV and AIDS research is the development of M&E frameworks.[26] However, this trend has also been criticised for producing a decontextualized and singular notion of what constitutes 'effective' HIV and AIDS prevention(Kippax & Stephenson, 2012; Laga, Rugg, Peersman, & Ainsworth, 2012).

My doctoral study started out with the intention of developing an assessment strategy suited to the idiosyncrasies of conducting participatory visual methods in HIV and AIDS education, but I ended up taking a somewhat different approach to answering 'what is working'. This change is indicative of the research approach which was emergent and heuristic in nature. While I designed a pilot study, I later worked with two existing research projects in the Vulindlela area, which meant that my project needed to coincide, at least in part, with the direction of these other projects. My study can be described as involving three separate but interrelated data gathering projects: 1) *Youth and HIV and AIDS in My Community* worked with grade 9 learners to explore assessment techniques for a digital storytelling workshop; 2) *Adding Art to Assessment* was a follow-up study with preservice teachers previously engaged in a participatory arts-based project; 3) *Cellphilm Screenings* explored how teachers chose to integrate their cellphilms into their teaching practice at their rural school to address HIV and AIDS. Located within a range of interventions and research studies carried out by a team of researchers through the Centre for Visual Methodologies for Social Change (CVMSC) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), the projects explored the use of different digital methods with different participant groups and shared two mutually constructive foci: 1) exploring participants' understanding and experience of learning to use participatory visual approaches to HIV and AIDS research; and 2) an analysis of these impressions and intentions in order to consider implications and effectiveness of integrating participatory visual methods with teaching and learning about HIV and AIDS. I used a range of qualitative and visual methods during my fieldwork,

[26] For example, see Bell and Aggleton's (2016) edited volume on the development of ethnographic evaluation in public health research that includes some interesting contributions to the field of HIV and AIDS prevention and treatment.

including qualitative surveys, photovoice, one-on-one interviews, photo elicitation, focus groups and participant observation in order to collect insights from the different participant groups about their experiences engaging with participatory visual methods. The study assumed that in learning and experiencing the 'doing' of participatory visual methods that participants developed critical insights on the practical application of the methods as a pedagogical tool in reference to their existing, situated knowledge of the rural South African HIV and AIDS context.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

In the first chapter, I introduced the problem of HIV and AIDS education in South Africa, mapped out the methods that have been used, located myself as a researcher in the context of this educational challenge and identified the two research questions to be addressed in this thesis. The HIV and AIDS epidemic in South Africa has proven particularly challenging to address. While some segments of the population have experienced a reduction in HIV infections, young people, and especially young women and girls, remain in peril. Rural schools and teachers are positioned to effect change in this area; however, they consistently struggle to do so. Participatory visual methods have been recommended in response to the challenges facing learners and teachers in schools. This study inquires into teachers' perceived benefits and challenges with integrating participatory visual methods into school-based HIV and AIDS education pedagogy.

In the second chapter, I will introduce my theoretical framework and review the literature on visual methodologies and the emergence of participatory visual methods. I will link these methodologies to theories of community-based participatory research, critical pedagogy, feminist methodologies and digital media scholarship. In addition, I will present three participatory visual methods: digital storytelling, photovoice and cellphilms and review the literature on their procedures as well as some of the criticisms on their use. In the last section of the chapter I will discuss four ongoing debates in the field of participatory visual methodologies: ethics, participation, reflexivity and voice.

In the third chapter, I will tell the story of the fieldwork and summarize this component of my study. Drawing on the concept of bricolage and the metaphor of portraits, Iwill discuss my decision to look in depth at particular components of three participatory visual research projects on HIV and AIDS education in rural schools. I will describe the

geographical location of my study, KwaZulu-Natal and the rural district of Vulindlela, and I will discuss my position within the research.I will also present my ethical procedures and my approach to validity and trustworthiness in the collection and representation of the research and its findings.

In the fourth chapter, I will present three portraits, as I refer to them, of participatory visual methods in HIV and AIDS education in the form of three previously published manuscripts. Manuscript 1, entitled *Girls, Condoms, Tradition, and Abstinence: Making Sense of HIV Prevention Discourses in Rural South Africa*, portrays my project with grade 9 learners using digital storytelling to explore their feelings about HIV and AIDS in their rural community. My analysis focuses on a close reading of a digital story made by a group of girls that discusses female adolescent sexuality and the use of condoms as a form of HIV prevention. Manuscript 2, entitled *Two years later: Pre-service teachers' experiences of learning to use participatory visual methods to address the South African AIDS epidemic*, reports the findings of a follow-up study of a teacher education research intervention on HIV and AIDS education that included introducing the preservice teacher participant to various participatory visual methods. I construct a portrait of the study's former participants and explore how learning to use participatory visual methods to address HIV and AIDS in schools has influenced their teacher preparation experience. Manuscript 3, entitled *From Discomfort to Collaboration: Teachers Screening Cellphilms in a Rural South African School,* reports on my inquiry of teachers trained in cellphone video-making. The manuscript is a portrait of how the inservice teachers presented their videos to learners and youth in the rural community.

The fifth chapter will summarize my findings and their significance in the scholarship on HIV and AIDS education. The three portraits are discussed in reference to eight themes. The first five themes revolve around contributions of the methods to HIV and AIDS education: novelty; negotiating cultural complexities; encouraging youth voices; facilitating teachers' reflexive learning; and contributing to the production of local resources in under-resourced areas. The remaining three themes describe the challenges of the integration of these methods as a feasible HIV and AIDS pedagogy in rural schools. These include: technology access; aesthetics; and the addressing of teachers' discomfort in HIV and AIDS education. Limitations of my doctoral study—expressly, challenges with

language, time in the field, and difficulties recruiting former teacher education students—are also discussed in this chapter.

In the sixth and final chapter, I will offer conclusions about participatory visual approaches to HIV and AIDS education. I will review the broad areas of research connected to my study and revisit the use of portraits in order to address my representation of the findings. This section is followed by answers to my research questions. I will discuss the implications of my findings in relation to the South African educational system's response to HIV and AIDS, the HEI teacher education system, research on girlhood and participatory visual research, as well as the study's implications regarding HIV and AIDS education and evaluation frameworks. I will conclude with remarks concerning the state of the AIDS epidemic, the role of the education system, and how teachers and learners can take action.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK PARTICIPATORY VISUAL RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

This chapter locates the theoretical and methodological frameworks that inform participatory visual methods and my research study. These frameworks offer an orientation to research as intervention that works with communities in relation to social change. The chapter lays out the key concepts, tools and critical issues that are attached to participatory visual research. These frameworks were, in a sense, pre-determined in my study, in so much as I was working with an HIV and AIDS research team that was already engaged in participatory visual research—although I could have chosen to study this topic in a variety of other ways. In order to answer the research questions posed in Chapter One, I use this chapter to 'set the scene' for understanding the participatory visual work reported in the following chapters. I begin by laying out a set of theoretical influences on participatory visual methods. I then consider three participatory approaches—digital storytelling, photovoice and cellphilming—that are clearly located within participatory visual studies and to which my study directly refers. In the final section of the chapter, in order to deepen an understanding of this work, I address some ongoing debates within the literature of which, in taking and studying this framework in my own research, I was particularly mindful.

VISUAL METHDOLOGIES: MAKING SENSE OF THE VISUAL

The field of visual methodologies considers images as sources of qualitative data and as representations of knowledge. Images have always been a fundamental component in the observational sciences and the practices of drawing, ethnographic photography and documentary filmmaking, to name a few, have rich histories in sociology and anthropology (Pink, 2003). Visual methodologies emerged as a distinct interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary field in the 1980s and 1990s. Researchers working in this area typically reject the idea that images document an objective reality (Banks, 1998; Pink, 2001a; Prosser, 1998), and instead approach the study of images for their culturally infused, constructed representations of subjective experiences (Pink, 2001b). Using visual data in

qualitative research is based on the ubiquity of images in daily life (Rose, 2001). Therefore, visual methodologists distinguish between different types of visual data, including found images, public media, and images produced by researchers and participants during a research study (Weber, 2008). People are recognized to have intimate connection to the images they produce (Banks, 2008). Images invite an expansion of ideas and evoke new questions of their audiences (Eisner, 1997). In his review of visual sociology and drawing on socio-semiotic theory, Pauwels (2010) describes the possibility of visuals to represent abstract ideas poorly expressed in more referential forms (such as the written word).

Centering visual texts in academic inquiry offers multiple directions for research. Banks(1998) studies images as expressions of the abstract realities in which people live, whereas Pink (2006) explores the "materiality and agency of the visual" (p. 22) that is maintained within its ambiguous meanings. Images can therefore be said to link *back*, in some way, to the socio-cultural perspective of the producer, and to link *forward* to infinite possible interpretations that reflect the personal cultures of viewers (Rose, 2001), as well as reflect the immediacy of the visual cultures in which the image is created and viewed (Rose, 2014). An analysis of visual data could focus on how the research context shaped the visual production, the content of the depicted image and the feedback the image received (or some combination of all three) (Pauwels, 2010). Recognizing that image can be interpreted in multiple ways and times contributes to the understanding that visual data represents richly layered knowledge (Schwartz, 2007).[27]

Several visual theorists discuss visual analysis (Banks & Zeitlyn, 2015; Pauwels, 2010; Prosser, 2010; Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001). In my own work, I have foundRose's (2001)overview of different approaches particularly useful.[28] She contends that these different methods can be applied using a framework of critical visual analysis that approaches visual meaning-making at the intersection of three 'sites' of analysis: 1) the site of production, where the focus is on the producer's intended meaning of the image; 2) the site of image, where the meaning is understood as embedded within the visual text; and 3) the site of audience, where the meanings are interpreted by diverse audiences. These sites

[27] This is a reflection of the post-modern influence on the development of visual methodologies and a marked departure from the modernist perspective on what constitutes valid data and the search for a singular truth.

[28] Rose (2001) discusses semiotics, discourse analysis, content analysis, psychoanalysis and mixed methods in her review of visual analysis methodologies.

share common modalities—specifically technological, compositional and socio-cultural strategies and tools—that come together and shape the image's meaning. Defining her critical visual framework, she contends: "by 'critical' I mean an approach that thinks about the visual in terms of the cultural significance, social practices and power relations in which it is embedded; and that means thinking about the power relations that produce, are articulated through, and can be challenged by, ways of seeing and imaging" (p. 3). Depending on the inquiry and the data under investigation, a visual methodologist must determine the most effective form of visual analysis for a study.

The emergence of participatory visual research as a field of study

Participatory Visual Methodologies are considered a sub-field of visual methodologies (Mitchell, 2011). Several academic publications, most notably Knowles and Cole's (2008) *Handbook of the arts in qualitative research* along with Margolis and Pauwels' (2011)*SAGE handbook of visual research methods*, reflect the considerable interest, acceptance and growth in this sub-field over the last 20 years. Developments specifically connected to visual studies on HIV and AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa were further established by Mitchell's (2011a) *Doing Visual Research*. There are also contributions to the fields of education made by Cahnmann-Taylor and Siegesmund's (2013) *Arts-based research in education: Foundations for practice* and Foster's (2015) *Collaborative arts-based research for social justice*. There is strong evidence that supports the emancipatory potential of these methods' when used to engage marginalized groups democratically in research activities (Ball, 2008; Brandt, 2008; Chalfen, 2011; Garcia, Minkler, Cardenas, Grills, & Porter, 2013; Lapenta, 2011; Mitchell & De Lange, 2011; Prosser & Burke, 2008; Sinding, Gray, & Nisker, 2008; Springgay, Irwin, & Kind, 2008). In this way, participatory visual research can also be seen to contribute to developments in qualitative research methodologies, especially as they relate to the fields of education and public health research.

Visual or arts-based participatory methodologies: What is in a name?

There is contention and potential confusion about how to refer to this expanding interdisciplinary field of research. Is there a difference when someone describes something as 'visual' or as 'arts-based'? The contention is illustrated effectively by Chilton and

Leavy's (2014) list of 28 terms all referring to similar arts-based methods.[29]I believe that Leavy (2015) appropriately dismisses this divisive debate when she writes, "the literature has been flooded with different terms meant to capture or distinguish this work (and its authors). Some authors are quick to point to subtle differences between these terms; however mostly this frenetic attempt to label work has led to confusion" (p. 4). I refer to my own work as participatory visual methods, although I also draw from the literature on participatory arts-based methodologies, arts-based inquiry, and arts-based educational research under the influence of Leavy's observation that many of the differentiations are, at best, subtle.

The term 'participatory visual methodologies' is used by a number of researchers exploring HIV and AIDS in South Africa and in connection to the CVMSC where my research is also based (De Lange, 2008a; De Lange, Mitchell, & Stuart, 2007b; Mitchell, 2008, 2011a, 2011b; Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2014; Mitchell, Moletsane, Stuart, Buthelezi, & De Lange, 2005). The CVMSC affiliated projects also refer to visual arts-based methodologies (Khau et al., 2013; Mitchell et al., 2006; Stuart, 2006, 2010), and there are other practitioners in South Africa looking at HIV and AIDS prevention that explore performance-based methods (e.g. forum theatre) (Chinyowa, 2009; Dalrymple, 2006; Francis, 2010a, 2013). All of these studies warrant consideration in relation to the participant involvement in creative data production and analysis and in contextual understandings of the state of HIV and AIDS in the country. In other words, my use of the term 'visual' is not pronouncing my affiliation with one group of thinkers over another but rather describes my focus on methods that emphasize images: digital storytelling, photovoice and cellphilms. This is in line with Fraser and al Sayah's (2011) categories of art-based methods by artistic media type, based on the use of visual, literary or performance-based methods. My choice also corresponds with Stuart (2010), whose project refers to arts-based methodologies and a much broader set of methods including

[29] Chilton and Leavy (2014) present a partial lexicology of terms for arts-based research which includes: A/r/tography; Alternative forms of representation; Aesthetically based research; Aesthetical research practice; Art as inquiry; Art practice as research; Art-based enquiry; Art-based inquiry; Arts-based research (ABR); Arts based social research (ABSR); Arts-based qualitative inquiry; Arts-based research practices; Arts-informed inquiry; Critical arts-based inquiry; Living inquiry; Performative inquiry; Poetic science; Practice-based research; Research based art (RBA); Scholartistry; Transformative inquiry through art.

photovoice, participatory video and collage, as well as forum theatre, drumming and hip hop (see Chapter 3). Using the term 'visual' denotes my focus on visual and associated sound techniques but recognizes the contributions of a larger body of literature in relation to arts-based methodologies.

PARTICIPATORY VISUAL METHDOLOGIES: WHAT'S PARTICIPATION HAVE TO DO WITH IT?

Guba and Lincoln (1994) wrote that methodological questions explore how someone goes about finding out "whatever he or she believes can be known" (p. 108). I like this description as it denotes the fundamental connection between methodology and ontology (the study of reality) and epistemology (the study of how we know the world) as well as to the types of methods used during research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Butler-Kisber (2010) argues that in arts-based scholarship, separating methodology from method is somewhat artificial as a researcher is continually negotiating her relationship with method and methodology. This is also suggested in literature reviews of participatory visual methodologies that note variety in the methodologies used across different projects (Sanon, Evans-Agnew, & Boutain, 2014). Boydell, Gladstone, Volpe, Allemang, and Stasiulis (2012) contend that participatory visual methodologies continue to emerge, at least relating to health research, and they disparage a tendency in this literature to conflate the concepts of method and methodology, which in turn restricts the development of theoretical understanding. My own perspective on this debate is somewhat conflicted as I am to some extent in agreement with Boydell and colleagues that it is important to distinguish when one is referring to their methods and when one is referring the theoretical underpinnings informing these methods. At the same time, I would also contend—in line with Butler-Kisber—that in articulating the theoretical influences on my choice of methods there is also leeway for researchers to reassess and adapt this theoretical approach to the particular demands of the research context as they emerge. With this working definition of methodology in mind, in this section I will describe how the theories of community-based participatory research, Freire's theory of critical pedagogy, feminist methodologies and media studies present a framework for understanding the concept of participation in visual

methodologies. This creates a backdrop to my discussion of participatory visual methods in later chapters.

Community-based participatory research: A framework for research participation

Community-based participatory research (CBPR) presents a research-orientated perspective for involving communities directly throughout the research process and helps direct research outcomes that respond to community needs (Blumenthal, Hopkins III, & Yancey, 2013). The Kellogg Health Scholars program[30] defines CBPR as "a collaborative approach to research that equitably involves all partners in the research process and recognizes the unique strengths that each brings. CBPR begins with a research topic of importance to the community and has the aim of combining knowledge with action and achieving social change to improve health outcomes and eliminate health disparities" (n.p.). Israel, Schulz, Parker, and Becker (1998) present nine principles of CBPR: 1) recognizing community as a unit of analysis; 2) drawing on the strengths and resources of the community; 3) facilitating collaborative partnerships in all phases of the research; 4) integrating knowledge and action for mutual benefit of the partners; 5) promoting co-learning and empowerment to address social inequalities; 6) involving a cyclical and iterative process of assessment; 7) addressing health from positive and ecological perspectives; 8) disseminating the findings to all partners; and 9) committing all of the partners to long-term involvement. These principles rely on the attitude of researchers orientating research objectives towards the community's agenda by a strategic engagement of partners so as to decentralize power and increase the likelihood of social change (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Hacker, 2013; Speer & Christens, 2013; Viswanathan et al., 2004). This approach also aims to resolve ethical concerns about research in communities who are marginalized, 'over researched,' or otherwise misused by researchers (Flicker et al., 2015; Simonds & Christopher, 2013; Wexler, 2011).

Critical pedagogy: Dialogue and conscientisation for emancipatory education

Critical pedagogy presents an educational approach that aims to result in emancipatory social change. It was developed by Freire (1973, 1984) during his research on literacy

[30] http://www.kellogghealthscholars.org/about/community.php

education in rural Brazil and hinges on a process of dialogue and conscientisation. Rejecting the idea of education based on learners passively receiving knowledge that is preordained and fixed from a curriculum made outside the community, critical pedagogy presents a distinctly collaborative educational process that involves learners/community/participants directly in the identification and construction of knowledge (Freire, 1984). In order to construct knowledge, participants engage in dialogue about their lived experiences and the events in their local context (Shor, 1993). When dialogue is appropriately incorporated or even used as curriculum, Freire (1984) predicts the development of *conscientizaçao* (conscientisation). Conscientisation is the reflexive questioning of society and one's position within the social world. While this process is often emotional and contentious, a level of discomfort is thought to help stimulate the realisation and expression of intolerance of oppression (Darder, 2014; Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003). Thus, dialogue should extend beyond what Freire and Macedo (1995) call a "group therapy space for stating their grievances" (p. 381). Rather, the aim of conscientisation is the development of 'critical consciousness' and the identification of "an historical reality susceptible of transformation" (Freire, 1984, p. 85). There are, according to Darder (2014), unique experiences of inequality guiding each person and community unpredictably towards critical consciousness. He continues:

> conscientizaçao does not occur automatically, naturally, nor should it be understood as an evolving linear phenomenon. Instead, [Freire] spoke to an emancipatory consciousness that arises through an organic process of human engagement, which requires critical pedagogical interactions that nurture the dialectical relationship of human beings with the world (p. 8).

According to researchers working in the area of critical pedagogy, education and research is a political process that depends on the energy and commitment of the researcher to engage participants and withstand potential backlash from educational institutions who do not share the same critical understanding (Giroux, 1988).

Feminist methodologies

Feminism, like critical pedagogy, understands research and education to be an interconnected and political practice. However, critical pedagogy relies on the so-called

'radical educator' to help participants identify injustice, but it does not dismantle the hierarchy of power inherent in the learners' environment or what Ellsworth (1989) describes as the "paternalistic project of education itself" (p. 306). Through analyses of women as marginalized, embodied subjects, feminists raise issue with Freire's construction of the researcher/educator as a neutral emancipatory agent and the material construction of agency and power (Gore, 2003; Luke & Gore, 2013).

These criticisms stem from an overarching feminist agenda that views power as relational and knowledge as partial as well as an acknowledgment of the unique value of feminine experiences that have been historically overlooked or undervalued (see also Haraway, 1988; Harding, 2004; Smith, 1990). In an effort to invite a more equitable research process, feminist participatory research strives to conduct research with, rather than on, women (Maguire, 1987). The perspectives of marginalized groups and individuals, from their position on the periphery of dominant knowledge systems on account of their feminine identity and other markers of social oppression (e.g. race, age, class, geographical location), are valued for their ability to identify the intersectional nature of oppression (Crenshaw, 1991), and to propose new and radical possibilities for shifting power (hooks, 2000). Additional debates on a broad range of topics have emerged from a methodological quest for different ways of increasing women's participation in the production of knowledge. As an example of this, we might look at the politics of representation (Alcoff, 1991), definitions of reflexivity and the means of methodological transparency (Pillow, 2003), and the heterogeneity of women's experiences and the fallacy of a universal Western concept of feminist values (Mohanty, Russo, & Torres, 1991). Thus, while feminist critiques exist across all disciplines, studies share a commitment to interrogating gender as it relates to the ethics of knowledge production and power relations in the analysis and dissemination of research (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1998).

Digital media scholarship: Understanding visual cultures

Digital media scholarship offers insight on the influence of digital technology and media[31] production on visual research. This field of study is interested in how technologies like computers, cellphones and the internet have shifted our relationship with media and opened up new pathways for media consumption and production (Jenkins, 2006). Not to be confused with technological determinism, which assumes that technological advancement inherently promotes societal development (Selwyn, 2012), digital media scholars are engaged in an ongoing debate about the varying impact of digital technology on our lives, especially those of young people (Bennett, Maton, & Kervin, 2008; Buckingham & Willett, 2013; Prensky, 2001; Tapscott, 2008). As Bragg and Buckingham (2009, n.p.) explain, media are more than the "collection of 'negative' messages: they act as 'tools to think with' for young people". Buckingham and Sefton-Green (1994) propose young people's media productions are agentic knowledge productions. These ideas are furthered by Jenkins and colleagues' characterization of young people's engagement with media as a 'participatory culture,' typified by a collaborative and inclusive media practice that both reproduces and disrupts dominant discourses represented in more mainstream (corporate) media practices (Jenkins, Purushotma, Weigel, Clinton, & Robison, 2009; Knobel & Lankshear, 2014). However, tempering the potential of media education are ongoing issues with the 'digital divide' and how unequal access to digital technology disrupts particular groups of young people's technical skills and their media literacies (Jenkins, 2013). Nor should media literacy education be thought to be in competition with or as a replacement of more traditional conceptions of literacy (e.g. reading and writing). If anything, Buckingham(2015) argues, media education should be seen to re-enforce and contribute to literacy. On-line spaces and digital technology can engage young people in transgressive cultural production and there is potential to integrate this practice into a type of empirical inquiry process. This requires a critical media literacy perspective be adopted that takes into account young people's complex relationship with digital technology, cultural media and visual cultures (Buckingham, 2013).

[31] Media is a broad and ubiquitous term. In my use of the term, I refer to Gitelman (2006), who defined media as "socially realized structures of communication, where structures include both technological forms and their associated protocols, and where communication is a cultural practice, a ritualized collection of different people on the same mental map, sharing or engaged with popular ontologies or representation" (p. 7).

Like visual methodologies, the media scholarship presents visual media as contested content, which through multiple interpretations can reproduce or disrupt dominant discourses. Fiske's (1992) cultural study of television audiences discusses this as a form of intertextuality. Taking an intertextual approach, there are various ways in which visuals' 'potential meanings' are 'activated' by different groups of people in different spaces. To approach an analysis of how potential meanings are activated, Fiske outlines three levels of 'texts' as units of analysis: 1) primary texts; 2) secondary texts; 3) tertiary texts. This framework has since been adapted for participatory visual methods (De Lange, 2008b; De Lange & Geldenhuys, 2012; Milne, Mitchell, & De Lange, 2012b; Mitchell, 2011a; Mitchell & De Lange, 2013a; Moletsane et al., 2009; Wood & Olivier, 2011; Yang, 2012) so that the primary text refers to the participants' visual products (i.e. the photos, digital story and cellphilms). The secondary text, or producers' texts, refers to participants' understandings and analyses of the visual process in producing their primary texts. The tertiary text, or audience text, refers to the different audience responses to the primary texts. The significant contribution of Fiske's framework is the way that the different texts come together, overlap, or as Fiske (1992, p. 319) describes, "leak into one another." Milne, Mitchell, and De Lange (2012a) support this idea further when they observe participants in participatory visual methodologies involved in producing all three types of texts during the participatory visual process. Yang (2012) suggests as a fourth text the idea of the research text, which brings into consideration the researcher's perspectives of the visual process as well as their particular insights and understandings of the visual text. Mitchell (2015a) stresses the importance of involving 'insiders' in this analytical process and others have explored how to make this analytic process more participatory (Cahill, 2007b; MacEntee & Mitchell, 2011).

PARTICPATORY VISUAL METHODS

There are many different participatory visual methods that have been explored in research on HIV and AIDS in the sub-Saharan context. In this section I will outline participatory visual research methods in detail by referring to digital storytelling, photovoice and cellphilm methods. In the HIV and AIDS literature there is a particular interest in exploring the possibilities of digital technology as a tool for engaging in prevention and treatment,

especially for youth and with varying applicability in resource-limited areas of sub-Saharan Africa (Catalani, Philbrick, Fraser, Mechael, & Israelski, 2013; Chávez, Shearer, & Rosenthal, 2014; Hightow-Weidman, Muessig, Bauermeister, Zhang, & LeGrand, 2015; Jongbloed, Parmar, van der Kop, Spittal, & Lester, 2015; Ybarra et al., 2014), and thus focus on methods that rely on digital technology such as digital cameras, cellphones and computer editing software.

Digital storytelling

Digital storytelling was developed at the *The Digital Story Center*[32] in San Francisco. Digital stories typically appear as short multi-modal narratives (Lundby, 2008; Meadows, 2003). The method has been used to explore many different subject areas. Examples are found within research on suicide prevention (Wexler, Gubrium, Griffin, & DiFulvio, 2013), experiences of adolescent motherhood (Gubrium, Krause, & Jernigan, 2014), gender-based violence (Mills et al., 2015), and HIV and AIDS (Duveskog, 2015; Duveskog, Tedre, Sedano, & Sutinen, 2012; Mnisi, 2015; Reed & Hill, 2010; Willis et al., 2014). Emerging from a practice of everyday digital photography, photovoice and oral history, it has been identified as a culturally appropriate indigenous research method for North America (Willox, Harper, Edge, 'My Word': Storytelling and Digital Media Lab, & Rigolet Inuit Community Government, 2012) and Africa (Reitmaier, Bidwell, & Marsden, 2011). Digital story method has been integrated effectively also into educational research on multi-literacies (Ohler, 2013), transnational literacies (Darvin & Norton, 2014), and teacher education (Chigona, 2013; Gachago, Condy, Ivala, & Chigona, 2014).

Lambert (2012) describes digital storytelling as “short little nuggets of media” (p. 1) that mix photograph, audio and video images together into a multi-modal text. The process of mixing digital technology is thought to be relatively fast and easy, even for people with little to no previous computer experience (Robin, 2008; Sadik, 2008). The process of digital storytelling can be broken down into a number of steps or stages. According to Gubrium (2009), digital storytelling method begins with a facilitated group discussion, or ‘story circle,’ with the intention of developing ideas and then writing scripts

[32]Now called *TheStory Center*: www.storycenter.org

in response to a researcher-generated prompt. These scripts form the basis of the participant's narrative and produce literary data suitable for subsequent content and thematic analyses. Next, participants create storyboards that help outline the written narrative in a visual format. At this stage in the process participants also begin collecting different media that will eventually be mixed together in their digital story. Moving back and forth between story circling and storyboarding can happen several times to allow participants to get feedback from the larger group and develop their ideas. Possible media sources might include photo albums, stock photographs and personal art, or participants might create new media especially for their digital story. Choosing from different media sources increases participant control of how they represent themselves and their ideas in the story (Burgess & Vivienne, 2013), although Aufderheide (2012) also cautions researchers to be wary of copyright limitations on remixing existing media for dissemination. The multiplicity of media encourages participants to reflect, describe and display their complex and shifting understandings (Gubrium, 2009; Jenkins & Lonsdale, 2007). A final stage in the digital storytelling process uses computer[33] software to compile the different media and create a unique and cohesive narrative (Gubrium, 2009; Lambert, 2012; Rossiter & Garcia, 2010) that can be disseminated digitally to different audiences. Gachago, Ivala, Condy, and Chigona (2013) propose that sharing and listening to digital stories promotes critical reflection on social norms, morals and values. Creating and disseminating digital stories, Gubrium and Scott (2010, p. 1480) suggest, can "facilitate critical consciousness in human rights and social justice campaigns, while also speaking to its potential to be utilized in very concrete ways as an organizing tool to raise public consciousness around issues that are of significant value to public interests, yet are often marginalized within a dominant narrative".

Photovoice

Photovoice method was developed initially by Wang and Burris (1997)for use by women farmers in China (Wang, 1999; Wang, Yi, Tao, & Carovano, 1998). The methodwas influenced further by Lykes(2001) with women in post-conflict Guatemala and Ewald's

[33] In areas where computers are not widely accessible, the cellphone might be a more accessible and familiar technology for community participation (Bidwell, Reitmaier, Marsden, & Hansen, 2010).

(2000) photography with and by children.[34]It has been applied as a qualitative impact assessment tool (Annang et al., 2016; Kramer, Schwartz, Cheadle, & Rauzon, 2013; Wang, 2003), and it has been incorporated extensively into research on public health (Catalani & Minkler, 2010). Mitchell, De Lange, Moletsane, Stuart, and Buthelezi (2005) discuss its application for promoting reflexivity on HIV and AIDS amongst teachers and community healthcare workers in rural South Africa. It has been used also to explore strategies for safe HIV disclosure in the United States (Teti, Conserve, Zhang, & Gerkovich, 2016), perceptions of gender roles among young people in Nepal (Lundgren, Beckman, Chaurasiya, Subhedi, & Kerner, 2013), and views on access to health care among African immigrants in the United States (Oluwatoyosi, Kimbrough, Obafemi, & Strack, 2014). It helped to reduce the internalized stigma of mental illness (Russinova et al., 2014), promote self-awareness (Mulder & Dull, 2014), health education among university students (Walker & Oomen-Early, 2014), create healthy school environments (Warne, Snyder, & Gillander Gådin, 2013) and explore the egalitarian environment of classrooms in the United States (Robinson-Keilig, Hamill, Gwin-Vinsant, & Dashner, 2014).

The process is based on participants taking photographs to document an aspect of their life or their perspective on a social issue (Wang, 1999; Wang & Burris, 1997). The majority of studies begin with researchers proposing a photography activity to participants. This involves having participants take pictures that answer a question or respond to a theme or prompt (Hergenrather, Rhodes, Cowan, Bardhoshi, & Pula, 2009). There is considerable variation in the literature on the amount of training in photography and the period of time that the participants spend taking photographs. For example, Dakin, Parker, Amell, and Rogers (2015) describe meeting with participants twice a week for seven weeks with participants taking photographs between each meeting, whereas Gervais and Rivard (2013) describe participants taking and working with photographs within a few hours.

Having taken their photographs, participants can work with the images in different ways in order to talk amongst each other about what their photographs mean. This is a form of participatory analysis. Participants can discuss their photographs in small groups

[34] Ewald's (2000) study is not identified as photovoice but is still widely associated with the development of the method, especially as it relates to documentary photography and a method with which researchers can collaborate with young people (Mitchell, 2011a; Wang, 2003; Wang & Burris, 1997).

following the mnemonic SHOWeD[35] (Kingery, Naanyu, Allen, & Patel, 2016; Plunkett, Leipert, & Ray, 2013; Wang, 1999). Other research has facilitated participants working together to use their photographs to make posters (Stuart, 2006). By facilitating discussion around a series of questions about what is depicted in the image and what is 'really happening,' participants are identifying issues, themes and theories of relevance to the study. Lapenta (2011) argued that "grounding of the images in a shared interpretation of their real and personal experience" can "empower marginalized groups to articulate and 'voice' their opinions to researchers or policymakers" (p. 208). Having participants write short captions about their image helps capture what they understand to be the intended meaning of the images and its relevance to the issues under investigation. Subsequently, photographs and captions can be displayed in community venues and exhibited to policy makers as a stimulus for change (Wang, Morrel-Samuels, Hutchison, Bell, & Pestronk, 2004, p. 912) and enhance the overall satisfaction of participants (Warne et al., 2013). Sanon et al. (2014, p. 9) argue that the "act of seeing and discussing photos is assumed to inspire awareness of new ways of thinking about inequality and health". The photovoice process is documented visually by researchers and group work and exhibitions can also be audio recorded or video recorded for subsequent analysis.

Cellphilming

Cellphilming is a visual research method developed by communication and media studies (Dockney, Tomaselli, & Hart, 2010), film studies (Schleser, 2014) and in participatory video research (Milne et al., 2012a; Mitchell & De Lange, 2011; Mitchell et al., 2014). The word 'cellphilm' was coined by Dockney and Tomaselli (2009) to describe the cellphone film-making and the coming together of different communication technologies (e.g. telephone, email, text message, access to social media) into one handheld device. They contend widespread cellphone access in South Africa sparked a resurgence of community-based, alternative media-making that had all but disappeared post-apartheid. In the edited

[35] Originally developed by Wallerstein and Bernstein (1988), SHOWeD stands for: What do you *See* here? What's really *Happening* here? How does this relate to *Our* lives? *Why* does this situation, concern, or strength exist? What can we *Do* about it? Hergenrather et al. (2009) have made note of a second mnemonic, Photo, as posing similar guiding questions of participants: Describe your *Picture*; what is *Happening* in your picture; Why did you take a picture *Of* this? What does this picture *Tell* us about your life? How can this picture provide *Opportunities* for us to improve life?

volume *What's a Cellphilm? Integrating mobile technology into visual research and activism* (MacEntee, Burkholder, & Schwab-Cartas, 2016b), contributors explore cellphilming as a research method. Mandrona (2016) writes that cellphilm "straddles the realms of research practice, documentation, and creative expression to encourage new and potentially transformative skills and representational forms." Cellphilming has been used in studies of language and culture revitalization (Schwab-Cartas, 2012, 2016; Watson, 2013; Watson, Barnabas, & Tomaselli, 2016), educational investigations of identity, literacy, and HIV and AIDS (Burkholder, in press-a, in press-b; MacEntee & Mandrona, 2015; Mitchell & De Lange, 2013a; Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2016; Wiebe & Caseley Smith, 2016; Yang & MacEntee, 2015) and in explorations of gender-based violence (MacEntee, 2015a, 2015b).

