CHAPTER 4
Methodology

As discussed in Chapter 2, this PhD research follows the five steps of the regulative cycle as defined by van Strien (1997). Figure 1 in the Introduction to this dissertation gives an overview of the four waves of data collection in this research and how they are in accordance with the different steps of the regulative cycle. The first wave of data collection started in 2008 with step 5 of the previous regulative cycle: the quantitative evaluation of the comprehensive sexuality education programme WSWM and a complementary qualitative study about young people’s perceptions of relationships and sexual practices in Kampala. Chapter 5 describes the methodology of the corresponding research.

Based on the findings of students’ perceptions, new research questions about the motivations of teachers for teaching sexuality education were defined in step 1 of the new regulative cycle (Identification of the Problem). This step included the second wave of data collection: a feasibility study in 2010 to formulate the research questions in a participatory way. The feasibility study and the final research questions are discussed and presented in Chapter 2 and the Introduction, respectively. The present chapter thus describes and reflects on the methods and methodology used for the final two waves of data collection: the main data collection in 2011 (step 2 of the regulative cycle: Diagnosis of the Problem) and the validation study in 2013 (step 3 of the regulative cycle: Plan of Action).
4.1 Research Setting

The main data collection among teachers took place at secondary schools in the urban area of Kampala, the capital of Uganda, between September and December 2011. A second wave of data collection to validate the findings took place in February 2013. To align with the previous study about students’ perceptions, it was decided to conduct the study in Kampala. Another reason to choose Kampala was because schools in rural areas were expected to have fewer resources and opportunities for implementing sexuality education. For instance, in cases where both students and teachers have to walk long distances home before dark, schools would have fewer opportunities to teach sexuality education lessons after school. This would reduce the opportunities to observe sexuality education lessons, which was one of the research aims.

4.1.1 Participant Recruitment and Background

The initial research objective was to compare three types of school-based sexuality education programmes: one government-based, one faith-based and one rights- and evidence-based programme. Three Ugandan NGOs that implement sexuality education in secondary schools connected me with teachers working in secondary schools with different religious affiliations in and around Kampala: (1) SchoolNet Uganda and (2) Straight Talk Foundation, which both implement comprehensive sexuality education programmes, and (3) Youth Alive Uganda, which implements a faith-based, abstinence-only programme. These teachers introduced me to the school administration and to fellow teachers who could potentially be interested in participating in the research. I also distributed a flyer in the staffrooms to recruit participants (see Appendix 1). Thereafter, a snowball technique was used, whereby teachers, whether they had participated in the research or not, introduced me to their colleagues in the school or neighbouring schools. Some teachers worked in two schools, which enabled them to introduce me in neighbouring schools. In the process of recruiting participants, I did not specify the meaning of sexuality education but left it up to the participants to decide whether their teaching could be considered as HIV and AIDS prevention and/or sexuality education.
Table 9. Characteristics of the schools at which the participating teachers worked.

Key: co-ed = co-educational; SDA = Seventh Day Adventists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School ID</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>Religious foundation</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Sponsorship</th>
<th>Gender</th>
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<td>Muslim</td>
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</tr>
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In total, 40 sexuality education teachers from 16 secondary schools (see Table 9) participated in the study. Among the teachers interviewed, there was one married couple working at the same school and two siblings working at different schools. Each of them was interviewed separately. Interviewing teachers who were related to each other helped obtain additional insights. For instance, the married couple shared differing views and complementary experiences about their division of household chores, their first time having sex and the number of children they wanted. The siblings invited me to their house to meet their mother, which helped to understand how their individual perceptions were embedded in their shared upbringing.

The teachers comprised both men (n=18) and women (n=22) aged 22–53 years. Seven women and two men were aged 40 or above (see Figure 7 and Appendix 2). Although the teachers worked in and around Kampala, many of them were born in rural areas, and some still lived there during weekends and holidays. Many of the teachers belonged to the Buganda tribe, which is the largest kingdom in Uganda and situated in the Kampala region. The teachers adhered to different religions: Pentecostal (n=12), Protestant (n=11), Catholic (n=10), Muslim (n=4) and Seventh Day Adventist (n=3).
Appendix 3 shows a table with the variety of sexuality education programmes taught by the 40 sexuality education teachers in the 16 secondary schools who participated in the study. Most of the participating teachers taught sexuality education as an integral part of their lessons. These lessons included the government’s HIV prevention programme, PIASCY; Biology; and Christian Religious Education. Some teachers taught sexuality education as patrons of extracurricular clubs focusing on HIV prevention or sexual and reproductive health in general, and other teachers taught sexuality education in their role as a counsellor or warden within the school. Table 9 shows the characteristics of the schools at which the participating teachers worked. These schools were located in Kampala and its surrounding districts and included boarding and day schools, co-educational and single-sex schools, public and private schools, and secular and religious schools adhering to different religions.

The teachers’ general teaching experience ranged from 1 to 26 years (9 years on average), and their experience of teaching HIV and AIDS and sexuality ranged from 0 to 21 years (6 years on average). For some teachers, their sexuality education training comprised a course on guidance and counselling during their teacher education; others had received additional training, including training from NGOs to teach school-based HIV prevention or sexuality education and government workshops to teach PIASCY.

Compared to the average Ugandan population, the research participants were highly educated. Their narratives suggest that they may have had more than average progressive views regarding gender equality due to their upbringing by their parents. For instance, the female teachers, many of whom had attended Catholic missionary schools, had received a higher education and had experienced their brothers participating in household chores. Despite, or perhaps because of, their relatively progressive views regarding gender equality, the female teachers often said that they experienced a double burden, as they had to work and
at the same time fulfil their traditional roles in the household. The male teachers expressed similar stories of feeling pressurized to adhere to traditional gender roles. For instance, a male interviewee discussed the difficulty of having to be the disciplinarian to his children, which prevented him from developing the loving bond with them that he desired. Furthermore, some male interviewees expressed how they spent their income on family expenses, such as school fees, whereas their wife could spend her income on personal expenditures. Yet the female interviewees could refute such stories by saying that their husbands spent money in the bar and on other women. As a result, the female participants were left in charge of financially supporting the household, which they regarded the duty of their husband (see Intermezzo 2 for a further reflection on the gender discourse).

4.2 Data Collection

Sexuality education and the personal experiences, values and beliefs attached to this can be “intimate, private and emotionally loaded” (Gordon & Cornwall, 2004, 75). Therefore, it was decided to conduct in-depth interviews to learn about participants’ personal experiences and their motivations and underlying goals to teach sexuality education. To validate and complement the data, teachers who had participated in the interviews were also observed while teaching sexuality education. This section describes and reflects on the data collection process and the various methods used in the third wave of data collection: the main data collection in 2011.

