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HIV/AIDS Education in Butare-ville Secondary Schools (Rwanda): Analyzing Pedagogic Discourse Using a Bernsteinian Framework

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This article presents three case studies of how HIV/AIDS education is being organized and taught in Rwanda. It analyses what teachers were doing in 2005 through classroom teaching to safeguard young people from HIV/AIDS. A pedagogic framework is introduced and used as an analytical device that provides a coherent educational language of description for exploring HIV/AIDS education in pedagogic terms, enabling comparative work across classrooms, schools, districts, provinces and countries. Ten pedagogic variables across the three classrooms are analyzed. The findings point to a clash between the pedagogic style employed by the teachers and a pedagogy needed for engaging with life style changing behaviour demanded by HIV/AIDS education.

Keywords: HIV/AIDS education, Rwanda, Bernsteinian framework, classification, framing, coding instrument, pedagogic practice

Education is one of the most powerful weapons against HIV/AIDS transmission (Baxen & Breidlid, 2004; Kirby, 2001). It can provide accurate information about HIV/AIDS to learners about to engage, or already engaged in, sexual practices (UNICEF, 2002). There are success stories of HIV/AIDS education programs in Africa. Uganda, for example, has succeeded in bringing down its rate of infection through a multi-level and multi-sectoral set of intervention strategies that integrated governmental honesty and openness. Specific approaches included grassroots activism, HIV/AIDS programs and sex education programs with voluntary counselling and testing (Basic Education Coalition, 2003; Jacob, Mosman, Hite, Morisky, & Nsubuga, 2007).

Rwanda can make no such claim. Unlike Uganda it has one of the highest prevalences of HIV/AIDS in Africa, partly due to massive population movements resulting from the genocide of the mid 1990's along with the systematic rape and violence that accompanied it. However, in the aftermath of this tragedy, there has been an effort to establish a coherent HIV/AIDS education policy in Rwanda that works in concert with Burundi, Eritrea, Kenya and Uganda (under the guidance of UNESCO). Furthermore, in 1996, the Rwandan Ministry of Education integrated HIV/AIDS programs into diverse curricula such as Religion, Geography, Home Economics, Biology and Educational Policy (see Table 1)

In Rwanda, the Ministry of Education appears to lack a clear national policy promoting learners with skills to prevent HIV. This is an urgent need. In neighbouring Uganda, the national education strategy is to integrate HIV/AIDS in Biology at all grades. This approach could help to contextualize the disease and encourage practices that go beyond recognition of what the disease is into realization of specific practices that protect learners from its devastation.

Table 1. ***HIV/AIDS Themes from Grade 7 to 12 and the Subject Programs They Appear Within***

Grade	Program	Themes
7	Domestic economy	Notion on HIV/AIDS, Socio-economic consequences
8	Religion	Knowledge of HIV/AIDS, behaviours, mutual respect between individuals
9	BIOLOGY	STDs + AIDS: Naming the STDs, Modes of transmission of AIDS, strategies of prevention of AIDS, advice relative to behaviours faced with the STDs and AIDS.
10	Geography	Socio-demographic issues
11	Educational policy	Socio-economic consequences
12	Religion	Religious attitudes: Avoidance of adulterous behaviour, maintenance of familial harmony, supporting the widows and orphans of HIV/AIDS.

In this study we argued that a key pre-requisite to enable a specifically pedagogic focus on HIV/AIDS lessons is an accurate analytical language that can isolate and examine key variables of pedagogic structure and communication (Gagne, 1985; Merrill, 1992; Reigeluth, 1999). The goal of the study was to use pedagogic descriptors taken from Basil Bernstein's work (Bernstein, 1971; 1996) to analyze how HIV/AIDS education is taught in Rwanda. Bernstein's work directly addresses the underlying mechanisms of pedagogic transmission such as how a pedagogic message is structured and transmitted regardless of the actual content of the message.

The Bernsteinian Approach

Bernstein gave a considered answer to the issue of understanding how a pedagogic message is structured and transmitted by firstly looking at how the boundaries of the pedagogic message are classified, and secondly looking at the control teachers have over the message being transmitted. Classification refers to the *power* to make distinctions in *what* is taught; framing refers to the *control* teachers or learners have over *how* things are taught. These relations are expressed in terms of strength (weak or strong) providing a simple coding scale that ranges from C/F ++ (very strong) to C/F + (strong) to C/F - (weak) to C/F -- (very weak).