Typically, people today are very familiar with the cellphone, and following a little instruction on the research process can adapt their existing cellphone practices into the visual research process (Mitchell et al., 2014; Schwab-Cartas, MacEntee, & Burkholder, 2016). Outlining this process, Mitchell & De Lange (2013) describe a workshop format, or what they call 'digital retreats.' Chan, Chau, Ihnatovych, and Schembri (2016) outline the step-by-step collaborative cellphilm process they went through as students in a HEI research methodologies class. The process begins with participants working in small groups to brainstorm ideas based on a shared prompt or theme. This is followed by groups storyboarding these ideas into a visual narrative. Then the group uses the cellphone to film their story or scene to produce the cellphilm. This might be followed by some video editing.[36] When the video is ready, it can be screened to different audiences to promote dialogue. This procedure is closely related, if not a derivative, of participatory video (Milne et al., 2012a). Schwab-Cartas et al. (2016) suggest cellphilms be called "PV 2.0" (p. 204). Like participatory video, the social construction embodied by the group process is understood to be a type of collective knowledge building that responds to social challenges (Mitchell, 2014c, p. 174).

[36] Editing is optional, Mitchell and De Lange (2011) describe what they call the 'no editing required' approach that allows participants to use the pause function on the video camera to give the impression of a new scene. Mitchell (2014c) has since described this approach as minimizing participants' need for technical filmmaking skills and subsequently maximizing their control.

However, the relationship between cellphilming and participatory video is contentious. The process of video production requires specialized technology (cameras, lighting, sound, editing software). Then there is technical knowledge and skills needed in the actual process of filmmaking. Mistry, Bignante, and Berardi (2014) argue, "participatory video is still a process that is led by external funding and specialised [academic] institutions. Full ownership of the participatory video process by communities is still limited by access to technology and human capacity" (p. 6). Relying on expensive and technical equipment brought and then taken away from communities over the course of the research does little to disrupt the paternalistic relationship that can exist between universities and communities (Kindon, 2015; Walsh, 2014).

On the one hand, cellphilming disrupt this hierarchy by using an accessible and everyday technology (MacEntee et al., 2016b; Mitchell et al., 2014). Not only are cellphones more accessible, many people are already used to using the technology to create visual texts (photographs or video) that depict their everyday world. Furthermore, cellphones with connections to the mobile web offer new possibilities for sharing and analysing cellphilms in the public or semi-public realm of YouTube or other digital archives (Burkholder, 2016).

On the other hand, it would be incorrect to assume that cellphone culture is the same across the world. Access and control of mobile devices is unequal in different ways in different contexts (Schwab-Cartas et al., 2016). Elsewhere, for example, I have discussed how access to cellphones in rural South Africa is determined along lines of age and gender, with young rural women feeling immense pressure and going to great lengths to obtain a cellphone (MacEntee, 2015b). Cellphilming implicates the research process into this broader context in unpredictable and possibly ethically contentious ways (MacEntee, 2015a). Moving beyond the accessibility of technology, there are also incongruities with the visual culture of cellphone video-making in communities and the type of aesthetic practices proposed by the research process (Mandrona, 2016). The way that young people take videos of their life and share them on line will likely have different intentions and meaning than making video during a research intervention about the impact of HIV and AIDS on their lives. How do participants negotiate these possibly different and competing aesthetic practices in the production of the cellphilm? Furthermore, disseminating

cellphilms through social media could leave participants open to negative feedback from the public and may impinge on the participant's ownership and ability to express their opinions in the public domain (Burkholder & MacEntee, 2016). Integrating cellphones into participatory video practices raises new and still uncharted technological, ethical and aesthetic questions that may also have wider implications on participatory visual methods.

ONGOING DEBATES IN PARTICPATORY VISUAL METHDS: ETHICS, PARTICIPATION, REFLEXIVITY AND VOICE

Each of the methods described in the previous section is distinguishable by its use of different technologies (e.g. cameras, cellphones, computers) and the different types of visual products created (e.g. digital stories, photographs, cellphilms), although these differences and demarcations are shifting with the development of multimodal tools such as tablets and cellphones. However, they share a commitment to creating a research environment in which participants can "dictate what stories are told, or remain silent" (Allen, 2009, p. 550). The procedures are also remarkably similar, with all of them discussing the potential use of collaborative techniques for: generating ideas (e.g. brainstorming), planning visual narratives (e.g. storyboards), and visual production; although these steps can be completed individually as well. Then there is also a similar interest amongst the methods in community-based dissemination of the visual products to engage peers and decision-makers in dialogue and social change. However, as Pauwels (2015) reminds us, participation and community engagement are only "*possible* outcomes and *desired* effects, not essential 'features' or 'natural' results that appear automatically from handing out cameras to people, facilitating group processes and disseminating the results" (p. 105, italics in original). The description of these methods also raises several questions. How is the collaborative process negotiated between the researcher and community? Or between participants? What are the costs of the participatory process for the different stakeholders? How does the exhibition or screening of participants' visual products shape audiences' interpretations of the images? And how, if at all, are these interpretations translated into social action and, ultimately, social change? Each of these questions, and indeed others not listed, represent an ongoing debate within the field of

participatory visual methodologies. In this section I approach these debates by reviewing the literature on four overarching themes: ethics, reflexivity, participation and voice.

Ethics

There is extensive discussion in the field of participatory visual methodologies on ethical issues. I have already noted some of these in the previous section, like the legal limitations on mixing media in digital stories and the implications of using cellphones in different contexts and with populations that might otherwise not have access to this technology. Mitchell (2011a) suggests ethical debates are such a major area of concern in participatory visual scholarship that they could be considered their own subfield, the likes of which could be the focus of many theses. She writes:

> The legal and moral components, protection and awareness of the vulnerability of children and young people, and new issues in dissemination as a result of social networking sites has made the area of ethics one that often seems like a minefield. And although 'doing least harm' and 'doing most good' must surely remain as the cornerstones of our work as researchers, these clearly are interpretative areas in and of themselves" (p. 15).

While all research raises ethical challenges, participatory visual methods raise additional concerns about the visual aspects of the work, especially in relation to participant consent, confidentiality and anonymity surrounding the production and representation of visual images as part of the research process (Banks, 2008; Gubrium, Hill, & Flicker, 2014; Hannes & Parylo, 2014; Nutbrown, 2011; Wiles, Clark, & Prosser, 2011). Ethical concerns also vary depending on the type of image (e.g. photograph or video) and its source (e.g. found or participant-produced) (Prosser, 2005).

Multiple publications indicate ways that Institutional Review Boards are adapting their procedures to respond to these challenges (Clark, Prosser, & Wiles, 2010; Cox et al., 2014; Flicker, Travers, Guta, McDonald, & Meagher, 2007), but there is still work to be done. Traditional notions of anonymity, confidentiality and consent are being reconsidered. Visual methods may mean that complete anonymity of participants is not possible as pictures of participants may be discussed or exhibited to other participants and in other communities. Additional consent processes (such as agreeing to be photographed or

involving participants in gaining consent from members of the public to be photographed) are often required, and researchers may choose to limit what participants may or may not photograph or video (e.g. avoid photographing illegal behaviour or do not photograph faces). These measures can, as Switzer, Guta, de Prinse, Carusone, and Strike (2015) noted, "increase the research burden on already marginalized communities" (p. 81). With appropriate concern centred on the means through which to minimize the harm research has on participants, there are some who argue that the focus on ethical practices has become an acute form of "group ethical hypochondria" (Prosser, Clark, & Wiles, 2008, p. 3). Nutbrown (2011) recognizes the risks to visual research with children but also argues that the ethical concern about taking pictures of young people has also distracted practitioners from the important insights that are to be gained from children's participation in this type of work. Others have suggested that including participants in discussions on reflexive ethical practice can deepen their engagement in the research process and help stimulate creative and generative visual data (Stuart, 2006).

Reflexivity

Mitchell (2011a) describes reflexivity as closely connected to ethical issues in participatory research. Pink (2003) has put forth reflexivity as *the* distinguishing marker of ethical and rigorous practice in visual research. She observed:

> Reflexivity has commonly been coined as a need for understanding 'where the researcher is coming from' and how this impacts on the knowledge produced. Some leave this at a question of validity and research quality control. However, most visual anthropologists take a quite different track. They argue that reflexivity should be integrated fully into processes of fieldwork and visual or written representation in ways that we do not simply explain the researcher's approach but reveal the very processes by which the positionality of researcher and informant were constituted and through which knowledge was produced during the fieldwork (p. 189).

Pink's remarks draw attention to the importance of reflexivity as it relates to the positionality of the researcher and the relational process of knowledge production. According to Pauwels (2015), limiting the researcher's influence over the visual culture of

the participants remains an ongoing challenge. Kindon (2015) identifies an "uncritical application of Western realist audiovisual conventions (filmic methods and techniques)" (p. 2) in participatory video methodology. Her criticisms, like those made by Low, Brushwood-Rose, Salvio, and Palacios (2012) and Walsh (2014), point towards a methodological weakness of participatory visual methods that relies on a highly skilled reflexive researcher. While there is an obvious value to researchers developing a reflexive practice, how this practice is developed and nurtured by practitioners in preparation and during the participatory visual process is uncertain.

Another direction in the academic literature on reflexivity looks to its development in participants, often as it relates to the development of critical consciousness and agency. Bloustien (2012) and Buckingham (2013) attribute reflexive development to a process of 'serious play' and young people's natural curiosity in visual technologies. In relation to photography-based methods, Lynn and Lea (2005) argue that simply holding the camera, pointing the lens, and taking the photograph is inherently reflexive, and that individuals cannot help but be aware of this constructive activity. In terms of digital storytelling, Gubrium and Turner (2011) suggests reflexivity manifests when participants work collaboratively to choose how they will visually represent their stories. Similarly, but for participatory video, Yang (2012) argued that the collaborative process developed participant's subjectivities that were "more critical and productive and enabled them to develop a sense of agency" (p. 171). In this way, Yang's findings echo Pink (2007), who suggests:

> Often the film product itself is not the most important outcome of such projects. Rather the collaborative and reflexive processes that interweave to produce the film create social interventions in their own right by generating new levels of self-awareness and identity amongst research participants (p. 5).

Gauntlett and Holzwarth (2006) assert that reflexivity emerges in an embodied way amongst participants when they are involved in visual production with minimal intrusion by the researcher. Allan (2012), though, observes that the reflexive process is not always immediately identifiable amongst participants' description of their experiences of the research process and conscientisation is not an automatic outcome of visual production for participants. Clearly reflexivity is seen to be a positive consequence of participatory visual

research. However, there is some debate as to when and how it develops amongst research participants.

Participation

Participatory visual methods are centred on participants having at least some control over the collection, management and analyses of the information accumulated, and in how the research results are used and disseminated across different contexts (De Lange, 2008b; Mitchell, 2011b; Pain, 2012). Community-based practitioners have questioned the extent and the means of engagement and partnership (Blumenthal et al., 2013; Minkler, 2005). How much participation is enough? Should communities always be involved in the identification of research topics? Is it acceptable for researchers to approach participants with a topic for investigation? And when does community participation end? Measures such as Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation construct a hierarchy of participation with more participant involvement in the research process thought to result in the diffusion of power in favour of the community. Viswanathan et al. (2004) propose a participation measurement tool for CBHR that equates quantity of participation with quality of participation, which Catalani and Minkler (2010) later adapted in their review of public health photovoice research. On the other hand, other theorists have observed that participation might exacerbate contextual risk factors. For example, girls participating in research on gender-based violence may be at increased risk of becoming targets of stigmatisation and violence on the basis of their association with the research (Leach, 2006; Moletsane, Mitchell, Stuart, Walsh, & Taylor, 2008). Judging the value of participation by quantifiable or hierarchical means is further interrogated by Milne (2012), who asserts that non-participation can also be an important act of agency and empowerment for communities (see also Hayward, Simpson, & Wood, 2004). Thus, participation can be said to have a relational component, which may look very different when comparing research interventions depending on the topic under investigation and the contextual factors of where the research takes place.

An alternative understanding of participation is based on context and negotiating shared power, trust development, mutual learning and capacity development on a more case-by-case basis (Belone et al., 2016). Flicker (2008) remarks pragmatically: "[f]inding

the appropriate level of participation for community members and service providers that allows for collaborative decision making while respecting their overburdened schedules remains an ongoing challenge" (p. 83). This is a consideration of the contextual factors, rather than the immediate programmatic features of a particular project, that might shape how participation is conceptualized. While engaging youth is common in participatory research, the majority of this work is the result of partnerships between academics and adult-lead organizations (Jacquez, Vaughn, & Wagner, 2012). Consequently, there is a tendency to present a pejorative interpretation of young people's involvement rather than viewing them as equal collaborators. Establishing what Campbell, Foulis, Maimane and Sibiya (2005b) describe as enabling environments for youth participation is thought to increase the likelihood that young people's contributions will be valued and sustained. Still, little is known about what motivates people (young or old) to engage in the participatory visual research. Is it personal interest? A sense of community responsibility? Maybe it is the opportunity to engage specifically with the technologies of digital media production? Does the visual increase the opportunity for participant expression? Or does the visual contribute to a hierarchy of participation, with those 'less capable' of engaging in more 'traditional' representations of knowledge relegated to visual representations?

Voice

Building on and connected to critiques of participation, the concept of 'voice'has become especially contentious in the literature on participatory visual methods. For visual anthropologists, the ability of individuals to speak for themselves is related to concerns of authorship and authority (Ruby, 1991). Feminist scholar Linda Alcoff (1991)refers to this as the 'politics of representation'and teases apart both the challenges and benefits of research that inescapably, in many ways, involvesat some point a process of speaking for others. She writes: "the effect of the practice of speaking for others is often, though not always, erasure and a re-inscription of sexual, national, and other kinds of hierarchies" (p. 29).However, she continues, "it is not always the case that when others unlike me speak for me I have ended up worse off, or that when we speak for others they end up worse off" (p. 29). There are several examples in the literature on participatory visual methodologies discussing participatory visual methods as increasing the capacity of the research process

to recognize participant 'voice' especially as it relates to research with marginalized communities or with children (e.g. Guillemin & Drew, 2010; Luttrell & Chalfen, 2010; Mand, 2012; Plush, 2015). Much of this work aligns with Hertz (1996), who argues that voice is integral to achieving agency, representation, reflexivity and social action. Bloustien's research with adolescent girls in Adelaide using participatory videos is an excellent example of how visual technology can be a tool through which participants' perspectives are expressed:

> For the girls, the cameras became ways of interpreting and redefining their worlds in ways which frequently expressed far more than the girls were capable of saying, for often it was what was not said that was important. Not everything was documented in the same way. What we came to understand was that the selection, the filmic, and the editing processes highlight the ways in which all of the girls were struggling to represent themselves, off camera, in ways that cohered with their already established social and cultural frameworks (Bloustien & Baker, 2003, p. 69).

Likewise, Luttrell and Chalfen (2010) argue that the use of visual methods can amplify participants' voices, but they also note a "general, vague agreement that voice is not 'given'—whether in speech or in a photograph. Rather voice is understood to be co-constructed, and historically and culturally specific" (p. 198). Indeed, as with other participatory approaches in research, there is a risk that the uncritical analysis of participants' visual texts will romanticize, exoticize or essentialize the voice of the oppressed (Freire & Macedo, 1995; Kinchloe, 2007; Luttrell, 2010; Mitchell, 2011b). Gacoin (2010) warns of the discursive use of 'youth voice' to effectively place the blame on young people when HIV prevention efforts fail.

An alternative conception of voice discerned in the literature takes up voice from a dialogical perspective. For example, Yang (2012) describes participatory video as a "site of struggle to bring out voices among [participants] and within their community" (p. 209-210). The visual process may falsely represent a cohesive voice when, in fact, there is much negotiation, hidden tensions, and voices that were silenced through the democratic process. Bragg and Buckingham (2014, p. 282) reflect on an adultist critique when they argue, "youth voice is largely what we—as adults, researchers, educators, policy-makers and

practitioners—make it: it has no prior existence and it cannot 'act' alone" (p. 282).Taking up the construction of voice requires equal consideration of the construction of audiencing and who is listening (Buckingham, 2009; Chalfen, 2011; Chalfen, Sherman, & Rich, 2010). These comments on participant voice are further complicated with the introduction of participant-produced visual texts, which can also be said to 'speak for themselves' (Yates, 2010). Therefore, important questions constantly being negotiated in the field revolve around: Who is speaking and listening and/or looking at participants and the visual products? How are participants choosing to use their voice? At what point in the research process are participants speaking and who do they understand their audiences to be? What are the relationships of power that are shaping the researchers' interpretations and representations of participant voice? And perhaps most significantly, what type of action does this practice of looking and listening to participants' experiences and perspectives actually evoke in different audiences?

SUMMARY

This chapter has presented a theoretical framework which draws on community-based participatory research, critical pedagogy, feminist methodologies and digital media scholarship to outline my understanding of participatory visual methodologies. This framework informs my use of three methods: digital storytelling, photovoice and cellphilms, and my approach to how I considered the ways in which these methodologies have been incorporated into HIV and AIDS educational research. Digital storytelling participants collect various types of visual and audio media to construct a narrative. Photovoice uses photography and caption writing as a means for participants to express their experiences and understandings of local issues. Cellphilming employs cellphones for making videos in such a way as to bridge the research method with local media practices. While there are technical differences between the methods, there are also several procedural similarities, such as: emphasis on participants controlling knowledge production; emphasis on participant involvement in data analyses; and the potential for exhibiting the visual products to different audiences to evoke community change. There are also very serious ethical issues that come with participant involvement in visual research, such as negotiating community participation and ownership of the research,

consent to visually represent personal characteristics and community vulnerabilities, power differences between researchers and participants, and disturbances caused by the use of complicated technology and conflicting practices of knowledge communication. Reflexivity is also contested and while participant reflexivity seems to be associated most closely with the process of visual production, this process is also seen as fraught by research interference and bias. The notion of participation remains uncertain, with ongoing questions regarding what constitutes an appropriate amount and means of community engagement. These contentions are brought further and forward when considering ideas such as authorship, authority and representation of participant voice.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGIES AND FIELDWORK

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I tell the story of my doctoral research process. I articulate what brought me to conduct the study and present a summary timeline of events throughout the research process. This is followed by an overview of the three projects from which I draw my data. Then I present the ethical procedures that were followed, as well as my approach to validity and trustworthiness.

Writing about fieldwork

Fieldwork is filled with emotion, uncertainty, indecision, and overall greyness. This ambiguity evoked in me concerns about my identity and positionality with regards to the research. In writing this dissertation I have asked myself repeatedly: Who am I? Why am I doing this? When did it begin? And, where does it end?

Several theorists have discussed the difficulty of taking these strange, often anxiety provoking and yet still exhilarating experiences and representing them in text. This includes Geertz and Inglis' (2012) discussion of the artistry involved in the representation of the sociological object, and their humbling reminder that while "society doubtless exists independently of the activity of sociologists, sociology does not" (p. 62). This attempt to illustrate the research as a knowledge production process that emerges from fieldwork in a somewhat linear fashion can at times wash over the complexity of what happened 'in the field'. In this process, fieldwork and later 'writing up the results' is understood to be an act of cultural and political construction (Clifford & Marcus, 1986). In addressing this fraught process, I am particularly drawn to the work of Coffey (1999) who discussed the decisions made when writing qualitative research during which we "manipulate, rethink and represent our endeavours, drawing upon our own ideas of what the data are saying" (p. 136). This is, as Finlay (2002) has described it, "a shift in our understanding of data collection from something objective that is accomplished through detached scrutiny of 'what I know and how I know it' to recognizing how we actively construct our knowledge" (p.532). My fieldwork story is no exception when it comes to complexity and the influence of the writing process on my construction of knowledge.

Pre-fieldwork fieldwork

When did my fieldwork start? My doctoral process is somewhat convoluted.It involved many trips back and forth between Canada and South Africa,several differentprojects, and multiple stakeholders. Figure 3.1 summarizes thechronology of my journey through the fieldwork process. As I described briefly in Chapter 1, my first trip to KwaZulu-Natal was for an internship with RTEP.It was during this time that I began thinking about what it means to incorporate participatory visual methods into school contexts with preservice teachers in order to address HIV and AIDS. Over the course of that month I developed relationships with preservice teachers and learners, teachers and administration at two rural schools. These were the types of contacts necessary for school-based research: ones that I did not have in Canada.[37] It seemed like a natural evolution from this experience that I would locate my doctoral research in the international milieu of work in the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) in South Africa where my supervisor, Dr. Claudia Mitchell, was involved with a network of social scientists, public health scholars (already including a number of master's and doctoral students) working with arts-based and visual methodologies to explore youth-focused approaches to addressing HIV and AIDS in rural contexts. This network became an important connection as my research process evolved.

Claudia, along with Naydene de Lange, Relebohile Moletsane and Jean Stuart, established the Centre for Visual Methodologies for Social Change (CVMSC) at UKZN in 2004. The CVMSC strives to support leadership in visual methodologies, support media studies modules in education, and conduct funded research and training on participatory visual methodologies. As the various annual reports describe, the centre grew out of two research grants, one led by Claudia (*Seeing for Ourselves Project*, through the *Competitive Grant* structure of UKZN) and one led by Naydene (*Learning Together Project*, funded by the National Research Foundation). From here, the centre went on to obtain numerous other grants, some led by South African scholars (but including the whole team), from

[37] My master's research did include interviewing one practicing teacher in Quebec, but it focused predominantly on participatory visual HIV and AIDS interventions working in community-based or through academic contexts.

international and national funding bodies.[38] Each of these projects were framed within a strong arts-based and participatory visual format. All of the fieldwork for these studies was based in a rural district of KwaZulu-Natal called Vulindlela. The CVMSC provided a supportive network through which I embarked on my doctoral work.

[38] These include *Youth as Knowledge Producers* (PI: Jean Stuart, funded by NRF), *Every Voice Counts* (PI: Dr. De Lange), *Leaving Data in the Dark* (PI: Naydene de Lange), *Rural Teacher Education Project* (RTEP) (PI: Dr. Balfour). Canadians also lead other CVMSC projects, such as: *Partnerships for Change* (led by Mitchell but funded through PI: Dr. Dillon), *What difference does this make?* (PI: Dr. Mitchell), and *Digital Voices of Rural Teachers in South Africa: Participatory analysis, 'being a teacher in the age of AIDS' and social action* study. (2012-2014) (PI: Dr. Mitchell).

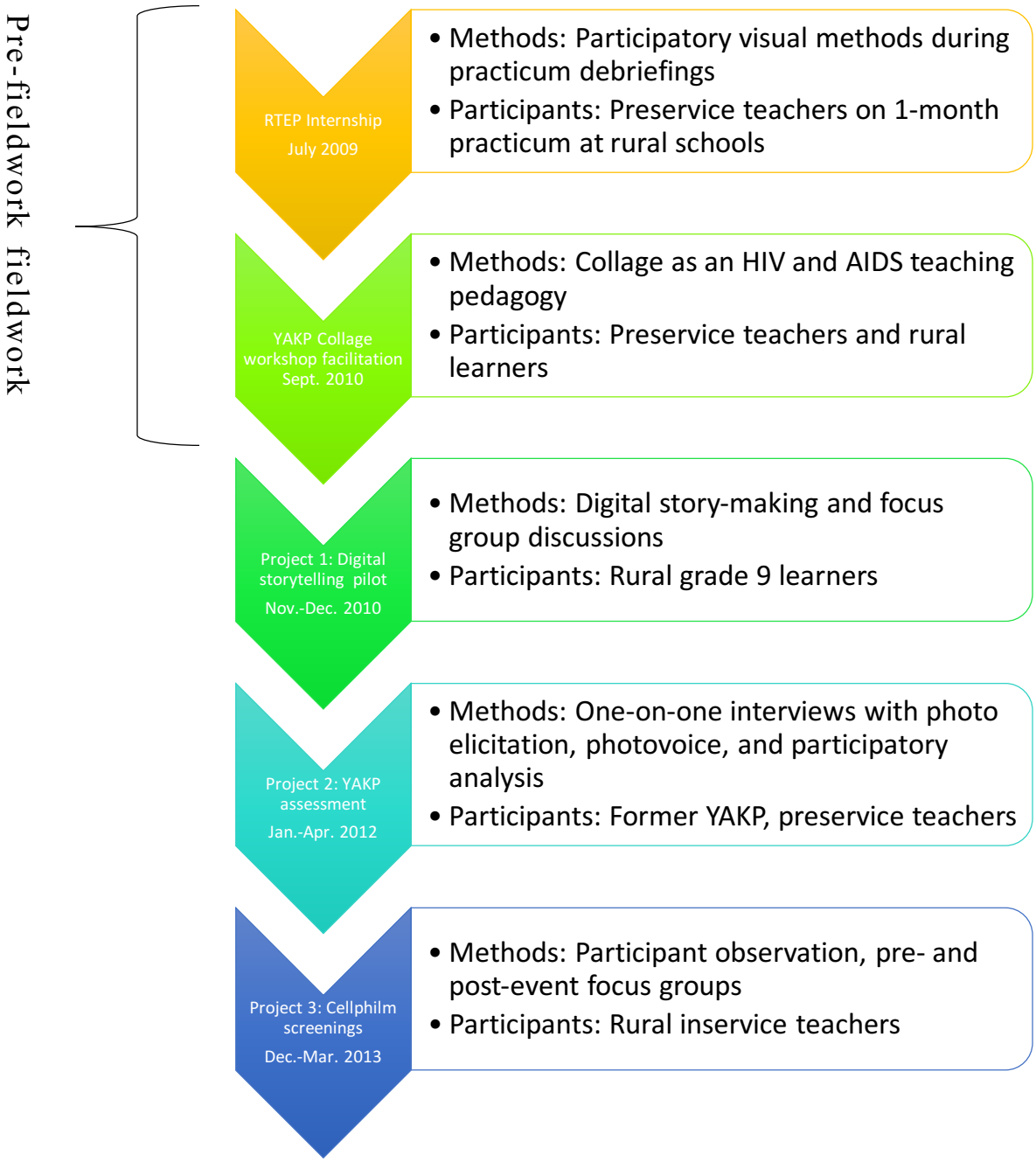

Figure 3.1: Fieldwork timeline

Youth as knowledge producers

Between 2008 and 2010, the CVMSC was associated with the *Youth as Knowledge Producers* project. The project was headed by Jean and overlapped with a portion of a related project called *Every Voice Counts*, headed by Naydene. The concept of 'youth as knowledge producers' draws on the work of Lankshear and Knobel (2006) who refer to young people's visual media productions as representations of cultural knowledge and resources for social change. YAKP had three main goals: (1) to engender a practice of self-study and reflexivity with regards to preservice teachers' approaches to HIV education; (2) to provide training for preservice teachers in participatory arts-based methodologies for HIV education; and (3) to provide opportunities for preservice teachers, as peer educators, to gain practical experience facilitating these methodologies in different educational contexts (CVMSC, 2010).

In 2008, the YAKP research team recruited the participation of 20 HIV peer educators in the Faculty of Education. During the course of one semester the group was trained in collage, drumming, hip hop, forum theatre, photovoice and participatory video as means for reflection and pedagogy. In 2009, the research team organized two opportunities for the participants to test facilitating their own participatory visual workshops. The first opportunity consisted of a counselling education class in the Faculty of Education at UKZN. The second workshop context was organized at a rural high school approximately two hour drive from UKZN. For this component, the preservice teachers worked in pairs to carry out participatory visual workshops with learners. In 2010, I was invited by the research team to conduct collage training with preservice teachers. This was a two-day training and was attended by two of the original participants along with 24 new participants. Five preservice teachers facilitated the workshop attended by 18 learners from two local high schools (Figure3.2). In the week following the workshop, members of the research team, two of the preservice teachers and I returned to the rural area to attend a presentation of the learners' collages during school assemblies and at a community event organized for Worlds AIDS day (MacEntee, 2011b).

Figure 3.2: Introducing the YAKP preservice teachers who co-facilitated the collage workshop in Vulindlela.

Overall, my fieldwork (unofficially and then more formally) in KwaZulu-Natal spanned five years. My second visit to the Vulindlela in May 2010 to facilitate the YAKP collage work was useful in providing me an opportunity to re-engage with members of the CVMSC research team as well as some of the preservice teachers and learners that I had gotten to know during RTEP. However, because I had just completed my first year of the doctoral program at McGill and still had to complete my candidacy papers and research proposal, I consider these workshops unofficial pre-fieldwork.

Drawing on these experiences, I began planning my doctoral research proposal in September 2010. The component of the CVMSC activities that was ongoing at this time and connected directly to my prior experience with YAKP was the *What Difference Does This Make?* Project (PI: Claudia Mitchell). This project focused on producing evidence-based data on the impact of taking an arts-based 'research as intervention' approach to addressing HIV and AIDS with youth (CVMSC, 2010). It was within this project that my study was originally situated. Over the course of my research I was able to interweave several other projects involving faculty members and students at UKZN, as well as teachers and learners from rural schools in Vulindlela into my study. Through this process, my research began to focus more and more on the role of teachers in HIV and AIDS education in schools. In the following section I will summarize my fieldwork process and relate my theoretical approach as it emerged in the study process.

SUMMARY OF FIELDWORK

My initial plan for a doctoral thesis was to develop and assess a framework to investigate the various components and contributions of participatory visual methods to HIV and AIDS educational research. My research proposal, which was presented and later approved by my committee in January 2010, involved working with YAKP researchers, preservice teachers and learners in order to explore the different possible components of participatory visual methods appropriate for assessment in relation to HIV and AIDS education. My proposal, called *Adding art to assessment: The development of an evaluative model for participatory, arts-informed HIV and AIDS interventions*, [39] followed an inductive participatory action research (PAR) framework to identify and analyse the experiences and interpretations of these methods. My intention was to work collaboratively with the research participants to explore and develop an assessment model that responded to the needs and challenges of participatory visual HIV and AIDS education.

However, as my doctoral journey continued, my plan shifted and adapted to the opportunities at hand. My interest in the various components and dynamics of incorporating participatory visual methods in schools blossomed. I ended up conducting three independent studies that focused on the use of participatory visual methods in HIV and AIDS research and intervention. The first explored digital storytelling with rural youth. The second was a two-year follow-up study of YAKP. The third examined rural teachers' use of cellphilms as an educational resource. Detailed portraits of each project are provided in the manuscripts presented in Chapter 4. Here I describe how my research process was shaped by my evolving interests in participatory visual methods in HIV and AIDS education. I summarize the projects by giving an overview of their focus, the methods, the data collected, and theoretical frameworks followed in the analysis of the research data.

Youth and HIV and AIDS in My Community: Digital storytelling workshop with rural youth (November-December 2010), or what I call the Digital Storytelling project for short, was a pilot study. I organized a digital storytelling workshop based on Gubrium's (2009) collaborative digital story-making method (see Chapter 2). The workshop was attended by a group of 11 Grade 9 learners (seven girls and two boys, all 14 years old).

[39] My doctoral research was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship Program, Award # 767-2010-2564.

They produced three digital stories during the course of four days on the topic of youth and HIV and AIDS in their rural community. The participants presented outcomes of the workshop process, alongside a screening of one of the digital stories, at a World AIDS day event organized and attended by local community members.

I gathered three digital stories and transcripts of the group discussions that also took place during the workshop, and I compiled fieldnotes. One digital story made by a group of female participants stood out to me for its depiction of adolescent female sexuality. It is at once a story about female agency during heterosexual activity and a story about being a potential target of sexual coercion and violence. This story generated discussion amongst the participants during the digital storytelling workshop and, in a different way, the organizers of the Worlds AIDS Day event.

In Chapter 4, in the first of the three manuscripts, I present the results of the analysis of the girls' digital story. I offer a portrait of the workshop, the participants and my visual discourse analysis (Rose, 2001) of a digital story made by a group of four girls about sexual activity between two adolescents. My analysis includes reference to group discussions that connected the story to larger questions of condom access and the young people's conception of traditional gender roles. The decision to look closely at one digital story is influenced by Mitchell et al. (2009). They question the type of impact "insider data" (p. 226) produced during this type of youth-centred work can have on participants and the greater community. It is also inspired by Moletsane and Mitchell's (2007) discussion of the single photograph as a "rich entry point…to broader questions of class and gender" (p. 131). The portrait of the digital story represents a key area of study in understanding how participatory visual methods engage and reflect the contributions of girls living in rural areas to the HIV and AIDS response.

Adding Art to Assessment (January-April 2012), or the *YAKP assessment*, was the fieldwork I proposed to my doctoral committee and was a follow-up study on the impact of the YAKP. Over the course of three months, I employed a mix of qualitative and visual methods, including photovoice, photo elicitation, in-depth interviews and photovoice workshops in order to engage former YAKP learners (three boys and four girls), preservice teachers(one man and two women) and members of the researcher team(one man and three women) individually as well as collaboratively in contextualizing their experiences during

YAKP and the impact that the project had on their understandings of pedagogy and HIV and AIDS education.

At the end of this three-month field visit I returned to Montreal with a great deal of data. These included photovoice images, focus group and interview transcripts, photographs documenting the workshop processes and fieldnotes. I explored several different analysis methods attempting to encompass the breadth of this data set, including a process outlined by Dey (1993) based on grounded theory. Another approach I explored was starting with the visual data by following the content analysis described by Rose (2001). Feeling that both of these methods decontextualized the data results, I explored a more holistic interpretation of the data following Connelly and Clandinin's (1988) narrative inquiry. However, while the data that emerged from these interviews offered rich insights on the participants' 'reflection-on-action' during YAKP, the data lacked the 'reflection-in-action' quality that is also required to construct this approach's characteristic narrative unity. Whilst exploring these different analysis processes, two that concentrated on data abstraction and another that took a more holistic approach to data analysis, I was also thinking more broadly about how my doctoral study could bring together and engage with the perspectives of learners, as well as inservice and preservice teachers. The YAKP follow-up project was the only opportunity I had during my study to consult directly with preservice teachers. Looking in depth at the preservice teacher data therefore reflects my intentions in the research study, which was interested in triangulating and weaving together the unique perspectives of the participants to inform my understanding of how participatory visual methods can contribution to HIV and AIDS education.

In Chapter 4, the second manuscript offers a portrait of YAKP assessment results specifically as they relate to the three former YAKP preservice teachers. There has been a small body of literature that focuses on following up with youth involved in participatory visual research interventions on HIV and AIDS (see for example Mitchell, 2014; Walsh, 2012). I build on this work, specifically as it relates to Mitchell's (2014) discussion of 'afterlife' of research as intervention and the significance of time in participants' expressed understandings of past experiences and ideas as they relate to their present and future intended actions. Taking this approach, the portrait outlines the preservice teachers' impressions of YAKP, their understanding of the contributions of participatory visual

methods to HIV and AIDS education, and the challenges of integrating this approach in their subsequent teaching experiences. Through my focus on the preservice teachers, I raise several questions that have broader implications in the area of preservice teacher education in HIV and AIDS education.