4.2.1 In-depth Interviews

I conducted the in-depth interviews using a semi-structured interview guide. With cultural schema theory being the theoretical lens, the interview guide contained topics that were expected to be relevant for identifying schemas of teaching sexuality education, including cultural schemas and personal experiences of relationships, sexual intercourse, HIV and AIDS, contraception, receiving sexuality education, and teaching sexuality education to secondary school students.

Most of the in-depth interviews were conducted in the school compound. Although not always possible in crowded school compounds, I aimed to conduct the interviews in private spaces such as secluded classrooms or under a tree. For the convenience of the participants, three of the interviews were conducted outside the school compound. In five instances, the participants were interviewed twice because the interview took too long to fit within their working schedule or because I requested a follow-up interview. Due to the schools’ timetables, interviews could be interrupted for lunch breaks or prayers.

The in-depth interviews lasted 2:05 hours on average, ranging from 0:45 to 3:40 hours. Sometimes teachers indicated beforehand that they did not have much time, but once in the interview they would suggest continuing. I suspected that teachers said this because they were not sure what to expect from the interview. The interviews were conducted in English, as it is the official language of Uganda. The interviews were digitally audio-recorded. See paragraph 4.4 for the related ethical considerations.
4.2.2 Observations of Sexuality Education Lessons

I tried to first have an in-depth interview with a teacher, after which a lesson would be observed, followed by another in-depth interview with the same teacher to make inductive inferences by reflecting on the first in-depth interview and the observed lesson (see Figure 8). Where possible, I aimed to observe multiple lessons taught by each teacher, as suggested by a teacher trainer from SchoolNet Uganda who was also a sexuality education teacher. According to this teacher’s experience, teachers’ personal values and beliefs mostly become visible in lessons that discuss gender, HIV and AIDS, and the difference between sex and sexuality.

![Figure 8. Research design for data collection in 2011](image)

During data collection, I observed that each school had its own approach to sexuality education. For instance:

- some schools integrated the PIASCY programme into their curriculum — for example, during weekly mentoring hours;
- some schools organised after-school clubs, such as the WSWM or Straight Talk club;
- some schools dedicated one weekend day in a semester to sexuality education;
- some schools invited external counsellors to provide sexuality education after school; and
- some schools addressed issues of sexuality during school assemblies.

Teachers explained that sexuality education was not a high priority in schools because it is not an examinable subject, which makes it difficult to allocate teachers’ and students’ time, budget and other resources. Because of this, sexuality education lessons and after-school clubs usually did not take place regularly, especially in times of packed school timetables and examination periods. This situation made it difficult to observe lessons by each teacher I interviewed, and, as a result, many lessons were scheduled on my request to allow me to observe a sexuality education lesson. In total, I observed 38 sexuality education lessons involving 22 participating teachers (see Appendix 3). The lesson observations lasted 1:13 hours on average, ranging from 0:36 to 2:34 hours. I was present during the lessons and recorded them with a camcorder, which enabled me to transcribe and analyse the recordings afterwards. The related ethical considerations are discussed in paragraph 4.4.

Due to staff turnover and lack of training, manuals and other resources, the contents discussed in the after-school clubs were observed to depend largely on the knowledge and preparation of the teacher or coordinating students rather than on the contents of the curriculum or approach intended by the implementing organisations. The WSWM club was the only club with a fixed curriculum, although its manual was not always available during meetings. Also, programmes could be mixed — for instance, a WSWM club, being...
coordinated by a PIASCY-trained teacher, discussing topics from a Straight Talk newspaper. Some schools had combined several clubs into one. In one school, for instance, several clubs were combined into ‘the anti-AIDS club’. As is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, this meant that in the sexuality education lessons observed, the implementing teacher and contextual factors, such as the school regulations, were more prominent in the sexuality education messages received by the students than the curriculum as intended by the NGOs that were implementing these programmes in the school.

I aimed to undertake passive lesson observations as defined by Spradley (1980 in: Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011), which means that I should not interact or participate in the activities but that I observe and record my observations from nearby. However, in practice it was difficult not to participate because students were conscious of my presence and teachers tried to actively involve me in their lesson. Furthermore, the variety in the topics discussed during the sexuality education lessons made it difficult to compare teachers, topics or programmes. Sometimes there was a positive bias — for instance, when teachers had been interviewed before a lesson observation and initiated discussions in the lesson about the topics discussed in the interview.

Based on these considerations, I decided not to analyse the lesson observations separately. However, the observations were used to embed the data from the interviews and to make inductive inferences for future interviews with other participants.

4.2.3 Participant Observations in Schools
The lesson observations and in-depth interviews helped to gain an emic perspective. In addition to the lesson observations, I spent time at the schools, and mostly in the staffroom, while waiting for the interviews and sexuality education lessons to take place or to enjoy a break together with the teachers and their colleagues. These observations helped further ground and validate the data, as indicated by Boog, Slagter and Zeelen (2008). First, it allowed me to observe the power relations between teachers and the school administration and between teachers and students. For instance, students were observed being caned, even in instances where teachers had claimed in the interviews that their school did not cane students. Also, teachers could go through students’ pockets to see what they were ‘hiding’ in there, or they could speak to or punish students in ways that I found humiliating. For instance, one time I was brought to a room where I found a student squatting in a corner, naked from the waist up. As a result of such observations, teachers’ professional identity, school regulations, the interaction between teachers and students, and students’ bodily integrity became part of the topics discussed in the interviews and of my understanding of the broader cultural meaning system in which school-based sexuality education takes place.

Furthermore, spending time in the school compounds helped me observe several limitations in relation to school-based sexuality education. First, it showed the limitations of implementing computer-based sexuality education programmes, such as WSWM, as computers and electricity were often not available. Second, the limitations of comparing faith-based, government-based and rights- and evidence-based sexuality education programmes, as these programmes were often combined into one after-school club or taught without
curriculum or trained teacher. Finally, considering the punitive environment, the limitations of creating ‘safe spaces’ in which students could feel comfortable discussing sexuality issues with their teachers.

Spending time in the school compounds also helped me understand the challenges teachers faced to create time to teach sexuality education. For instance, one teacher would get up daily at 4 a.m. to bake chapatis — flat bread made of flour — which she would sell to her colleagues during the school breaks to pay for her commuting transport costs. After teaching, she would leave the school in time to take care of her family. Other teachers were also very busy, as they made a living from working at two schools at the same time. Students also had to leave school in time to walk home and arrive before dark, where they would need to perform their daily chores in addition to their school work. Not only did these observations show the limited time both teachers and students had for sexuality education, but they also put the importance of teaching sexuality education into perspective: teachers and students often dealt with concerns that were more pressing to them than sexuality education, a non-examinable subject in school. Such insights helped me understand which issues would be open for change and which issues would be difficult to change through sexuality education interventions.