A distinction is made between internal and external forms of classification and framing. Internal framing refers to the way in which the teacher establishes the rules for selection, sequencing and pacing in the transmission of knowledge between her and the learners in the classroom, while the external framing refers to the relations between the teacher and external regulators such as other teachers, administrators, parents, the curriculum and state bodies. There could be very different framing strengths operating at different levels. It is possible to have a very weakly framed national policy of HIV/AIDS education (external framing) but to find that teachers at a classroom level have very strongly framed lessons where they are clearly in control of the selection, sequencing and pacing of activities in the classroom (internal framing).

The study explored the research question: what are the classification and framing relationships behind the transmission of HIV/AIDS education in a selection of Rwandan secondary schools?

Method

Participants and Setting

Three secondary schools of Butare-Centreville in the province of Butare in Rwanda were used as case studies: Groupe Scolaire Officiel (BO); Groupe Scolaire des Parents (BP); and Petit Séminaire Virgo Fidelis (BV). The study involved 10 teachers, and 135 learners of grade 9 and 45 learners of other grades. Three of the eight secondary schools in Butare-Centreville were chosen for the research. Each is located within a radius of one kilometre from Butare-Centreville and is very different in character, providing a fairly rich picture although no claim is made about these three schools providing a representative sample of secondary schools in Rwanda.

Instruments and procedures

For our research we focused on Grade 9 HIV/AIDS education. There were 4 sessions of 50 minutes each for the whole school year. No material was provided for the teachers except a booklet published by UNICEF called *AIDS: know about it, prevent it, fight it.* This booklet served both primary and secondary schools and did not provide specific information related to the curriculum themes.

Direct observation of the HIV/AIDS teaching in grade 9 was done with extensive descriptions written down of each lesson, later formalized into a set of lesson descriptions. A structured questionnaire and interviews with the teacher and learners on HIV/AIDS education were also done to supplement the lesson observations. The Grade 9 HIV/AIDS program contained within the Biology curriculum was also analyzed. Classification and framing instruments were then used to explore both the HIV/AIDS education curriculum (external relations) and the actual teaching and learning practices in the classroom (internal relations).

The classification and framing instruments of both the curriculum documents and classroom pedagogy had explicit coding rubrics that enabled a rating of classification and framing strengths. This enabled an ability to cross over different levels of the educational environment while still maintaining the same focus (Hoadley, 2005; Morais & Neves, 2001).

Instrument used to analyze external relations: Two examples are given in Table 1 below of sections of the classification and framing instrument used to analyze the external relationship between the HIV/AIDS program and the Biology syllabus and the HIV/AIDS program instructions to teachers. The instrument made explicit both what was being looked for in the object under analysis and what strength rating to apply to it.

Example 1: Classification strength of inter-disciplinary relationship between HIV/AIDS program and the Biology syllabus

C++: HIV/AIDS program of grade 9 seldom refers to other subject areas, even to Biology in which it is incorporated, or previous/future HIV/AIDS education of other grades.

C+: HIV/AIDS program of grade 9 refers sometimes to other subject areas, even to Biology in which it is incorporated, or to previous/future themes of HIV/AIDS education of other grades.

C-: HIV/AIDS program of grade 9 has substantial referencing of other content from other subject areas and to previous/future themes of HIV/AIDS education of other grades.

C --: HIV/AIDS program of grade 9 refers very often to other subject areas and to previous/future themes of HIV/AIDS education of other grades.

A similar set of classification questions were asked of intra-disciplinary relationships within the HIV/AIDS program (how clear its various sections were demarcated from each other) and the inter-discursive relationship (between the HIV/AIDS program and everyday understandings and conceptions)

The indicators of the framing scale focused on how the official curriculum documents constructed teacher and learner participation in the pedagogic process. Again, the instrument made explicit both what was being looked for in the object under analysis and what strength rating to apply to it.

Example 2: Framing strength of HIV/AIDS program instructions to teachers

F++: The sentence contains statements that give a clear emphasis to a directive role of the teacher in the teaching/learning process (for example, tells, informs, explains etc.) or the sentence refers to cognitive and/or socio-affective competences that suggest a passive intervention of the learners.