My third fieldwork project focused on ***Cellphilm Screenings*** (January–March 2013). This was an unexpected addition to my doctoral process that was made possible by being able to link up with the Digital Voices project which was already in place working with rural teachers and cellphilm production. Having the opportunity to return to the CVMSC as an intern as a result of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council Michael Smith Foreign Study Supplement[40]that is available to Joseph-Armand Bombardier scholarship holders to aid in building international networks and linkages, I was able to explore inservice teachers' experiences of adapting participatory visual methods, specifically cellphilms, into their teaching practice. The participants, a group of nine (one man and eight women) inservice elementary and high school teachers at a rural school in Vulindlela, had created a series of cellphilms prior to my involvement with the project (Mitchell & De Lange, 2013; Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2014). After having been involved in the project for more than a year, the teachers were invited to organize screenings in their communities. It was up to the teachers to choose the context and they participated in a planning workshop where they could consider which audiences they would reach. This allowed me to focus on the community-outreach and dissemination component of this method. Given that all of the teachers chose to screen their cellphilms to learners, it gave me a chance to see how teachers saw their cellphilms as a tool to address HIV and AIDS in the classroom. My focus on screenings responds to previous research which concludes with the need to interrogate the extent of the reflexive processes that follows the production of the visual texts in participatory visual methods (Mitchell et al., 2009). It also references prior work on the role of audiencing in participatory video (Kindon, Hume-Cook, & Woods, 2012; De Lange & Mitchell, 2012).

Teachers worked in three groups to organize three separate cellphilm screening events for young people in their rural school and community. The data collection process

[40]*Canada Graduate Scholarships—Michael Smith Foreign Study Supplement* (ref# 771 2012 0028)

included pre- and post-event focus group interviews with the screening groups to follow the participants' preparation and then reflections on their activities. I also conducted participant observations during the screenings in order to gain a first-hand sense of the events and the audience reactions to the cellphilms. The data that I collected during this fieldwork, the transcripts of the pre- and post-event focus groups along with my participant observation notes, tracked the participants', and my own, interpretations of these cellphilm screening events. I organized the data according to Fiske's (1992) three types of data: primary texts (written summaries of the cellphilms screened during the events); producer texts (photography documenting the screening events, as well as the focus group transcripts); and audience texts (my fieldnotes describing the audience reactions to the teachers' cellphilms). I was particularly interested in several moments during the screening events when the teachers' interactions with their audiences seemed to evoke considerable discomfort in the teachers. I was interested in how the teachers engaged with these moments of discomfort and how it affected the HIV and AIDS education process. I turned to Boler (1999) for a theoretical understanding of teacher discomfort. Boler sees teacher discomfort as an opportunity for generative learning and transformative teacher practice. With this conception of discomfort in mind, I began my analysis by reviewing the transcripts and observation notes for expressions of discomfort. I then wrote a series of narrative reflections of these moments, which explored my subjective interpretation of these events. I presented an early version of this analysis at the American Educational Research Association Annual Conference in Philadelphia in 2014 I later involved my colleague, April Mandrona, as a critical friend (Costa & Kallick, 1993) who has experience conducting research in art education in similar schools in the Vulindlela region. Mandrona reviewed my narratives and the data transcripts, asking critical questions of my analysis, and the process clarified my analysis of these events. In Chapter 4, the third manuscript presents a portrait of these screening events.

About representation and my analytical process

A challenge of this heuristic research process has been finding a way to bring these somewhat separate but interrelated projects together in a way that makes distinct their unique qualities while also highlighting their relationship to one another. To describe my fieldwork process, I draw on Denzin and Lincoln's (1998) concept of bricolage, by which

they mean "a pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation" (p. 4). My strategy in the field can be summed up as a process of working with 'what was on hand' (Lévi-Strauss, 1966). This is illustrated in the differences between the fieldwork projects, the methods explored and the perspectives sought. My pilot study on digital storytelling was self-contained when compared to my later projects that piggy-backed on other researchers' projects. Therefore, 'what was on hand' also refers to taking advantage (in the best possible meaning of the phrase) of the generous research teams who were willing to take me on and give me the freedom to explore their work in such detail. This was a process that was made easier by having my own doctoral funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, although in conducting the research my activities were supported by these other researchers' grants. The bricolage strategy allowed me to respond to emerging understandings overtime and stay linked, even when looking over several years, to the context of the CVMSC and the rural schools in Vulindlela where the research was embedded. A further aspect of bricolage is the idea of bringing together, which began during the analysis of the data and became a significant aspect of the work involved with the preparation of the thesis itself.

To think about how best to represent these 'piecings together' I was drawn to the metaphor of portraits to refer to the separate contributions emerging from the individual projects that I conducted over the course of my study. Portraiture, defined from a fine arts perspective by West (2004), consists of three factors:

> First of all, portraits can be placed on a continuum between the specificity of likeness and the generality of type, showing specific and distinctive aspects of the sitter as well as the more generic qualities valued in the sitter's social milieu. Secondly, all portraits represent something about the body and face, on the one hand, and the soul, character, or virtues of the sitter, on the other. These first two aspects relate to portraiture as a form of representation, but a third consideration is concerned more with the process of commissioning and production. All portraits involve a series of negotiations—often between the artist and the sitter, but sometimes there is also a patron who is not included in the portrait itself. The impact of these negotiations on the practice of portraiture must also be addressed (p. 22).

Portraits can include a focus on a single individual or a group of individuals with some form of relationship to one another. The idea of portraiture captures something of the aesthetic qualities of participatory visual research. It also brings to mind my approach to the study that is up-close and interested in specific aspects and qualities of the participatory visual methods. The metaphor of artistic portrait carries through to my research process to include an awareness of the relational quality between myself and the different research participants.

The use of the idea of portraiture in qualitative research dates back several decades. In her work with high school students in the early 1980s, Laurence-Lightfoot (2008, 2016) introduces portraiture as a methodological approach that blends the qualities of scientific inquiry with artists' aesthetics in order to create holistic narrative representations of her research subjects. Donmoyer (1993), referencing Laurence-Lightfoot's work, described three characteristics of artistic portraits that he applies to his research on 'at risk' learners: 1) the subject depicted in the portrait is recognizable to the viewers who know him or her; 2) the depiction is not so much a mirror reflection but an interpretive depiction that involves a level of abstraction that helps create the sense of the whole context; and 3) different artists will create different, subjective interpretations of the subject which will always be recognizable but also different from other portraits. While my use of portraits shares many similarities with this previous work (e.g. reference to a variety of qualitative methods, interest in studying educational contexts through the eyes of teachers and learners), I do not use narrative method to describe particular participants in depth. My focus was more on creating up-close descriptions of the research projects from the perspective of small groups of participants.

The concept of portraiture also relates to Geertz's (1973) ethnographic work on 'the particular.' Geertz discusses the value of studying the microscopic as a way of seeing grand-scale phenomenon—such as "Power, Change, Faith, Oppression, Work, Passion, Authority, Beauty, Violence, Love, Prestige" (Geertz, 1973, p. 21)—in relation to their "circumstantiality" (p. 23). Rather than focus on the generalizability of the research findings, Geertz recommends theory "stay rather closer to the ground" (p. 24), and avoid "imaginative abstraction" (p. 24) of the research findings beyond the realistic confines of a particular study. Diving deeply into one area, "previously discovered facts are mobilized,

previously developed concepts used, previously formulated hypotheses tried out" (Geertz, 1973, p. 25) in order to form more "elementary understanding to a supported claim" (p. 25). Likewise, my study concentrates on a contextualized reading of the implications of integrating participatory visual methods in rural school contexts.

Applying the concept of bricolage and portraits in my study involved a two-step analytical process. This strategy is represented in the structure of the thesis. The first step is presented in Chapter 4. It involved a close reading of the individual projects where I explored the research participants' perspectives as they relate, respectively, to the contexts of girlhood and rural communities, teacher education and teaching. My second analytical step is represented in Chapter 5. This was a process that involved considering the portraits side-by-side in order to discuss how the findings and learnings of the individual projects come together to answer my research question. The strength of representing the study using portraits and bricolage was in their ability to illustrate the generative conclusions that emerged from the up-close analysis of separate projects while also allowing me to reflect on some of the bigger-picture questions about what difference participatory visual methods can make to HIV and AIDS education in rural schools. A challenge of this approach, that was perhaps emphasized by following a manuscript-style thesis, is that it limited a representation of the breadth of data that I collected during my fieldwork process.

FIELD SITES

The fieldwork took place in KZN with preservice teachers enrolled in teacher education at UKZN, and with teachers and young people at three rural schools in the Vulindlela sub-district. Descending towards Durban's international airport, after many hours of flying over the African continent, I am always awestruck by the kilometres of golden beaches that line the eastern coastal province. On the drive towards Durban, I pass rolling hills of sugar cane plantations. The dense growth is broken by clusters of informal settlements, walled townships and later the city proper. This landscape changed again as I drove inland towards Vulindlela. Climbing up towards the foothills of the Drakensburg mountain range, the dense treeline that characterises the coastal passage gives way to grassy farmland. As I go further up into the land it becomes more arid and seems to expand away from me towards the equally expansive sky above. The road cuts between grassy hills spotted with

homesteads on one side (Figure 3.3) and dark green pine plantations on the other. These regions are breathtakingly beautiful.

Figure 3.3: On the road to the Vulindlela schools: wintertime in the Foothills.

Demographics of KwaZulu-Natal

KZN is one of nine provinces in South Africa and is situated on the east coast of the country. A total of 92,100 square kilometres, it makes up 7.6% of the country's total landmass (Office of the Premier, 2012). The province shares international borders with Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland and provincial borders with the Free State, Mpumalanga and Eastern Cape provinces. The coastline that I would admire from the plane (and portions of it later on the ground) runs approximately 1,000 kilometres along the Indian Ocean. The most recent publications from Statistics South Africa (2014) reports KZN has the second-largest population (men: 5,102,007; women: 5,592,428) in South Africa, and is home to about one-fifth (19.8%) of the national population. Nearly one-quarter (22.7%) of the provincial inhabitants are younger than 15 years, making it a relatively young population by global standards. The fertility rate has been declining since 2001, and although life expectancy is on the rise, the population remains relatively stable compared to other provinces in South Africa, possibly because employment opportunities are comparatively better than other provinces and thus migration to the province is steady. In 2000, almost half (49%) of the KZN population lived in rural areas and were predominantly (99%) of African[41] background (4,422,030 compared to 5,469 Coloured,

[41] The Apartheid system ordered itself around four racial categories – Black/Native, White, Colored, and Indian. Although Apartheid officially came to an end in 1994, race still matters and infiltrates the rituals and dynamics of everyday life in South Africa (Erwin, 2012). Race, understood to be a social construct,

19,665 Indian/Asian, and 15,881 White). Only 1.1% of the province's rural population compared to 9.4% in urban areas has the internet at home; however, about one-quarter of rural residents and over one-third of urban dwellers have cell (mobile) phones, most of which would have access to the mobile network. The DBE(2015a) reports KZN has the largest educational sector in the country with over 2 million learners (23% of the national total), 96,057 educators (22.6% of the national total), 6,156 schools (23.9% of national total); there is almost 100% enrolment in primary and secondary phases with almost equal gender parity.

Vulindlela

The rural research was conducted in Vulindlela sub-district to the south-west of Pietermaritzburg, the provincial's capital, and situated within the larger uMgungundlovu District Municipality. The district contains peri-urban township areas as well as a large swath of rural countryside. The population decreases as you move away from the capital city to the west leading to the schools where I conducted my research. The schools themselves are a short 5-10-minute drive away from each other. With few trees to block the view, this rural area seemed sprawling, dotted with *Kraals* (traditional Zulu homesteads) made up of a mix of *Roundavels* (traditional wattle and daub circular shaped buildings) and square houses often painted bright turquoise, pink or yellow. Vulindlela was a tribal homeland under apartheid law. This area was embroiled in what some referred to as a civil war (Beall, Mkhize, & Vawda, 2005) between Inkatha and United Democratic Front (UDF) parties (opposing factions in the anti-apartheid movement) in the 1980-1990s, which took a devastating toll on the local population (Mamdani, 2002; Wittenberg, 2003). While violence has subsided now, tension between political parties in the region remains.

Over the course of four years, I noticed increasing signs of urbanization. More houses were being built, with some rather extensive modern houses going up alongside more traditional-looking homesteads. Taxis and buses make the 30 minute drive regularly into Pietermaritzburg from any of the participating schools.It is common for more senior

has been developed into an important indicator for empirical evidence on inequality and quality of life, which both reveals and obscures social inequalities (Friedman & Erasmus, 2008). By drawing on household surveys that use race as an indicator of social division, dispersion and equality, I am suggesting that race is not the only social construct that might affect this state but one of many social categories (e.g. rurality, gender, age) that intersect to shape and be shaped by individuals' daily experiences.

learners to take transport into the urban areas on their own on the weekends. Nationally, about one-fifth (18.5%) of South African households are involved in agricultural production (Statistics South Africa, 2014). This was also the case in the Vulindlela area. Surrounding the school there are few other employment opportunities (MacQueen & Karim, 2007). The Sappi forestry plantations offers some employment in the immediate area and there is also some work to be found in guest houses as cooks, cleaners or gardening staff. There are better prospects in nearby Pietermaritzburg or Durban or further afield in mining or in the economic capital of Johannesburg. As has been found in other research in the area (Chirowodza et al., 2009), many adults were reported to work in urban centres during the week and return to their families at the rural homestead in the weekend. Some participant learners described having dual residence, living in Vulindlela with their mothers or extended family members during the week and travelling into the townships on weekends to live with fathers or other family members. The rural area was described by participants as being a more traditional and wholesome environment for child rearing. The cities were described in contrast as full of temptation, bad examples, violence and danger. More than one third of the KZN population receive social grants (Statistics South Africa, 2014), and many of the rural participants who lived with grandparents and extended family were dependent on government grants to pay the household bills.

School attrition was high. Families living off of old age pensions struggled to pay school fees; poor academic standings held learners back; and family commitments (pregnancy or caring for sick family members) continue to threaten basic educational attainment, especially for girls and young women (Statistics South Africa, 2014). The schools participating in my research had different levels of infrastructure (windows, doors, electricity, running water), and all seemed short of educational resources (books, Information and Communication Technology), which is an observation that others have made (Statistics South Africa, 2014) and blamed for the ongoing difficulties of attracting and retaining teachers in rural areas (Masinire, 2015).

The region is infamously known as the epicentre of the HIV and AIDS epidemic in South Africa. uMgungundlovu District (2015) reported their HIV rates to be over 39% in 2012. The *Centre for the AIDS Programme of Research in South Africa* (CAPRISA) is a few minutes drive away from one of the participating schools. It is a major centre for HIV

and AIDS treatment and research in the Vulindlela district for monitoring and assessing the HIV epidemic in the region. Researchers at CAPRISA report high and steady rates of HIV incidence among young rural women in the region (Abdool Karim et al., 2011). The stigma associated with HIV remains high and influences the low rates of HIV testing (Young et al., 2010), disclosure and use of HIV support networks (Wong et al., 2009). Indeed, recent reports of a downward trend in HIV prevalence across the population more generally stands in contrast with the shockingly high 17% prevalence of HIV infection for young pregnant women under the age of 20 (Kharsany et al., 2015). For comparison, in 2012 the national HIV prevalence rates amongst boys age 15-20 years old was 2.9% (HSRC, 2014). The likelihood of HIV infection amongst young women who engage in sexual relationships (possibly transactional) with men 10 or more years their senior is especially high, to the extent that some researchers working in this region have gone as far as to state that for girls, "HIV acquisition is almost synonymous with sexual debut, which is estimated at around age 16 years" (Kharsany et al., 2015, p. 293).

Reflecting on my situatedeness in the field

In Chapter 1, I explained the origins of my work stemming from my early training as an HIV and AIDS peer educator in Vancouver, my master's research on HIV research in Canada and my South African experience in rural teacher education. My training as a peer educator with Vancouver's *YouthCo AIDS Society* was foundational in the development of my harm reduction, sex-positive, inclusive, youth-centred approach to HIV and AIDS education. As outlined by Marlatt, Larimer, and Witkiewitz (2011), harm reduction is "a set of compassionate and pragmatic approaches for reducing harm associated with high-risk behaviours and improving quality of life" (p. 5). This includes recognizing that people can experience structural barriers to health services (e.g. HIV testing, reproductive health services) based on their age, gender and race (Baggaley, Armstrong, Dodd, Ngoksin, & Krug, 2015). Education on lower-risk sexual strategies, especially in contexts that have high rates of gender-based and intimate partner violence, helps people negotiate these barriers and enact some control on their lives (Decker et al., 2014). A sex positive approach builds further on these ideas by recognizing diversities in sexuality and sexual behaviour (Williams, Prior, & Wegner, 2013) and the importance of individuals' right to consensual sexual exploration and development (Aggleton, de Wit, Myers, & Du Mont, 2014). The

likelihood that harm reduction strategies and sex positive approaches will succeed is based on a youth-centred and community-based paradigm, in which communities of young people are able to actively engage in identifying and addressing their needs in ways that encourage ownership and sustainability to outcomes (Berglas, Constantine, & Ozer, 2014). Since pursing my doctoral training, I have learnt a lot about qualitative and participatory visual methods, but it is this background in harm-reduction, sex-positive and youth-centred perspectives that I find myself referring to the most when working with participants in workshop settings and facilitating participatory visual methods in schools.

Situating myself in the South African context is a second area of discussion, which I already began in the introduction of this chapter. Over several years of travelling back and forth between Durban and Montreal I became familiar with aspects of South African culture, attended cultural events, immersed myself in the daily life of schools, and travelled to different cities and towns around the country. Throughout these experiences I learnt many things about South Africa. I learnt about traditional Zulu marriage practices, and about the nature of teacher-student interactions in the classroom. I also learnt some practical skills, like how to drive on the left hand side of the road. The visual research process often created a sense of intimacy between the participants and I as we worked to create and work with their visual texts. But throughout these experiences, indeed perhaps as reflected in these experiences, was my liminal presence in these communities and the nuances of everyday life that I was always looking to decipher as I moved through a world that was not my own.

The dichotomous theory of an insider/outsider research and the surrounding debate over the strengths and benefits of these positions in knowledge construction and power relations is widely acknowledged to obscure the shifting and flexible nature of identities. As a researcher, I never felt I was really an ‘insider’ of the university and rural schools around which this research revolves. Nor did I feel like my ‘outsider’ status provided me with an objective position from which to make observations and claims. I felt my positionality shift along a continuum between social insider and social outsider during fieldwork and in relation to the research participants (Hellawell, 2006). I could actively shift along this continuum, which denotes my power in the relationship with participants during the research process. I would sometimes claim a position as an ‘outsider’ during my

research so that I could more easily probe for additional information during interviews and focus groups (Merriam et al., 2001). Situating myself as outsider like this helped disrupt a temptation in myself to assume understanding of participants' statements. This would also act to assert the participants' position as knowledge expert. More ambiguously, during participant recruitment with learners, my outsider status garnered interest in the research; people were interested to see who this Canadian woman was and what she was doing. It also may have acted as a barrier for some to participate. My inability to speak the local language made communication difficult at times, especially with younger learners who had less English training. Without a teaching degree, I sometimes felt excluded from conversations amongst teachers about the practice of teaching in a school. Although my master's degree is in education and my doctoral studies have given me a basic understanding of some educational theory, I lack knowledge of what Connelly and Clandinin (1984) describe as the rhythms and cycles that make up the everydayness of teaching. Therefore, I was an 'outsider' in different ways in the research and would at times use this status to my benefit while at other times it limited my connection with participants.

Interwoven throughout these research situations are an array of senior scholars and doctoral students with similar interests also working on one or more components of the major research themes of the CVMSC. The network of friends and colleagues that I met during my internship has been maintained and developed over the years. This also meant that my relationships with some participants were complex. Having my doctoral supervisor as a participant in the YAKP assessment is perhaps the most obvious example of this complexity. I found the personal relationship I had with some participants challenging at times during interviews. During all my interactions with participants I strived for collaboration. In managing my relationships with different participants, I drew on feminist reflexive methodology. This is a critical perspective on the relations of power that take place during the research process (England, 1994; Pillow, 2003). As an example of the complex ways that friendship, research relationship, and this idea of 'insider knowledge' intersected during my interactions with participants, I look to an excerpt from the first couple of minutes of my interview with David, a former YAKP preservice teacher participant. I met David on my first visit to Durban and we were friends. David had also been very generous with his time during my previous stays at UKZN, bringing me to

downtown shopping and showing me some of the sites. When I interviewed David for the first time during the YAKP research the beginning of the interview was a process of establishing a new aspect of our relationship:

> K: Ok, um… (Katie shuffles paper of interview guide in preparation for the first questions).
> D: You like to get straight forward answer so you don't have a lot of, ah, what's that called?
> K: Um fodder? Oh, transcribing!
> D: Yeah, I can try to give you straight forward answers.
> K: No. Answer however you need to answer. I'm happy with, I'm find with transcribing. I actually get really into it.
> D: [Talking over Katie] It's the hardest work.
> K: What's the hardest work?
> D: Transcribing
> K: It's time consuming, that's for sure.
> K: It's laborious and draining.
> K: I don't find it that draining, actually. I don't. I find it, like, pretty…I get really into it.
> D: You can get lots of opportunities out of it at the university if you like it.
> K: Well, I don't know if I would want to do it for other people (p. 3).

The excerpt illustrates a jockeying for position by David and me in our new roles as researcher and informant. David proposes making his answers concise as he wants to make the transcription process easier on me—a gesture of friendship as well as an indication that he also has experience in 'my' position as a researcher. As I attempt to encourage David to answer in any way he feels most comfortable, there is also a sense that I am trying to establish myself as someone who 'knows what she is doing,' even if I am someone lost in my papers trying to find the first question in my interview guide. There is tension as we assert our individual feelings about transcription, which effectively ends when David finds the limit to my professed enjoyment of transcribing with an offer of work on campus (again, somewhere he knows more about than me). After this, I asked David a question about YAKP and the tension seems to dissipate. We settle, tentatively, into an interview process that for the most part involved me asking questions and David providing sometimes lengthy answers. This interaction helps illustrate the relational quality of interviews (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001). It represents some of the power negotiations, which were mediated by established ways of being together as well as differences in gender, age, race, educational background, and nationality, that took place during the research process and shaped the

types of narratives that resulted from these interactions (Van Schalkwyk & Gobodo-Madikizela, 2015). It also gives a glimpse of my position of privilege as the researcher able to dictate the research process, questions, participatory activities and the representation of the research (Nygreen, 2009).

ETHICAL PROCEDURES

Each of the projects obtained its own approval from the McGill University Research Ethics Board. As discussed in Chapter 2, much has been written on the ethical issues associated with participatory visual research, especially studies involving young people (Leach, 2006; Mitchell, 2011a). In this section I will focus on issues of anonymity, although I recognize that ethics, and especially visual ethics and issues of ownership and consent, are also important areas that intersect and overlap in diverse ways in these types of projects. I draw attention to anonymity issues in relation to participant-produced visual text because there is some risk associated with being identified as a research subject, especially when referring to research on such contentious and potentially socially ostracizing topics like GBV, HIV and AIDS (Stuart, 2006).

During the initial consent process, the participants were made aware of the potential risks involved with participating in the project. Appendix A shows an example of the written consent process used during the Digital Story workshop with learners. The consent forms were translated into isiZulu and reviewed orally in English with the learners. Issues of consent were elaborated on so that participants were aware of what they were agreeing to. This included identifying that complete anonymity was not guaranteed during the visual research and, even though none of the participants were asked to disclose their HIV status during the research, there was a risk that being associated with HIV and AIDS by participating in the project might result in community backlash. Individuals indicated whether or not they agreed to have their images (potentially) displayed for publication purposes. They also could indicate if they wanted a pseudonym used in relation to any images that they produced and in relation to any quotations of what they might say during the research process. Therefore, there was a fairly extensive discussion of the issue of anonymity before the participants indicated whether they wished to volunteer for the projects.

These issues were taken up again when participants were involved in producing visual texts during the study. After the cameras were distributed to the participants during the digital storytelling project there was a discussion of various strategies that could be used if a participant wanted to avoid being photographed (e.g. volunteer to take the picture, avoid photographing identifiable features like faces). They were reminded at this point that the images would be displayed publicly. This was an opportunity for the participants to reassess whether or not they were comfortable displaying their work outside the research contexts. At no point were the participants allowed to take photographs of individuals not involved directly in the research. Any images that included non-participants were excluded from analysis and public dissemination.

The participants in the different projects used a variety of strategies to either actively anonymize or publicise their participation in the research. Some participants decided to keep their faces hidden in their photovoice images, for example, by turning their back to the camera (Figure 3.4). Others took pictures of objects, or pictures of other pictures or artwork on display (Figure 3.5). On the other hand, some participants chose to actin front of the camera different characters in ways that clearly identified them on film. Sometimes this involved someone playing the role of an HIV positive young person and someone else playing a community member perpetrating HIV stigma (Figure 3.6).

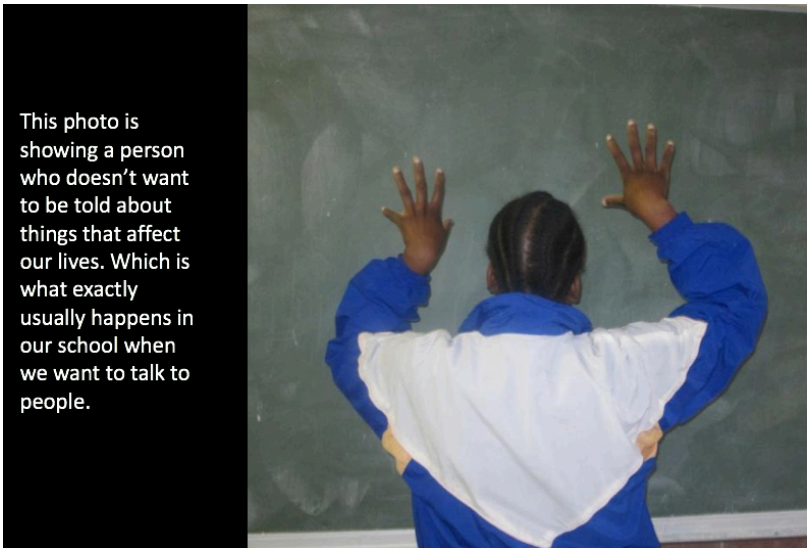

Figure 3.4: YAKP learner photovoice avoiding faces.

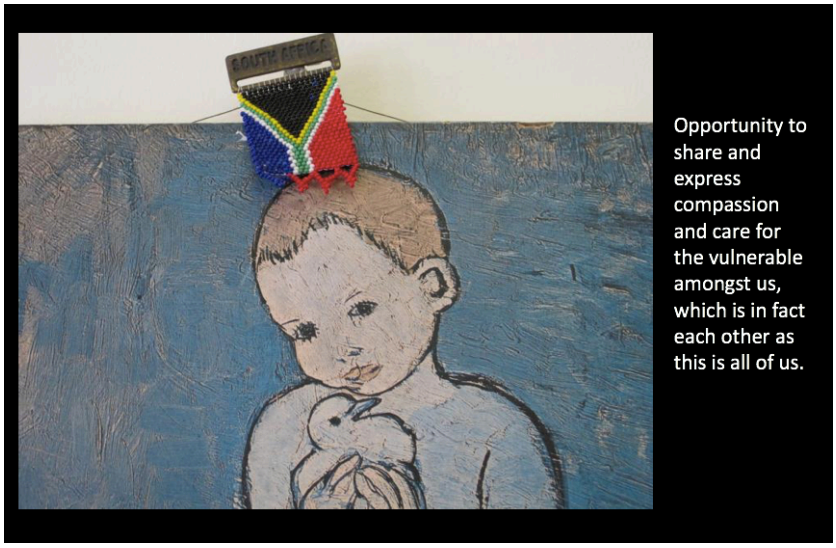

Figure 3.5: YAKP photovoice using artwork and object.

Figure 3.6: Digital story depicting an HIV+ learner being shamed by her peers.

It is not clear how much risk of AIDS stigma the participants perceived in being photographed, and there are numerous other reasons why a person might not want their picture taken (e.g. body consciousness). It would seem, given that many of the participants did take pictures of themselves, that they felt the risk was minimal. It is also possible that some participants actively chose to be identified in their photograph as a political statement, speaking out against AIDS stigma in the community. With anonymity being of critical concern in the literature on visual research, it is surprising that there is so little written about how participants negotiate this risk during the participatory visual process.

The participants that I worked with seemed quite capable of using a range of creative methods to negotiate the visual process in such a way as to participate in the activity.

VALIDITY AND TRUSTWORTHINESS

Validity and trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry is a tenuous subject. Denzin and Giardina (2008) argued "the tensions over the politics of evidence within [one's] interpretive community, itself" is treacherous (p. 13). In the literature on HIV and AIDS programming, quasi-experimental and quantifiable changes in behaviour are viewed as the most reliable and trustworthy marker for program assessments (Gallant & Maticka-Tyndale, 2004). In contrast, in the arts-informed literature, the term 'validity' has on many accounts been dismissed in exchange for notions of trustworthiness, persuasiveness, authenticity and plausibility (Barone, 2003; Butler-Kisber, 2010). As an educational researcher using participatory visual methodologies working within the realm of HIV education, where do I to stand? My doctoral research is positioned firmly within the qualitative realm. My use of participatory visual methods, in particular, pulls me towards an understanding of truth that is flexible and multiple and validity is seen as subjective and fluid. In this section I discuss my approach to validity and trustworthiness in my data analysis and representation.

Triangulation: The pragmatic approach to trustworthiness described by Patton (1999) relies on a data collection process with multiple data sources and data analysis techniques in order to triangulate the research results in a way that confirms the coherence and consistency of findings. Lather (1986) presented a more encompassing definition situated within a post-positivist qualitative framework, which includes not only multiple data sources, methods, but also theoretical schemes. In my doctoral study multiple data sources are evident in the different project portraits involved. Rural learners were the active data source of the digital storytelling project and their reactions are also integrated into the participant observations during the cellphilm screening project. The perspectives of preservice teachers are the focus on the YAKP follow-up study. Inservice teachers are the central data source in the cellphilm screening study. There were several methods that came together to engage these different perspectives and provide multiple means through which the participants could explore and express their ideas on participatory visual methods.

These included the use of one-on-one interviews, photo elicitation, focus groups and participant observation. Participatory visual methods present an overarching framework of study and the portraits triangulate different theories of analysis. This includes Rose's (2001) Framework of Critical Visual Methodologies, Fiske's (1982) conception of interpretive visual analysis and Boler's (1999) Theory of Discomfort in teaching and education. In Chapter 5, I describe this process of triangulation in the bringing together of portraits in order to explore and answer the research questions.

Authenticity: My understanding of authenticity is derived from Butler-Kisber (2010), who writes, "authenticity and plausibility are increased when explanations are clearly grounded in the field texts, the voices of the participants are present in the work, and the research reveals and analyses discrepant 'cases' or instances" (p. 15). Authenticity and plausibility in the research process and outcomes is supported by my frequent integration of participant quotations, word-for-word from the transcripts of interviews and focus groups. The representation of participants' visual products also contributes to the projects' sense of authenticity. The participants' visual texts have been incorporated in several sections of the thesis to help represent the authenticity of my interpretation of the participants' contributions. In the portrait of the digital storytelling work, the girls' digital story images are integrated into the manuscript, are the fulcrum around which my analysis of the research data revolves, and are interpreted in reference to the literature on gender and HIV and AIDS prevention. In the portrait of the cellphilm screening events, I use a narrative description of the teachers' cellphilms to flesh out my interpretation of the cellphilm screenings and the stimuli for the screening discussion. Using reflexive writing in the portrait of the cellphilm work also contributes to a holistic sense of the events. In this sense, the authenticity of the research process is not situated in an objective representation of the participants' visual and verbal contributions but in a situated representation of the research process in which participants and I were, together, constructing meanings about the implications of participatory visual methods for HIV and AIDS education.

Critical friends: A third strategy that supports the authenticity of my doctoral research was the use of critical friends (Costa & Kallick, 1993), or what Creswell and Miller (2000) called peer debriefing of aspects of my research. Lukas Labacher, who was

co-facilitator in the digital story workshop, was consulted in my analysis of digital story workshop data. Present during the workshop, Lukas' consultation verified my depiction of the workshop process and concurred with my interpretation of the participants' assessment photographs. Reporting on the findings of Project 3, April Mandrona is acknowledged for her role as critical friend and second author to Manuscript 3, *From discomfort to collaboration: Teachers screening cellphilms in a rural South African school*. April also conducted her doctoral research in Vulindlela (Mandrona, 2014). Familiar with the rural school context and participatory visual methods, April was able to critically assess my analysis of the participant observation data and lend insight to my discussion of these findings.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I presented "a pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 4) as well as a summary of my fieldwork, which involved working on three distinct projects. I described my bringing together of these projects together through a methodological process that draws on Denzin and Lincoln (2000)of *bricolage* and by using the metaphor of portraits. In this chapter I also presented a description of KwaZulu-Natal and Vulindlela, where the research took place. I summarized the studies' ethical procedures and I discussed the various steps I took to contribute to the validity and trustworthiness of the results.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS — THREE PORTRAITS

In this chapter I will present three manuscripts or portraits that, together, represent my research findings. Each paper refers in succession to one of the three fieldwork projects summarized in Chapter 3. In other words, I will present the papers in chronological order in reference to when the data was collected. Manuscript1 reports on my findings of the *Digital Storytelling* project. Manuscript 2discusses the findings of the *YAKP assessment*. Manuscript 3 discusses the findings of the *Cellphilm Screening* project. While not wanting to complicate matters, I feel it necessary to note that the manuscripts were not written in the order that they are presented (writing order: Manuscript 1, Manuscript 3, Manuscript 2). A meticulous reader would identify this in my bibliography, which draws on the most current global monitoring data available at the time of writing. Presenting the data in chronological order in reference to the fieldwork highlights the studies' emergent design and illustrates how one project led to the development of the next and then the next.

OVERVIEW OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AS PUBLICATION

In this section I will provide a brief overview of the manuscripts. This focuses on my writing process, which was influenced by both external and internal factors.

Manuscript 1 reports on the digital storytelling workshop, *Youth and HIV and AIDS in my Community*, that was conducted with Grade 9 learners in Vulindlela and co-facilitated by my colleague Lukas Labacher. The earliest version of this paper was prepared for the *Girlhood Symposium and the Politics of Place* held at McGill University in October 2012. The symposium's focus on girlhoodwas an opportunity for me to present an analysis of the Girl Group's provocative digital storyas it relates to the workshop theme on learning about youth understandings of HIV and AIDS in their rural community. This paper was developed from a presentation into a chapter in 2013 for Mitchell and Rentschler's(2016) edited volume, *Girlhood and the politics of place*. This manuscript is included in the thesis because it illustrates how a group of girls can work collaboratively with participatory visual methods to relate a particular understanding of the intersecting values of HIV and AIDS education and cultural constructions of appropriate sexual health behaviour for young

people. It also takes up the potential of this visual production process for community outreach.

Manuscript 2 reports on some of the findings of the YAKP assessment. The article, *Two years later: Preservice teachers' experiences of learning to use participatory visual methods to address the South African AIDS epidemic*, wasprepared in response to a general call for submissions to the South African-based publication *Journal for Educational Research for Social Change*. In September of this year,the article was accepted for publication. I include this article because it focuses on the perspectives of preservice teachers andpresents an analysis of the participants' reflections on their teacher education experiences in participatory visual methods within the context of the UKZNteacher education program and in reference to a rural workshop in the Vulindlela area.