4.2.4 Reflections on the Data Collection from a Paradigm Perspective: Strategies and Emotions

In science, the role of the researcher in relation to his or her respondents, or participants, and data has been interpreted in various ways over time and, mostly, depending on research paradigms. From a positivist or critical rationalist perspective, which underlies most quantitative research, the researcher is considered objective and not influencing the data collection and analysis. The interpretative paradigm, which underlies most qualitative research, challenges this view and recognises that the researcher and the participants do not ascribe the same meanings to concepts and that it is important for the researcher to understand, or Verstehen, the participants’ perceptions and behaviour in their sociocultural context. Furthermore, it recognises that research is a subjective experience and that researchers should both acknowledge and reflect on their role in the research process (Bryman, 2012; Flick, 2015). In participatory action research, which is mostly based on critical theory and the constructivism paradigm, knowledge is constructed in interaction between the participants and the researcher (McIntyre, 2008). The role of the researcher changes even more from an observer and interpreter to a facilitator and agent of change who actively participates in the research process. This means that the relationship between the researcher and participants becomes one between two subjects, rather than between a subject and an object (Flick, 2015).

As a human geographer and demographer, I was mostly trained to conduct qualitative research within the interpretative paradigm as developed within a discipline that has traditionally worked in the positivist and critical rationalism paradigms. The interpretive paradigm, which is also the main underlying paradigm in this research, acknowledges the subjectivity of both research participants and the researcher (Hennink et al., 2011). As such, I knew that as a researcher I had to protect my participants and the integrity of the
data, on which I reflected extensively in the ethics section of my research proposal. This understanding is supported by Flick (2015, 33), who explains that ethical principles “aim to ensure that researchers are able to make their procedures transparent [...] , that they can avoid or eliminate any harm or deception for participants, and that they take care of data protection”. I was aware of other variations within the interpretative paradigm, such as used in participatory action research. Still, in my understanding, reflecting on my subjectivity, or positionality, meant mainly reflecting on how my personal biography could potentially influence the research process in a negative way. For instance, how would I ensure that participants would feel comfortable opening up to me, which would contribute to more valid data collection? It was only after data collection that I became aware of embracing my own emotions in a positive way, such as used in feminist methodology.

Feminist methodology makes the relationship between the researcher, research participants and the data even more explicit than in critical theory and the interpretative and constructivism paradigms, and argues that there is a triangular relationship between the three (Brannen 1988 in: Hubbard, Backett-Milburn, & Kemmer, 2001). From this perspective, a researcher’s ethical considerations, especially in the qualitative research process, should not only include a reflection on the potential harm to be experienced by the research participants but also a reflection, and embracing of, the researcher’s personal biography and the emotions that researchers themselves experience when they conduct research. This is because the researcher’s emotions play an important role in how they build rapport with their research participants and how the data are collected and analysed (Hubbard et al., 2001; McIntyre, 2008). First, Hubbard, Backett-Milburn, and Kemmer (2001) explain that “emotions contribute towards understanding and knowledge”; they call this “emotionally sensed knowledge”. Second, they reason that researchers may experience ‘emotional distress’ when conducting research if they do not develop strategies to deal with their emotions. Potential emotions that a researcher may experience in the research process include being upset, feeling privileged or guilty (such as discussed in Intermezzo 1), getting angry, and becoming desensitised or overempathising. The role of emotions can be undervalued in research conducted in the positivist paradigm, which assumes that research is free from emotion (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2007; Hubbard et al., 2001).

In this section, I discuss the research strategies that I adopted before starting the data collection process, to prevent harm being done to my research participants and to ensure data integrity, as informed by my training as a human geographer and demographer. Thereby, I reflect on the emotions I experienced in this data collection process.

Considering the sensitivity of the topic and my aim to understand the role of participants’ personal experiences of sexuality in how they taught sexuality education, I expected that it would be important to build rapport, or an “open and trusting relationship”, with the research participants (Babbie, 2010, 317). To establish rapport, my first strategy was to conduct follow-up interviews. As discussed before in this chapter, I tried initially to have an in-depth interview with a teacher, after which a lesson would be observed, followed by another in-depth interview with the same teacher to make inductive inferences by reflecting on the first in-depth interview and the lesson observed. Where possible, I aimed to observe
multiple lessons taught by each teacher. The follow-up interviews would create a longer period for the research participants and me to get to know each other and go into greater depth in the follow-up interviews.

The second strategy was to visit participants’ homes, meet their family and, for instance, join them in church. In addition to building rapport, this could contribute to more reliable and valid data, as it would enable me to learn more about their personal situation and develop a more comprehensive picture of who the research participants are. The third strategy was to not reveal my own opinion, to make the research participants feel comfortable opening up to me and for me to be welcome at the schools. Lastly, the fourth strategy was to be flexible to the time schedule of the teachers.

**Strategy 1: Follow-up Interviews**

As discussed, it was difficult to compare and analyse sexuality education lessons, which led to an adaptation of the research design. Also, teachers were very busy, which made it difficult to ask them to invest much time in the research. Furthermore, it appeared that teachers already opened up in the first interview about their personal experiences, which I had not expected beforehand. A private, comfortable setting was found to be important to make participants feel at ease and open up. For instance, sitting together on school benches or on a carpet under a tree created an intimate atmosphere, as if the participant and I were two friends having a chat. Interviews held in office spaces tended to be less intimate. First, it was difficult to know whether other people outside the room were able to overhear the conversation. Second, having a desk between me and the participant created too much space and a formal atmosphere.

When I felt that participants were not at ease, I would keep the interview questions more general. In one instance, a female teacher asked me to turn off the voice recorder before she shared some personal information. On another occasion, an in-depth interview was held outside near a shop, where people were potentially able to overhear the conversation. In that interview, the participant lied about her age of sexual initiation, which I understood considering the consequences she explained she would have faced if her family had found out about her being sexually active at that age. In this example, her reasoning for becoming sexually active was more interesting than the age itself: she had explained how parents can use messages of fear to encourage their children to abstain.