F+: the sentence contains the statements that emphasize the orientating role of the teacher in the teaching/learning process (for examples, guides, accompanies, appeals to the participation of the learners) or the sentence refers to cognitive and/or socio-affective competences that suggest some participation of the learners.

F-: The sentence contains statements that emphasize a higher degree of intervention of the learner in the teaching /learning process (for example, realizes free activities, independent tasks, project work) or the sentence refers to cognitive and/or socio-affective competences that suggest a higher degree of learners' autonomy.

This framing relationship was structured under four focal points: how did the HIV/AIDS program and the curriculum policy documents construct the control the teacher had over the *selection, sequencing, pacing and evaluation* of HIV/AIDS education at Grade 9 level.

The external classification and framing instrument enabled us to explicitly ask how the curriculum was structured within specific grades. This provided clearly demarcated variables capable of being isolated and measured.

Instrument used to analyze internal relations: A coding instrument with a scale of four degrees (Hoadley, 2005 and see appendix A) was developed that took each of the questions and developed explicit descriptors. Nineteen indicators in all were developed for classification and 16 indicators for framing.

Below is an example of the coding instrument for analyzing the classroom data in terms of classification and framing of pedagogic discourse. The example uses the indicator for inter-discursive relations (between school and everyday knowledge) in classification relations.

Example 3: Classification strength of inter-discursive relationship between school and everyday knowledge

C++: Only HIV/AIDS knowledge is referenced. No everyday knowledge is introduced

C+: On few occasions everyday knowledge is introduced, and the connection between the everyday knowledge between HIV/AIDS and the everyday knowledge is made.

C-: Everyday knowledge is often referenced; the connection between the everyday knowledge is less explicit.

C --: Everyday knowledge is constantly referenced; the distinction between the knowledge and everyday knowledge is implicit.

Overall, the internal classification and framing instrument asked the following 10 questions of the introduction, body, and conclusion of a lesson:

1. within the lesson how powerfully is the subject discipline separated off from, or integrated with, other subjects (inter-disciplinary classification strength);
2. within the lesson how clearly are the specific sections of the subject discipline separated off from, or integrated with, each other (intra-discursive classification strength);
3. how clearly has the teacher worked with the subject in its own pure terms or allowed everyday forms of understanding a place within the lesson (inter-discursive classification strength);
4. how specialized and insulated are the spaces between the teacher and the learner;
5. how much control does the teacher allow the learners in terms of selection of knowledge in the classroom (selection framing strength);
6. how much control does the teacher allow the learners in terms of sequencing the lesson (sequence framing strength);
7. how much control does the teacher allow the learners in terms of pacing the lesson (pacing framing strength);
8. how much control does the teacher allow the learners in terms of assessment strategies in the lesson (assessment framing strength);
9. how much control does the teacher allow the learners over the order, character and manner of the lesson (hierarchical framing rules between teacher and learner);
10. how does the teacher structure the relationship between different learners in terms of their conduct and relationships (hierarchical framing rules between learner and learner).

Data Analysis

Classification and framing percentages were simply worked out by taking all the variables on classification or framing within the coding instrument (see appendix A) and giving each a specific strength based on the classroom analysis. These were respectively totalled and divided by *n,* the total number of classification or framing variables. Each set of lessons from the three schools were then graphed to make apparent the relationships. A similar process was used for the curriculum analysis where sentences were used as the unit of analysis. It turned out that the curriculum analysis was very simple given the very limited discussion within the curriculum documents on HIV/AIDS education.

Results

The results are presented in terms of the various dimensions of classification and framing explained in the research procedure section.

External Classification and Framing

The external classification strength of the Rwandan HIV/AIDS education policy was both underspecified and weak as of 2005 when this data was collected from the schools. The teachers had freedom to choose exactly what they were going to teach within the broad themes, how it related to Biology, other subjects, and previous lessons on HIV/AIDS.