Manuscript 3 reports on three screening events arranged by a group of inservice teachers to screen cellphilms that they had previously created as part of an existing research project. Earlier versions of this article were presented in 2013 at the *Comparative International Education Conference* (CIES) in Washington, and then the *American Educational Research Association* (AERA) in Philadelphia. The final version of the article, *From discomfort to collaboration: Teachers screening cellphilms in a rural South African School*, was co-written with my colleague Dr. Mandrona and was published in 2016 in a themed issue on participatory visual methods for the journal *Perspectives in Education*. The article outlines some of the contextual and personal challenges that teachers may have to negotiate when integrating participatory visual methods into their teaching.

MANUSCRIPT 1: GIRLS, CONDOMS, TRADITION AND ABSTINENCE: MAKING SENSE OF HIV PREVENTION DISCOURSES IN RURAL SOUTH AFRICA

HIV AND GIRLS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, 5.1 million people are living with HIV and AIDS (UNAIDS, 2012); an estimated 2.1 million are adolescents (between the ages of ten and nineteen years), and adolescent women make up 60% of this cohort (Kasedde et al., 2013). There is a critical need to address the reasons why women under the age of twenty in South African contexts are eight times more likely than their male counterparts to contract HIV (Abdool Karim, 2013). Factors that contribute to girls' increased risk are gender-based violence and sexual coercion; poverty; a tendency for young women to have older, sexually experienced male partners; the gendered inequality of sexual relationships, which makes it difficult for women to choose safer sex practices; the susceptibility of younger female bodies to HIV infection; and low risk perception (Kasedde et al., 2013; Mavedzenge, et al., 2011). Statistical reports illustrating the extent of the HIV epidemic among young South Africans are important. However, qualitative research has identified that "[i]t is through more nuanced micro-level research, in particular, that we can start to deconstruct the categorical gender variable used in quantitative research and open up a dynamic theoretical and social space to engage with the construction of gender and sexual identities…[with] the potential to inform us how the HIV/AIDS pandemic in South Africa has been conspicuously gendered" (Reddy & Dunne, 2007, p. 161). Recognizing the disproportionate effects of HIV on girls and young women points to the need to better understand why and how this is happening in different contexts.

THE STUDY

In 2010 I worked with a group of Grade 8 high school students (nine girls and two boys, all fourteen years old) in a rural district of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.[42] We used digital

[42] Ethical approval was obtained from the McGill University Research Ethics Board. In accordance with local protocol, further approval was obtained from the school principal. The principal identified a cohort of Grade 8 learners as potential participants, and these individuals were invited to attend a short presentation during which I introduced the research project and myself. Interested youth were given parental/guardian information and consent forms in isiZulu to have signed as a prerequisite to participating in the research. All participation was voluntary, and disclosure of HIV status was not a requirement of participation.

story-making to explore how young people understood HIV and AIDS. In this chapter I focus on one of the three digital stories made during the research intervention, and present it, along with its images, text and some of the points that arose out of the focus group discussion I had with the participants about the story. What makes this digital story unique is its representation of girls' sexuality, their responses to the risk of contracting HIV and how they feel about HIV prevention. I begin my reflection on this story by presenting the research context, describing the digital story workshop and the methodology I employed as well as outlining my method of analysis. Along with the reproduced images of the story, I provide an account of the story itself and discussion of the key themes that emerged from the story and of the visual data with the research participants. Through this analysis I then present, with some discussion, the participants' construction of adolescent female sexual desire and the complexities of how these young people interpret and make sense of HIV prevention practices in their rural context. The findings presented here raise issues associated with the complexities of HIV education and prevention, and the need to work continually with young people to ensure that prevention methods are synchronized to take into consideration the crucially significant specifics of place, beliefs and understandings.

METHODOLOGY

Context

I conducted my field research at a Vulindlela district public secondary school. This region is approximately 150 kilometres from Durban and 20 kilometres from Pietermaritzburg (the provincial capital) and has a population of around 400,000. The Vulindlela region is highly affected by HIV and AIDS and has high unemployment and low per capita income (MacQueen & Karim, 2007). HIV and AIDS as a social problem in this district has been widely documented from epidemiological and public health perspectives (see, e.g., MacQueen & Karim, 2007; Young et al., 2010). Many of the households in the area depend on government grants for survival. Despite economic struggle, school enrollment is high, which suggests that, in theory, children and youth growing up in Vulindlela have access to basic education (Mitchell et al., 2005)and are exposed to the South Africa Department of Education Life Orientation curriculum, which covers HIV prevention and awareness as

well as dispensing information about sexual health practices from public media campaigns (Pettifor et al., 2005).

Workshop synopsis

In consultation with my participants, I organized three 3-hour workshops held during school hours. I co-facilitated the workshops with my colleague, Lukas Labacher, another Canadian. We both have extensive experience conducting HIV and AIDS prevention programs for youth using a variety of participatory and arts-based methodologies. Participants worked in three single-sex groups (as decided by the participants) to create one digital story per group. All the participants agreed to make their digital stories available for research analysis and presentation. The digital story-making process is discussed below. Alongside the digital story process, during the workshop I presented information about HIV transmission, condom use and living with HIV and AIDS through lecture-format presentations, condom demonstrations and group discussions with the participants.

Digital story-making process

A community-based participatory visual research methodology, digital story-making strives to be participant-centred and promote community-based dialogue and solutions to social and public health issues (Gubrium, 2009). The visual method allows for participants to explore the research themes using a range of verbal, artistic and embodied modalities. The method and prompt used for this project strived to be malleable and open to interpretation by the participants, in order for them to express their opinions and vision about the relationship of HIV and AIDS to their everyday lives. The prompt 'Youth and HIV in my Community' was presented to the participants to help guide their digital stories and promote critical reflection on how youth understand themselves in relation to HIV and to their community.

Following workshop instructions, the participants brainstormed themes, topics and ideas they associated with the prompt. The groups then decided on a general story idea and developed the idea in a visual storyboard format (Labacher, Mitchell, De Lange, Moletsane, & Geldenhuys, 2012). The digital story I focus on here was produced by the Girl Group.[43] The story is titled "The People's Who Does Not Wear Condom get

[43] This was the group name the participants chose.

HIV/AIDS" and is composed of six images. The other two groups involved in the research re-enacted their storyboard sketches and took photos of themselves role-playing the different characters in their stories focusing on the need to address HIV stigma in their community. The Girl Group decided to take photos of their storyboard drawings and use these as the main images in the telling of their story. Their story is distinct in its portrayal of youth sexual activity and HIV prevention and for its graphic depiction of young people engaged in sexual activity. Using Microsoft PowerPoint, the researchers helped the group members to transfer each image into a presentation slide that was overlaid with a short caption that helped describe each drawing. The girls used a voiceover recording of the caption for each slide. The completed story was presented on a laptop to the larger workshop group, and it, along with the other stories that were presented, was discussed. The researchers and participants questioned the group members so as to learn more about what they were trying to convey in their digital stories. This discussion was audio recorded and later transcribed. Conducting a close reading of the Girl Group digital story and the audio recordings of the discussion about it offers a unique opportunity to see how a group of girls represents sexual activity and what they deem important to tell in a story about youth and HIV in the rural Zulu community.

Method of analysis

I used Rose's (2001) visual methodology framework, *Discourse Analysis I*, to analyze the images, text and participant discussions in relation to this digital story. This methodology centres on the idea that discourse is articulated through a variety of images and verbally based texts. Hinging on the work of Foucault, Rose's method defines discourse as "a group of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act based on that thinking" (p. 136). Rose emphasizes the way discourses are endowed with power, construct particular aspects of the social world and are meant to be persuasive. While persuasive, they are also often naturalized or taken for granted and invisible. In an effort to identify the discourses at work in the digital story, I looked at the images, text and related recorded focus group discussion with what Rose calls "fresh eyes" (p. 150). Attempting to set preconceptions aside, I scrutinized the material for ideas and representations that had been missed or overlooked. Following this step, I grouped quotations and aspects of the images thematically, identifying recurring ideas and descriptions across the different data sets

(visual, text, and discussion transcripts). I then reviewed the material, and the themes adapted with each revision, allowing new connections and ideas to come to light. Keeping in mind the work of discourse to persuade, I also critiqued how the girls used and described their story to articulate claims of truth or natural fact. Finally, I considered the data in terms of what might be missing or absent.

THE DIGITAL STORY

In this section I present a close reading of "The People's Who Does Not Wear Condom get HIV/AIDS" (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Working in a participatory manner, the Girl Group took the pictures included in their digital story. The students were somewhat unfamiliar with operating digital cameras, and some of the images in the story are rather unclear. So I provide a description of the six images to help clarify the difficult-to-reproduce pictures. Nevertheless, I think it is important to include the original version of the story to reflect the realities of using this methodology and because, even with a few blurry pictures, the Girl Group was successful in producing a powerful and informative text.

The first image is the only photograph of a girl and a boy with arms linked behind their backs, and the caption reads, "We are talking."[44] The boy and girl stand with their backs against a brown painted wall covered with graffiti. There is a large square-shaped hole in the wall where it is presumed a light switch used to be. The boy is pulling a face, stretching his neck towards the camera with a big smile. The girl appears more reserved, standing straight, shoulders back, also facing the camera. Her lips are turned up into a demure smile. This is the only photographic image in the story and helps display the general state of the rural school. The graffiti and the missing electrical unit suggest a level of poverty or neglect of the school surroundings.

The second image is a black-and-white pencil outline of a boy and girl on a white background. The girl, wearing a dress, is pictured face-on; the boy, in profile, with puckered lips, is turned toward the image of the girl. He is wearing shorts and a shirt. Each

[44] The girl pictured in the first image is one of the Girl Group members, and the boy is one of two male research participants. All participants and their parents signed consent forms allowing themselves to be photographed and for the photographs to be used for research purposes and in research publications.

has an arm wrapped over the other's shoulder. The caption for this image reads: "They are touching each other."

The third image is out of focus, but one can still make out the pencil drawing of two faces—the boy and girl, this time both in profile with their lips pressed together in a kiss. Both characters still have an arm wrapped around the other's shoulder. Short and to the point, the caption reads: "They are kissing."

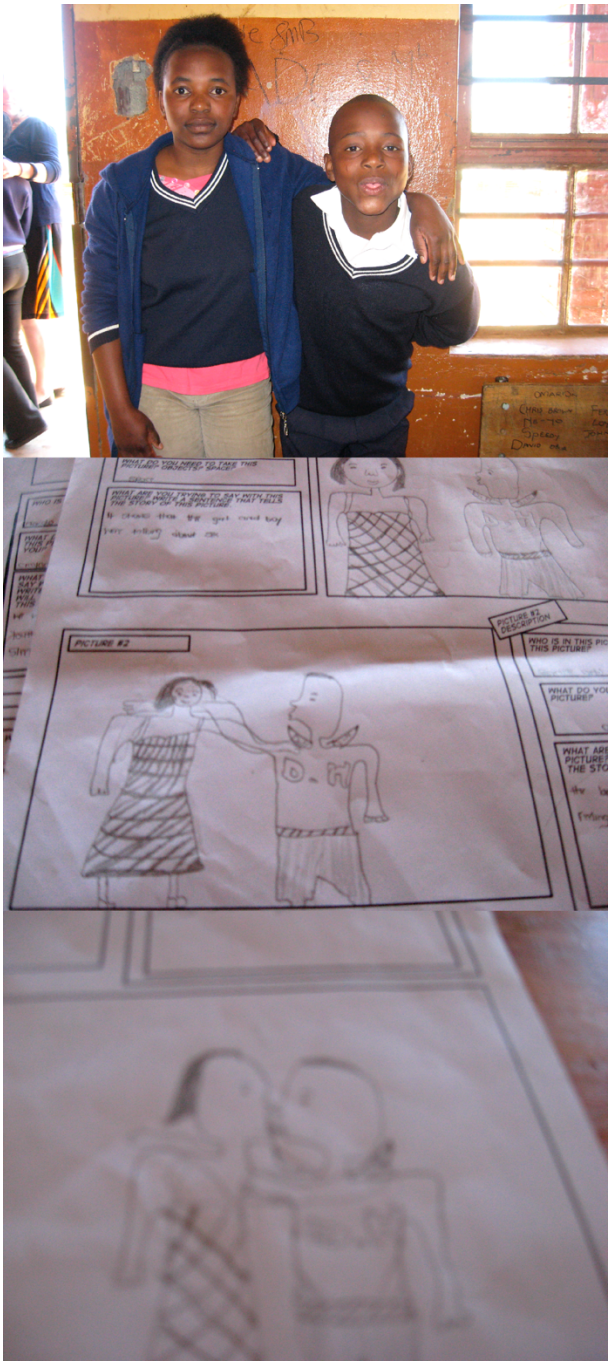

Figure 4.1: Girl Group Digital story images 1, 2 and 3.

The fourth image is more abstract; the figures stand not fully drawn but are, rather, just two heads, thin necks, and a widening mass of what are presumably their bodies vaguely sketched in. They stand close and are looking at each other. Extending from the two bodies are long arms. The girl's arm loops around the boy's body in an embrace, and

the boy's arm snakes in front of the girl, across the page, and ends at the outline of the girl's dress and boy's shirt and shorts. The caption reads: "Clothes are off."

The fifth image shows the girl naked and lying on a couch or a bed. The boy is not drawn, and the change in perspective from the previous images suggests the viewer is seeing through the eyes of the boy looking down at the girl from above. Her left leg is slightly bent, while her right leg extends straight and at a slight angle away from her body. The result is a clearly displayed vagina. There is shading around the vagina, which looks like pubic hair, and in between the hair an X is drawn.[45] Two U-shaped breasts with nipples are also clearly visible, as well as some hair under her arms. Her dark hair frames her face, her eyes are open, and her lips are drawn with a prominent divot/procheilon at the top centre. The caption reads: "The girl is waiting for a boy."

The final image of the story shows the girl and boy both standing naked. Despite the clearly drawn vagina and penis, the artist(s) have written labels ("boy" and "girl") beside the characters. The boy and the girl are looking at each other. The boy is saying to the girl: "Why are you saying no, you said you were going to sleep with me." The girl's right arm is extended and pointing at the boy and she is saying: "You said you had a condom but you don't. I won't have sex with you without a condom." The caption at the bottom of the image reads: "The girl is shouting at the boy." This is the end of the digital story.

[45] During discussions with the participants, the meaning of the X was unclear. The participants were unable to explain whether this X marks the entrance to the vagina or whether it represents some kind of barrier (either artificial or the hymen).

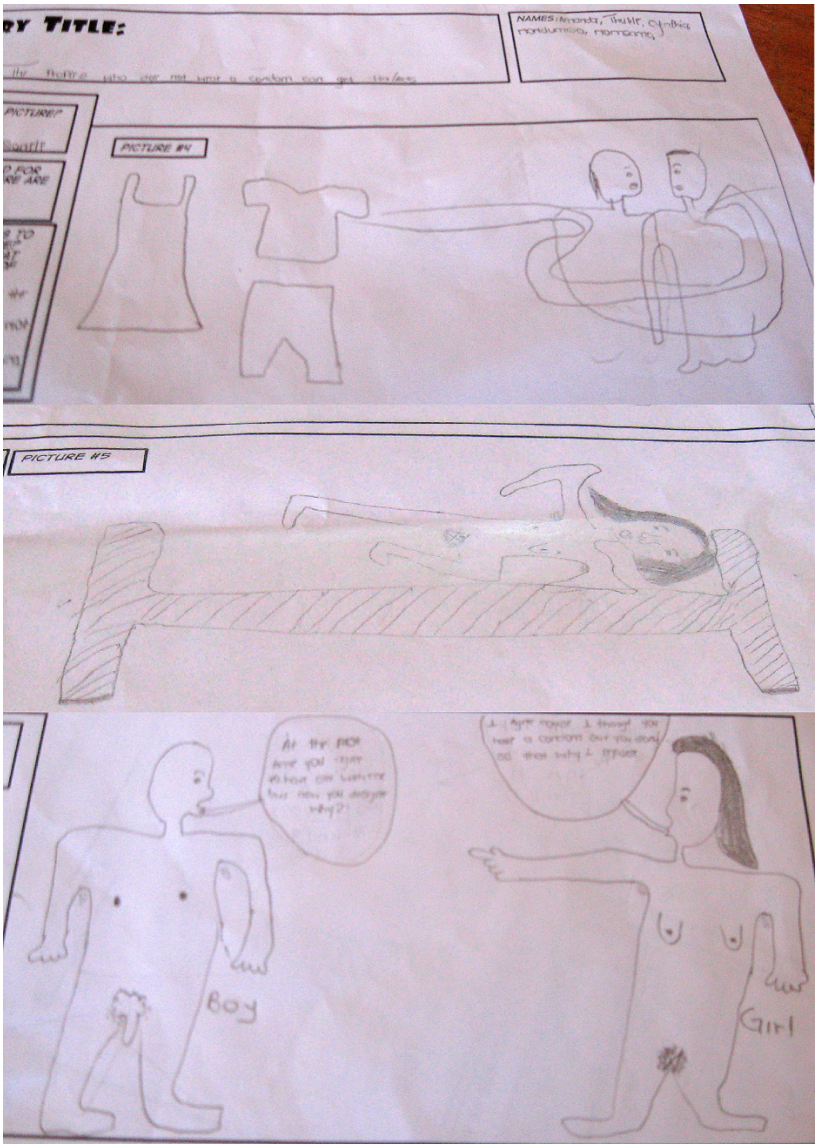

Figure 4.2: Girl Group Digital story images 4, 5 and 6.

REFLECTING ON MY ROLE

Since the participatory aspect of the digital story-making asks participants to reflect on their understandings of sexual health, condoms and gender roles in their community, it is also necessary that I reflect on my role in the research process before I present my analysis. Shefer and Strebel (2012) remind us that as researchers working on gender and sexuality we need to interrogate our own gendered constructions and address how our research can challenge or reinforce normative patterns.

With this in mind, I reflect on my own journey during this research process. This data was collected during the second of many trips I have made between Canada, my country of birth, and South Africa, to conduct doctoral research on participatory visual methodologies and HIV prevention with youth. It was a project I developed while working in collaboration with the Centre for Visual Methodologies for Social Change at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and my contacts at two high schools in the Vulindlela district. I am now in my thirties, I come from a white, middle-class, Irish Catholic background and I have lived my whole life in cities. There are many differences between Zulu young women raised in rural post-apartheid South Africa and me. These differences made the research difficult at times, especially since I do not speak isiZulu—the local language—and some of the youth participants had limited skills in speaking English. During the recorded focus group discussions, I noticed for this project in particular long moments of silence as participants struggled to find the words to express themselves in English, and at times I felt that the language barrier led me to ask more prompting questions than I would normally have done. Details and nuances of experiences were difficult to communicate for all of us at times, and clearly the work would have benefited from a translator. This was also my first time working in a research context with youth younger than sixteen.

ANALYSIS

The story stands alone as a succinct narrative. At the same time, the discussions with the participants throughout the research process illuminate the contested and contrasting elements of the story. The findings seem to reinforce Harrison's (2008) observations from her work also with rural KwaZulu-Natal youth on the topic of sexuality. She writes, "although young people's own understandings of their sexual ideology was clear, their approach to relationships and prevention was rife with paradoxes and contradictions" (p. 185). I analyzed the seemingly conflicting elements in the research data on my own without further input from my participants. Through this analysis I have identified four key themes, each of which I explore in this section: moments of positive girl sexuality; barriers to condom use; a context for abstinence; and condoms and culturally appropriate HIV prevention.

Moments of positive girl sexuality

The beginning of the story—the first four images—depicts an active and sexualized female character. Through the images and focus group discussion, the participants explain that both the girl and boy characters are willing participants of the mounting sexual activity. Two participants explain, "[T]he girl was thinking that the boy had the condom" and "[T]he boy telling the girl, go to sleep and having sex, I have a condom." We can see that the boy was initiating this encounter, and the girl was agreeing to the terms. The girl's sexual desire is indicated through her smiles and embraces, which show how she participates in the increasing romantic intimacy.

Representations of girls voluntarily participating in sexual activity are sometimes overshadowed within the media and in sexual health curriculum. More common are depictions of the girl as victim or passive to the sexual advances of men and boys. For example, sexual education often ignores or vilifies female sexual desire. The Life Orientation curriculum, taught throughout the public school system in South Africa at the time of the study, is critiqued for containing overarching metaphors of danger and disease, especially in connection to girls' sexuality (MacLeod, 2009). Linked to fertility and an overrepresentation as victims of gender-based violence, girls are at increased risk for HIV infection. While this link is not unfounded, Weckesser (2011) argues the "gendered focus [in the academic and development literature] represents a double standard, with female orphans' sexuality perceived as a significant threat and/or at risk, whereas male orphans' sexuality is not" (p. 52).[46] Similarly, public media AIDS campaigns often denounce certain high-risk sexual activities while at the same time marking girls as victims if not key players in these high-risk acts. For example, the over 800 billboards hung around KwaZulu-Natal meant to stigmatise "Sugar Daddy" relationships concurrently "conceives of young women in ways which disempowers them and denies their agency and it runs the risk of stigmatising the young women and not just the older men" (Brouard &Crewe, 2012, p, 49). Therefore, the representation in the digital story of the girl actively enjoying a sexual encounter offers a refreshing counter-narrative amongst the barrage of negative images and the discourse of risk associated with female sexuality in this context. This aspect of the

[46] Weckesser (2010) bases her observations on single- and double-orphaned girls and young women living in South Africa.

digital story suggests that the girls were able to use the arts-based technique to resist or transgress taboos around representations of adolescent sexuality.

In Zulu culture, as Wickström (2010) explains, "virginity is not connected to chastity; both virginity and sexual experience are of great importance" (p. 538). Wickström's distinction between chastity and abstinence is helpful when we are interpreting the switch from the beginning of the story, when the girls depict a willing female participant, and its decisive ending that shows the girl yelling at the boy when she finds out that he has lied and does not have a condom. In the text bubble drawn in the final image, the female character succinctly names the boy's coercive behaviour, outlines her decision to practise protected sex, and refuses sex without protection. The participants did not express any moral derision of the female lust depicted earlier in the digital story, and they did not express any confusion or surprise over, at its end, the girl's sudden switch to anger and defiance.

The conclusion of the story can also be read as an act of assertive sexual decision-making. Most sexual health education focused on behaviour change promotes this kind of response given that, as one participant explains, "[T]he girl and the boy know they are not supposed to have sex." The LO curriculum encourages adolescents to control individual behaviour primarily by delaying their sexual debut, then, if they are sexually active, by condom use and limiting the number of sexual partners (for example see Kirby et al., 2007). The ability to control sexual encounters promoted through behaviour change models is in line with what Hunter (2010) describes as South Africans' "growing acceptance of condoms in an era of high HIV prevalence and modern notions of gender equality" (p. 137). These ideas have proliferated across South Africa in the post-apartheid democracy, but sometimes mask underlying gender inequalities that actually prevent women from practising these rights. Similarly, development discourse has seized upon representations of girl power in the third world to help construct millennium goals and expedite development outcomes while overlooking the undue burden this might place on girls living in developing contexts (Gonick, Renold, Ringrose, & Weems, 2009). It is often the responsibility of women to somehow control the oversexuality of men, and this is habitually performed through women and girls closely monitoring each other's bodies,

attire and attitudes judged to promote sexual behaviour in men (Pattman, 2005). The following is instructive.

Researcher: Is it always the girls' job to say no?

Female Participant: I think it is.

The question that remains at the end of the digital story—is the girl respected? The participants report, "it is not easy for a girl to say no to a boy." We do not actually know if the girl character is successful in stopping unprotected penetrative sex. The strength depicted in the girl standing, pointing her finger, and yelling at the boy suggests the research participants' efforts to illustrate an empowered female agent promoted through the rights-based discourse of the education curriculum; however even the Girl Group may have felt an apprehension or difficulty representing the lived complexities of such moments in girls' lives.

Barriers to condom use among youth

During the discussions associated with the digital story, the participants described condoms as deterring abstinence. The absence of a condom can influence young people's decision to have sex; participants said that the lack of condom made it possible for the girl character to abstain. This is clear in the dialogue from the digital story when the female character points to the male character and declares: "You said you had a condom but you don't. I won't have sex with you without a condom." Moreover, the youth participants felt it inappropriate for young people to have access to condoms—one male participant believes, "it should be difficult." Previous reports focus on how young South African women avoid condoms because they risk undermining the level of intimacy and trust in the relationship, and carrying condoms suggests a girl is sexually experienced, which goes against socially constructed norms of femininity (Bryan, Kagee, & Broaddus, 2006; MacPhail & Campbell, 2001). MacPhail and Campbell's (2001) work with South African youth also notes that condom availability, peer norms, adult attitudes towards condoms and sex and the economic context of adolescent sexuality have an impact on the likelihood of young people using condoms. How condom use is taught and promoted within schools can also vary depending on teacher comfort levels and community tolerance, alongside a fear that teaching about condoms might promote sexual activity (Gallant & Maticka-Tyndale, 2004). All this suggests that youth may not be learning that condoms are an effective

protective method against HIV, sexually transmitted infections and pregnancy. That youth, themselves, view the presence of condoms as contradicting abstinence discourses may pose another barrier to incorporating regular condom use amongst sexually active youth.

A context of abstinence: Virginity testing

The World Health Organisation (WHO) strategy for HIV prevention promotes the slogan "Know Your Epidemic, Know Your Response" and suggests "identifying the social, legal and economic conditions that increase the risk of HIV transmission and limit access to HIV information and services" (WHO, 2011, p. 9). Similarly, Francis' (2010b) review of sex and sexuality education literature in relation to the South Africa context argues for a strongly defined curriculum "that recognizes both context and student perceptions of need" (p. 318). The perceptions of these research participants, who view condoms as detracting from abstinence and argue for condoms to be kept from young people, is significant if considered in light of growing interest in promoting culturally and contextually appropriate sexual health practices.

A particular example that is relevant in the context of rural KwaZulu-Natal and to the lives of the participants in this research is virginity testing. Girls as young as six submit to various tests, including a physical examination to establish whether the hymen is intact or not as a way of 'proving' sexual activity or the lack of it. There is no similar test or practice that establishes the virginity of boys or young men. Unlike the images of threat and disease promoted through sexual health curriculum described above, virginity tests are perceived to operate within a discourse of culturally appropriate HIV prevention methodology and cultural renaissance (Leclerc-Madlala, 2001). Support for testing argues that "by making virginity a matter of public concern, the thinking goes, people can help girls delay their sexual debut and encourage men to respect girls' sexual integrity" (Wickström, 2010, p. 535). Critics argue that virginity testing counters the Rights of the Child and places undue pressure on young women to protect communities and the nation against AIDS. Leclerc-Madlala (2001) writes:

> Virginity testing can be understood as a gendered response to a local disease experience that is fundamentally gendered in nature. Examining girls to determine their chaste status is another thread reinforcing a web of meaning

> that places women and women's sexuality at the epicenter of blame for the current AIDS epidemic among the Zulu (p. 536-537).

This discourse of tradition and culture is being used to justify patriarchal and heterosexist behaviour (Moletsane, 2011). Public monitoring of girls' sexuality is presented not only as the solution to the ongoing AIDS crisis in South Africa but also constructs virgin Zulu girls as the cultural champions to a society otherwise under threat from ongoing western influences and moral decay. Virginity testing is a common practice in the Vulindlela district, and the participants were familiar with, if not participants in, these types of events.

Condom and culturally appropriate HIV prevention

Whereas virginity testing is being promoted in a discourse of culturally appropriate responses to HIV in this rural context, analysis of the data suggests that youth in the digital storytelling workshop viewed condoms as a culturally *inappropriate* response to HIV. The girls who produced the story felt it important that their story strongly promote teenage abstinence until marriage. When asked by another participant, "What is your story *really* about?" a member of Girl Group explained, "It's about a boy and a girl who do not have sex because there is no condom." Condoms were neither readily available to these young people nor in the story. The local clinics are supposed to provide free condoms for everyone, but the youth we talked to report that healthcare workers chastise young people who come asking for them. Asking for condoms from friends and family would promote punishment or gossip. One female participant explains, "They would gossip about you. [Making little talking motions with hands] "Vavavava, vavava!" Asking parents or elders for condoms was seen as "really bad!" Buying condoms (if they could afford to) free of prying eyes would mean a one-hour taxi ride into Pietermaritzburg, 20kilometres away.

With further probing, it became clear that the youth participants did not support making condoms more readily available to young people; they believed that young people should not have access to condoms. Instead, they promoted abstinence. Abstinence was important to the participants, they said, because it reaffirmed their cultural tradition of waiting until after marriage. As one girl explained, sexual activity was inappropriate for young people: "Our tradition says that we have to get married first before you have sex." The discussion with the participants seems to suggest that the presence of condoms made it more difficult for youth, and for girls in particular, if we are to follow the gendered roles

of the story, to abstain. The impact of this type of thinking bears particular relevance to HIV prevention strategies that attempt to promote condom use amongst sexually active youth. If youth look to access condoms, there exist multiple barriers making it difficult for them to actually obtain them. What is more, the data suggests that youth may experience a secondary barrier impeding condom access associated with cultural discourse and ideas of appropriate sexual behaviour that the presence of condoms might be seen to undermine. This could create a complex minefield for youth to decipher and negotiate.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Given that the story told by the girls is one group's perspective, further research would be useful to explore the significance of these types of insights and how generalizable they might be. We were invited to present the project at a local World AIDS Day community event attended by youth, educators and community learners. However, time restrictions meant we were unable to show all the digital stories made at the workshop. Added to this, there were concerns expressed by some of the event organizers that the graphic nature of the Girl Group's digital story was inappropriate to show such a large group and in a setting that would not allow for a debrief session with the audience. The apprehension was that depictions of female sexuality shown to a large and mixed audience could, in fact, perpetuate girls' sexual oppression. At the time, these decisions frustrated me, and the Girl Group was disappointed. I now feel that the organizers were correct in their decisions. I am extremely grateful for my participants' commitment to the project and for their working so hard to share their insights and knowledge.

Grewal (2013) warns of the temptation for Western researchers to outsource patriarchy and focus our attention on the questionable practices or beliefs of economically disadvantaged countries and regions. By relying on a "narrative of difference," we covertly construct our selves (in my case: heterosexual, Western, white, and middle-class) as having broken free of oppressive practices. As I analyzed the data back in Canada at my desk in McGill University, I was aware of the privilege that my position allowed me to work with these youth, make connections between and among the data and disseminate it in my own words. I also acknowledge that there exist many homemade socially constructed barriers and beliefs that prevent young people in Canada from accessing condoms and practicing

safer sex. What I stress, therefore, is not a condemnation of how young South African people understand gender, culture and condoms but that researchers and interventions need to cultivate a more nuanced understanding of young girls' realities in relation to AIDS and rurality. As the AIDS epidemic matures, the communities affected by this disease also evolve. The youth in this research have grown up with AIDS in their lives; the messages and prevention campaigns are ever-present in their schools, in the media and in cultural practices. In an effort to build awareness and effect safer sexual practices, advocates argue: "Interventions that target youth will need to be of high quality and coverage and must be sustained because there are new generations continuously entering this age group. HIV prevention interventions will also need to be sustained into older age groups because risk does not suddenly disappear after people pass a certain arbitrary age threshold" (Mavedzenge et al., 2011, p. 566). With this in mind, this research has explored how young, rural South African women construct and understand girls and HIV in their communities to inform current thinking on sexual health education and prevention.

The digital story method seemed to allow the girls in this project to explore the contested nature of female sexuality, which they represent as passive while at the same time having agency. The girls in this research used their story to present a girl actively choosing to take part in sexual expression with a partner. Given the emphasis in HIV prevention on the risks involved in sex for young women, it is encouraging that these girls could express adolescent female desire alongside messages of safer sexual activity. The use of digital story-making seems to have created a space in which youth could explore and express the often taboo articulation of their understandings of sexual encounters among adolescents without having to disclose personal, potentially stigmatizing information about their own experiences.

The analysis of the digital story and surrounding focus group discussions revealed how girls decipher and negotiate sometimes competing discourses about HIV prevention. The messages of individual agency and risk put forth by the HIV prevention curriculum and abstinence campaigns based in cultural mores were represented at different points in the same story. Girls can and do switch back and forth between these different discourses. For sexually active youth, condoms arguably remain the most effective (easily applied, affordable and somewhat discreet) prophylactic. Of particular interest to HIV prevention

campaigns that promote condom access is the emergent theme connecting condoms, abstinence and cultural practices. Further research is needed to determine whether young people in this context view condoms as directly contributing to moral decay and if girls using condoms might be interpreted as a cultural offense. Given the gendered nature of condom access (the belief that girls should not carry condoms), pro-condom messages could further isolate girls from prevention options. How are girls responding to these conflicting messages? Are they adding another layer of complexity to these competing discourses? If condoms were more accessible for youth, would these responses change? Providing girls with a range of options that they can access and employ to protect themselves from HIV infection is imperative. It is unlikely that there is one solution that suits all individuals. However, how girls are interpreting these different HIV prevention discourses in relation to their own sexuality and how they are negotiating its practice must be considered.

MANUSCRIPT 2: TWO YEARS LATER: PRESERVICE TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES OF LEARNING TO USE PARTICIPATORY VISUAL METHODS TO ADDRESS THE SOUTH AFRICAN AIDS EPIDEMIC

INTRODUCTION

South Africa continues to struggle with high rates of HIV and AIDS. The general population has an HIV prevalence rate of 19% and the annual death rate due to AIDS-related causes is 200,000 (UNAIDS, 2013a). Amongst the highest rates globally, 7% of South African youth between the ages of 15 and 24 years are HIV positive. They also have the lowest rates (14.3%) of national ARV treatment exposure (HSRC, 2014). In the integrated national and provincial strategies, laid out by the Department of Basic Education (DBE), the Department of Basic Education and Higher Education and Training (DHET), and the South African National AIDS Council (SANAC), teachers are thought to be well positioned to respond to the physical, emotional and pedagogical impact of HIV and AIDS on learners' lives (DBE, 2012b; DHET, 2011; SANAC, 2011). Specific curricular and professional requirements further outline teachers' responsibilities to address the intersecting influences of gender inequity, HIV stigma, and health behaviour (e.g. condom use, alcohol and drug use) on HIV transmission and prevention (DBE, 2000; 2011a; 2011b). While there are many possible approaches to addressing these issues, this article reports on the findings of a follow-up study with South African preservice teachers who were introduced to participatory visual approaches to HIV and AIDS education. Framing the study theoretically in Mitchell's (2014) concept of the 'afterlife' of research interventions, this study asks:What can we learn about HIV and AIDS education through a follow-up study with individuals previously trained in participatory visual methods? Taking up the question, this article begins by describing Youth as Knowledge Producers (YAKP) as the research context and my connection to the project. This is followed by an outline of my data collection methods. The findings report on preservice teachers' reflections on learning participatory visual methods for HIV and AIDS education, how they have or plan to integrate these methods into their teaching, as well as on challenges they have experienced in applying a participatory visual approach. The findings are discussed in relation to what they might contribute to the development of HIV and AIDS teacher education.