At the start of interviews, I noticed that participants could be harsher and more judgemental about young people’s sexual practices and ‘sexual deviations’ than later in the interview. For instance, a female teacher aged 43 first rejected young people’s sexual practices for religious reasons but later ‘admitted’ that she was not that religious and that her abstinence messages were more motivated by personal experiences (see Chapter 8 for more detail). Although the lesson observations confirmed that teachers’ quotes in the in-depth interviews reflected the messages they gave to their students, the in-depth interviews revealed a layer underneath their cultural and religious considerations to teach abstinence that was more personal and showed teachers’ vulnerability and their empathy for students.

In general, participants appeared quite comfortable opening up. Whereas at the start
of the interview, the conversations were often more general, talking about their students and cultural norms in society, they often became more personal as the interview progressed. For instance, in the following example the participant explains how being a Muganda (a member of the Buganda tribe) has influenced the way she has experienced sexuality:

Yeah, that is true... [...] So, starting from ten years, they used to pull the labia. Both of them, using certain herbal... medicine, huh? To elongate them, so that... when you grow up with time, they are still long. And the main purpose was based for sex. That when you are with a man, they would cover the penis and keep it warm so that it doesn't loosen out very fast. So that was the idea. [...] Yeah. So, I remember that scared me so much. [chuckles a bit] My mother didn't... train us to do that but she had to get her best friend... a Buganda lady who helped us to pull... and train us. [...] they are supposed to be medium like a thumb, something like that. (Female teacher, age 31)

I felt that participants trusted me with their personal stories because I was an outsider and they knew that I would be leaving. After an in-depth interview, during which very personal issues were shared, a teacher could distance him- or herself from me in the staffroom afterwards. In this respect, it sometimes felt better not to spend too much time at the school interacting with participants’ colleagues in the staffroom or the school administration, as had been initially intended to create rapport. In addition, rapport became worse in some cases when teachers started requesting money or study support after a while.

The data collection showed the importance of the school context for teachers’ reasoning. However, the in-depth interviews also showed that teachers within the same school could express different consequences related to the same behaviour. For instance, a female teacher aged 28 said that boys who impregnate a girl can stay in school, whereas a male teacher aged 27 from the same school said that these boys would be expelled and imprisoned.

Although sexual diversity was not a focus of this research, participants often initiated conversations about homosexuality. On the one hand, this might have been because national debates about homosexuality and the ‘anti-homosexuality bill’ were taking place at the time, although not as intensely as they would be a few years later; on the other hand, participants might have assumed that I could be interested in this topic because I was Dutch. As discussed in Intermezzo 1, the heated political debates surrounding homosexuality later in the research process, during the data validation in 2013, made me worried that my presence in the schools could potentially harm the participants.

**Strategy 2: Visiting their Homes**

Although some teachers were only interested in participating in the interview or the lesson observations, there were also teachers who invited me to their homes to meet their family or to join them in church. Sometimes I would feel happy to do this, but there were also times when I was hesitant — for instance, in the case of an unmarried male teacher who was my age and insisted that I should spend the night at his place. Instead, I joined him at his church. In one case, a teacher invited me to her place to meet her family and have lunch. Because of some comments she had made about the luxuriousness of the hostel I was staying
at and requests for money she had made me, I was not excited to go, but I also felt that it was impolite to decline the invitation, and I expected that saying no would decrease our rapport and my chances for a follow-up interview. I also felt sorry for her, as I knew about her personal situation and the financial struggle she was facing. That is why I agreed to go.

Unfortunately, this visit turned out to be a negative experience, as my personal belongings ended up being stolen at her place. After I found out, I returned and insisted that she give back my belongings. First she denied taking them. Then she went into the house and said that she would beat her that evening for stealing my belongings. I did not believe that the maid, a 16-year-old girl, had done this, and if she had done, I expected her to have been instructed by the female teacher. I felt terrible: I did not want the maid to be blamed, I had no money for transportation home, and I did not know how to continue our relationship. In the informed consent form that we had signed, I had agreed that I would give her the verbatim transcript of the interview and the report with preliminary findings. Considering the ethics of doing research, I was confused about whether I was supposed to fulfil these obligations as agreed in the signed consent form even though she had betrayed me in this way.

**Strategy 3: Not Revealing My Own Opinion**

Babbie (2010) states that to ensure data integrity and to avoid harming the research participants, it is important that researchers do not express their opinions during data collection. However, there were various situations in which participants would express opinions that conflicted with my personal norms and values or even with my beliefs of identity. Not being able to respond in such situations, and even laughing along with the participant for the benefit of the research, could make me feel bad. For instance, when a female participant aged 28 said about homosexuals: “Unless they repent away from their sins, but if they remain homos, and they die homos, hell! That’s what I believe.”

In a similar situation, I was interviewing a teacher when I saw students being caned by a head teacher out of the corner of my eye. I found it difficult to actively force myself to ignore the situation and focus on the in-depth interview. In other instances, I would be seated in the staffroom when I observed students being caned, being threatened with being caned or being humiliated by teachers. Because I did not want to risk my data integrity and rapport with the teachers, I would keep quiet, which made me feel bad and conflicted because my whole reason for doing this research was to improve the well-being of these young people.

**Strategy 4: Be Flexible to the Time Schedule of the Teachers**

To increase data integrity, it was important that I conduct enough in-depth interviews to reach theoretical and information saturation. Because teachers were often busy teaching, I felt that I needed to accommodate them by waiting for a time slot when they would feel relaxed and comfortable enough to participate in the interview. This would also increase the quality of the interview, as there would be enough time, and teachers would feel more relaxed. In practice, this could mean that an interview planned for 2.00 p.m. could start at 5.00 p.m. Because it gets dark in Kampala at 7.00 p.m., this meant that I would be travelling
back home alone in the dark, which is against safety precautions. However, in this fieldwork situation I was so much taken up by the research that I would prioritise my data collection above my own safety in such instances.

Other Emotions
Besides the emotions that I experienced in relation to these four research strategies, there were also other emotions that I experienced during data collection. For instance, I could feel powerless and privileged, such as when I identified with a female teacher my age who got pregnant because she lacked sexual and reproductive health information (see Intermezzo 1). I could also feel hurt when participants expressed perceptions about sexual diversity or gender roles that conflicted with my own norms and values. I could feel upset when female teachers shared personal experiences of domestic violence, marital rape and other problems due to gender-based inequality. I could also feel the need to educate — for instance, when research participants expressed perceptions about side effects of hormonal contraception, about masturbation or homosexuality, which did not correspond with my own understandings of these issues. These type of emotions have been described in other studies as well (e.g. Dickson-Swift et al., 2007; Hubbard et al., 2001; B. Johnson & Clarke, 2003).