Framing relationships were even more underspecified at an official level. The only recommendation we could find in terms of how the teachers were to teach was the phrase "discussions and synthesis" (Ministere de l' Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire, 1996). There was no elaboration on this, and so the external framing strength was also classified as weak.[1] It was left to the teachers and to NGOs in the area to work on both content and strategies of teaching. The and the how of Rwandan HIV/AIDS education at an official level can thus be coded as C-e/F-e.

Interviews with the teachers bore out both the weak framing and the under specification. Eight of the ten teachers stated in our interviews that they knew the Ministry expected discussion and syntheses but went on to explain that they were too embarrassed to apply them. Further confusion was shown in comments made such as *"I don't know where to start", "I don't know why the Ministry introduced that program in the curriculum in Biology". "I never learnt HIV at University". "It is a subject to teach in religion and ethics"* (Nyilimana, 2005). With a lack of clear classification and framing rules from the Ministry, teachers were left to work out their own compromise relationships and most of them (seven out of ten) consciously refused to engage learners

in discussions. The reasons they gave were that *"they ask embarrassing questions", "they get excited and ask questions that try make you talk more about sexuality"*, and "*I cannot allow discussions in my classroom with those adolescents and I don't like to talk only about sexuality. When you engage in discussion in the classroom with those adolescents you create disorder in the classroom. They talk and talk without falling silent*" (Nyilimane, 2005).

Internal Classification and Framing

When we move on to an internal analysis of how HIV/AIDS was taught in the classroom a very different set of classification and framing results appear for analysis. Six lessons were observed to gain this data in the months of February and March 2005. We start with a summary picture and then work backwards into increasingly specific analyses.

A general summary of the lessons clearly points to strong classification and framing with minor differences.

Internal Classification

If we sharpen the focus just a little and ask how much each of the lessons in the 3 schools were strongly and weakly classified we get the following table and three graphs.

These simple summaries of the aggregated classification and framing relationships are built up of more specific variables that get us into the heart of the structure of the pedagogic message.

Variables for analysis. Four specific variables were used to analyze classification: Inter-disciplinary relations (between subjects); inter-discursive relations (between school knowledge and everyday knowledge); intra-disciplinary relations (divisions inside the subject); and spaces between teachers and learners in the classroom. We provide a summary of our analysis of inter-discursive relations and intra-disciplinary relations of the six lessons before presenting the overall classification analysis.

With respect to *inter-discursive classification relationships,* four focus points were used to identify inter-discursive relationships in the lessons: the discussion of the topics; questions and responses between teacher and learners; and tasks given to the learners. Everyday knowledge was rarely referred to in terms of tasks the learners did across all six lessons. Most of the oral questions that were asked expected repetition of the content already given by the teacher. As we go into the specific lessons, however, variations become apparent. In L1BO there was almost no reference to anything but bio-medical concepts (C++), however L2BO, L1BP, L2BP, L1BV, and L2BV showed some connections between subject knowledge and everyday knowledge. In L2BO, soccer and military metaphors were used to explain how T4 lymphocytes protect us. This use of everyday knowledge was rare, so we rated this variable within this lesson as C+. L1BP allowed learners to share their experiences and welcomed all the learner examples as enriching the debate, so we rated it C-. In contrast, L2BP was far more strongly classified with only the Rwandan genocide context being recalled at the end of the lesson. In L1BV the teacher allowed in-group discussion in which learners shared their daily experiences (C-), and in L2BV the learners described their understanding of Rwandan attitudes towards infected persons, all of which the teacher accepted (C-).

Intra-disciplinary relationships presented a far more uniform picture across the six lessons. There was very strong insulation between the given lesson and its past and future companions. There was no attempt in any of the lessons to build up on previous lessons or to discuss how the current lesson was crucial to a future lesson. Any content related to past or future topics either only revised the last lesson (L1BO, L2BO, L1BP, L2BP and L1BV) or informed learners of future lesson topics. A good ex-

Table 2. ***Summary Findings of the Classification and Framing Relations (C/F) of the 6 HIV/AIDS Lessons***

	L1BO	L2BO	L1BP	L2BP	L1BV	L2BV
Power and Control Relations	C++/F++ Very Strong	C++/F++ Very Strong	C++/F+ Very Strong	C++/F++ Very Strong	C+/F+ Strong	C+/F+ Strong