Teacher education and HIV and AIDS

The DBE response to the epidemic is reliant on teachers. This is, however, far from straightforward for teachers themselves. Teaching about sex and the body in its sexualised form can pose fundamental challenges to teachers' identities and threaten their authority in their classrooms (Baxen, 2010; Baxen & Breidlid, 2004). In the process of Life Orientation (LO) teaching, teachers may come into conflict with the nationally prescribed curriculum—which is rights-based and comprehensive—and their personal values about sexuality and gender (Ahmed, Flisher, Mathews, Mukoma, & Jansen, 2009; Helleve, Flisher, Onya, Mukoma, & Klepp, 2009). They may also have difficulties responding to the specific needs of learners who, for example, are not able-bodied or heterosexual (Chirawu, Hanass-Hancock, Aderemi, de Reus, & Henken, 2014; Francis, 2012). The emotional component of talking about relationships, love, illness and death is often avoided by teachers (Naidoo, 2014). The use of didactic, teacher-centred methods can undermine the learner-centred approach advocated in the LO curriculum (Gibbs, Willan, Jama-Shai, Washington, & Jewkes, 2015). The dearth of inservice teacher education itself remains an issue. Francis and DePalma (2015), for example, found that many teachers responsible for sexual health education indicated that they have had no training or very minimal training in HIV and AIDS education content and pedagogy.

Preservice teachers should be acquiring teaching knowledge and skills during a four-year undergraduate, or a one-year postgraduate program at a Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). However, numerous studies on teacher education conclude that HEIs are failing to prepare preservice teachers for teaching in the evolving South African school system impacted by HIV and AIDS (Clark, 2008; James-Traore, Finger, Daileader Ruland, & Stephanie, 2004; Wilmot & Wood, 2012). HEIs in South Africa typically restrict sexual health education to preservice teachers specializing in LO (UNESCO, 2015), although the Higher Education and Training HIV/AIDS Programme (HEAIDS, 2010a) review of 23 South African HEI teacher education programs reported a variety of curriculum approaches, including stand alone modules, targeted integration and topic integration into teacher practice.

Baxen, Wood and Austin (2011) present a review of epistemic approaches to HIV and AIDS in teacher education. They conclude that when HIV- and AIDS-related topics

are integrated into HEI curricula, they are often presented in a fashion that is decontextualized, objectified and singular in their conceptualization of the AIDS epidemic (i.e. HIV and AIDS affect everybody equally). This, they argue, "does little to enable students to think critically about how they may approach HIV and AIDS education in their contexts" (p. 8). Rather, it presents the "teacher-as-knowledge-expert" (p. 5), which can result in teachers being more concerned with their identity as teachers "than with the process and outcome of the pedagogical act" (p. 5).

Recommendations for improving HEI HIV and AIDS teacher education include using context-specific content embedded in preservice teachers' lived experiences, employing participatory teaching methods that are active and engaging and providing more experiential learning opportunities (Holderness, 2012; Wilmot & Wood, 2012). Reflexive self-study promotes preservice teachers to examine their beliefs and actions in relation to the epidemic (Masinga, 2014; Pithouse, Mitchell, & Weber, 2009). Baxen, et al. (2011) advance that teachers need support in critical engagement with what HIV and AIDS has to do with different subjects, with the crosscutting and intersectional quality of the HIV and AIDS epidemic on South African society as a social issue, and in developing an appreciation of topic integration.

Teacher education and participatory visual methods

A promising area of research and pedagogy that responds to the criticisms and recommendations outlined above involves teachers learning participatory visual methods. Pithouse-Morgan et al. (2013) argue that participatory visual methods are particularly well suited for "pedagogic and research strategies that aim to reposition teachers' experiences and voices at the centre of teacher development in the age of AIDS" (p. 76). Engaging teachers in, for example, collage, drawing, photography and video production about their understandings of HIV and AIDS develops their reflexive understandings of the epidemic (De Lange, Mitchell, Moletsane, Stuart, & Buthelezi, 2006; Khau, Masinga, & Pithouse, 2008; Pithouse, 2011). Employing participatory visual methods also helps preservice teachers conceptualize how to integrate HIV- and AIDS-related topics into mathematics teaching (Van Laren, 2008, 2011a, 2011b; 2014). Incorporating different methods into preservice teachers' practicum experiences has facilitated connections with learners, especially when working in under-resourced rural contexts (Khau et al., 2013; Raht, Smith,

& MacEntee, 2009; Stuart, Raht, & Smith, 2011). Artistic products resulting from these projects can be shared with communities to facilitate dialogue and to explore areas of social change (De Lange, 2012).

Several studies, having concluded that research interventions using participatory visual methods make an immediate impression on teachers' professional development, wonder about the long-term impact of the approach. Stuart (2006) asks how "personal engagement with constructing and sharing visual texts will affect teachers' abilities to tackle HIV and AIDS in the classroom" (p. 84). Will, as Mitchell and colleagues predict (Mitchell, De Lange, & Moletsane, 2014), teachers take the initiative to start exploring the use of participatory visual methods in their own classrooms? To date there is no research that follows up with teachers after this type of project. What might the study of, as Mitchell (2014) describes, the 'afterlife' of participatory visual research look like? How do teachers' experiences of learning this approach coincide with their subsequent experiences in teacher education? What impressions do they develop of this approach? What challenges did they experience in learning about this approach? Do they integrate the methods into their teaching? When, how and for what purpose? With these questions in mind, I report on a series of one-on-one photo elicitation interviews with three former participants in the *Youth as Knowledge Producers: Arts-based approaches to HIV and AIDS prevention and education in rural KwaZulu-Natal* (YAKP)[47] research project.

THE RESEACH STUDY

Context

The project, Youth as Knowledge Producers (YAKP), was carried out between 2008-2010 through the Centre for Visual Methodologies for Social Change (CVMSC) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). The concept, youth as knowledge producers, draws on the work of Lankshear and Knobel (2006) to refer to young people's visual media productions as representations of cultural knowledge and resources for social change. According to the research team (CVMSC, 2010), YAKP had three goals: 1) to engender a

[47]YAKP (2007-2009, PI: Jean Stuart) was funded by the South African National Research Foundation (NRF). It also forms two of the sub-study areas of the NRF Niche Area grant, *Every Voice Counts Project* (2007-2012, PI: Naydene de Lange).

practice of self-study and reflexivity with regards to preservice teachers' approaches to HIV education; 2) to provide training for preservice teachers in participatory arts-based methodologies for HIV education; and 3) to provide opportunities for preservice teachers, as peer educators, to gain practical experience facilitating these methodologies in different educational contexts.

In 2008, YAKP recruited 20 HIV peer educators in the university's Faculty of Education. In one semester the group was trained in collage, drumming, hip hop, forum theatre, photovoice and participatory video as a means for reflection and pedagogy. In 2009, the research team organized two opportunities for the participants to test facilitating their own participatory visual workshops. The first opportunity consisted of a counselling education class in the Faculty of Education at UKZN. The second workshop context was organized at a rural high school in Vulindlela approximately two hours drive from UKZN. For this component, the preservice teachers worked in pairs to carry out participatory visual workshops with learners. In 2010, YAKP organized a two-day training on collage method attended by two of the original participants along with 24 new participants. Members of the YAKP research team invited me, a doctoral student at McGill University in Canada with experience in collage, to train the preservice teachers in collage method and to support five preservice teachers during a two-day workshop conducted with high school learners in Vulindlela. In the week following the workshop, members of the research team, two of the preservice teachers and I returned to the rural area and the learners presented their collages during school assemblies and at a community event organized for Worlds AIDS day (MacEntee, 2011b).

Research process: A visual approach to studying the 'afterlife' of training in participatory visual methodologies in teacher education

I collected the data reported in this article when I returned to UKZN in 2012 to conduct a follow-up study on YAKP[48]. Over the course of three months, I consulted preservice teachers, learners, school principals and members of the research team. In this article, I refer only to the data related directly to the preservice teachers. With university ethical

[48] The follow-up study was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Joseph-Armand Bombardier Doctoral Scholarship.

approval, I located seven former YAKP preservice teacher participants,[49] three of whom volunteered to participate in the follow-up study (one man and two women, all using pseudonyms). David was involved with YAKP from 2008 to 2010. He attended most, if not all, of the YAKP trainings. He co-facilitated the intervention with counselling students at UKZN in 2009 and the collage workshop with learners in 2010. At the time of the follow-up interview, David was a graduate of UKZN's teacher education program and was pursuing his master's degree in the same faculty. He was also teaching an Oppression and Diversity module to undergraduate students. Sarah and Monique joined YAKP in 2010. They attended the collage training and co-facilitated the collage workshop. At the time of the follow-up study, Sarah was still a preservice teacher in her third of four years in the UKZN Bachelors in Education program specializing in Languages (English and Afrikaans). Monique was also still a preservice teacher in the final term of the same faculty specializing in Drama and Sports Sciences.

I met with the participants at UKZN for one-on-one interviews. Each interview took a little over two hours. Along with open-ended questions, I incorporated photo elicitation into the interview process. Qualitative interviews are a well-established method in the social sciences, during which researchers and participants are engaged in the mutual construction of knowledge about a given subject or topic (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). A narrative interview strategy was used to foreground the participants' reflections. This included asking them to relate a chronology of their involvement with YAKP, starting with how they got involved in YAKP, then moving on to discuss what happened at the trainings and workshops and then what has happened in their teaching or education since YAKP. A sense of the YAKP events from the perspective of the participants emerged as a result of this process. From here, I followed up with questions that asked participants to describe the significance of these events. Other questions enquired more directly about their theories of teaching and learning about HIV and AIDS:

- Describe the best way to teach young people about HIV and AIDS.
- Tell me in your own words, what is 'youth as knowledge producer'?

[49] YAKP was unable to provide me with a list of former YAKP preservice teachers and recruitment was done through word of mouth in my network of current and former UKZN students. Four individuals that I contacted could not participate in the study stating they were too busy with work and family responsibilities.

- Describe the benefits or risks involved with taking a participatory visual approach to HIV and AIDS education.

The responses were audio recorded and later transcribed for analysis.

Additionally, I used the photo elicitation method, which engages participants in responding to photographs during the interview process (Banks, 2001; Harper, 1986). In the context of the follow-up interviews, I used the photographs as "a kind of memory bookend, a starting point from which to evaluate changes" (Harper, 2002 p. 18). It is important to link photographs to the intentions of the research (Lapenta, 2011) while keeping in mind that participants and researchers may differ in what they find "visually arresting" about given photographs (Orellana, 1999, p. 75). I selected 20 images from an archive of 220 photographs, taken either by members of the YAKP research team or by me, of the 2010 collage training and workshop. For the purpose of the elicitation activity, I selected the images to give a sense of the range of different YAKP activities and people involved in the project at the time.[50] I chose a mixture of candid and posed photographs of different YAKP participants (e.g. learners, preservice teachers, facilitators and researchers) engaged in different YAKP activities (e.g. making collages, working in small groups, looking at collages and presenting their collages to the larger group). I also included pictures of the collages that the participants made during the training and workshop events. The photographs were displayed on my laptop. This allowed the participants to zoom in on different aspects of the image for closer inspection. For Sarah and Monique's interviews, the photo elicitation activity was used at the start of the meetings. However, since David had been involved with YAKP two years prior to when the photographs were taken, the interview began with questions about past events and turned to the photographs once David's chronology had reached his remembrance of events in 2010.

FINDINGS

I worked with transcriptions of the audio-recorded interviews. Given that I was only working with three participants and had spent considerable time with each one, I drew on

[50] I did not have access to photographs from events in 2008-2009, therefore the participants' responses were limited to the 2010 activities.

what might be described as a close reading of the transcripts rather than a systematic analysis.

Teachers' experiences of YAKP trainings in comparison with other experiences in HIV and AIDS Education

During the visual interview process, the participants discussed participatory visual methods and HIV and AIDS education in relation to their experiences with YAKP and within the larger HEI context. Although HIV and AIDS interventions have a strong presence on the university campus, the participants described a paucity of HIV and AIDS interventions in teacher education. Sarah explained, "There are a lot of initiatives that happen around campus. Like for instance counselling and testing, you know, you get a lot of that happening around. There's a lot of awareness even through the emails that we get sent. But I mean in teaching itself, no!" (p. 24). The participatory visual approach differed from the didactic approach to teacher education they were used to. Sarah was "used to people who come and stand in front of you and just talk talk talk talk" (p. 14). Monique remembered:

> Collage and HIV, at first I didn't understand how the two came together. I was just like, ok, what are we doing here, please Katie? And then once we got into it and we saw that art can be, like I don't know, used in a way to explain HIV and AIDS it...It opened my mind to, ok, there is not just one way of learning about HIV and AIDS (p. 4).

Having enjoyed the trainings, Monique, like the other two participants, was motivated to get more involved in YAKP and was amongst the first of the preservice teachers to volunteer for the collage workshop in the rural area. During the follow-up interview, Sarah stated the training "encouraged me to go and find out more" (p. 9) about HIV and AIDS through independent research. For David, YAKP was "amazing. There was no lecture. I was constructing meaning" (p 17). He recounted: "We were told about arts-based methodologies and I was automatically drawn to it because I'm interested in how do we communicate this message in a way that would engage people" (p. 16). Of course, not all the preservice teachers participating in YAKP felt the same way. Describing one of her friends who also attended the 2010 collage training, Monique said, "it was as though she walked away from it with nothing" (p. 13).

Preservice teachers' impression of participatory visual approach to HIV and AIDS education

The preservice teachers appreciated the participatory visual approach to HIV and AIDS education. David exclaimed, "It's exciting. It's fun!" (p. 13). Taking a more didactic approach of asking learners questions, Monique felt "the learners were giving me answers that I wanted to hear" (p. 7). At the same time, it was difficult for the beginning teacher to let the learners take the lead: "I thought, urgh, I'm not getting through to this one, because he was so quiet" (p. 7). With some patience, however, Monique was pleased with the outcome: "But after a while, I won't even lie, the way he opened up and spoke [about his collage], it really amazed me" (p. 8). The methods were associated with creating opportunities for the teachers to connect more genuinely, and often on a personal level, with learners. Sarah reflected on her memory of such an interaction with one learner:

> The girl in my collage-making group, she was like, "at home a relative or somebody who's actually got the disease, and it's a bit difficult living with that person. You can't eat from the same plate. You can't share the same spoon." You know, stuff like that. It was really hectic. And because, personally, I'd also gone through something like that, you know, I was able to really give her some constructive advice as to the fact that you won't get contaminated by the disease just by sharing the same plate, the same spoon (p. 6).

Sarah appreciated being able to draw on her own experiences and respond with helpful information to the learner's difficult situation. But not all the interactions between learners and preservice teachers during the workshop went as smoothly. During the photo elicitation interview, Monique reflected on one such moment with clarity, identifying first how her perspective of children changed as a result of the interaction with learners and then admitting the discomfort that was involved during this process:

> The pictures that he chose, were mainly like money, jewellery, stuff like that. And I was like, why did you choose these things? And he was like, you know, girls or boys are fools for these things when they don't have them. So they would do practically anything to get these things [referring to transactional sex]. I actually remember these pictures out of everyone that was sitting there, because that was something that I wasn't aware of… It also made me look at the lens that children—and I say children because they are still in school, their minds are still young—and you think that they are innocent but really they do understand what is happening around them. So that was something that was really shocking for me (p. 5).

What the learner said about transactional sex in the rural context was unexpected by Monique and made her reassess her perceptions about children and their understandings of the epidemic. She continued in the interview to reflect on this interaction with the boy:

> I think at that point in time when I came across this stuff I was more shocked than anything. I won't even lie to you…I had no response to what he was saying…because where I come from was very different…small things don't amuse us, like clothes and stuff. We get these things, so there is nothing that would draw me towards wanting that, or giving something from myself in order to get that (p. 5).

Monique admits to having struggled to respond to the learners' collage in the moment because it differed so much from her own experiences growing up. Therefore, the participants appreciated how the participatory visual methods seemed to encourage the learners to open up and talk genuinely about the epidemic. However, the participants also struggled at times to respond to the learners' concerns when they differed from the preservice teachers' own experiences.

Challenges with learning about participatory visual approaches to HIV and AIDS

The YAKP process was reported to be effective; however, long gaps between events disrupted the participants' sense of momentum and they would have liked more opportunities to familiarize themselves with facilitating the methods. David was frustrated when he stated, "Sometimes because new people were coming in, we had to start all over again" (p. 24) and "How is this project moving from events and coming into a movement?" (p. 14). The participants identified areas where they would appreciate more training. David felt certain methods required more training than others did. Compared to collage and photovoice, he struggled with the technical aspects of participatory video: "I have to practise that a few times. I think that we could have had more training in that, so we would remember it for the rest of our lives" (p. 19). Sarah wanted help integrating participatory visual approaches into her language teaching. She wondered, "How can you teach literature in a critical way? What makes learners think about some of the real issues that are affecting them in their lives and also in terms of the bigger picture in terms of the world as well? I mean, that's a really difficult one" (p. 16).

External factors made it difficult for participants to independently continue to integrate participatory visual methods and HIV and AIDS topics into their subsequent

learning and practicum experiences. A teacher at Sarah's practicum school made fun of her experimenting with student-centred methods and she felt held back as a so-called 'training teacher' on practicum:

> It puts us at a disadvantage because when we go to the school we've always got to be aware of the fact that I have a mentor and I must do everything by the standards this mentor follows. Otherwise, if I don't do that, then my marks or whatever they are, they stand in jeopardy. So there is not a lot that we can do! Especially when we begin talking about big stuff (p. 24).

The "big stuff," as Sarah calls it, is HIV and AIDS, and issues relating to sex. David described "a strangle-hold on schools" (p. 29) that focused on curriculum content and exams: "Maybe that is something to consider, preparing students for the challenges that come from being agents for social change" (p. 29).

Teachers who have had training in participatory visual methods integrate these methods into their teaching: A reality or not?

The participants have, or plan to, integrate aspects of the participatory visual approach into their teaching practice. Once she graduates, Sarah was committedto exploring creative approaches to education: "Now I'm like, empowered whenever I teach to use creative methods that get learners interested" (p. 17). However, she was less certain that she would be able to find a way to integrate HIV and AIDS topics. Monique was excited to graduate and start teaching her own drama classes, in which she planned on integrating HIV and AIDS-related topics. David, the only participant who was actively teaching at the time of the interviews, described having used collage and forum theatre in his teaching on diversity, however he had not tackled the topic, HIV and AIDS, directly. Still, he was adamant that comprehensive HIV and AIDS education should remain a priority in South African teaching:

> I feel [HIV and AIDS education] is important because this is Southern Africa, there is a high level of HIV/AIDS and teenage pregnancy, and maybe you want to step in and say "it's like that in Canada, too" but I seriously doubt that. So people are practicing unsafe sex. So it is absolutely necessary for us to talk about it (p. 21).

The participants maintained an interest and displayed motivation to integrate the principles of participatory creative approaches. Two of the three participants (Monique and David) also described a commitment, if not in practice then in principle, to addressing HIV- and

AIDS-related topics in their teaching. However, since YAKP none of the participants had used participatory visual methods to address HIV and AIDS in their respective teaching experiences.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY OF 'AFTERLIFE' FOR HIV AND AIDS TEACHER EDUCATION CURRICUMLUM

This follow-up study with YAKP was exploratory. The interview process engaged three former YAKP participants in reflecting on their experiences of learning to use participatory visual methods. I interpreted their reflections by using time as a "mark of influence" (Mitchell, 2014, p. 39). In the process of remembering certain events, the participants were not so much recalling the events in 2008-2010 as they were interpreting them from a situated perspective in 2012 and imbuing them with significance as they related to the progression of their lives. Thus, two more years, 10 years, and 20 years later, the same process of recalling and ascribing significance may result in very different understandings not just of events but of participatory visual methods and HIV and AIDS education as well. This process would reflect changes in the participants' lives, their subsequent professional experiences, as well as changes in the discourses of HIV and AIDS teaching and teacher education. Mitchell (2014) concludes, "What is critical here are the questions that emerge when we do this kind of work and the reminder of the ways in which the work is never really done" (p. 42). With three participants the research findings are not generalizable. They tended towards positive review of the project and participatory visual methods, although some criticisms are also noted. This may be due to response bias and the participants' perspectives reported here would be strengthened if compared with the perspectives of participants who dropped out and/or had more negative impressions of YAKP. As the first study of its kind exploring the longitudinal impact of this type of HIV and AIDS teacher education, the findings point towards various areas for future research and development in HIV and AIDS teacher education.

One area to consider is countering AIDS fatigue. Shefer, Strebel,& Jacobs (2012) describe a culture of AIDS fatigue on university campuses, with students feeling removed and unmotivated to engage in any HIV- and AIDS-related learning. Mitchell and Smith (2003) explain AIDS fatigue as the result of prevention approaches that are disconnected

from the lives of young people. The participants whom I interviewed were overwhelmingly appreciative of the participatory visual approach because it presented new and interesting ways for them, as young people, to construct knowledge about HIV and AIDS. The participants' interest in learning more about the topic as they emerged from the trainings—exemplified in their volunteering to facilitate the YAKP workshops and, in Sarah's case, seek out more information on HIV and AIDS—suggests participatory visual methods are "attention-grabbing" and may have particular value in the earlier stages of teacher education to encourage long-term engagement (Jonker, 2012, p. 94). However, it is also noted that participatory visual methods do not speak to all teachers, as was the case for Monique's friend, and a diversity of approaches is needed. There is much that still needs to be explored with regards to engaging preservice teachers in HIV and AIDS education. For instance, when and under what circumstances do participatory visual approaches work to engage preservice teachers, and when might another approach be more successful? What motivates preservice teachers to voluntarily attend interventions such as YAKP? How might participatory visual methods be presented alongside other approaches to HIV and AIDS education?

A second area of concern links to pedagogy. Apart from their own learning about HIV and AIDS, the participants were struck by the contributions of participatory visual methods to the pedagogies of HIV and AIDS teaching—how they engaged learners and created opportunities for teachers to connect with learners about their lived experiences. The participants' memories of working with learners resembles the types of collaborative reflexive self-study described and advocated by Pithouse-Morgan et al. (2013) in their work with teachers, while at the same time reflects the personal and emotionally charged interactions that teachers can experience when addressing HIV and AIDS in schools (Baxen, 2010). Arguably, expecting the unexpected is a critical lesson preservice teachers need to learn, especially as it relates to learner-centred sexual health education. However, further research is needed in order to better understand if exposure to the emotional labour of HIV and AIDS education prepares teachers to respond constructively to similar experiences in their future practice. Involving learners in teacher education like this also raises some ethical concerns, such as how to prepare teachers to negotiate an individual's rights to HIV and AIDS disclosure (Holderness, 2012) and the need to adequately prepare

teachers to respond constructively to the myriad and potentially contentious issues that learners might raise through the art-making process (Stuart, 2010). Therefore, moving ahead with this approach to teacher education, what kinds of preparations are needed to mediate the risks to learners and teachers during these interactions?

Finally, what about the methods themselves and the context for testing them out? Not all participatory visual methods are equal and some methods, especially those that require specialized technology, might require more training than others, as is indicated by David's comments about participatory video. A further area for exploration might consider tactics that teachers could use to incorporate participatory visual methods while working among colleagues who are resistant to new or alternative pedagogies. This type of initiative would need to be sensitive to the power inequality between mentor and apprentice so that practicum grades are not put in jeopardy. Khau et al.'s (2013) strategy, which paired preservice and inservice teachers together, shows some promise in this regard. At the same time, there may be time-sensitivities. As a research intervention, YAKP was unable to provide ongoing activities and trainings after 2010 and the participants felt that the sense of momentum that the project established was reduced over time. These challenges were accentuated by the broader HEI context that was reported to provide limited opportunities for further engagement with the topic to preservice teachers who were pursuing specializations in areas other than LO. HIV and AIDS is often not prioritized as a learning area amongst the majority of teacher educators and the topic of integration can seem overwhelming in a curriculum that is already overloaded (HEAIDS, 2010; Holderness, 2012). Following up on their YAKP experiences, participants expressed interest in creative participatory methods and their value in HIV and AIDS education, but they struggled to articulate exactly how they might address HIV and AIDS in their teaching. With the exception of, for example Linda van Laren's (2008; 2011a; 2011b; 2014) work with preservice mathematics teachers, there is a paucity of research exploring how teacher educators might integrate HIV and AIDS education into non-LO curriculum areas. How are HIV and AIDS research intervention findings disseminated and integrated into HEI curriculum development? While it is beyond the scope of this article, there is a clear need to study, for example, the HEAIDS Community of Practice in HIV and AIDS Education, which came out of the HEAIDS (2010c) study.

CONCLUSION

Addressing teachers' challenges with HIV and AIDS education continues to confound those responsible for the national response to HIV and AIDS. The DBE plans a national roll-out of scripted lessons for LO, grades 7-9 (Jansen, 2015). This decision was based on a report by Douglas Kirby that advocates for curricula that tell teachers "what to do and say" and describes "each activity, the materials needed for the activity, how to complete the activity, how long it would take for the particular facts or pieces of information to be presented, the particular points to emphasise, etc." (as cited in Wood & Rolleri, 2012, p. 526). Adams Tucker, George, Reardon and Panday (2016) predict that these teacher-centred activities, developed and tested in Gauteng, will improve "disparities in the quality of LO teachings and improve standardization" (p. 350). Scripted lessons could not be further from YAKP's intentions in exploring participatory visual methods as student-centred and context-responsive pedagogies for HIV and AIDS. The YAKP follow-up study describes a process of becoming an HIV and AIDS educator that requires more than learning 'what to do or say' in order to 'complete an activity'. Following up with former YAKP participants who were trained in participatory visual methods draws attention to the lack of HIV and AIDS education for these non-LO preservice teachers as well as to the ways that participatory visual methods can help overcome challenges of AIDS fatigue and HIV stigma in teacher education. The results suggest that experiential education in facilitating participatory visual approaches in a supportive context such as YAKP can allow preservice teachers a space to explore the benefits and challenges of taking such an approach. However, they require ongoing support in the technicalities of the methods as well as learning how to respond to different issues that learners might raise. It is unclear whether or not this support is within the capacity of a single, short-term research intervention. The challenges of curriculum integration for the preservice teachers, and at the HEI level for teacher educators,present a significant barrier to the participants' HIV and AIDS education. Nevertheless, having learnt about these techniques, they endeavoured to apply aspects of the methods (e.g. the emphasis on learner-centred, critical pedagogies that speak to learners' lives) and they can express the importance of HIV and AIDS education. Structural barriers in the teacher education program, such as the influence of mentor teachers who may be less amenable to the inclusion of alternative pedagogies or

HIV-topic integration, may impede preservice teachers' ability to apply these methods directly for HIV and AIDS education. In this regard, the two-year 'afterlife' of YAKP was mixed, with preservice teachers being influenced by some of the interventions' pedagogical ideals but practically limited in their ongoing application, especially as they relate to the integration of HIV and AIDS topics into their teaching practice.

Future research is needed in order to followup with more practicing teachers in order to develop a more generalizable and in-depth understanding of the influences of research intervention over time on teachers' use of participatory visual methods in HIV and AIDS education. Returning to Mitchell's (2014) idea of the study of the 'afterlife' of interventions, there is a sense that this work can (and should) just go on and on if we are to deepen an understanding of impact. It is with this sentiment in mind that I have raised several questions in the discussion of my findings. While it is not possible to answer these questions here, I conclude by pointing towards possible connections and answers that may be explored in the vast body of literature on preservice or initial teacher education. This includes discussions on the translation of educational theory into pedagogical practice or, as Britzman (2003) highlights, the problematic 'practice makes practice' nature of what can be accomplished in a four-year Bachelor of Education program. There are insights to be found in the literature that interrogate everything from teachers' childhood experiences of school (Allender & Allender, 2006; Mitchell & Weber, 1999) to the idea of the practicum itself; from types of mentoring available to preservice teachers through associate teachers to support for associate teachers (Kosnik, 2009). Michael Connelly and Jean Clandinin's (1984) concept of personal practical knowledge is particularly relevant to the questions and issues raised in the interviews. Personal practical knowledge "allows us to talk about teachers as knowledgeable and knowing persons" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988, p. 25) who draw on professional and personal landscapes of knowledge in order to sustain their teaching practices (Schaefer, Downey, & Clandinin, 2014). It is by contextualizing the educational process in teachers' past experiences and their present understandings that their future practice of HIV and AIDS teaching will be developed.

MANUSCRIPT 3: FROM DISCOMFORT TO COLLABORATION: TEACHERS SCREENING CELLPHILMS IN A RURAL SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION

In South Africa over 6 million people are living with HIV (UNAIDS, 2013a). KwaZulu-Natal has an antenatal prevalence of 35.9% primarily as a result of unprotected heterosexual sex (UNAIDS, 2012). Youth (aged between 15 and 25), and girls in particular, are amongst the most at-risk fornew infections (Republic of South Africa, 2012). In rural KwaZulu-Natal, male prevalence amongst individuals under 18 years of age is low (less than 1%) and tends to increase steadily once they have entered adulthood. Conversely, females are at high risk of infection starting at age 15 and, by age 20, one in four females is HIV-positive (Karim et al., 2014). Global policy such as the Millennium Development Goalsand the Convention on the Rights of the Child highlight the role of education in containing the epidemic (UNAIDS, 2009). South Africa's education policy ensures a dedicated budget earmarked for HIV interventions, and a comprehensive school curriculum in the Life Orientation (LO) Learning Area (Republic of South Africa, 2012). This focus on HIV prevention reflects the recognition that the South African education sector has "a fundamental role in reducing new infections and responding to the needs of those infected and affected by HIV and AIDS" (DBE, 2011d, n.p.). Thus, as part of school policy on addressing HIV and AIDS, teachers are seen to be integral to providing quality sexual health and HIV education.

Large-scale adjustments to educational policy rolled out across post-apartheid South Africa have been criticized for overlooking the input of teachers. This lack of consultation has led to some teachers viewing the policy as irrelevant, and, therefore, refusing to implement it (Smit, 2005). Rural teachers, more specifically, may feel isolated and, furthermore, have a difficult time connecting with sparse resources and community support (MacEntee, 2011a). Teachers can misunderstand or overlook the significance of young peoples' sexual experiences and thus fail to implement a meaningful curriculum that is in accordance with the experiences and educational needs of their learners (Smith & Harrison, 2013). The lack of training and the difficulties they have in managing their personal beliefs about sexuality and its expression (for example, the conviction that

abstinence is vital) that contradict the national, comprehensive, rights-based curriculum that focuses, for instance, on harm reduction methods, can make teachers hesitant to tackle HIV-related topics in class (Helleve et al., 2009; Mathews, Boon, Flisher, & Schaalma, 2006). In some communities, the appropriateness of what is described as an individually-orientated, comprehensive curriculum that emphasizes personal rights to sexual education and individual choice can preclude or compete with locally-based understandings of indigenous rights (Undie & Izugbara, 2011). However, as Moletsane warns us, we must also guard against "cultural nostalgia" (2011, p. 194) or the misappropriation of traditional cultural discourse by local leaders and educators in ways that actually work to reinforce patriarchal oppression. Despite these systemic challenges described in the literature, there is also the suggestion that the burden of addressing these challenges rests solely on individual teachers. For example, UNESCO, in following its argument that "the quality of the education system is only as good as the quality of its teachers" (2014, p. 233), outlines four strategies to improve deficits in teaching. There is little recognition in this report of teacher resilience nor is there reference to teachers who are succeeding in addressing HIV and AIDS despite these challenges.

This article explores how a group of nine teachers navigating various systemic challenges in one rural South African school facilitated cellphilm screenings to address HIV and AIDS. We will begin by introducing the cellphilm research project and the research participants and by offering a synopsis of the cellphilms that were presented during the screenings along with a description of the rural school context in which the teachers work. The screening events are considered through a framework of discomfort (Boler, 1999). Four instances of discomfort that occurred during the research project are analysed. These instances are captured from the perspective of the teachers and the first author in pre-and post-event interviews, research fieldnotes, and participant observation notes, and are considered in relation to the cellphilms that the teachers screened. The findings are discussed with reference to the existing literature on the challenges and opportunities of South African teachers in addressing HIV and AIDS.

CELLPHILMS AND PUBLIC SCREENINGS TO INFORM HIV EDUCATION

The *Digital Voices* project to which we refer here aims to identify the ways in which the voices of rural teachers can become more central to meaning-making when it comes to identifying and addressing critical issues of youth sexuality in the age of AIDS. Cellphilms, according to Dockney et al. (2010) are videos made with cellphones usually with an intention to identify and address community issues. Mitchell and De Lange (2013a) describe the actual process of cellphilm making. It follows the NER (No Editing Required) approach to participatory video in its inclusion of the following steps: brainstorming; carefully creating a storyboard and planning out the filming for a 3-5 minute film; doing the actual film shoot; and screening the film. Having the teachers make cellphilms in this way has been shown to promote their personal reflection on cultural discourses of youth sexuality (Mitchell & De Lange, 2013a). In addition, this cellphilm method also explores how knowledge is constructed and to whom this knowledge is disseminated (Mitchell, 2014a). This article focuses on the experience of these teachers when screening their cellphilms.

There is a small body of literature that takes up screening and the exhibition of participant-produced visual media in relation to participatory visual methodologies. In their review of the public health literature, Fraser and al Sayah (2011) describe the exhibition of participant-produced visual media as part of the research dissemination process, and as an alternative way of bringing research results to a wider community of stakeholders. Exploring the screening of participant-produced videos, specifically, Mitchell (2011a) describes how screenings in community-based settings can stimulate a wider dialogue in relation to addressing participants' identified challenges. Outlining some of the limitations of screening participant-produced videos, Kindon et al. (2012) explore the ethical considerations involved in screening participant-produced videos outside the environment in which they were produced. They highlight the unpredictable influence of an audience in the reception and understanding of visual media. Wheeler calls for careful consideration of how "existing political identities of all the actors involved, from participants in the video process to the external researcher to particular policy makers, as well as the wider context and trajectories of existing policy arenas" (2012, p. 275) can shape the relationship between power and knowledge at screening events. Thus, screening participant-produced videos has great potential, especially in relation to community change and to what Mitchell describes

as "getting the word out" (2014a, p. 82). However, the process of screening remains relatively under-researched, especially in relation to the research participants' experiences leading up to, during and after the screening process as they reflect on it.

THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS AND THE CELLPHILM SCREENING EVENTS

As participants in the participatory research project *Digital Voices*, nine teachers in rural KwaZulu-Natal had produced a collection of cellphilms that described what they saw as critical barriers to HIV prevention in young people (see Mitchell et al., 2014). Amongst them, the eight women and one man with varying years of teaching experience taught at foundation, intermediate and senior levels. While not all of them were LO teachers, they all expressed an interest in addressing HIV and AIDS in school and in the community. The participating teachers live in the rural community where the school is located or in Pietermaritzburg (a city approximately 50kilometres away from the screening site). Schools in rural South Africa experience challenges directly related to their rural location including isolation and being overlooked for educational support and development, limited job opportunities, large classes, poor infrastructure and limited teaching resources (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). The participating teachers' school was formerly a Catholic institution but is now part of the national public school system. Despite this transition to the national, secular curriculum, the school community and many of the participating teachers maintain a strong bond with Catholicism; an operating church is located in the school grounds.