To me, it is clear that I experienced these emotions in these particular situations because I identified with my research participants. Especially being a woman played an important role, but also my age and country of origin. I felt that not being able to respond to my emotions in these situations, to protect my research participants and ensure data integrity, increased my emotional distress (as indicated by Hubbard, Backett-Milburn, and Kemmer (2001)). In addition to this emotional distress, I intended to adopt the research strategies discussed, to increase the validity and reliability of the data, but I found that they were not always successful or necessary for building rapport or reaching depth in the interviews. In contrast, in some cases it seemed that the research participants felt more comfortable with me staying an outsider, or at least they were not interested or did not have the time to develop the anticipated level of rapport.

In my aim of protecting participants and ensuring data integrity, I sometimes lost sight of my own needs: I made my well-being secondary to my research. In this respect, I experienced conflicts between my roles of being an objective researcher, a facilitator aiming for social change, and a person with emotions and values, and about how to act on them. Fortunately, during data collection I was staying in a hostel surrounded by other researchers and people my age from the Netherlands, with whom I could share my feelings when I returned after a day of data collection. This helped me cope with my emotions. However, looking back, I realise that these emotions have stayed with me for many years and that it would have been good if I had prepared myself better to deal with these emotions before starting data collection.
4.3 Analysis

The in-depth interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed using MAXQDA version 10 software. The analytic process applied principles of grounded theory as described by Corbin and Strauss (2008) and followed the analytic cycle of the Hutter-Hennink qualitative research cycle (Hennink et al., 2011). Deductively derived theory, as discussed in Chapter 3, was used to develop “explanations of data”, and those explanations were in turn validated by “returning to the data” (Hennink et al., 2011, 237). This interaction between theory and data enabled a deeper understanding of the data.

In the 40 in-depth interviews, 11,610 text sections were labelled with a total of 1,507 codes, which are an average of 290 coded texts per interview. These texts could be specific, ‘in vivo’ words, such as ‘pulling’ or ‘innocent’, or longer phrases such as ‘body is temple of the Lord’ or ‘African traditional society’. Large sections of text could be labelled with more overarching codes, whereas smaller sections — also within those larger sections — could receive more detailed sub-codes. The codes or concepts that appeared to belong to the same phenomenon were grouped. One part of a ‘code tree’, in this case a selection of the findings related to teachers’ cultural schemas of professional identity, and how these motivate them to teach sexuality education, could look as follows:

teacher/work [1]

[...]
role of a teacher [62]

[...]
as a role model [31]
old-fashioned [4]
code of conduct [21]

personal deviation from school policy [3]
stick to syllabus/curriculum [30]
teach what is morally upright [7]
creating rapport with students [25]
being trustworthy [7]
gossiping about students [2]
students feel free/fear/scared [30]
show interest in students [5]
advising/guiding students [45]

students take it as Bible truth [1]
correct behaviours [13]
responsibility to protect students while in school [4]
students appreciate [21]
understanding students [13]

being patient with students [2]
There were 30 broader, overarching codes or themes. Themes such as ‘culture’ and ‘personal experiences’ were already part of the research questions, as they had been formulated in the research proposal (see Chapter 2). Other important topics emerged from the data collection, such as the role of professional identity (initially coded ‘teacher/work’) and teachers’ perceptions of students and school regulations (initially coded ‘students/constructions of youth’ and ‘schools’). The themes ‘values in life’, which consisted of higher-level goals and values, and ‘ABC message’ as one of the important discourses were inductively derived and considered important contextual findings that needed to be part of any explanations of the research questions.

The findings were many, and they all seemed important to include in this PhD dissertation. My ideas were to write papers about the following: (1) the role of cultural values and beliefs; (2) professional identity; (3) constructions of young people; (4) personal experiences of sexual initiation; (5) personal experiences of contraceptive use; and (6) personal experiences of receiving sexuality education as a young person. And if time allowed, I would have loved to write additional papers about gender, the negative implications of the ABC discourse, sexual diversity and — based on the lesson observations — a discourse analysis of the content of sexuality education messages received by students.

My supervisor told me that I had a whole life of writing articles ahead of me and that for the PhD dissertation itself it was better to have a few papers each making a distinct theoretical contribution to the overall conclusion of the dissertation than many papers with repetitive theoretical insights. Taking that as a starting point, I decided to write one chapter about cultural ambivalence (see Chapter 6), one about professional identity, but taking students’ perceptions and the school setting into account (see Chapter 7), and one about personal experiences (see Chapter 8). Although I considered the findings of teachers’ personal experiences of sexual initiation, contraceptive use and receiving sexuality education as a young person equally interesting, their theoretical insight of how personal experiences play a role in teachers’ motivations — would be similar. Therefore, I decided to include only one of them: personal experiences of sexual initiation. These three papers together were felt to answer the research questions and tell a coherent, full story theoretically and in terms of content.

Because the theme of ‘professional identity’ was inductively derived during analysis of the main wave of data collection, a deeper interpretation of its importance for the provision of sexuality education was obtained during the validation study in 2013. To allow for a description of this deeper interpretation, it was decided at a later stage of the analysis and writing of the findings to separate the article about professional identity into two chapters (Chapter 7 and 9). In addition, it was also chosen to include an intermezzo in the dissertation that describes the discourses and values in the sociocultural context in which Ugandan school-based sexuality education was found to be embedded (Intermezzo 2).

After coding of the data, the next part of analysis identified the content of teachers’ sexuality education messages — in relation to students’ sexual citizenship, sexual agency and in general — and the cultural schemas and personal experiences that teachers rely on to support their reasoning for teaching this content. The identified cultural schemas were
abstracted to the following categories: (1) discourses and values in sexuality education; (2) cultural values and beliefs regarding young people, sexuality and sexuality education; (3) professional identity; (4) school setting or context; (5) students and their sexual citizenship; and (6) higher-level schemas. Intermezzo 2 and Chapter 7 and Chapter 9 discuss the findings according to these categories, including their sub-categories, interlinkages and visualisation in a cultural template. Chapter 6 about ambivalent cultural schemas and Chapter 8 about personal experiences of sexual initiation included further steps of analysis which are discussed in the sections below.

4.3.1 Ambivalent Cultural Schemas
This section discusses the analysis of the findings related to teachers’ cultural schemas of young people, sexuality and sexuality education, and how these motivate them to teach sexuality education. After grouping of the codes, the code families were identified that were hypothesised to be related to teachers’ cultural values and beliefs regarding teaching sexuality education. Then these code families were abstracted to four cultural schemas: (1) young people’s sexual citizenship and (2) sexuality education in ‘traditional’ Uganda; and (3) young people’s sexual citizenship and (4) sexuality education in ‘present’ Uganda. This separation between teachers’ cultural schemas of ‘traditional’ and ‘present’ Uganda was reconstructed by the participants themselves based on their present constructions (Garro, 2000). In the analysis of these cultural schemas attention was paid to their functions, as discussed by D’Andrade (1984).