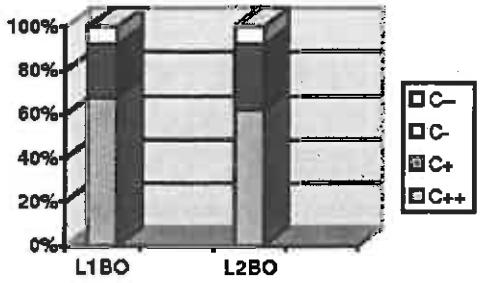
L1BO: Lesson one in the school Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare; L2BO: Lesson two in the school Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare
L1BP: Lesson one in the school Groupe Scolaire des Parents de Butare; L2BP: Lesson two in the school Groupe Scolaire des Parents de Butare
L1BV: Lesson one in the school Petit Séminaire Virgo Fidelis de Butare; L2BV: Lesson two in the school Petit Séminaire Virgo Fidelis de Butare

Table 3. ***Degree of Classification Strength of the Six HIV/AIDS Lessons***

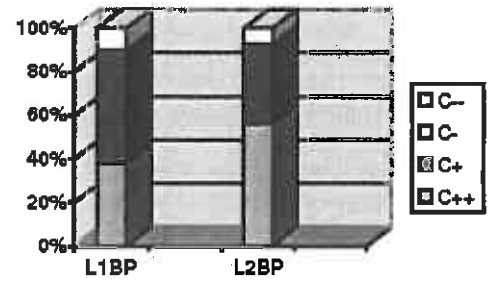
Scale of Classification	Lessons and %					
	L1BO	L2BO	L1BP	L2BP	L1BV	L2BV
C++ (very strong)	68%	62%	38%	56 %	21%	38%
C+ (strong)	24%	30%	52%	37%	33%	46%
C- (weak)	8%	8%	10%	7%	42%	14%
C-- (very weak)	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	2%

L1BO: Lesson one in the Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare; L2BO: Lesson two in the Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare
L1BP: Lesson one in the Groupe Scolairedes Parents de Butare; L2BP: Lesson two in the Groupe Scolaire des Parents de Butare
L1BV: Lesson one in the Petit Séminaire Virgo Fidelis de Butare; L2BV: Lesson two in the Petit Séminaire Virgo Fidelis de Butare

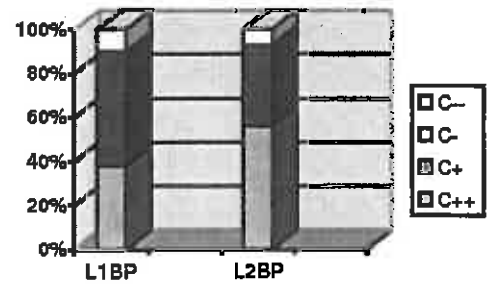
Graph 1. Classification of Lessons 1 and 2 in Groupe Officiel de Butare



Graph 2. Classification of Lessons 1 and 2 in Groupe Scolairedes de Butare



Graph 3. Classification of Lessons 1 and 2 in Petit Séminaire Virgo Fidelis de Butare



ample of how this worked was in L2BP where the teacher said "You will take notes in the next lesson when we start with the hygiene of the reproductive system" (Nyilimane, 2005, p. 68).

An overall *summary of the classification relationships* in the six lessons (see Table 4) in the three schools in terms of inter-disciplinary, intra-disciplinary and inter-discursive relations showed a strong tendency towards strong classification.

Comparatively, if we looked at each lesson in particular there are some differentiations in classification strength. Some are very strong such as L1BO and L2BO and others relatively weak such as L1BV. If the lessons L1BV and L2BV seem to be weaker than other lessons, our investigation has shown that the teacher of BV was trained in HIV/AIDS teaching while the others were not. The teacher presented the themes of those lessons as problem posing. Problem posing is based on the premise that education should start with problematic issues and then, through dialogue, develop a critical view of reality that acts to improve learners' lives (Vallestein, 1983). This approach weakens classification relations, specifically in terms of inter-discursive and inter-disciplinary relations.

Internal Framing

A similar analysis was conducted for framing. Five variables were analyzed: the control teachers or learners had over the selection (1), sequencing (2), and pacing (3) of the lesson, as well as the strength of the hierarchical relationships between teacher and learner (4) and learner and learner (5). We provide a summary of our analysis of *pacing* as an example.