All the screening events took place on the school grounds and were attended by young people of both sexes. The teachers organised themselves into three groups of three members each to plan and facilitate their screening events independently. Keeping to a budget of R1000[51] each group chose which videos they wanted to screen from their existing collection of cellphilms. They also chose the audience and the location and planned theevent activities (see Figure 4.3). All the events took, on average, three hours. They all followed a similar process that began with the screening of the cellphilms, one after the

[51] The *Digital Voices* project made available the technology for screening (LCD projectors, laptop, paper and pens), as well as funding.

other. After they had watched the cellphilms, members of the audience assembled in small groups and were prompted to reflect on the cellphilms. The small groups were then invited to present a brief synopsis of their discussion to the whole group. The teachers then facilitated the group discussion based on this feedback and on questions from the audience.

Facilitating teachers: specialisation and sex	Cellphilms screened	Audience
Grade 2 (female) Grade 6 (female) Secondary LO (male)	Be Enlightened Breaking the Silence 2	110 Grade 6 LO learners
Secondary Life Sciences (female) Secondary LO (female) Secondary Religious Studies/(female)	Breaking the Silence 2 Teen Pregnancy	34 members of the Peace Club (Grades 11 and 12)
Grade 4 (female) Secondary LO/Science (female) Secondary Social Science/isiZulu (female)	Breaking the Silence 2 Teen Vibe	29 members of the Community Catholic Youth Group

Figure 4.3: Teacher groups, cellphilm titles and audience composition.

All the cellphilms were conceptualised, acted in and filmed by the teachers who were facilitating the events. They all advocate talking about sex with adults. *Breaking the Silence 2* is about two girls whose mother catches them looking at pornography on their phones. At first the mother is angry but she then calmly has a conversation with the girls about safer sex, a decision that she later must defend to the girls' irate father. *Be Enlightened* tells the story of two girls who find a condom in their schoolyard but mistake it for a balloon. A teacher finds the girls playing with the condom, notices that the girls are confused about what it is, and takes this opportunity to teach them what condoms are used for. *Teen Vibe* tells the story of a group of girls who sneak out of their house to attend a party. At the party the girls drink and dance and then hitch a ride home with strange men. They are caught creeping back into their house by their mother who explains the dangers of their choices. *Teen Pregnancy* is about a girl who goes to a party, gets drunk and then later discovers that she is pregnant. Upset and scared about the unplanned pregnancy, she is consoled by a friend and encouraged to tell an adult about her situation. After the

cellphilms were screened, the teachers and audience members raised various issues and formulated questions for further discussion. For example, the teachers asked: "Should learners be allowed to bring cellphones to school?" and "At what age is it appropriate for young people to start dating?" Topics discussed ranged from managing school demands and sexual relationships to seeking accurate sexual health information and abstinence, rape and peer pressure.

FRAMEWORK OF DISCOMFORT

Our research framework builds on Boler's (1999) pedagogy of discomfort. Boler and Zembylas (2003) describe how emotional dimensions shape our routines and allow us to subscribe uncritically to hegemonic values. A pedagogy of discomfort examines emotional reactions and responses in order to "identify unconscious privileges as well as invisible ways in which one complies with dominant ideology" (2003, p. 108). It is through discomfort that we come to better understand the ways in which we affect and are affected by the social contexts we inhabit. This leads to a process of "emotional labour" during which space is made for "a collective process of thinking otherwise and considering the conditions for a transformation of what individuals are supposed to be" (Boler & Zembylas, 2003, p. 126). Burdick and Sandlin (2010) discuss a methodology of discomfort as reflexive practice. Similarly, Zembylas explores how "discomfort serves as a medium for individual and social transformation" (2010, p. 706). Discomfort, which can entail anger, shock, resistance and grief (Boler & Zembylas, 2003), is considered valuable within this framework for its constructive potential (Wolgemuth & Donohue, 2006).

Working with the Data

There were four types of data collected during the cellphilm screening project: 1) participant observation notes that describe the teachers' facilitation process and the discussions between the audience and the teachers following the screening of the cellphilms; 2) pre- and post-event, open-ended interviews with the teachers, which explore how they prepared for the screening events and their reflection following the completion of the events; 3) the four cellphilms that the teachers screened; and 4) the first author's research fieldnotes.

The first author performed the bulk of the analysis. She began by organising the analysis according to Fiske's (1992) three types of texts: primary, producer and audience texts (see also Gubrium & Harper, 2013; Mitchell, 2011a). Primary texts are the visual-media texts produced by research participants. Producer texts include the documentation of the process and what the participants had to say about the primary texts. Audience texts are documentations of the audiences' responses to the primary texts. Therefore, for these cellphilm events, the primary texts are the teachers' four cellphilms. The secondary texts are the pre- and post-interview transcripts and the research fieldnotes. Since the screening events did not include any direct contact with the audience, the audience text is also included in the participant observation notes. These notes describe the discussions that occurred between the audience and the teacher/facilitator during each event.

After organising the data, the first author reviewed the excerpts from the interview transcripts and observation notes for expressions associated with the theme of discomfort such as, for example, participants' and her own descriptions of feeling nervous, worried, uncertain, embarrassed or uneasy. In order to explicitly document her discomfort she wrote short narrative reflections based on fieldnotes and participant observations. In order to help analyse the primary texts she wrote short synopses of the cellphilms screened during the events. She compared and contrasted the narratives and synopses with the interview transcripts as well as with the participant observation notes. The first author collected and carried out the initial analysis of the data and the second author, during the overlapping data analysis and writing phases of the project, acted as a critical friend—a trusted person who, following Costa and Kallick (1993), asks provocative questions and offers supportive critique.

FINDINGS

Teachers' discomfort with how best to engage learners in discussing HIV

The teachers felt they had a professional duty to discuss HIV with young people. One participant said, "As teachers, we do have the knowledge" (Pre-event Interview, Church Group). They felt prepared to take on this topic and wanted to present a fun-filled and interactive event that involved a lot of dialogue among the youth peers as well as between the youth and the teachers. However, some teachers worried that the audience members

would not feel comfortable engaging in a discussion about sexual health and that the teachers' existing relationships with these young people might hinder dialogue:

> I think that might be a bit of a challenge. Cause, I don't know, it might influence their level of responding. Like, they will see us as their teachers so they might not be so comfortable as to respond. Basically, they may be scared to say some things (Pre-event Interview, Church Group).

Motivated by their apprehensions about how their presence could influence audience participation, the teachers invited the young people to engage in small peer-led discussions. In the small groups, the learners discussed the cellphilms and identified key themes. Following the small group work, the teachers encouraged the audience members to share their discussions with the larger group. In all the events, the small group and large group discussions were lively. As will be described in more detail in the following sections, audience members asked the teachers engaging and sometimes challenging questions. The lively debate and the audience's engaged questions suggest that the success of the cellphilm screening event was not impeded by having the teachers act as facilitators.

Teachers' discomfort with teaching about condoms in schools

The teachers were conscious of the school's ties to Catholicism and how Catholic beliefs and practices might oppose some of the requirements of the national curriculum. This awareness most affected the Church Group screening. However, all the groups were concerned about the implications of discussing condoms, and were unwilling to distribute them or give demonstrations on their use during their event:

> When you say, 'When you are sexually active use a condom' for us to actually come out and say, 'use a condom' it becomes a problem. Because we are preaching now a different message than the message we are supposed to preach…Also, the Department of Education is…proposing learners having condoms in their school (Pre-event Interview, Church Group).

Conversely, the cellphilms expressed a more secular, rights-based approach to sexual health—one that reflected the young people's experiences:

> I know that it's not like we are going to be talking about something new with the learners. It is something that they already know. And I know for sure that they sometimes think about it. And with some of them I know that they get worried and wish they could change some of the things that happen in our community (Pre-event Interview, Peace Club Group).

The teachers were concerned and discomforted about the need to provide information about condoms and condom use given the community's ties to the Catholic church even though

the cellphilms openly depict and discuss condoms, teenage pregnancy, pornography and alcohol abuse because the teachers view these topics as being relevant to young people.

In response to this discomfort, the teachers decided that it would be acceptable for them to discuss the use of condoms as one method of preventing HIV transmission and unplanned pregnancy. But they drew the line at providing access to condoms during the screening events. The teachers managed this discomfort by negotiating a compromise that included a discussion of condoms but not a demonstration during the events.

Teachers' discomfort with discussing alternatives to abstinence-only prevention

Along with feeling uncomfortable about discussing condoms, these teachers believe that abstinence is young people's best option for HIV prevention. While audience members did not oppose this message, they troubled this belief by asking about the ways that cultural factors might influence sexual debut outside of marriage. A Grade 6 boy asked what a young man who cannot afford to pay *lobola*—the traditional bride price paid by a prospective husband to his prospective wife's family—should do. In a rural context of high unemployment and financial difficulty, saving for *lobola* can seem difficult, if not impossible, for some young men, thus making marriage, and therefore sex, appear unattainable. During the post-interview, the facilitating teacher admitted to feeling uncomfortable about this question.

> I was surprised with that boy who asked because I said, 'at your age you are not supposed to be involved in sex. Wait for marriage.' Then there was this boy who asked, 'What about if I don't want to wait?' That was a surprise! (Post-event, Life Orientation Group)

The teacher admits that at first she struggled to respond. She said, "He caught me on that one!"

In response to this question the teacher modified her original message. Instead of advocating an abstinence-only approach, she advised learners not to rush into becoming sexually active. She also suggested using condoms to prevent HIV transmission and unplanned pregnancy. This moment of discomfort shows young people's engagement with teachers in asking questions as a way of disrupting the messages they see as problematic. In response to the learners' questions, the teachers adapted their messages to include a discussion of a wider range of safer sexual activities.

Teachers' discomfort with addressing sexual violence

An instance of discomfort during the Peace Club screening illustrated how teachers must traverse the complex geography of sexual health education policy in a region where the HIV prevalence is high amongst young women in large part because of accompanying high rates of sexual violence against women. In her reflexive writing, the first author describes the events leading up to a young female learner asking Ntombi, a facilitating teacher, a discomforting question:

> The cellphilms were screened one after the other to the attentive audience. Ntombi then facilitated a large group discussion about HIV and AIDS. It was during this discussion that Ntombi explained to the learners that 'a covenant is a relationship between you and the person you are having sex with as well as between you and God.' She added that these relationships are carried with you for life even if your relationship with a sexual partner ends. At this point, a female student in the audience raises her hand and, reflecting on the message that every sexual act is carried for life, she asks: "What if you are raped? Do you have to tell your husband of this experience?" (First author's reflexive writing)

This learner's question touches on an underlying contradiction in Ntombi's explanation and the shortcomings of educational ideologies that assume, at great cost to many girls and women, that all sexual experiences are consensual. In South Africa, in particular, high rates of gender-based violence mean that all sexual health discussions must consider the potential impact of sexual violence on people's lives.

In the post-interview Ntombi expressed shock that a learner would bring up rape in such a public forum. Ntombi was pleased that the girl felt confident to challenge her as the teacher but was also unsure as to how to respond. In the end, she referred to her own experiences as a teacher in the community.

> It is a different case. When you are raped it is something that you didn't do intentionally…that is why people who are raped, they take a very long time to heal. Because it is something that is done to them without their will. … And that is why they don't tend to forget easily. It takes years and years. I don't think they ever forget. Cause I've got a learner who was raped in Grade 7. Until today, she is doing third year Varsity. She is still hurting.... You can see it from the way she talks. You know, sometimes she wants to give up in life (Post-event, Peace Club).

In this example, Ntombi recognised the learner's contribution of an alternative experience to the discussion of the impact of sex on a person's life. While Ntombi initially struggled to respond, her answer appears honest and demonstrates how teachers provide care for their

students. In Ntombi's own words, "[W]e counsel them. So I think that is the other side that they saw [during the screening event]. It's not all about curriculum and learning" (Post-event, Peace Club). In responding to the questions about rape during the screening event, Ntombi offers her own interpretation of the trauma of sexual violence. Referencing her knowledge of the learner's experiences and her own ongoing connection to this young woman also suggests that Ntombi may provide a level of ongoing care for individuals in the school community who are survivors of sexual violence.

DISCUSSION

In considering moments of discomfort in relation to screening and discussing participant-produced cellphilms, we explore how the exhibition process is more than just research dissemination in that it also contributes to research knowledge production. We argue in this section that how teachers react to this discomfort points to their resilience in negotiating conflicting ideologies, global frameworks and also towards the potential of screening participant-produced cellphilms to bring communities together to respond to the impact of HIV and AIDS.

With the HIV epidemic in South Africa being what it is, some teachers may view teaching learners about HIV-related issues as a monumental task that extends beyond their professional responsibilities (MacEntee, 2011a). Providing non-judgmental and empowering sexual health education is particularly difficult for some teachers (Smith & Harrison, 2013). These participant teachers also expressed hesitation and unpreparedness in relation to their screening events, and worried about potential barriers to audience participation. Despite these initial hesitations, however, all three screening events incorporated stimulating dialogue amongst learners in the small groups, and between teachers and learners in the large groups. These experiences are similar to previous research initiatives incorporating public screening events to promote community dialogue and address difficult subjects or those about which any discussion is taboo (Mitchell & De Lange, 2011). The process of watching and then responding to participant-produced visual media in these contexts offers a non-didactic, youth-centred kind of pedagogy and seems to invite audience participation in interpreting and responding to different HIV prevention messages. All three of the cellphilm screening events offered examples of youth audience

members asking questions that challenged the teacher's assumptions and that highlighted previously overlooked systemic barriers including traditional practices, gender-based violence and the obstacles to practising safer sex. Instead of being seen only as a finished product, each video screened can be seen as a starting point for engagement in teacher-learner dialogue about the overarching socio-cultural influences on the sexual safety of young people. These findings respond to Smith and Harrison's (2013) observations that suggest that teachers can lack a nuanced understanding of youth sexualitiesand struggle to offer non-judgemental strategies to promote sexual health. A critical outcome of the dialogue between the young people and the teachers at these screening events was the teachers' increased awareness and respect for these young people in this rural community.

The research identified three broad influences on how the teachers addressed HIV prevention during the screening events: 1) the national curriculum; 2) religious teachings; and 3) local, experiential knowledge. The national curriculum advocates a comprehensive, secular approach that encourages individuals to choose safer sexual practices while also recognising systemic barriers that might limit the individual's ability to choose these (DBE, 2011d). The teachers' and school's religious affiliations lead them to promote a more restrictive set of options in terms of sexual safety, limiting their discussions to sexual abstinence and fidelity (Casale, Nixon, Flicker, Rubincam, & Jenney, 2010). The teachers were uncertain, at first, about how to reconcile the rights-based policy with the abstinence policy. These influences restrained the types of resources (e.g. condom demonstrations) they might have used to teach learners about sexual health practices. The cellphilms offered an opportunity for teachers to show condoms but avoid the contentious issue of bringing the prophylactics physically into the classroom, thus distancing themselves from the discomfort generally associated with demonstrating how to use a condom in a classroom context. But, in presenting religious teachings, the teachers preferred to discuss these intimately in person. For example, Ntombi presented the notion of the sacred in her description of a covenant. Most surprising was the ability of the teachers to respond to the alternative perspectives raised by the learners with personal anecdotes and reference to local, experiential knowledge. In the case of Ntombi, this was most evident when she chose to draw on her personal experience as a teacher caring for a rape survivor. The discomfort the teachers experienced in implementing a rights-based curriculum coincides with Wood

and Rolleri's (2014) critique of the national curriculum in which they argue for the need to develop a national program that can address the confluence of social, cultural and gendered norms that affect young people's choices. However, using teacher-produced cellphilms suggests an alternative resource that teachers can adapt to manage curricular guidelines in keeping with local and community-based ideas, beliefs and expectations.

In any consideration of the role of public screenings in relation to participant-produced visual media, the audience is both important and unpredictable. Chalfen, Sherman andRich argue that "knowledge and anticipation of what [they] have termed 'a dedicated audience' is one of the primary variables in the success of participant media research" (2010, p. 209). We also bear in mind Kindon et al.'s (2012) discussion of the risks to participants in screening their videos to an unreceptive audience. It is perhaps the unpredictable nature of audience reaction that motivated the teachers to screen their cellphilms to the more familiar learner audiences. We also presume that a different audience, one made up of adults (e.g. parents, other teachers or local leaders) would have significantly affected the screening events. As Mitchell et al. observe, "Too often perhaps, as researchers, seeking to do 'most good' and getting the most out of our fieldwork in terms of impact, we think primarily of how community-based video productions might reach policymakers" (2014, p. 5). Clearly there is a much wider possibility of audiences who might be influenced and stand to gain by watching teacher-produced cellphilms. With this in mind, we consider the screenings a success. One strength of digital films is that they can be shown over and over again to different audiences. The videos were projected onto a screen made out of four pieces of poster paper during these events but they could also be disseminated from cellphone-to-cellphone, over social media,[52] or by using a USB. The costs of such screenings are relatively low and they offer further potential to extend the research and the influence of the cellphilms as a pedagogical tool to address HIV.

CONCLUSION

Global frameworks such as Education for All and curriculum policy implemented at the national level recognise that teachers play a vital role in addressing HIV and AIDS.

[52] It is necessary to observe the ethical limits of ownership, anonymity and distribution of research data in relation to the internet and internet servers.

However, teachers experience various barriers to integrating HIV and sexual health topics into their classroom practice. In this article we seek to inform future research on the ways in which teachers might integrate cellphilms into HIV education strategies, how they might navigate the contentious relationships between current sex education approaches, and how teachers and learners might come together through public art forums. Future research could explore the various ways in which cellphones and cellphilm screenings could be used by educators to teach about difficult subjects and/or those that are excluded from discussion by tradition. Such initiatives could also investigate how different audiences can engage with this visual media. Internationally, young people are emerging as leaders in HIV and AIDS policy development, especially in connection with digital technologies (UNAIDS, 2013b). The screening of teacher-produced cellphilms to learners offered opportunities for them to contribute to the development of a nuanced HIV educational message that, in turn, supports the continued active engagement of these young people in policy-related initiatives. Perhaps the most dramatic outcome of this fieldwork is the recognition of the significance of teachers and youth learning from each other. This outcome is in line with Boler and Zembylas's (2003) description of emotional labour, through which an engagement with emotional discomfort creates a space for social transformation and a re-consideration of individuals' roles in society. The screenings led the teachers to reconceptualise their roles as educators in relation to their learners and to consider the potential of future cellphilm initiatives between teachers and learners working together to address HIV and AIDS. The research into this screening event also emphasises the potential for rural teachers to implement locally accessible digital technology in order to fuel community-specific HIV and AIDS education.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will revisit the concept of bricolage and portraiture in order to reflect on my analytical approach to discussing the research questions. This is followed by a brief review my research questions. I will then explore the results that pertain to the contributions of participatory visual methods to HIV and AIDS education (Research question 1), followed by discussion of the challenges of integrating participatory visual methods into HIV and AIDS education (Research question 2). A discussion of the research limitations will precede the chapter summary.

REVISITING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

My research questions evolved out of an analysis of the South African educational context as it relates to HIV and AIDS education, which identified the interrelated shortfalls of HIV and AIDS curriculum, pedagogy and teacher education. I also reviewed the additional challenges posed by the multiple disparities experienced by many schools in rural communities. Reflecting on my previous experiences in the field, I considered the possibilities of integrating participatory visual methods as a pedagogical tool for teachers with an interest in addressing HIV and AIDS. Having outlined the growing breadth and depth of literature on participatory visual methods' contribution to research as intervention on HIV and AIDS education, I present two interrelated research questions that explore both the contributions and challenges of integrating this approach in rural school contexts:

Research question 1

What do learners, preservice teachers and inservice teachers identify as the contributions of participatory visual methods to research and education about HIV and AIDS, especially as they relate to rural school contexts?

Research question 2

What educational challenges are associated with establishing and sustaining the contributions that participatory visual methods provide to enhance current and future HIV and AIDS teaching practices, particularly in under-resourced schools such as those found in rural KwaZulu-Natal?

These are exploratory questions that identify and articulate the role that participatory visual methods can play in response to school-based responses to HIV and AIDS. The questions reflect the nature of the study, which is the first of its kind to look specifically at the role of participatory visual methods as a pedagogical tool for South Africa's HIV and AIDS rural educational response from the perspective of learners, preservice and inservice teachers.

Bricolage and portraiture as an analytical approach

I draw on and seek to integrate the findings reported in the three portraits presented through a process of bricolage and portraiture. Figure 5.1 illustrates this approach in a matrix. Each portrait presents findings based on the perspectives of a particular education stakeholder group—learners, inservice teachers or preservice teachers. These perspectives contribute to and inform the conclusions in Chapter 4 about a participatory visuals method—digital storytelling, participatory arts-based methods and cellphilms. Using the process of triangulation, which considers multiple perspectives simultaneously (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), I consider how these three portraits come together. Following a process of bricolage, my discussion of the research findings can be described as a process of "putting together the pieces" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 334) of these separate portraits. In keeping with the analogy of portraiture, my discussion can also serve to describe this point in the study as a group portrait of sorts. According to West (2004), establishing the relational quality between the individuals in a group portrait is one of the most challenging aspects of this genre of portraiture, as well as one of its defining features. While each portrait remains intact, my focus here is to discuss how the portrait findings come together and relate to one another and in reference to the literature on HIV and AIDS education in order to draw conclusions about the implications and potential impact that participatory visual methods can have on HIV and AIDS education in rural school contexts.

This strategy departs from some current trends of attempting to figure out what effective HIV and AIDS prevention and education looks like through a process of systematized M&E strategies (O'Flynn, 2010; Stephenson, Imrie, & Bonell, 2009). Kippax and Van de Van (1998) argue that studies in determining the 'impact' of HIV and AIDS education are suffering from an 'epidemic of orthodoxy' in their use of randomized controlled trials (RCTs). As numerous others have argued, RCTs are complex in their

implementation, especially for small-scale, project-based initiatives with short-term funding (Batliwala & Pittman, 2010; Coates, Richter, & Caceres, 2008; Ross, Wight, Dowsett, Buve, & Obasi, 2006). Controlling for contextual factors ignores how different strategies and techniques interact and evolve in a community (Brown et al., 2015). What is needed are more nuanced and contextualized understandings of the different prevention approaches (Jewkes, Wood,& Duvvury, 2010). In focusing on the portraits, and then triangulating these portraits together again into a group portrait, my study brings that more nuanced and contextualized understanding to the field of HIV and AIDS educational research. In this way, the conclusions draw and complement other up-close analyses in the field, such as Baxen's (2010) case studies of inservice LO teachers, Islam and Mitchell's (2011) and Khau et al.'s (2013) studies on rural teacher education and HIV and AIDS, and the methodological exploration of girlhood in southern Africa by Moletsane, Mitchell and De Lange (2008).

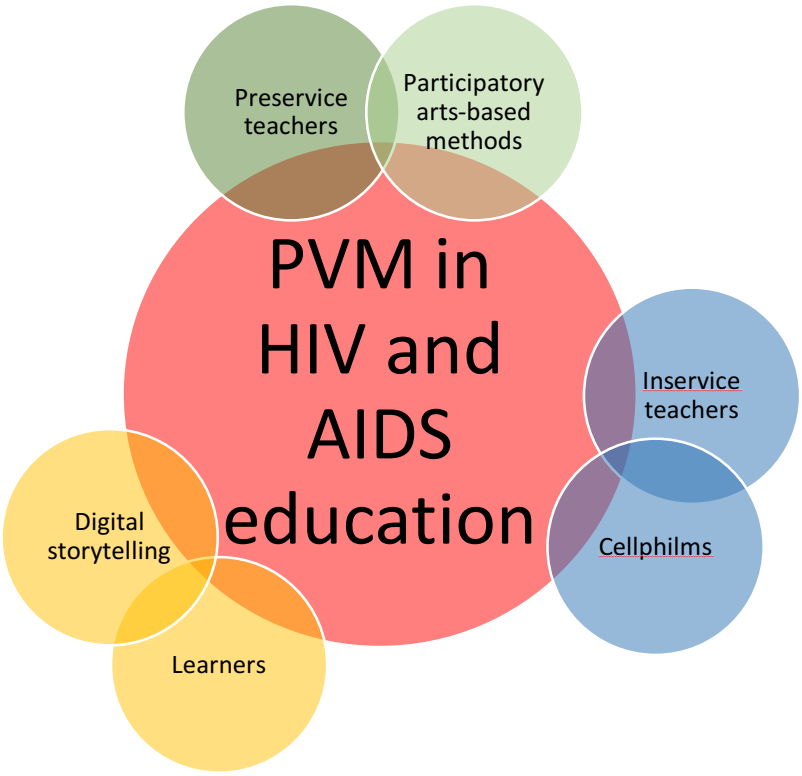

Figure 5.1: Analytical matrix.

While engaging with the research findings presented in the portraits, I wanted to avoid emphasizing one participant group's perspective over another. In this sense, my readings might be described as placing the different projects side-by-side. In considering the portraits together in this manner, themes emerged in relation to the contributions and the challenges of integrating participatory visual methods into HIV and AIDS education. I will discuss my answer to each research question in relation to these themes (Figure 5.2). For example, the data emerging from the YAKP project suggested that the participatory visual methods were a novel approach for the preservice teachers, which contributed to the participants' engagement and enjoyment of the HIV and AIDS education process. I considered the other projects where participants referred to a sense of novelty, engagement, and fun. This resulted in a diversification of the understanding of novelty as a contribution to the participatory visual methods. I also considered several established bodies of literature, including that on learners, preservice teacher education and inservice teacher practice, as well as rural education, HIV and AIDS education, and participatory visual methods for discussions of these themes. The strength of this approach is in its ability to consider more deeply the complexities of HIV and AIDS education.

To bring further depth to the discussion I have included references to some additional interview and visual data not presented in the portraits in the manuscripts in Chapter Four. The interview data comes from interviews with preservice teachers and post-event interviews with the inservice teachers. The visual data include process photographs, which most often involve an image I took but may also include some taken by participants or colleagues in the field during various workshop activities. I have also included one example of the photovoice data coming from the work with the preservice teachers during the YAKP follow-up study. The additional images help illustrate my argument. Drawing on Pithouse and Mitchell's (2007) idea of 'looking at looking,' I consider the ways that the images contribute to a richer understanding of the study that can emerge from engaging with photographs that show some of the process of participatory visual methods. As my study revolved around the significance of visual texts in teaching and learning, the inclusion of these images is in keeping with the framework of visual methodologies and an appreciation of the knowledge represented in the visual that is not fully captured in the same way using words.

Contributions of participatory visual methods integration	Challenges of participatory visual methods integration
Novel, engaging and fun	Technology access
Negotiating cultural complexities	Engaging with discomfort in HIV and AIDS teaching
Encouraging youth voice	
Facilitating teachers' reflexive learning	Limited scope of research interventions
Contributing to the production of local resources	

Figure 5.2: Discussion themes for research questions 1 and 2.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF PARTICIPATORY METHODS TO HIV AND AIDS RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

Research question 1

What do learners, preservice teachers and inservice teachers identify as the contributions of participatory visual methods to education about HIV and AIDS, especially as they relate to rural schools?

Looking across the results presented in the three portraits, I highlight the ways that the findings suggest that the collaborative visual processes contribute in many ways to HIV and AIDS education in rural school contexts, in particular as it relates to increased youth participation in the HIV and AIDS response and to the need for context-specific prevention. I discuss these results in relation to five themes: 1) novelty, fun and engagement; 2) negotiating cultural complexities; 3) encouraging youth voices; 4) facilitating teacher reflexive learning; and 5) contributing to the production of local resources in under-resourced areas.

1) Novelty, fun and engagement

While participatory visual methods have been implemented in the fields of HIV and AIDS educational research for over a decade, the participants in this study were mostly unaware of these techniques as a means of HIV and AIDS education. The novelty of the methods contributed to participants' sense of having fun and encouraged engagement in the topic.

In the digital storytelling workshop, I observed the participants as they enjoyed using the digital technology and worked collaboratively with their peers. Process photographs of participants' learning to use the cameras (Figure 5.3) and then using the cameras to make their digital story (Figure 5.4)help illustrate this sense of participants' enjoyment and their engagement in directing the visual process. This sense of fun lends further support to previous research both in the South African context (Mnisi, 2015; Reed & Hill, 2010) and internationally (Allen; 2009;Young & Barrett, 2001) that assert that digital technology is a new and engaging way for learners to explore the HIV and AIDS topic.De Castell and Jenson (2003) use the concept of 'serious play' to describe the contribution of fun during educational endeavours as contributing to young people's immersion in the activity, adding a sense of effortlessness to their educational development and predicting learners' ongoing engagement with the topic over time.

Figure 5.3: Digital storytelling participants using the digital cameras.

Figure 5.4: Behind the scenes with members of the Girl Group creating their digital story.

It was evident that the novel and fun approach led to engagement again in the YAKP assessment when preservice teachers described how the participatory visual methods stood out in comparison with their previous experiences of lecture-based HIV and AIDS education. David created a photovoice image and caption that further asserts this understanding (Figure 5.5). Connecting fun with engagement, he photographed a book cover that shows a boy playfully standing on his hands. The book is a collection of poems and other creative texts about HIV and AIDS, produced by a group of youth. The image not only promotes a sense of play, but it can also be directly associated with the types of participatory arts-based methods that YAKP was teaching. As an accompanying caption David writes, “Art is fun, people often open up and learn more effectively when they are having fun.” The caption’s emphasis on ‘opening up’ diverges from the silence and stigma that is standing in the way of more genuine engagement and knowledge production of effective HIV and AIDS prevention.

As I discussed in Chapter 4, the intrigue generated around this ‘new’ approach to HIV and AIDS learning seems to disrupt the AIDS fatigue that the preservice teachers expressed in relation to the HEI response to HIV and AIDS prevention amongst its student body. Shefer et al. (2012) asserts that AIDS fatigue is widespread amongst university students and connected to lower perceptions of HIV risk as well asgreater likelihood of unprotected sex. It is not clear if YAKP had any direct effect on the preservice teachers’ sexual activity, but it did seem to capture the participants’ interests and motivated them to continue to engage with the YAKP project as peer educators.

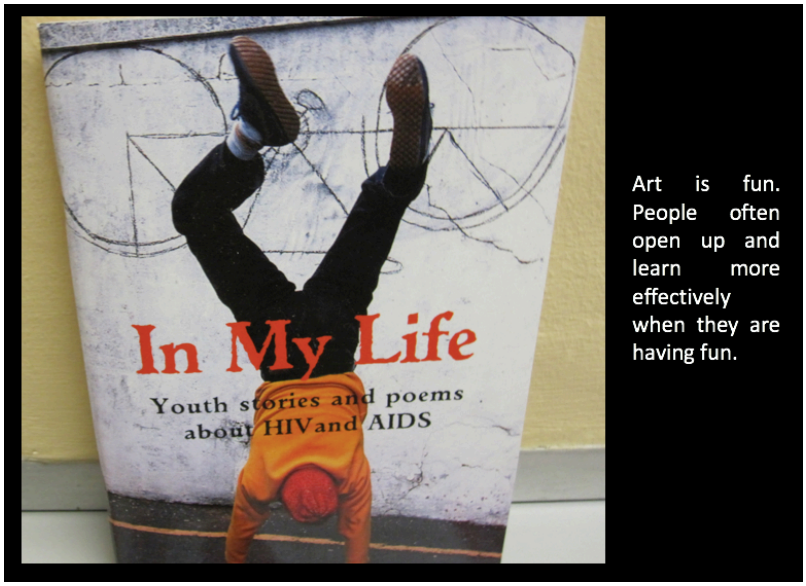

Figure 5.5: Preservice teachers describe participatory visual methods as fun and engaging for rural learners.

Novelty emerged as a theme in two different ways during the cellphilm screenings. The screenings were the first time that the participating inservice teachers organized an HIV- and AIDS-specific event outside of their teaching (Figure 5.6). The learners' reactions to the teachers' cellphilms and the dynamic discussions that followed support findings from the previous projects illustrating how the novelty of participatory visual methods can contribute to learners and teachers engaging with HIV and AIDS education.

The results of the cellphilm screening suggest that incorporating participatory visual methods helped teachers who specialized in a range of subject areas to identify themselves as sources of information and support for their learners. When asked how she felt the cellphilm screening went during a post-event interview, one teacher articulated this sentiment:

> I think good, because they saw a different side of ourselves. They know us as their educators who stand in front and teach and all those things, but now seeing us acting, it's like another side of each one of ourselves that they did not know (Teacher, Peace Club, p. 3).

While the cellphilms raised several serious themes, many of them also have moments that are funny and playful. Watching your teacher act like a teenager dancing at a party is not something that learners will see everyday! In this sense, the visual approach was a means for the teachers to 're-cast' themselves in their pastoral role and show a different side of themselves that might make them more approachable to learners. In a context where adults

are often associated with being punitive or judgemental of learners' sexual activity, seeing teachers show understanding of the types of pressures that learners might be faced with when making decisions about their sexual activity may actually encourage them to access teachers' support.

The DBE (2000) presents all teachers as sources of pastoral care for learners dealing with the impacts of HIV and AIDS on their lives. However, the majority of the literature takes this up through the actions of LO teachers and their negotiation of the LO curriculum. But do learners actually want to approach their teachers on these matters? Large-scale surveys report media being young people's primary source of information on HIV and AIDS (Abiona et al., 2014; HSRC, 2014). Indeed, teachers and schools are conspicuously absent from these studies. Smaller-scale studies, such as Taukeni and Ferreira's (2016) case study in a rural community in the Eastern Cape does indicate teachers are the primary source of information for rural young people in vulnerable communities.

Figure 5.6: Watching teachers' cellphilms at the Grade 6 LO event.

2) Negotiating cultural complexities

As the analysis of the digital story "The People's Who Does Not Wear Condom get HIV/AIDS" in Chapter 4 helps illustrate, cultural values and morals are implicit to HIV and AIDS education (Francis & DePalma, 2014). The digital story contains images that might make some audiences uncomfortable or that may feel inappropriate for viewing in a school or classroom setting. The portrait of the analysis of this digital story also shows how a critical engagement with different discourses of sexuality depicted in the visual texts can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of girls' lived experiences and how they negotiate competing cultural values outlining 'appropriate' sexual behaviour. It is by

engaging with this complexity and the sometimes uncomfortable tensions that accompany expressions of adolescent female sexuality that more applicable HIV and AIDS prevention actions will be developed.