In the second part of analysis, analysis of the four cultural schemas showed conflicts between teachers’ ‘traditional’ cultural schemas and their cultural schemas of the present situation. To understand how the participants dealt with these conflicts, strategies for dealing with conflicting schemas were derived from cultural schema theory (C. Strauss, 1997). The findings are presented in Chapter 6.

4.3.2 The Role of Personal Experiences
This section discusses the analysis of the findings related to the personal experiences that the teachers themselves considered motivating for teaching sexuality education. The content of teachers’ sexuality education messages in relation to students and their sexual citizenship appeared to be mainly embedded within the discourses of the ABC strategy and family planning, as discussed in Intermezzo 2. As such, their messages were grouped into whether teachers wanted to teach: (1) abstinence-only; (2) condom use as a last resort; or (3) both abstinence and contraception.

The second part of the analysis identified teachers’ personal experiences that they themselves considered motivating for teaching sexuality education. The teachers recalled their own experiences and those of others, including family members, friends and students at school. The types of experiences were broad and can largely be categorised as experiences of: (1) receiving sexuality education; (2) sexual initiation; (3) contraception; and (4) others, including gender, puberty and HIV and AIDS.

Previous steps in the analysis had shown that teachers’ approach to students’ sexual
citizenship when teaching sexuality education is to a large extent based on their cultural schemas of students’ sexual activity. Therefore, it was decided to focus on teachers’ personal experiences of sexual initiation. These personal experiences were stratified by: (1) sexual initiation; (2) male/female; (3) age; and (4) emotion — i.e. positive/negative experience. Sexual initiation was categorised by: (1) virgin and intends to abstain until marriage; (2) abstinence until marriage; (3) premarital sex with marriage partner only; and (4) premarital sex.

To understand to what extent personal experiences directed the content of teachers’ sexuality education, the third part of the analysis compared teachers’ personal experiences with whether they wanted to teach: (1) abstinence-only; (2) condom use as a last resort; or (3) both abstinence and contraception. Subsequently, the last part of the analysis applied psychological and cultural schema theory, as discussed in Chapter 3, to interpret how personal experiences and their evocative function relate to cultural schemas that teachers use to support their reasoning for teaching sexuality education.

4.4 Ethics

This research was approved by the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) under file number SS 2626. The study was also granted ethical permission by the ethical clearance committee of the Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen.

4.4.1 Seeking Permission and Informed Consent

I introduced myself to the participants as a PhD student from the Netherlands who had been working on sexuality education with the Dutch NGO Rutgers. I explained the objectives of my research and the aim of using the research findings to help teachers to teach sexuality education. I asked the participants to be as honest as possible, informed them about confidentiality and anonymity and told them that they could decide freely whether to participate in the study or not.

After being informed about the content and aims of the study, the school administrations and participating teachers provided written informed consent for both the in-depth interviews and lesson observations and for the use of a digital voice recorder and camcorder to record the data (see Appendix 4). The schools and research participants received a copy of the signed consent form.

Before a lesson observation, the teacher would ask the students whether they agreed that I could observe and record the lesson. To protect the students’ privacy and make them feel more comfortable, I tried not to film the students and, instead, primarily pointed the camcorder at the teacher, because the teacher was the focal point of interest. However, in some instances I decided to involve the students and give them the camcorder to film the lesson. Although the students enjoyed this, it could create some disturbance in the lesson and lead to students being filmed.
4.4.2 Referral

I distributed a referral list among the participants in case they experienced emotional distress caused by the research (see Appendix 5). In addition, a counsellor working with Straight Talk Foundation in Kampala was available to help and, if requested, to introduce me to other counsellors and relevant organisations.

4.4.3 Incentives and Reimbursement of Costs

Teachers did not receive any incentive for their participation in the research, but, where appropriate, travel costs were reimbursed. In one instance, a teacher asked about her incentive after the interview was finished, which suggests that her participation in the research may have been financially motivated. Some other teachers asked me to help them find scholarships to pursue their education. In such cases, I would refer them to websites that regularly announce scholarship opportunities.

4.5 Data Validation

This section discusses the fourth, and final, wave of data collection. In February 2013, I shared the interview transcripts with the participants. All but two could be traced back. Furthermore, I disseminated a report with preliminary research findings among the research participants, their school administrators, Ugandan NGOs and an employee of the National Curriculum Development Centre. The printing costs for this report had been paid for by Rutgers. I asked each of the research participants and key stakeholders to read the report and whether they were interested and available for informal feedback or, in the case of the initial research participants, a follow-up interview to reflect on their transcript and the preliminary findings. These discussions included audio-recorded interviews with 17 of the initial research participants to reflect on the findings (see Appendix 2). The discussions helped to validate the findings of this research, and Chapter 9 is even based on these validation interviews.

Several teachers expressed their surprise that I had returned to share and discuss the findings. They enjoyed reading the findings, as they were interested in knowing how their personal story compared to the experiences and perceptions of other teachers and how sexuality education was being implemented in other schools. One teacher chose to have her husband read the interview transcript because she felt it would be good for him to be aware of her previous sexual experiences and beliefs about sexuality. Another teacher thanked me because he could use the report as an advocacy tool to lobby with the school administration for sexuality education in their school, as the report ‘proved’ that sexuality education was important. Some teachers stated how the interviews had challenged their thinking about young people’s sexual citizenship and their need for accurate and complete information, and how they intended to make changes in their personal or professional lives. For instance, one teacher intended to start providing sexuality education to her daughter; another teacher intended to stop scaring her students with inaccurate information because she realised that this was not helping them. Also, conducting an in-depth interview in itself could be
helpful. For instance, a female teacher indicated that she had learned from the interview how important it is to look a student in the eye when she is counselling them. In this way, the data collection proved to be small interventions in themselves, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Some teachers merely confirmed the findings in the report, which improved the validity and reliability of the data generated, as discussed in Boog, Slagter and Zeelen (2008). Other teachers were able to reflect on the findings, which encouraged learning and self-awareness among both the research participants and me. These discussions generated deeper insights, as the teachers reflected on their culture and behaviour as teachers and how this could be harmful to their students. These reflections also led to new insights about sexuality education. For instance, teachers could conclude that sexuality education in Uganda is mostly focused on girls while boys are being left out; and that teachers should move away from sharing general ideologies and, rather, link their messages to students’ personal values and goals in life so that students can relate to such messages.