In terms of framing, *pacing* refers to the extent to which the teacher and learner have control over the speed at which the lesson is conducted. L1BO was conducted without any debate or discussion and completely controlled by the teacher (F++). However the second lesson (L2BO) allowed more dialogue and loosened the pacing. The teacher, early on in the lesson, said the following: *I am sure that everybody knows how HIV is transmitted. Now tell me how? Note this, every answer, true or wrong, will be accepted and written on the blackboard. Don't laugh if your peers give a wrong answer. We will discuss them afterwards.* (Nyilamane, 2005, p.74). Although the teacher never allowed the learners complete control over the pacing of the lesson, they did have some influence on its speed through their responses. We rated this lesson as F+. L1BP, L2BP and L1BV all had similar ratings (F+), with the teacher asking questions and then allowing the learners to respond at length, or allowing some group work but then chasing through the answers in a strongly paced fashion. L2BV was carefully orchestrated by the teacher from beginning to end and we coded the lesson F++.

A *summary of the framing relationships* of the six lessons (Table 5) shows clearly that on the whole the lessons were strongly framed.

A general picture of the six lessons we observed presents strong framing as an over-riding tendency. In our opinion, this was due to the teachers not having a large range of options about HIV/AIDS education and also because this was how they structured their Biology lessons, although further research would be needed to substantiate this. They taught what they had read in the few available documents they possessed from the NGOs, and perhaps did so in a similar way to how they conducted their other Biology lessons. Nevertheless, in one lesson the teacher conducted the lesson with discussion as an organizing method, so here framing was weak. This was the only teacher that had been on an HIV/AIDS education course. All the lessons observed were also very strong in term of evaluative rules that were satisfied with learners being able to *recognize* what had been taught and only infrequently went over into evaluating whether learners could *realize* in practice what they could recognize in theory. So although there was strong framing of the lessons in terms of getting the learners to do specific tasks, these tasks were almost always only assessed through them displaying recognition of the issues and repeating what had been said. There was hardly any attempt to get them to

Table 4. ***Classification Results for the 6 HIV/AIDS Lessons***

Categories	L1BO	L2BO	L1BP	L2BP	L1BV	L2BV
Inter-disciplinary relations	C++	C++	C+	C+	C-	C-
Inter-discursive relations	C++	C+	C+	C++	C-	C+
Intra-disciplinary relations	C+	C+	C+	C+	C+	C+
Agents	C++	C++	C+	C+	C++	C++

L1BO: Lesson one in the Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare; L2BO: Lesson two in the Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare
L1BP: Lesson one in the Groupe Scolaire des Parents de Butare; L2BP: Lesson two in the Groupe Scolaire des Parents de Butare
L1BV: Lesson one in the Petit Séminaire Virgo Fidelis de Butare; L2BV: Lesson two in the Petit Séminaire Virgo Fidelis de Butare

Table 5. ***Framing Results for the 6 HIV/AIDS Lessons***

Rules	Contr. Over	L1BO	L2BO	L1BP	L2BP	L1BV	L2BV
Discursive Rules	Selection	F++	F++	F ++	F+	F+	F+
	Sequence	F++	F++	F++	F++	F-	F+
	Pacing	F++	F+	F+	F+	F+	F++
Hierarchical Rules	Teacher-learner	F++	F++	F++	F++	F++	F++
	Learner-learner	F+	F+	F+	F+	F+	F+

L1BO: Lesson one in the Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare; L2BO: Lesson two in the Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare
L1BP: Lesson one in the Groupe Scolaire des Parents de Butare; L2BP: Lesson two in the Groupe Scolaire des Parents de Butare
L1BV: Lesson one in the Petit Séminaire Virgo Fidelis de Butare; L2BV: Lesson two in the Petit Séminaire Virgo Fidelis de Butare

demonstrate in practice that they could actively realize what was expected of them.

Learner preferences for Grade and Subject to Learn about HIV

Finally, our analysis of the structured written questionnaires completed by 135 learners on their perceptions of current approaches to HIV/AIDS education at their schools produced the following results. Learners stated that HIV/AIDS education in grades 7 and 8 (domestic economy and religion) was not worthwhile. In answering question 4: "In which subject did you learn more about the disease?" The answer was Biology for 43 of 46 learners (94%) of GBO; 45 of 49 learners (92%) of BP; and 38 of 40 learners (95%) of BV. Learners argued this because HIV/AIDS in Biology was tackled in its bio-medical and socio-economic aspects more than in other subject areas.