However, previous research illustrates with some certainty that cultural negotiation of this sort in the classroom is a source of anxiety for HIV and AIDS teachers and can affect their choice of pedagogy, or the range of information they are willing to discuss with learners (Baxen, 2010). These tensions and discomfort may also lead teachers to avoid the topic all together (Francis, 2016). The comprehensive curriculum, which portrays a neutral and universal understanding of HIV and AIDS prevention, effectively ignores these values and morals and provides little guidance to teachers on how to negotiate them during their teaching (Baxen & Breidlid, 2009). This discomfort is heightened when teachers view the curriculum as opposing their religious or moral beliefs in adolescent sexual abstinence (Francis, 2016; Helleve et al., 2009; Mathews, Boon, Flisher, & Schaalma, 2006).

Lesko's (2010) interpretive study of sexual education curriculum lends further nuance to this interpretation by demonstrating that the opposition between abstinence-only and comprehensive curriculum is exaggerated, as both approaches share several epistemic similarities. To summarise, Lesko compares abstinence-only and a comprehensive curriculum side-by-side and outlines five instances when the curricula essentially share the same messages. First, they both share a "pan-optimism" (p. 290) in their approach and the belief that following the prescribed behaviour will result in a peaceful and happy society. These behaviours are based in rational decision-making, and "neither approach includes mistakes or errors nor acknowledges that loss, misrecognition, and hurt are part of the sexual terrain" (p. 290). Second, both approaches present a knowledge that is ahistorical, stable and unchanging. Third, the approaches share a sense of nostalgia for more wholesome yesteryears. While their ideals may seem different, Lesko asserts "each approach works to create an emotional climate that is safe and predictable and to inspire confidence in its ability to regulate young people's sexuality and circumscribe their sexual options" (p. 291). Fourth, the curricula are the same in that they do not want young people to have sex. In this way, they are both "intent on policing children's access to sexual knowledge and discouraging sexual contact" (p. 291). Fifth, neither approach recognizes sexual 'others,' such as gender non-conforming youth, or people who do not conform to

normative gendered roles. Lesko (2010) concludes that the sexual health curriculum, regardless of its epistemic origins, is working to control and regulate young people's sexuality. She calls for a diversification of sexual health approaches that open up avenues that acknowledge and engage with "good and bad feelings, familiar and unfamiliar longings, and attend to vulnerabilities, anxieties, regrets, mistrust and other backward feelings" (p. 294).

Applying Lesko's argument to the South African LO context, Francis and DePalma (2014) interpret LO teachers' approach to HIV and AIDS education as a mix of comprehensive and abstinence-only messaging. This is a "hybridised approach" (p. 90) that attempts to balance teachers' moral beliefs and their sense of learners' lived realities. During the cellphilm screenings, the teachers used their cellphilms to operationalize this hybridised approach. Conscious of the demands of the comprehensive sexual health curriculum and the educational needs of their learners, the cellphilms were instrumental in helping teachers cover comprehensive topics, such as demonstrating how to appropriately use a condom and discussing pornography. Messages of abstinence and religious teachings were more prominent in what the teachers said to the learners after the cellphilms were screened. In these ways the inservice teachers' use of cellphilms and cellphilm screenings was a tool with which they could negotiate cultural complexities in HIV and AIDS education in the rural school context.

Francis and DePalma (2014) observed that the teachers' 'hybridised' sexual health approach still privileges abstinence messages. This was probably also true of the teachers in this study. The messages that teachers asserted after the screenings, tended to supersede the more comprehensive cellphilm messages in favour of sexual abstinence, and likely carried more authority and shaped the learners' interpretations of the cellphilms. However, a survey of the audience reaction to the events would need to occur to assert this more concretely. In the post-event interviews, the participant teachers gave some indication that, as a result of the research, they were becoming more open to providing learners with a broader range of information about sex and sexual safety. One teacher expressed learning, "it is better to say things as a spade is a spade. Don't hide or say something like our Grannies used to tell us that babies come from an airplane. Yeah, we must tell the learners the truth" (LO event, p. 9). This teacher disrupts a nostalgic perception of her own sexual

health education that was based on avoiding or misrepresenting information about sexual activity. Another teacher, during the Peace Club screening, had planned to discuss with learners the themes of loss and abandonment in the cellphilms but unfortunately ran out of time because the learners were so involved discussing other topics. As teachers become more open to negotiating contentious topics with learners and as their comfort level with facilitating cellphilm screenings increases, these comments suggest that teachers will incorporate more aspects of comprehensive HIV and AIDS education.

3) Encouraging youth voices

The concept of 'youth voice' is a contested one by many researchers. On the one hand, this type of youth participation and the inclusion of youth voices have been given considerable praise in policy development, where young people's experiences and perspectives have been otherwise overlooked and marginalized for some time (UNAIDS, 2011b). In educational studies, the concept of 'youth voice' is discussed as a form of self-representation that contributes to youth's ownership and power in school decision-making (Mitra, 2004). According to Quiroz (2001), "Voice implies having power over the presentation of reality and meaning, and the ability to construct, articulate, and therefore shape one's experience as it is presented to others" (p. 328). Instances of 'youth voice' can include sharing opinions, collaborating with adults and acting as leaders in the community (Mitra, 2004).

On the other hand, Gacoin (2010) argues, the discourse of 'youth voice' in HIV and AIDS prevention fails to critically engage with how young people negotiate different and contradictory constructions of sexuality and safety within HIV and AIDS education. Others have noted that the conception of 'youth voice' gives a false sense of homogenized unity (Canon, Raby, Mitchell, Théwissen-LeBlanc,& Prioletta, 2016). Orner (1992) contends, "Student voice, as it has been conceptualized in work which claims to empower students, is an oppressive construct—one that I argue perpetuates relations of domination in the name of liberation" (p. 75). Orner's critique points towards the dangers of paternalistic, top-down engagement with what youth are saying solely at the discretion of those in positions of power. Hadfield and Haw (2001) note that young people's voices can be influenced in order to meet the needs of an adult agenda. The concept of 'youth voice'

should not be considered something that adults can activate at their discretion (Bragg & Buckingham, 2014). This type of tokenistic inclusion of young people's perspectives is a process that can further marginalize young people and their knowledge. These critiques also highlight how the value of including youth voices is inextricably tied to the tensions and challenges of having what youth are saying genuinely listened to by a receptive audience(Rodríguez & Brown, 2009).

To help demonstrate both the possibilities and challenges of participatory visual methods in supporting youth participation and voice, I consider the digital storytelling workshop. Working from the same prompt as the Girl Group, 'Youth and HIV in my community,' the Strawberry Group (5 girls) and the Boy Group (2 boys) made digital stories that revolved around the prevalence of HIV stigma in their rural community. The Boy Group told a story about a boy ostracized from his family after disclosing his HIV status and his search for support (Figure 5.7). The Strawberry Group told a story about a girl whose unplanned pregnancy and HIV status causes her to be shunned by her friends and thrown out of her home by her mother (Figure 5.8). While I do not present a close reading of these two digital stories, as the scope of such an endeavor is indicated in Chapter 4 by my reading of the Girl Group's work, it is worth noting that each story is a representation of 'youth voice.' They represent the young people's knowledge and concern over the devastating effects of HIV stigma on the health and wellbeing of people living with HIV in the rural community. The collection of the three stories support further inquiry into young people's access to sexual and reproductive health services, the impact of rejection and stigma on young people's wellbeing, and their conception of the future after a positive HIV test. Moreover, the stories lend further support to the flexibility of a participatory visual approach to accommodate young people's heterogeneous views and concerns (Stuart, 2006). Each of these topics can be read as an entry point through which to engage with learners in a deeper analysis of their concerns about the effect of HIV and AIDS on society. As MacEntee and Mitchell (2011) assert, the significance of youth participation is encapsulated not only in the ability for young people to identify issues but also in the opportunities to analyse and make sense of these issues in a way that is meaningful to them. Being able to disseminate participants' visual texts extends youth's perspective and participation outside the immediate context of the intervention and,

depending on the means and scope of the dissemination process, can include any number of audiences for the expression of youth's voices. In these ways, participatory visual methods are understood to be both a means and an end for the expression and appreciation of 'youth voice.'

However, participatory visual methods may also encounter limits in its capacity to support 'youth voice'. This limitation is explored by considering the decision by the World AIDS Day organizers to not show the Girl Group's digital story. It is clear that the organizers had the girls' best interests in mind when they asked that we choose a different digital story to screen at the event. The setting was not really the appropriate context to screen such a potentially contentious story. The girls' drawing of naked bodies and sexual activity, even if the message was ultimately one of sexual responsibility, could be considered by some as inappropriate. When dealing with possibly contentious visual texts, Mitchell and De Lange (2011) discuss ways of framing the work, such as the development of facilitation guides of composite videos, that help direct audiences' reactions and help build momentum towards community-based solutions to identified challenges. However, the participants and I did not have enough time to prepare a presentation that would frame the girls' story constructively; thus we acquiesced to the organizers' request and chose to show the Strawberry Group's story instead.

This series of events raises several intersecting questions about the ethics of dissemination and the dynamics of audiences who engage with participants' visual texts produced following participatory visual methods. Who has the right to make decisions about the display of participants' visual texts? How is the exhibition of participants' work framed in relation to the particular context and audience? What is the responsibility of the researcher in 'protecting' the participants from sharing their work in a context that might be less receptive or dangerous? How might researchers take steps to prepare different audiences? These questions, and others, are reflected in the dynamic scholarship in the field of participatory visual methods that considers, for example, the influences of audience and interpretation (Guillemin & Drew, 2010), different contexts of exhibiting participants' work (Mitchell, 2015) and the reactions of audiences to participants' work (Kindon et al., 2012; MacEntee, 2016; Mitchell & De Lange, 2011).

The decision made about the Girl Group's story suggests limitations in the discourses of ownership and participation encapsulated in the ideals of 'youth voice.' Rodríguez and Brown (2009) discuss this as the contextual limits of the agency asserted through a discourse of 'youth voice' hinging on overarching structures of power inequalities between young and old. Braggs and Buckingham (2004) contend, "Any youth voice is largely what we—as adults, researchers, educators, policy makers and practitioners—make it: it has no prior existence and it cannot act alone" (p. 282). In the case of the Girl Group's story, the richness of the text is captured in its sometimes rather explicit drawings that present a girl-centred perspective on girls' sexuality that is at once desiring, empowered and at risk. The decision not to screen may have been an immediate reaction to the explicit drawings and the event context. However, there is also the consequence of this decision to consider, which was a silencing of the girls' voice. Since this particular story was about girls' sexuality, the decision not to screen can be interpreted as re-enforcing a status quo that contends there are (un)acceptable and (in)appropriate expressions of girls' voice, especially as it relates to sexuality.

Figure 5.7: Boy attends the community health clinic for an HIV test (Image from Boy Group's digital story).

Figure 5.8: Girl getting thrown out of the house by her mother (Image from Strawberry Group's digital story).

Do participatory visual methods contribute to a critical conception of youth participation and voice, and can they extend and translate into the classroom context? The findings from the YAKP assessment suggest that they can, especially when the approach is paired with opportunities for preservice teachers to facilitate these methods with learners in rural contexts. The collage workshops in the rural area introduced the preservice teachers to the significance of youth voices in elaborating the ways in which a rural environment may influence young people's sexual decisions. It also illustrated the ways in which the preservice teachers' personal experiences with the epidemic influenced their understandings of its impact in different contexts. This is similar to the results of studies of other rural teachers' education programs (Islam & Mitchell, 2011; Stuart et al., 2011), and supports previous research advocating for more experiential and context-specific learning opportunities that expose preservice teachers to different lived realities of HIV and AIDS (Holderness, 2012).

The inservice teachers' cellphilm screenings also demonstrated how participatory visual methods encourage the inclusion of 'youth voice'. This was mostly a result of group discussion, first between the learners on their own and then between learners and teachers in a larger group. These were opportunities for the learners to voice their perspectives on the intersection of culture and tradition (e.g. in the discussion of *lobola*) as well as context (e.g. discussion of rape) on adolescent sexual practices. These questions were not always comfortable for the teachers. Still, in their post-event interviews the teachers expressed an appreciation of the perspective of young people. As one teacher declared, "That is what I

saw was quite impressive, was that they could express themselves in that language and that they can stand up and speak their views and the way they feel" (Church Group, Post-event). The teachers came to recognize the learners' ability to express their points of view. In this sense, the process disrupted a normative understanding of learners as lacking in HIV and AIDS knowledge or as passive recipients of a fixed construction of HIV and AIDS. As I highlight elsewhere (MacEntee, 2011a), teaching in rural schools can induce feelings ofisolation from a community of like-minded colleagues. Integrating visual texts into their teaching and evoking young people to voice their perspectives on HIV and AIDS also contributed to the inservice teachers' sense of learners as allies in their educational response to the epidemic.

4) Facilitating teachers' reflexive learning

The findings from the YAKP assessment and the cellphilm screenings suggest that teachers' reflexive learning is encouraged through direct interaction with learners. Although there is no one definition of reflexivity in the field of education, there is some consensus, linked to educational philosophers Dewey (1933) and then Schön (1995), that teachers' reflexive practice is a process of learning through experience. Critical pedagogues define reflexivity as a greater self-awareness of how we live "in and with the world" (Freire, 1998, p. 499). According to Loughran (2002), reflexivity in teacher education involves considering a problem and "places an emphasis on learning through questioning and investigation to lead to a development of understanding" (p. 34). HEAIDS (2010b) outlines teacher's reflexive practice in the context of HIV and AIDS teacher education as a process of identifying one's assumptions about the virus and sexuality and considering how these influence one's practice. In HIV and AIDS research interventions, Mitchell et al. (2005) argue that teachers are involved in a reflexive process during the production of their visual texts and they evidence the resulting reflexive growth in their appreciation of the contextual influences on HIV and AIDS risk. Reflexive learning includes a process of self-study that prepares teachers to deal with the emotional and social component of addressing HIV and AIDS, sexuality and gender in schools with learners (Pithouse, Mitchell, & Weber, 2009).

While answering learners' questions and discussing their visual texts produced during the YAKP workshop and events, the participants remembered being confronted

with the ways in which their lived experiences prepared them for addressing HIV and AIDS in their teaching. For Sarah, answering a learner's question about the risk of HIV transmission led her to consider her personal experience of having lived with an HIV positive family member. For Monique, on the other hand, her interaction with the learner made her aware of her own sheltered childhood. She reflects:

> I had no response to what he was saying. I was just shocked, cause from where I come from it is very different. Like you know small things don't amuse us. Like clothes and stuff, we get these things. So there is nothing that would draw me towards wanting that or giving something from myself in order to get that (p. 5).

These findings echo those of Stuart, Raht and Smith (2011) and Khau et al. (2013), who both argue that having preservice teachers experience teaching outside their known and comfortable contexts encourages teachers to think differently about themselves and what they know. The experience disrupted understandings of teaching, rurality and children, and as the participants remembered these experiences two years later, they emphasized their significance in the ways in which they discussed applying participatory visual methods in their future teaching practice.

In the post-event interviews following their cellphilm screening events, the inservice teachers described a similar reflexive growth as a result of the discussions with learners' following the screenings. Like Baxen's (2010) observation in LO classrooms, the learners' questions seemed to "temporarily trouble or rupture" (p. 304) the teacher's identity. However, whereas in Baxen's study the teachers were observed to respond to learners' questions in such a way that they reinstated the teachers' authority and the normative discourse through various means, during the cellphilm screening event some teachers, such as Ntombi, seemed somewhat more open to exploring these ruptures and instabilities.

What evoked this different reaction by the participating teachers? When the cellphilms were being produced, the teachers engaged with some of their more problematic assumptions about what constitutes appropriate sex education (Mitchell & De Lange, 2013). During the screening events, the teachers' reactions to the questions could be understood as evidence of their reflexive growth during the cellphilm production process. A further aspect to consider is that the cellphilms were not screened in a formal classroom setting. They did not require the teachers to follow a prescribed curriculum, although the

teachers did seem to be influenced by the overarching comprehensive curricular objectives. In this more informal interactive context, the teachers seemed more open to engaging with their youth audiences. At the same time, it is important to recognize that the events did not completely break from a sort of top-down, 'teacher knows best' framework. Teachers positioned themselves at the front of the room (Figure 5.9) and were observed to direct the discussions. Often it was the teachers' responses to the learners' comments and questions that served as the concluding or summative statement on the different topics and themes that were debated.

Figure 5.9: Teacher facilitating a group discussion duringa cellphilm screening event.

5) The production of local resources in under-resourced areas

A lack of resources is one of many factors affecting rural schools (Maringe, Masinire, & Nkambula, 2015). The majority of school policy and curriculum is developed with little conception of the demands of rural schooling (Hlalele, 2014). According to Balfour, Mitchell and Moletsane (2008), in rural contexts resources increase in value based on their "commitment and connection to an area" (p. 102). Resources that are made locally are thought better suited to the nuances of the particular context and encourage an appreciation of rural assets. Integrating participatory visual methods builds opportunities for rural learners and teachers to create their own resources that can be integrated into school-based and wider community events, and contributes to teachers being recognized as assets.

The learners' digital stories created during the pilot study workshop are locally produced visual texts that can be used to present rural girls as community agents and knowledge producers. This was particularly evident at the World AIDS Day community event, at which the participants screened the Strawberry Group's digital story about a rural girl's experience of AIDS stigma. Following the screening, two of the workshop's female participants spoke about the research and possible ways forward for youth to address the impact of HIV and AIDS on their community (Figure 5.7). The lives and perspective of rural girls have been overlooked for their contributions to social change, especially as they relate to the impact of HIV and AIDS in the southern African context (Moletsane, Mitchell, Smith,& Chisholm, 2008). The common conception of rural girls, especially in relation to HIV and AIDS, is one of vulnerability (Moletsane et al., 2008). This conception is reinforced by international media campaigns. According to the social media campaign *TheGirl Effect*,[53]solutions to global challenges of poverty, AIDS, hunger, war, access to clean water and other environmental issues rest not in scientific discovery or government policy, but on the protection of girls. These types of normative discourses assert a paternalistic attitude towards girls and girlhood that is starkly missing the voices of real girls (Zarzycka, 2015). Framed by this discourse, the digital storytelling project demonstrates the potential of girls producing local resources and using them as a platform from which to claim a place on stage next to adult community leaders and researchers. The participatory visual methods contributed to girls disrupting images of their vulnerable dependency and promoting themselves as assets in the community response.

[53]https://youtu.be/WIvmE4_KMNw

Image 5.6: One of the female workshop participants speaking at the community AIDS Day event.

In the YAKP follow-up study the teachers described themselves as assets in the HIV and AIDS response. This was illustrated by Sarah, who described herself as feeling "empowered" (p. 17) as a result of YAKP. This sense of agency gave her the confidence to create her own teaching resources during her teaching practicum. This sense of agency is also suggested in Monique's commitment to tackling HIV- and AIDS-related issues in her future Drama Education classes. While none of the participants had been able to directly incorporate what they learnt in YAKP into their subsequent teaching experiences up to the time of the interviews, the notion that this was an area of importance and in need of action is arguably a step in the right direction. As Stuart (2006) observes in her earlier studies with preservice teachers, "students were compelled to move from being passive recipients of factual knowledge to active agents of their point of view" (p. 81). Inducing this sense of 'I can do something' reflects teacher resilience and draws attention to their ability to respond constructively to a particular adverse context (Theron, 2012). Balfour, Mitchell and Moletsane (2008) refer to these emotional and conceptual resources as predictive of the successful use of material resources.

Of course, the teachers' cellphilms are another example of participant-produced local resources that could integrate into their school-based interventions with youth .The emphatically positive reception of the cellphilms and the dynamic discussions that framed

the screenings illustrate the potential of participatory visual methods in the school setting. The cellphilm screening findings also suggest cellphilms are a productive use of mobile technology that can engage (rather than distract) teachers and learners in educational activities. The participating teachers expressed their interest in using cellphilms again and wanted to make more. As one teacher said during the post interview, "I would come up with other topics. As long as they are of value to the learners" (LO event, p. 6). Another teacher was thinking about integrating the method into her English class, filming her class debating and then screening it back to them to promote a discussion on debate strategies. Like the YAKP preservice teachers, the inservice teachers saw the contribution of cellphilm production as producing practical resources that can be integrated into other aspects of their teaching as well.

Summary of research question 1 conclusions

What is common across the three projects is that learners, preservice teachers and inservice teachers see participatory visual methods as an engaging approach to HIV and AIDS prevention and education. This is reflected in how learners use these methods to express their perspectives on HIV and AIDS, perspectives which are clearly insightful and hold value to teachers and the broader community. These methods are also valued for their potential use in classrooms. They can provide opportunities for visual production and dissemination where teachers and learners come together to explore community-based challenges to HIV and AIDS. This is a process that, at least for the participants in this research, seems to have encouraged teachers and learners to become allies in addressing HIV and AIDS. Although it is also noted that there are ongoing contentions around whether or not young people's participation can be seen as equal to that of teachers, who remain in a position of power in the classroom. For inservice teachers, the use of participatory visual methods and the production of their own visual texts can work as pedagogical resources to be integrated into workshop settings in such a way that allows them to negotiate culturally contentious aspects of teaching. Engaging in discussions around visual products with learners, teachers (both inservice and preservice) can develop their reflexive understanding of the epidemic. The visual texts can be used as resources in otherwise resource deficient settings. Furthermore, through their use there is the potential for learners and teachers to represent themselves as assets in the educational response to the virus. Cellphilms, in

particular, have the potential of using cellphones, a locally accessible resource, productively in schools.

Research question 2

What educational challenges are associated with establishing and sustaining the contributions that participatory visual methods provide to enhance current and future HIV and AIDS teaching practices, particularly in under-resourced schools such as those found in rural KwaZulu-Natal?

To answer my second research question, I refer again to outcomes from all three research projects and the portraits reported in Chapter 4. Three themes emerged during this process and helped guide my discussion of the challenges in establishing sustainable contributions: 1) technology access; 2) discomfort with HIV and AIDS teaching; and 3) limited scope of research interventions.

1) Technology access

When technology is not readily accessible, as was the case in the participating rural schools, there will be limitations to integrating participatory visual methods. This is especially so for methods that rely on specialized technology, such as photovoice (digital cameras),participatory video (video cameras and editing software), and digital storytelling (computers to construct the story, as well as access to the internet, scanners, cameras and camcorders as a source and means of creating digital images and video for use in the story).In schools where limited or nonexistent infrastructure means that there is no electricity in classrooms, the feasibility of these methods must be called to question in their applicability as an accessible and sustainable pedagogical approach.

Teachers may feel that they can meet this challenge, as with so many challenges that they encounter during their everyday teaching practice, with creativity, adaptabilityand a little bit of 'thinking outside the box.'For example, aware that the participating school for the *Youth and HIV and AIDS in my Communit*y workshopdid not have reliable electrical access in classrooms and that the school's computer lab may not be available and have access to the internet, I developed a digital story-making process around the use of digital cameras andpersonal laptops thatLukas and I brought. It is possible that teachers have personal access to technology, or that they might be able to source technology from within

their local network. Mnisi (2015) arranged to bring rural learners to an urban setting for the weekend in order to access computers and an internet connection available on a university campus. As Islam and Mitchell (2011) contend, there is great potential for rural schools to benefit from university-school partnerships. A feasible and more sustainable solution for a teacher working in a rural setting is suggested through cellphone technology, which is increasingly available and connected to a robust mobile internet network. Seeing this potential, Bidwell, Reitmaier, Marsden and Hansen (2010) developed cellphone software specific for digital story-making, whereas Mitchell and De Lange (2013) developed a cellphilm method. There is also the option that teachers pursue more 'low-tech' methods. This includes reference to the rich body of work that considers methods such as using drawing (Theron, Mitchell, Smith, & Stuart, 2011) or performance (Chinyowa, 2009; Dalrymple, 2006; Francis, 2010) for their own contributions and implications for HIV and AIDS prevention.

Access to technology raises issues of power relations. This is an argument being explored mainly in relation to participatory video method, but is transferable to other methods as well. Low, Brushwood-Rose, Salvio and Palacios (2012) acknowledge the limitations of the transformative and emancipatory potential of a participatory visual process that is dependent on a researcher bringing and then removing the technology that communities require in order to conduct participatory visual research. Walsh (2014) argues that relying on researchers for access to technology helps situate the researchers as "the powerful interlocutor since they inherently situate themselves as knowing more about the visual and the media tools, even when they may have no formal artistic or film training" (p. 5). Elsewhere, I have discussed how using cellphones implicates the research process into the existing culture of technology of that particular community context, one that might be ageist and gendered in how cellphones are accessed and controlled (MacEntee, 2015a). These criticisms draw attention to the ways in which integrating participatory visual methods into school contexts can reinforce power dynamics between teachers and learners, making learners dependent on their teachers to provide them with opportunities to voice their opinions and knowledge about HIV and AIDS.

Where the majority of research has concentrated on the technology needed to create visual texts, the cellphilm screening process focused on the specialized technology required

for public screening events. The participants considered several different ways to disseminate their cellphilms, including transferring them between phones and posting them on YouTube or via another social media application. However, the school did not have internet access and it had a policy against learners bringing cellphones to school, which made these options unfeasible. This policy reflects the dominant discourse surrounding adolescent cellphone use, which highlights the technology as distracting and disruptive to the education process (Porter et al., 2016). I suggested that the teachers use an LCD projector to screen their cellphilms only to learn that the school did not own one. As a short-term solution I was able to borrow a portable projector through the CVMSC for the teachers to use. This satisfied the project's immediate needs but called into question the possibilities of cellphilm dissemination in the school context over time.

With these resource limitations in mind and with an interest in providing the teachers with the resources they might need to organize further screenings on their own, I approached the *Digital Voices* project for additional funds for the teachers to purchase a projector for the school, to which the project generously agreed.[54] However, the teachers decided against buying the projector and used the money to buy refreshments for the events instead. The teachers explained that food was culturally expected at such events. They also thought that buying a projector for the school would create an awkward dynamic between them and their colleagues who were not participating in the research. Realistically, they said, they would worry that the projector might go missing, would break and lead to expensive repairs or that bringing the technology in through the research project would put the participants in charge of the projector for the whole school.

I relate my experience with the cellphilm screening project to draw attention to the secondary technology that may be required in viewing and sharing the visual texts produced while following a participatory visual approach. While procuring an LCD projector may seem like a relatively easy response to the needs of the community, it raised new issues of ownership and access for the teachers. There were also community

[54]At the time of the research a basic projector which would satisfy the needs of the screening event would have cost approximately ZAR3000 (approximately CDN275). A projector would likely have much wider application in the school setting than cellphilm screenings and *Digital Voices* provided the funds for the projector with no further 'strings attached' other than the request that the projector be purchased for the educational purposes of the school rather than the personal use of the research participants.

expectations to satisfy, which needed to be prioritized over access to new technology. In the end, it is unlikely that the teachers were able to use the cellphilms that they made during the *Digital Voices* project again, although they could always make new cellphilms using their phones. Using phone-to-phone transfer technology such as Bluetooth, or viewing the cellphilms on the school's laptop allows for some dissemination to occur. However, the school's no-cellphone policy for learners is a further barrier. An aspect that I did not explore was whether the teachers would have deemed other funding sources (e.g. sourced from the DBE or an educational NGO) a more appropriate way of bringing a projector into the school. While participatory visual methods offer means to produce local resources, limited technology access in rural schools inhibits the resources' use over the long term.

2) Addressing teacher discomfort in HIV and AIDS education

It is with increasing nuance that research on HIV and AIDS education is building an understanding of teachers' discomfort in addressing HIV and AIDS in schools. Teachers can feel that their personal values or their culture are incongruent with the comprehensive curricular approach (Ahmed et al., 2009). The curriculum contributes to this discomfort by presenting itself as neutral (Baxen, 2010). It provides little guidance or recognition of the contextual factors that teachers need to mitigate in order to effectively integrate the curriculum so that it responds to the needs of different groups of learners. As the YAKP and cellphilm screening portraits illustrate, there can be a lack of HIV and AIDS teacher education for non-LO teachers. This concurs with Francis and DePalma's (2014) research, which found that even teachers charged with LO education may lack any formal training on the topic and are left to figure out content and pedagogical knowledge on their own. Unprepared for the inherently emotional response to the subject matter, teachers can avoid engaging with learners on the topic (Francis, 2016). Teaching about HIV and AIDS is difficult. It asks teachers to engage with the emotional and physical body in a way that is, in relation to other subject areas, usually avoided (Baxen, 2010). When teachers are uncomfortable or surprised by a learner response or question to the topic, the teacher may be unable to respond productively, if at all, to the learner's concerns. Stuart (2011) argues, and I agree, that when it comes to HIV and AIDS an inability to respond to learners' comments—or responding in a way that reinforces gender normative behaviour—could have life or death consequences. These challenges in HIV and AIDS education have been

used to justify adjustments to the LO, most recently in the form of scripted lessons that mark out the process of HIV and AIDS pedagogy step-by-step for LO teachers of Grades 7 to 9.

It is important to acknowledge that the portraits presented in this study suggest that participatory visual methods do not overcome teachers' discomfort with HIV and AIDS education. Rather, the study results indicate that the collaborative production and dissemination of visual texts can contribute to teachers' experiences of discomfort. This observation relates specifically to the ways in which the process was observed to evoke learners to personally disclose challenges they are experiencing and/or uses the arts to tie together the topic of HIV and AIDS with other social challenges such as gender-based violence, sexual coercion, poverty and normative gender roles that the teachers were either unaware of or caught unprepared to address. Without appropriate preparation, the unpredictability of the learner-centred approach and the sense that participatory visual methods 'break the silence' on several taboo topics could feed teachers' anxieties about engaging with HIV and AIDS.

Recognizing how uncomfortable such topics may be for teachers, I draw on Boler's (1999) pedagogy of discomfort to argue that these moments of unease and uncertainty can also be interpreted as an indication of the transformative potential of teachers' engagement with HIV and AIDS education with learners. Rather than adapt curriculum or develop pedagogy that removes discomfort from the pedagogical process—a strategy that is likely impossible—Boler's theory offers a means for engaging with teachers' emotions. This is not unlike Baxen's (2010) theory of performative praxis, in which she recognizes the agency that is reflected in the ways that teachers mediate sexual health curriculum. Boler's work contributes to Baxen's by articulating the reflexive inquiry process into emotions, a process that is collective and flexible. Following a pedagogy of discomfort in HIV and AIDS education relies on teachers' self-study during which they question their "inscribed habits of (in)attention" (Boler, 1999, p. 180) of emotions and personal values about sex and gender and become more self-aware in their responses and interactions with learners. The intention of this engagement with a pedagogy of discomfort is not to find comfort, but to become more adept at living with ambiguity. Given the unpredictability of learners and the shifting meanings of visual text, it is this sense of learning to live with ambiguity that

seems to make a pedagogy of discomfort particularly well suited for engaging with participatory visual methods in teacher education.

3) Limited scope of research interventions

Participatory visual methods have been primarily integrated with education through small-scale research interventions (Mitchell et al., 2009). Following a 'research as social change' approach, these interventions look to contribute meaningfully to participants and focus on community assets (De Lange, 2012). Dedicated to community-based research, the CVMSC research network continues to partner with rural schools in the Vulindlela area (and elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa) to explore issues of HIV and AIDS and teacher education. However, individual projects like YAKP and *Digital Voices* are limited in funding and time. Subject to the constraints of NRF and SSHRC funding, each project lasts only a few years and interacts with only a fraction of the Faculty of Education student cohort. When organizing activities, the project must consider the demands of the preservice teachers' classes—their 'official' education that counts for marks. As the findings from the YAKP follow-up study articulate, long gaps between events may inhibit the sense of momentum to the learning process. New participants may stunt the progression of learning for the more experienced participants. The scope of a stand-alone project is limited. The preservice teachers may feel isolated and encounter resistance when they try integrating participatory visual methods outside the protective support of the YAKP project.

Summary of research question 2 conclusions

There are challenges that inhibit establishing and sustaining participatory visual methods' contributions to HIV and AIDS education in rural schools, including lack of access to digital technology. Working in a rural school with limited technology access can further burden teachers with sourcing missing technology or adapting participatory visual methods around community assets. Furthermore, communities may not prioritize addressing this lack of technology. Challenges arising from teachers' discomfort in addressing HIV and AIDS in schools do not disappear by integrating participatory visual methods. Indeed, they may contribute to teachers' feelings of uncertainty, especially as they relate to how to respond to learners' questions and comments. Engaging with this discomfort in a reflexive manner is proposed to be the most likely solution to this issue. Finally, the integration of participatory visual methods into teaching and learning about HIV and AIDS in inhibited

by the limited scope of the research interventions that are, for the most part, the main documented source of HIV and AIDS teacher education integrating participatory visual methods at the time of writing and in these three schools.

LIMITATIONS

There are several limitations to the research. These include language barriers, especially as this relates to the participation of young people for whom English was an additional language; challenges in locating and recruiting participants to conduct the follow-up study in YAKP; and challenges with the amount of time spent 'in the field'. In this section, I will discuss how these limitations are indicative of the contextual factors associated with conducting this type of research and how these factors are negotiated in relation to the principles of participatory, community-based research.

Language

Not knowing how to speak isiZulu affected my ability to communicate efficiently with some research participants. For example, I sometimes found it impossible to follow conversations between learners during the digital story-making process, or between teachers and learners during the cellphilm screenings. Participants had varying degrees of English proficiency. In the digital storytelling workshop, three learners had strong English skills while one or two participants knew very limited English. While the inservice teachers were overall fluent in English, there were times when a participant had difficulty expressing him or herself. Language was not a factor during the YAKP interviews with preservice teachers, who all spoke English fluently. In both the digital storytelling and cellphilm screening work, the collaborative process helped mediate some of the challenges with communication that were experienced. If a participant could not think of the word in English or was uncertain about what I was saying, they could ask a peer to translate. While this strategy seemed relatively effective, it does not necessarily accommodate participants who might have felt shy or uncomfortable asking for help.

The role of language and translation is an interpretive act that has epistemic consequences in research (Temple & Edwards, 2002; Temple & Young, 2004). It is not always easy to predict the language participants will feel more comfortable using in a research setting. For example, Cortazzi, Pilcher and Jin (2011) noted that participants may

feel more comfortable using one language socially and another language professionally. They may be further influenced by the topic of study. As a sexual health educator in South Africa, Masinga (2014) described her preference for English over isiZulu when discussing sexual matters. She explains: "Using isiZulu brought the effects of my own culture back into the class, as it felt as if I were breaking some silent code of not talking to children about sexuality" (p. 188). In contrast, Mnisi (2015) reported Zulu boys and girls appreciated the opportunity to discuss matters in their "own language" (p.100) during their digital storytelling workshop on HIV and AIDS. A further factor to consider is the dominance of English in academic scholarship (and a requirement of my thesis to be in English or French), which predicts that most research conducted in another language will need to be translated for reporting purposes (Cortazzi et al., 2011).