During the first data collection in 2011, I always stayed objective and did not share my views with the participants, to make the participants feel comfortable opening up and sharing their views, and to avoid influencing the data collection. But during these validation interviews, I sometimes chose to express my views and to initiate discussions with the participants. On the one hand, I hoped that this would trigger the participants to go into greater depth about the issues concerned, but, on the other hand, I also felt that it was only fair to the participants to learn about my opinion and beliefs as well. Furthermore, I hoped to challenge participants’ beliefs and promote positive outcomes by sharing contrasting views – for instance, where it concerned beliefs about homosexuality and the side effects of hormonal contraception. Kesby, Kindon, and Pain (2005) have also discussed the possibility of challenging participants’ beliefs as part of research.
This chapter places the findings that are discussed in Chapter 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 into a broader context by describing the most important discourses and values in which the students’ perceptions (Chapter 5) and teachers’ shared reasoning and motivations for teaching sexuality education (Chapter 6, 7, 8 and 9) were found to be embedded. These discourses and values were studied and analysed using cultural schema theory, as explained in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. The findings, derived from the interviews with students and teachers, are presented in the following two sections: (1) discourses and (2) values in school-based sexuality education in Uganda.

**DISCOURSES IN SCHOOL-BASED SEXUALITY EDUCATION IN UGANDA**

This section discusses the following discourses: (1) the ABC approach and family planning; (2) gender; (3) heteronormativity; (4) sex essentialism, pleasure and negativity; and (5) childhood innocence.

**The ABC Approach and Family Planning**

Sexuality education requires a diverse range of messages to cater for all kinds of needs, including those of young people who are sexually active or HIV-positive. Yet sexuality education messages provided by the participating teachers in this study appeared mainly centred around: (1) the ABC approach — i.e. ‘Abstain, Be faithful, or use a Condom’ — used for HIV prevention; and (2) contraception being referred to as ‘family planning’. This narrowed the provision of information to students through sexuality education. According to a teacher, teachers have copied these messages from radio campaigns: “Okay... Ehm, that one comes from [...] the messages that were running on radio, they usually say: Abstain, but if you can’t [...] ...use a condom” (Female teacher, age 29).

The abstinence message is usually directed at unmarried young people; the faithful message at married people; and the condom message at high-risk groups, such as sex workers and serodiscordant couples (Kinsman, 2008; Parkhurst, 2011; PEPFAR, 2011). Although the faithful message does not protect against pregnancies, and the condom is not the only contraceptive option, some teachers presented these three messages of the ABC strategy as options for their students: “We... handle... the component as... abstinence, the use of condoms and... and eh... being faithful to a partner, yeah” (Male teacher, age 29).

Some teachers presented the ABC strategy even as a hierarchy of options to their students, or they chose to mention only abstinence because they felt that providing options could confuse students:

> We don’t want to give them a condom message. But we... we mention it in passing, with no emphasis. You say... well... our, our model is to abstain, to be faithful, that’s if you are married, [...] but not for you, because you cannot be in a stable relationship, you are young, [...] But we tell them that if... the worst gets the worst [...] if you are overwhelmed by your emotions, [...] than make sure that you are... safe. [...] But I’m not going to come and tell... this is how to use a condom [...] That is not me. We would be giving you a double... message. (Male teacher, age 43)

The message presented above shows two other discourses, namely ‘childhood innocence’ — i.e. the teacher thought that students were too young to be in a stable relationship — and ‘sex essentialism’ — i.e. the teacher advised students to use a condom if they were not able to ‘control’ themselves.

For married couples, encouraging faithfulness only, rather than including other options such as condoms, seemed to create an adverse effect whereby the use of condoms within marriage could be interpreted as a sign of unfaithfulness:

> People think that in marriage, you’re not supposed to use condoms because they think it means one of you is not... ehm, one of the partners in a marriage is... not faithful, yeah. After
all, if you’re married, why should you use condoms? [...] But even when they know that the people are not that faithful, they pretend that there is trust in their marriage.

(Female teacher, age 44)

In this respect, the ABC approach seemed to increase, rather than decrease, married people’s vulnerability to HIV and pregnancy. This was especially true when unequal gender power relations prohibited women in a relationship from refusing sexual intercourse:

Female teacher, age 40: There is a big problem of HIV/AIDS. People don’t want to die. Even me, [...] I pray that where my husband passes, he doesn’t get the HIV. [...] Because when our husbands come to us, they won’t protect, Billie. And they want it by force. ‘Are you ready? Or are you not ready? We agreed in the church.’ He will just get his thing and push it inside. [...] I thank God: I wedded in the church. If I get sick... now... in my marital home, people will respect me and say: ‘This woman... it has found her in her home.’

Interviewer, Billie: You cannot ask your husband to go for an HIV test?

Female teacher, age 40: Oh my God! Can he listen to me now, Billie? Huh?! Billie, can he listen to me?! Hm. He can say: ‘Uh-uh! You have cheated.’ He will start blaming me.

The use of hormonal contraception within marriage was also discussed by the teachers interviewed as a sign of unfaithfulness because it was considered to enable promiscuity because women no longer had to fear becoming pregnant. The participants often labelled these contraceptive methods ‘family planning’. In response to the question whether teachers would teach family planning to students, a typical response was:

In school? No... because which family are you planning? Most of the... secondary school children are up to 18 in most cases, and we are assuming they don’t have families. So family planning is not, has never been one of the topics.

(Female teacher, age 47)

Probably due to these discourses, condoms were often considered the only contraceptive option for sexually active young people, especially when they were not married or had not yet given birth.

**Gender**

The teachers often explained that men and women have their own gender roles to perform in a relationship — for instance, the woman does the household chores, and the man has a paid job outside the house. The teachers explained that, traditionally, the husband is supposed to be the head of the household, and the woman is supposed to be submissive to the husband. They argued that men and women complement each other and that both have their own responsibilities. In this respect, many teachers considered men and women equal but not the same. As a result, most teachers felt that problems arose when one of the two spouses did not perform the responsibilities attributed to their gender. However, the teachers also indicated that this is a traditional role division and that societal changes have affected these roles. For instance, the female teachers in this study worked and indicated that some of their husbands took up household chores. However, some female teachers experienced a double burden, as they felt pressured to live up to their traditional gender roles and, at the same time, have a paid job.

In general, the teachers felt that women were more vulnerable than men, among other things, because they bore the consequences of unprotected sex. As a result, sexuality education messages were often focused on protecting female students, leading to stereotyped messages of male students being portrayed as ‘hunters’ who want sex, and female students needing to ‘protect their goal’ by saying no to sex:

When my sister gets impregnated, she will be caned. She will be rebuked. She will be seen as a shame to the society. [...] But again, when I impregnate, my father will say: ‘Young man, you
Heteronormativity

Rubin (1984) describes "the hierarchical valuation of sex acts", in which societies value marital heterosexual sex focused on procreation as the most moral behaviour, followed by unmarried monogamous heterosexual relations. Low in the hierarchy are immoral sexual acts such as masturbation, homosexual relations and sex work. This hierarchy was also found in the participants’ stories, especially from a moral, Christian perspective.

In recent years, the Ugandan government has attempted to broaden criminalisation of homosexuality, which has been represented in the media as a threat to public morality and national sovereignty (Sadgrove et al., 2012). Many participants understood homosexuality as a voluntarily chosen behaviour. Subsequently, they did not understand why a person would 'choose' to be homosexual, especially when this meant being cast out by their community. Many participants explained homosexuality as a result of peer pressure or payment. The participants often disapproved of homosexuality from a biological point of view, arguing that the anus is not designed for sexual intercourse: “The damage you get due to homosexuality, offering the anal canal for... for sexual intercourse, the damage is so much more than... the damage you would get by offering the right organ... that is meant for sexual intercourse.” (Male teacher, age 29)

Sex Essentialism, Pleasure and Negativity

Sexual essentialism considers sex as a force of nature (Rubin, 1984). As is discussed more extensively in Chapter 5, students often discussed sexual urge and the difficulty of having 'self-control' to abstain. Also, teachers often discussed sex in this way — for instance, in their messages to students, when they told them to use a condom in case 'they couldn't control themselves'. In addition, teachers would use 'sex negativity' — for instance, when they emphasised the negative consequences of being sexually active.

However, in the interviews, teachers often also described sex as pleasurable — or at least more positively — especially when done within marriage. For instance, teachers could say that sex was not only meant for producing children but also for maintaining a good relationship with your partner and for relieving 'sex passion'. In this regard, teachers could describe masturbation as a selfish act because this meant denying a partner sexual pleasure:

Hm... masturbation [...] you find them thinking, this woman is only for... for production of children, and when it comes to satisfying themselves, they know how to do it. [...] they become selfish, for as long as they can do it on themselves and they get satisfaction, they don't mind what is happening with the other partner, so I would encourage them to avoid masturbation. (Female teacher, age 35)

Also, there was a fear that masturbation would lead to sex addiction, which again refers to the discourse of sexual essentialism.

Some teachers explained that they had learned in their childhood that sex was a bad thing or a sin, and some female teachers indicated that they could still feel this ‘guilt’ when having sex, even when married.

The first few years in my marriage were a bit of a struggle because I looked at sex as... something that is not... very, very good. Something that is not... enjoyable. Eh, something that eh... I just do for the sake... of doing it. Because maybe I want
In response, these teachers now wanted to teach their students that sex is a beautiful thing, as long as it is done within marriage. They also felt that it was no longer convincing to tell students that sex is bad, because students learned about the pleasure of sex from peers and the media. The teachers explained that, actually, one reason for discouraging students from becoming sexually active was that once students had sex, it would be difficult for them to abstain afterwards, because they would know how pleasurable it is.

Childhood Innocence
Teachers often described their students as young, children, innocent, vulnerable, easily deceived and unable to make their own decisions. Girls in particular were often perceived as being vulnerable. The consequences of this 'childhood innocence' discourse for the provision of sexuality education is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

VALUES IN SCHOOL-BASED SEXUALITY EDUCATION IN UGANDA
This section discusses the following values: (1) fertility; and (2) religion and morality.

Fertility
The value of fertility is inseparable from discussions about sexuality education in Uganda. Overall, the participants valued fertility highly. In response to the question about how teachers respond to early pregnancies, a female teacher said that having children is natural; only the timing is wrong:

*They will only look at the child as whatever she has done is something normal that is supposed to happen to a female being, and only condemn the fact that they have done it before marriage, they have done it, the timing, the timing is wrong.* (Female teacher, age 40)

Related to the cultural value of fertility, teachers indicated their fear of using hormonal contraception, which was perceived by many participants as causing infertility. This was also a reason to offer hormonal contraception only to women who have already given birth. Because she was afraid of becoming infertile, a female Biology teacher stopped using hormonal contraception and became pregnant: "*You hear this thing, if you use it for too long, you get infertile and that one... Yeah, so it was of getting scared that I could not have a child that I stopped.* [...] *That's when I got pregnant*" (Female teacher, age 29). In a validation interview in 2013, she further explained:

*The thing is that... I think in Africa we fear infertility a lot: [...] So... you would rather have unwanted, unplanned kids than no, no kids at all, than not having any kids, yeah. So the fear of, of the clan demanding another child and then you are infertile [...] of course it would be the wrong arrow but... why take chances?* [whispering voice, laughing] (Female teacher, age 29)

‘Fertility testing’ is another phenomenon that participants discussed in relation to the high value of fertility. For instance, a male teacher feared he had become infertile after an operation and had unprotected sex to test his fertility:

*I happened to have got a problem with ehm... with hernia, and I was operated. [...] I got a problem with my testicles so I just began to imagine I may not give birth. So I began making experiments, can it, can I have a child, can I... and subsequently ended up what; impregnating. But sex is not supposed to be used for experiments. Because the consequences live after you.* (Male teacher, age 31)

Another male teacher explained that people can also be motivated to have unprotected sex before marriage to test whether a future spouse is fertile.
**INTERMEZZO 2**

**Religion and Morality**

The importance of having children and getting married was also explained by teachers in terms of religion:

*What is the purpose of sex? [...] God is the one who initiated marriage in the Garden of Eden. That’s why normally for us, we take sex to be only for the married people for the purpose of creation of children. (Male teacher, age 28)*

Several teachers indicated the importance of living a ‘morally upright’ life or of abstaining or having abstained because of their religion. In the interviews and lesson observations, morality was often mentioned, especially morality based on the norms and values of Christianity and African tradition. For instance, teachers might consider it immoral for young people to be sexually active. Similarly, they might also consider masturbation, prostitution, homosexuality and pornography immoral.

**CONCLUSION**

This chapter has discussed the most important values and discourses in which both the students’ perceptions of relationships and sexual practices and teachers’ motivations to teach sexuality education appeared to be embedded. Fertility, religion and morality emerged as important values that interact both with participants’ goals as discussed in Chapter 9, such as being respected in society by living in a morally upright way, and discourses, such as heteronormativity motivated by biblical scriptures. Although more values and discourses could have been identified from the data, the ones mentioned in this chapter provide a broader context to, and understanding of, the findings described in this dissertation.
STUDENTS’ SECTION