Why did I not use a translator? Language was a topic for discussion at the beginning of any activity taking part in the rural schools. During these discussions, participants and I considered, in English, the option of my finding a UKZN student to act as translator during the workshop sessions, or the participants answering questions in isiZulu which I could later have translated and transcribed. In each case it was the participants' decision to use English, although it was not uncommon that participants would interact and discuss aspects of the study in isiZulu amongst themselves. In previous studies some researchers have avoided the use of translators due to ethical issues in relation to participants' comfort in disclosing personal issues (Cortazzi et al., 2011). For many of the learners in this research, they described the workshop settings as a welcome opportunity for them to practise speaking English with a native speaker from abroad.

During the YAKP assessment interviews with teachers and researchers, the issue of language was not discussed. My previously established relationships in English with many of these participants meant that the idea of a language barrier did not even cross my mind before the research process began. Indeed, it was not until I started to write about the research that I realised my assumptions. The issue of language was again not considered before interacting with the inservice teachers in the cellphilm screening. I relate this to my entry into the project, which was through the pre-existing research context of the *Digital Voices* project in which English was the established language used between researcher and

participants.[55]While I was not aware of the use of English causing any discomfort during the research with adults, I may have been unaware of how my privilege as a native English speaker affected the study.

The role of language in the study represents the larger complexities of conducting cross-cultural research and the importance of researcher reflexivity. The impact of these language decisions (or assumptions) to use English meant that some participants, namely younger, Black and rural participants, had to make significant efforts to communicate with me. Thinking about not only what to answer but how to answer questions before responding, talking amongst each other to find the best English word for what they meant and repeating themselves are all examples of how the participants essentially took on the role of translator in the research. The visual methods were the means through which I more or less negotiated this barrier (Hurworth, 2004). Participants' visual production presented an alternative, non-verbal way to express ideas and understandings between researcher and participant and amongst participants. An interesting area for future research might explore getting participants to interview each other in the language of their choosing. When integrated with other, more researcher-facilitated activities, this may provide opportunities for participants to feel more comfortable. Paired with English activities so they are not missing out on an opportunity to practise their additional language, the participant-led interviews might allow participants less comfortable in English to dig deeper into their understandings and explore the topic under investigation. These types of participant-led activities also have the capacity to build to a more established involvement of participants as co-researchers in the study.

Time 'in the field'

The length of time in the field is also an area for revisiting. In Chapter 3, I described my research story, during which I took five trips between South Africa and Canada over the course of five years. In total I spent close to nine months in the country, but I never spent longer than four months there at any one time. My travel was broken up so that I was back

[55] In the *Digital Voices* project the research team negotiated language barriers by using small group discussions where participants spoke their local language and then a member of the group translated. There were also members of the *Digital Voices* research team who were isiZulu-speaking.

in Montreal for over a year between project 1 and the project 2, and for another seven months between project 2 and project 3.

There are different perspectives on how long a researcher should spend 'in the field'. Many ethnographers and anthropologists for example, would probably find my back-and-forth study too disrupted and short to allow for the issues of relevance to emerge (McCall, 2006; Rist, 1980). In contrast, taking a Rapid Rural Appraisal approach might value less time and more focused study (Manderson & Aaby, 1992). This discussion of time in the field is one aspect of a larger debate over the credibility of results (Creswell & Miller, 2000). The overarching effect that this had on my research is reflected in three separate projects that make up the core of my doctoral study. While there was continuation between each project through my connection to the CVMSC and the schools in Vulindlela, the back-and-forth affected my integration into the communities that I was working with along with the development of my relationships with some of my participants. New connections were harder to maintain over long distances. Emails and Facebook messages were not always returned and, as everyone's life is busy, conversations were sometimes short and cursory. I emailed participants about reviewing interview transcripts and, later, my analysis, but few responded to my requests. Those that did were clear that they did not have time. While I was in South Africa, the majority of my other commitments and responsibilities were put to the side, and this freed me up to get a lot done in a limited amount of time. Of course, I could have gone further in my research had I had more time, but as it worked out my shorter stays in Durban and Vulindlela often resulted in, as one participant explained it, "excited participation" (David, p. 14) amongst participants.

There are various ways that the results from this study could inform longer-term engagement and inquiry into participatory visual approaches to HIV and AIDS. This includes a deeper analysis of the context of teacher education, including an analysis of the HEI system and the types of strategies teacher educators are using to address HIV and AIDS, and observing teacher education classes as well as supporting participants and other stakeholders in developing more sustainable means to support preservice and inservice teachers' use of participatory visual methods. Inspired by the rich analysis conducted by Baxen (2010) of inservice LO teachers, a similar study might include participant observation and life histories of inservice teachers who integrate participatory visual

methods into their teaching. Such a study would give further context to the experiences of facilitating this approach in schools and with a class of learners. Indeed, one of the challenges, but also one of the strengths, of my study was how it engaged with learners, preservice and inservice teachers. It was a challenge to keep track of the different bodies of literature and the influence of different contexts on the study outcomes. However, this also demonstrates the complexity of HIV and AIDS education, as well as the various dimensions of participatory visual methods.

Recruitment of former teacher education students

The YAKP assessment conclusions are limited because by the time I was able to do the interviews there were only three preservice teacher participants available for interviews. As I discussed in Manuscript 3, the conclusions I drew from this study are therefore somewhat limited. Moreover, participants were generally enthusiastic about participatory visual methods and YAKP, although some criticisms were made on the project. Thus, the analysis lacks the insights from participants who were more skeptical of the methods' contribution to their teaching. Only one participant (David) continued to apply the methods in his teaching, and future research could consider inservice teachers who are (or are not) applying these methods in schools in order to better ascertain how participatory visual methods might not meet the expectations of teachers once they enter the school system as educators.

Finding former YAKP participants who are now inservice teachers was a limitation exacerbated by aspects of this particular study, which included student cohorts spread out over several years, and reflecting changes as well to the institution and the research team. For example, I was not able to access a list of preservice teachers' names or contact information from the organizers of the YAKP project. However, this limitation has also been identified by other researchers attempting to conduct follow-up or longitudinal research with populations of (former) preservice teachers in South Africa. Loots, Ebersohn, Ferreira and Eloff (2012) also note challenges with teacher attrition in their longitudinal study into HIV and AIDS agency. In their experience, teachers had difficulty participating due to illness and death, job changes, career changes, time restraints and unmet expectations in the research. I do not know what the majority of the former YAKP preservice teacher participants are doing now, but national teacher shortages in rural areas

(Mafora, 2013) as well as the Fundza Lushaka bursary[56] would suggest that at least some of the participants who finished the teacher education program dispersed across the province, and perhaps the country, employed as teachers in rural areas. There are also high attrition rates in initial teacher education programs (Van Broekhuizen, 2016), which suggests that some of the former YAKP participants may have changed departments or left university all together. A further trend to consider is the relatively high rates of teacher migration out of the country for better job opportunities abroad (Manik, Maharaj, & Sookrajh, 2006).

This education context contrasts with Mitchell's (2014b) 'afterlife' research on the *Fire and Hope* study where one of the research team members had maintained relationships with many of the participants. However, Mitchell (2014b) also ascribes some of the participants' availability to the increasing rates of youth unemployment in this area in years following the intervention. The YAKP follow-up study is the first to my knowledge to report on engaging preservice teachers in participatory visual methods to address HIV and AIDS in their future teaching practice. This is clearly an area for further research and development in research design. For example, future projects engaging preservice teachers should, when possible, build in a more robust long-term assessment culture from their inception. This will likely only happen if there is recognition by research funders of the need for longitudinal studies in this area. Building from research with highly transient populations (Mychasiuk & Benzies, 2012), the use of social media and the creation of an online network of participants could be utilized to keep in contact with participants and inform them of project updates. It could also act as an online repository or archive of participants' digital media, which in itself offers opportunities to continue the participatory nature of the research (Burkholder, 2016).

SUMMARY

[56] The Fundza Lushaka Bursary will fund up to four years of a student's undergraduate degree or one year post graduate degree with the agreement that graduates will take up a provincial teaching placement (usually in a rural area due to teacher shortages) for the same number of years as they received the bursary (http://www.funzalushaka.doe.gov.za). In 2012, there were 11,702 awards presented with an average price per award being 56,980ZAR (5,330CND) (Council of Higher Education, 2016).

In this chapter I have discussed the findings of the three projects. Participants' understandings of the contributions of participatory visual methods to education are discussed thematically and divided in reference to my two overarching research questions. In relation to my research questions, participatory visual methods engage teachers and learners in HIV and AIDS education. The methods are also considered in relation to how they can aid teachers and learners in negotiating cultural specificities in terms of sexual health education in schools. Recognizing that the concept of 'youth voice' is a contentious topic, participatory visual methods seem to have the capacity to encourage youth to express their perspectives and teachers to appreciate what the learners have to say. These types of learner-teacher interactions are also recognized for their contributions to teachers' reflexive understandings of the epidemic. A further consideration of the contributions of these methods is their ability to produce local resources for use in under-resourced areas.

In relation to my second research question, I examined some of the challenges to integrating participatory visual methods with HIV and AIDS education. This included a consideration of how limited access to technology impacts the feasibility of some of these methods in resource-deprived schools. This is further considered for the ways in which technology integration raises new issues of ownership and responsibility for teachers. A major limitation to HIV and AIDS education, which can be exacerbated by integrating participatory visual methods, is the way in which talking about sex and the virus with learners evokes anxieties and discomfort in teachers. This draws attention to the criticality of teacher reflexivity in preparation for engaging with learners on the topic of HIV and AIDS. In a final component of the limitations of integrating participatory visual methods, I considered the limited role of research interventions in introducing teachers to this approach as a pedagogy for their future use in their teaching.

In this chapter I have also considered the limitations in the study design. These included issues with language, the influence of conducting research in an international context and the amount and nature of the time that I spent in the field collecting data as well as challenges recruiting former teacher education students during the YAKP assessment.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

In this final chapter, I will offer conclusions in response to my research questions. I will follow with a discussion of how this study contributes to new knowledge and will then consider the implications of these conclusions for the fields of participatory visual research, teacher education and HIV and AIDS education. I will end the chapter with some concluding remarks about the evolving AIDS epidemic in South Africa and the role of education as it impacts the wellbeing of teachers and learners in rural communities.

Broad research areas

The overarching results of this study stand to contribute to several broad areas of research. These include the fields of youth studies and girlhood studies as well as scholarship on rural education. The research was situated within and thus contributes to the field of participatory visual methodologies. There are also implications of this study that can inform scholarship on HIV and AIDS in the fields of public health, especially for those interested in participatory and community-based approaches to HIV and AIDS prevention. The study responds in a more immediate way, however, to the field of educational studies, with particular conclusions that contribute to educational studies on HIV and AIDS as well as higher education and teacher education on HIV and AIDS.

ANSWERING MY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

My study is unique in its analytical approach, which takes an up-close look at integrating participatory visual methods into HIV and AIDS education in a rural environment through a process of bricolage and portraits. I chose a manuscript-style format that allowed me to highlight the portraits and my focused analyses of different participants' perspectives and use of visual methods. While it is rarely possible to represent all of one's data and analytic processes in a qualitative study, publishing the manuscripts further shaped the space that I had to articulate these aspects of the work, and made a discussion of this research more challenging for me. Drawing on the concepts of triangulation, bricolage and group portraiture, I pieced together the three independent projects in order to answer my two overarching research questions on the contributions and challenges of integrating

participatory visual methods in HIV and AIDS education in rural schools. In this section I present answers to these questions.

1) What do learners, preservice teachers and inservice teachers identify as the contributions of participatory visual methods to research and education about HIV and AIDS, especially as they relate to the rural context?

Learners, preservice teachers and inservice teachers who have taken part in participatory visual studies see these methods as offering meaningful contributions to HIV and AIDS education. The methods were identified as a refreshing and alternative means to learning about HIV and AIDS. These novel approaches are fun and engaging to young people. The methods are adaptable and learners can use them to express and explore a myriad of topics and concerns. The resulting visual texts offer a platform where girls, and likely boys too, can voice their experiences and influence the shape of communities' HIV and AIDS responses.

Exposing teachers to these approaches during their preservice training can help build their awareness of the epidemic and how social and contextual factors can influence individual behaviour. Practical teacher education experiences in rural settings, when preservice teachers have the opportunity to facilitate the methods with learners, were observed to be particularly profound in their ability to disrupt the conception of young people as passive and unknowing. Interactions with learners were also observed to facilitate teachers' reflexive learning. An introduction to participatory visual methods can also influence these teachers' pedagogical approaches outside of the realm of HIV and AIDS, which indicates that these methods may have broader implications for more general teaching practices.

For inservice teachers, the production and dissemination of their visual texts can help them assert their concern and willingness to support learners dealing with the impact of the epidemic on their lives. Participatory visual methods contribute a means through which teachers can negotiate different and possibly intersecting cultural and moral beliefs about HIV and AIDS prevention messaging. Experiences integrating their visual texts in school contexts can develop teachers' sense of agency and belief that they can do something to address the impact of the epidemic. Participatory visual methods can lead to teachers' development of a sense of learners' agency and can highlight potential allies in responding

to the epidemic. The visual texts are understood to be a locally-based resource that has a sustainable value in community-based responses to HIV and AIDS.

2) What educational challenges are associated with establishing and sustaining the contributions of participatory visual methods to enhance current and future HIV and AIDS teaching practises, particularly in under-resourced schools such as those found in rural KwaZulu-Natal?

The contributions that can come from integrating participatory visual methods in rural schools as a means of addressing HIV and AIDS education and prevention are limited in their impact due to larger structural barriers. The methods targeted by my study relied on the use of digital technology in order to produce and disseminate participants' visual texts. In rural schools that are operating amidst multiple disparities, a lack of access to technology can obstruct the feasibility and sustainability of integrating participatory visual methods into one's pedagogy. Ways of meeting this challenge may include finding local assets, adapting methods and waiting on community-driven initiatives to increase accessibility of mobile technology.

Furthermore, the results of this study support and lend further nuance to an understanding that HIV and AIDS education and prevention is difficult. Integrating participatory visual methods can increase the opportunities for learners to engage and raise contentious topics, which may in turn heighten teachers' discomfort. Rather than attempt to adapt or develop new curricular or pedagogical approaches that dissipate teachers' discomfort, the findings in this study would suggest that teachers' engagement with this discomfort will likely make more confident and effective HIV and AIDS educators. In this light, it is imperative that teacher education which encompasses the facilitation of participatory visual methods be integrated alongside teachers' reflexive development. Teacher practice will be further strengthened by developing strategies to engage learners in the critical analysis of the visual texts that result from taking this approach.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEW KNOWLEDGE

I framed my study in the global and national policy context of HIV and AIDS prevention and treatment. This includes the growing consensus that the end of the AIDS epidemic entails addressing the intersecting challenges in gender, the dynamics of rurality, and other social inequalities that influence particular communities being disproportionately impacted by the virus. I am hopeful about the current trend in developing a multi-sectoral approach

to HIV and AIDS prevention that recognizes the link between health and education. While education will not cure AIDS, it does make a considerable contribution to what many young people know and how they perceive HIV and AIDS. My study extends on the previous work in the Vulindlela area, such as Pascarella's (2009) thesis on blogging with rural learners and Islam's (2010) work in preservice teacher rural education by considering the perspectives of learners, preservice and inservice teachers, together, for their understanding of how to address HIV and AIDS education in rural contexts. In the spirit of constructing a well-rounded multi-sectoral approach, my research highlights how education can contribute to the build-up of knowledge and action on the impact of HIV and AIDS in South African society. In the following section I explore the research findings' contributions to new knowledge, specifically as they relate to girls' lives and the study of girlhood, rurality, participatory visual methods, education, and teacher education.

Girls' Lives and Girlhood Studies

The 21st International AIDS Conference was held in Durban in July, 2016. A follow-up of sorts from its predecessor in 2000 when youth leadership was thrust onto the global stage of the HIV and AIDS response, the 2016 conference brought renewed attention and energy to addressing the impact of HIV and AIDS on girls and young women as they relate to the interplay of social inequalities, GBV and gender-power disparities. Technologies of HIV prevention (e.g. Oral PReP) are being refined and stand to have a significant impact on preventing new HIV infections. However, young women will not have ready access to this preventive strategy if the social stigma associated with girls and young women's sexual activity is not addressed (Celum et al., 2015). Right now, perhaps more than ever, there is recognition that including girls and young women is an essential component to building effective and responsive HIV and AIDS prevention programs.

Seeking to contribute to the momentum built at the 2016 conference, the results of this study highlight the methodological contribution of participatory visual methods for revealing and exploring girls' lives. Avoiding a dichotomous view of girls as either helpless or empowered, this study portrayed the possibilities of girls informing the nuanced interpretation of how girls in rural contexts negotiate HIV and AIDS prevention discourses. As previous research has also asserted (Mitchell, 2015a; Moletsane, 2007), this perspective was made possible by the integration of participatory visual methods, starting with an

analysis of the types of representations that girls create about their community and how they interpret these representations. Specifically, the study results suggest that messages advocating condom access for youth may seem inaccessible for girls in rural contexts who are subject to messages of abstinence from sexual contact until after marriage.

Rurality and rural studies

Overlapping with these contributions to understandings of girlhood, my study findings also engage with the field of rural studies and inquiries into rural schools in South Africa struggling with multiple disparities. The legacy of inequality continues to plague rural areas (Balfour, 2015; Gina, 2015), and normative discourses construct rural schools in a perpetual state of deficit (Masinire, Marginge, & Nkambule, 2014), and as static and passive (Balfour, Mitchell, & Moletsane, 2008). Rural girls are often stereotyped as naïve, virginal and vulnerable (Hunter, 2010) and rural teachers are often referred to as being absent and under-educated (DBE, 2005). Rurality studies pursue an analysis of the disparities of rural contexts while recognizing the assets and transformative potential of rural communities (Balfour, Mitchell, &Moletsane, 2008). My research responds to the need for more nuanced and heterogeneous understandings of rurality (Hlalele, 2014) by interrogating how the participants' engagement with participatory visual methods presents alternatives to the normative discourses of rural education. The potential for incorporating participatory visual methods into a rural school-based HIV and AIDS response lies in its ability to provide rural communities with means of self-representation. The findings from this study demonstrate how these methods can be used by rural community members to disrupt normative perceptions of rural girls as passive victims, and rural teachers as close-minded and apathetic. This transformative capacity was also noted to have a generative effect on preservice teachers regarding teaching practice in rural settings. The potential to disseminate visual texts made by teachers or learners at community events illustrates the transformative potential of rural schools as a locally-based resource for engaging in community-based responses to HIV and AIDS. However, for these opportunities to be realised, limitations in technology access will need to be addressed.

Participatory visual methodologies

Participatory visual methodologies have been gaining considerable traction in the fields of social sciences (Rose, 2014) and in the areas of educational research concerned with

addressing the social influences on HIV and AIDS (Buthelizi et al., 2007; De Lange, 2007) and teacher education (Pithouse-Morgan et al., 2013). The results of this study respond to what Mitchell et al. (2009) articulated as the need for a closer inspection of the ways in which these methods are impacting schools and communities. Specifically, the research results help illustrate the diverse ways in which participatory visual methods can be implemented into the educational response and on-the-ground teaching in rural schools. Referring to three examples, the research findings highlight the complexities of what is involved in attempting to capture exactly how participatory visual methods might be making a difference in these settings.

HIV and AIDS education

Looking specifically at school contexts, my study contributes to the field of educational studies that explores the education system's capacity to negotiate and respond to the AIDS health crises. This is an extensive field of study in its own right, which includes subfields in curriculum and pedagogy. My study highlights the system of HIV and AIDS education, which connects preservice teacher education to what learners experience in schools and the possibilities that arise from teachers integrating learner-centred, creative pedagogies into their teaching. The participants of this study demonstrated the potential of HIV and AIDS education beyond the scope of a specific LO, curriculum-based initiative. In volunteering for this study and the related YAKP and *Digital Voices* projects, the participants illustrate that educators from a range of specializations and subject areas are motivated and interested in integrating an HIV and AIDS response into their teaching practice. Participatory visual methods, or more specifically engaging learners with teachers' visual productions, can help teachers be agents of social change. While screening homemade cellphilms to their learners, teachers identified themselves as sources of support. Engaging with learners in an analysis of their cellphilms not only aided the teachers in disseminating HIV and AIDS knowledge, it also prompted the teachers to recognize the agency and knowledge of their learners.

At the same time, the study reinforces the understanding that teaching about HIV and AIDS is uncomfortable for teachers (Baxen, 2010; Francis, 2016). The comprehensive approach asserted by educational policy makes teachers responsible for finding a way to balance it witha community belief in an abstinence-only approach. On the one hand, the

study results suggest that participatory visual methods can help teachers "hybridise" (Francis & DePalma, 2014) these two approaches. On the other hand, the strength of participatory visual methods in bringing forth young people's voices and perspectivess is likely to increase the potential of teachers' discomfort. In this light, the research findings support and echo previous studies (Baxen, 2010; Francis, 2016; Masinga, 2014; Mitchell et al., 2009) that assert the value of teacher self-study and reflexive learning in order to prepare teachers to engage with this discomfort and to respond effectively to learners' needs. A further factor that this study addresses with implications for the largerfield of educational studies is how access to technology may limit the feasibility of the participatory visual method as a sustainable approach. Making technology more readily available to rural teachers may have some impact on overcoming this barrier; however, finding ways to adapt and integrate existing technology may be a more appropriate response.

HIV and AIDS teacher education

HIV and AIDS teacher educationin HEIs needs to better prepare teachers to discuss the impact of HIV and AIDS on schools and how it relates to learners' lives (De Lange, 2014). The results of this study contend that preservice teachers may not be aware of participatory visual methods or that there are non-didactic approaches to HIV and AIDS education. Teachers who are not specializing in LO can feel limited in their opportunities to explore how they might approach HIV and AIDS in their future practice. Research interventions such as YAKP gave this cohort of preservice teachersan opportunity to explore these practices, but it is unlikely that these relatively small-scale projects can provide the training that preservice teachers need to feel prepared to facilitate a range of different methods and technologies. For the teachers that do have the opportunity, experiences with participatory visual methods can spur some preservice teachers' motivation tolearn more about HIV and AIDS andcan influence their appreciation of integrating learner-centred and participatory pedagogical approachesinto their teaching practices. These impressions continue to resonate with teachers as they progress in their teacher education programs. However, even the most motivated participants can encontered barriers to integrating these creative methods and contentious topics.

IMPLICATIONS

In this section I will discuss the implications of the study. A study like this requires some consideration of whether or not the results support the more formal, scale-up integration of these methods into teaching institutions. I will begin by considering the possibility of these implications in relation to the DBE's response to HIV and AIDS in schools and then consider the same question as it pertains to HEIs and teacher education. Following this, I will review the implications of the research for girlhood and participatory methods. I will then explore how these results might inform future studies considering the participatory visual methods and M&E.

Implications for South African education system's response to HIV and AIDS

The implications of this study are considered in light of the recent decision by the DBE to implement scripted lessons across the country for LO in Grades 7 to 9 (Adams Tucker et al., 2016). Scripted lessons provide teachers with explicit instruction and present the curriculum as fixed and to be delivered in a teacher-centred manner (Hummel, Venn, & Gunter, 2004). While I was able to locate only limited information concerning the content of the lessons, the DBE reports that they have not diverged from the current LO curriculum for Grades 7 to 9.[57] These changes have been made in response to teachers' avoidance of HIV and AIDS education topics, and with the intention of standardizing LO teaching across the country (Adams Tucker et al., 2016). The lessons were created and piloted in Gauteng province. It is unclear at this time how these prepared lessons will be integrated, and whether or not they are being scaled up for national use. If so, will they accommodate the heterogeneous needs of different communities in urban, township and rural contexts? The scripted format suggests that teachers will not have the freedom to manipulate the curriculum in order to respond to the needs of the learners in their classrooms. Nor do these lessons address the need for teachers' reflexive learning about the epidemic.

The outcome of this study suggests that teachers trained or training outside the LO specialization area can be motivated to learn how to address HIV and AIDS. The findings also assert that participatory visual methods can offer these teachers an engaging means to explore these possibilities. In light of AIDS fatigue amongst young people (Shefer et al., 2012), the results of this study would suggest that participatory visual methods can be used

[57]http://www.education.gov.za/Home/DBElookstoboostsexualityeducation.aspx

as a refreshing approach to HIV and AIDS education. At the same time, their integration is likely best done alongside other methods and pedagogies. For example, Holderness (2012) describes programs that implement e-learning and interactive games. Participatory visual methods will not appeal to everyone and may not be the best approach for every topic. Having young people make visual texts without taking the time to critically engage with what these representations are saying suggests tokenism in terms of youth participation. In light of these conclusions, future research could explore how teachers go about integrating participatory visual methods into their practice on a more regular basis. To this end, exploring existing networks of teachers and researchers, such as the HEAIDS HIV/AIDS Community of Practice, could provide insights into teachers' ongoing practices emerging from several years of engagement with these methods amongst different groups of learners.

Implications for South African HEI teacher education programs

HEIs are situated to have a considerable impact on the preparation of teachers to meet the challenges of teaching in a society that is severely affected by HIV and AIDS. However, previous research indicates that they are struggling to do this effectively (Baxen, Wood,& Austin, 2011; Wilmot & Wood, 2012).In light of this context, the implications of this study's conclusion can be used to inform the development of HEIs' HIV and AIDS teacher education curricula. This includes advocating that participatory visual methods be integrated in a sustainable fashion into HIV and AIDS teacher education programs as a pedagogical tool to implement in their future teaching practice. The study findings also support the idea that teacher education include opportunities for preservice teachers in all streams and specializations to facilitate these methods with learners, preferably in rural schools as this can influence teachers' reflexive understanding of the epidemic and recognition of learners' agency. Alongside becoming familiar with facilitation of the methods, teachers need support exploring the means to integrate these methods and the topic of HIV and AIDS education into teachers' existing curricula. Above all, any scale-up or more formal integration of these methods must come hand-in-hand with opportunities for reflexive learning and self-study(Khau, Masinga,& Pithouse, 2008; Masinga, 2014; Pithouse-Morgan et al., 2013; Theron, 2008; van Laren, 2014).

These implications are considered in light of the existing variety of HIV and AIDS teacher education initiatives that have been implemented in HEIs across the country (Holderness, 2012). An area for future research is to explore how participatory visual methods might be incorporated with or alongside these existing programs. As HEAIDS (2010b) highlighted, flexibility in teacher education curricula helps ensure that programs are reflective and responsive to the needs of the particular area and teacher cohort. It is suggested, based on the results of this study, that support for teachers interested in participatory visual methods be included during practicum modules. This would likely require consideration of the practicum mentors, who may be unfamiliar with this approach (see Khau et al., 2012). As I concluded in the portrait of the YAKP follow-up, there is clearly an opportunity to engage more directly with the vast literature on teacher education and teacher knowledge. With the discomfort and personal demands on teachers that result from HIV and AIDS education, Connelly and Clandinin's (1988) theory of teachers' personal practical knowledge seems particularly promising. Working with preservice teachers in order to explore how personal knowledge of HIV and AIDS come together to shape an emotional response to addressing HIV and AIDS is likely to contribute further to understandings of what makes an effective HIV and AIDS educator.

Implications for research on girlhood and participatory visual methods

As noted earlier in this chapter, the momentum from the 2016 International AIDS conference suggests a timeliness to the study. There are immediate implications for the conclusions of this study which highlight the capacity of participatory visual methods to increase the means and scope of rural girls' participation in community responses to HIV and AIDS. In particular, the results of this study suggest that following a participatory visual method can serve to raise community awareness of girls' experiences and knowledge, through the dissemination of the girls' visual texts. Understandings of the types of social dynamics that girls and young women negotiate on a daily basis can inform the development of HIV and AIDS messaging. Starting with girls' visual texts as an education resource, there is potential to integrate discussions of sexual pleasure and desire. Integrating this participatory approach aligns with the DBE's (2012) national strategy which calls for targeted interventions aimed at girls in order to reduce the contexts of gender inequality and violence that contribute to their increased risk of infection.

A further implication of this work as it pertains to girls' lives and the use of participatory visual methods is the need to look more deeply at the ways in which girls' visual texts are engaged with and understood by different audiences. Elsewhere I reflected on the implications of screening cellphilms made by girls in academic conferences in the global north (MacEntee, 2016). I explored how audiences who are unfamiliar with the research context may need support engaging with participants' visual texts so as to avoid re-inscribing discourses of victimhood and to recognize the nuanced ways in which agency and risk come together to affect girls' lives. There are several questions concerning the visual texts that girls create during participatory visual projects. How are girls' visual texts interpreted by different audiences? How are girls involved in the decision-making and dissemination of their visual texts? The decision not to screen the Girl Group's digital story draws attention to the ethical concerns regarding how girls' (and boys') possibly contentious visual texts are framed and shared. What are the responsibilities and skills required of teachers and researchers in 'protecting' young people or negotiating the potential negative backlash girls may face from their peers or community after their visual texts are viewed? In this light, the capacity of participatory visual methods to inform community change is balanced with the need to instill a sense of the ethical implications as teachers facilitate and integrate these methods in schools.

Implications for the field of HIV and AIDS education and assessment

The results of this study are also considered in light of the ongoing interest in developing asense of 'what is working' in regards to HIV and AIDS prevention. This is a area of study that is dominated by discussions of funding competition at the global level (Kates, Wexler,& Lief, 2016) and "results-driven frameworks" in treatment (UNAIDS, 2015e, p. 3). The influence of this international policy context is evident in the national M&E framework for the National Strategic Plan, which concentrates on outcome measures based on biomedical tests and reported individual behaviour change (DBE, 2012). While this approach is effective at illustrating the overall impact of the strategy on the rates of HIV and AIDS infection, it does very little to generate understanding of what aspects of the strategy are effective and how the strategy is experienced by teachers and learners on the ground in schools.

Reflecting on the outcomes of the study suggests several implications for the development and implementation of a more nuanced monitoring and evaluation approach for HIV and AIDS education, especially as it relates to the integration of a participatory visual approach. First, highlighting the contextual significance of rural schools and rural communities, the research findings would suggest that any monitoring of HIV and AIDS education take a contextualized approach that aggregates the results as they relate to urban, peri-urban and rural settings and the levels of disparities within these contexts. Similar to the themes forwarded by Bell and Aggleton (2012) in their discussion of ethnographic evaluation, the participation of community members, especially young people, will bring further nuance to how particular prevention strategies are experienced in schools. These perspectives are critical if an understanding of a particular prevention is going to be applicable and responsive to communities' needs. They are also likely to contribute to an appreciation of the ways in which strategies engage with the emotional component of HIV and AIDS teaching. In a related theme, rather than focus on the consistency of the application of the particular curriculum or pedagogy the development of criteria may want to be developed that can capture how a particular method is being effectively adapted to fit the needs of different contexts.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The world "after" AIDS is not the same as the world before.

Aggleton, Yankah, &Crewe (2011, p. 498)

We can't treat our way out of this epidemic, but we can teach it.

Françoise Girard, President of the International Women's Health Coalition (cited in Rajani, 2016)

It is difficult to know how to conclude a thesis that I have been working on, in some form or another, over the last seven years. At a loss for my own words, I look to those of Aggleton, Yankay and Crewe for how they capture the sense of evolution in an epidemic of such length and magnitude. Nowhere, for me, is the 'world after AIDS' more evident than when I discuss the epidemic with young people who have never known a time when the epidemic has not touched their lives. These are young people who have grown up with

HIV and AIDS in the LO curriculum. It is in light of this context—the contrast of the 'everydayness' of HIV and AIDS prevention messages next to the ongoing suffering and shame that is associated with the virus and sexuality— that the words of President Girard seem particularly poignant. The potential of the education sector, and particularly teachers and learners, to impact the influence of HIV and AIDS is undeniable. However, for this to happen, teachers need support to tackle this monumental and complex task. The results of this study suggest that participatory visual methods stand to offer much to this situation, as learners and teachers in schools seem to understand. It is time now for the findings from the various research-based interventions that highlight the strength of these methods to find their way into teacher education and schools' curricula.

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APPENDIX A

Consent Form: Youth and HIV and AIDS in My Community Consent Form

Youth and HIV and AIDS in My Community
Consent Form signature page

I _____have read the above information on the *Youth and HIV and AIDS in My Community* workshop and research. This project involves working with other youth in my community. During this workshop, I will have an opportunity to make a digital story and to show this story to the rest of my school and community on December 3rd, 2010 at the International AIDS Day event.

Participation in the Research and Participating in the Workshop:

I will indicate below if I want to participate in the research and if I want to participate in the workshop. If I choose not to participate in the research I can still take part in the workshop and be part of making a digital story. If I choose not to participate in the workshop, however, I will also not be included in the research. By choosing to participate in the research, pictures of me, photographs that I took, or words that I say during the workshop might be later published in books, academic journals, or presented at conferences.

As a participant in the workshop, I will indicate in the following section if I want my picture taken as part of a digital story. If I choose to let my picture be taken for the digital story, this picture will most likely be shown to the rest of the workshop group and my school and community on December 3rd, 2010 during a community event to raise awareness around HIV and AIDS. I will indicate if I want my name associated with the digital story that I help make and (if applicable) the research I agree to take part in.

Risks and Safety

When showing the digital stories to the rest of the school and community, it is likely that people in the audience will recognize me. I can, however, indicate below that I do not want my name or picture to be associated with this work. To help protect my safety and privacy, I am not required to disclose any personal or incriminating information during the workshops. My participation in this workshop is voluntary, and I am free to withdraw at any point, even after the workshop has started. I can participate in the workshop even if I do not want to have my contributions included in the research being collected. If I choose to participate in the workshop but not the research, any photographs taken of me, video footage of me or voice recordings of things I say will not be used in the research or in future publications.

Benefits of participating in the workshops might lead me to want to learn more about HIV and AIDS and become more active in addressing HIV and AIDS in my community. Risks associated with participating in the research may be discrimination from other people in my community on or around the topic of HIV and AIDS. In order to help minimize these risks, I do not, under any circumstances during the workshop, have to disclose any information if I do not want to. If I or another participant does volunteer personal information, the workshop facilitators – Katie MacEntee or Lukas Labacher - have

explained to me that I need to keep this information private. If I do not agree to keep this information private I will not be able to participate in the workshop.

The Data

All data collected during the workshops, the video of the process and the digital stories produced, will be kept in a locked cabinet at the University of KwaZulu Natal when in South Africa and at McGill University after the researchers return to Canada. Only Katie MacEntee, her supervisor Dr. Claudia Mitchell, and Lukas Labacher will have access to the data and it will be stored for 7 years and then destroyed.

I agree that I will not discuss any personal information or even information on a relative or friend that may be disclosed during the workshop ____Yes ____No
I agree to participate in this research ____Yes ____No
I agree to be video recorded for research purposes _____ Yes _____No
I agree to be photographed for research purposes _____ Yes _____No
I agree to let other participants take my picture to be used in the digital stories ____Yes ____No
I would like my name to be associated with the project, any photographs of me, and video recordings of me for research purposes and with my digital story ____Yes ____No

Having read the information, I consent to participate in the *Youth and HIV and AIDS in My Community* workshops.

Participant Signature:_____Date:_____

Parent or Guardian Signature: _____Date:_____

(If participant is under 18 years)