Discussion

The official pedagogic discourse (OPD) on HIV/AIDS education as implemented in 2005 asked for discussion and synthesis (weak framing), but based on the data collected from the three schools and 10 teachers, framing within the classroom was mostly strong, with little learner discussion or engagement. Different hypotheses as to why this was the case included: 1) lack of detailed specification and implementation from a national level; 2) lack of teacher training; 3) teacher habits in teaching Biology; and 4) teacher/learner customary relations. For example, when analyzing different methodological indications that are contained in Chapter 3 of the Biology program where HIV/AIDS is incorporated (Ministere de l' Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire, 1996, p. 37), the teacher's role in Biology is to "explain, illustrate, demonstrate, schematize and describe". The learners' role is also defined in the Biology program. "At the end of the lesson the learners should be able to explain, name, describe and to establish a comparison between . . . ." This shows that when the Ministry of Education recommended "discussion and synthesis" within the HIV/AIDS component of the Biology program, they intended to weaken framing relations. However, by leaving this weakened framing completely underspecified, teachers were likely to use pedagogic practices they were already familiar with, and these would not necessarily be conducive to effective HIV/AIDS education.

HIV/AIDS Education in Rwanda occurs in different subjects in different years. It has no home base from which to build, with no specialized teacher taking control of its teaching. As a result watered down lessons on HIV/AIDS by non specialist teachers are offered.

It is in this context that the results of the questionnaires completed by learners on their perceptions of HIV/AIDS education at their schools are disturbing. For them the section on HIV/AIDS located within Biology was by far the most useful. Given that we found hardly any evidence of attempts to engage the learners in behaviour change, this result is disturbing. Knowledge of the bio-medical nature of the disease does not lead to behaviour change.

The only pedagogic instruction teachers received from the Department was "discussion and synthesis". This under-specification did not push teachers to engage learners in discussions that could result in possible behaviour change. In our structured oral interviews with teachers they argued that they were not trained to face learner interrogation in this area. Instead of dealing with how the learners felt and thought about the problem of HIV/AIDS, teachers preferred preplanned lessons that could be delivered without much engagement. Lessons were presented to learners with the problem of HIV/AIDS already delimited

rather than allowing for "problem posing" (Freire, 1981). This placed "all responsibility for learning on the teacher" (Tumposky, 1984, p. 306) and ignored learners needs and contributions.

The two main methodological approaches teachers used in the classroom were question-answer and chalk-talk. To teachers who traditionally use an expository method in Biology, a question-answer method provides a form that allows learners some active participation in the process of teaching/learning (Bernstein 1996). Generally, a talk-chalk approach reinforces boundaries between teacher and learner, especially in the case where the teacher is the principal user of blackboard (Bernstein 1996). It happened in most of the lessons observed. Consequently, weak communication was established between teachers and learners. This was not only the consequence of very strong framing but also of the language of communication. French or English are the two languages of instruction in secondary schools, neither of which have been mastered by the learners. To expect learners to deal with intimate issues of a highly personal nature in a second language where all they have is chalk and talk and question answer on pre-given lessons that demand only recognition and recall is perhaps to expect nothing at all. There was hardly any attempt to get learners to engage and think critically about their lives in ways where they began to take control of their own destinies (Shor, 1987).

A further problem was the grouping of males and females together. Our research revealed that some topics such as the demonstration of the use of a condom in the Groupe Scolaire Officiel and Groupe Scolaire des Parents were compromised by both sexes being present. This problem did not arise at the Petit Séminaire Virgo Fidelis due to its being a boys' school. Our investigation through observation, questionnaire and interviews revealed that such mixed grouping limited learners' preparedness to participate, not that they had much room to do so in the first place.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Given the serious impact of HIV/AIDS on sub-Saharan Africa it was disconcerting to find that HIV/AIDS education in Rwanda was happening in such a rigid and formulaic manner if the three schools selected for this study were in any way representative. It opens up the question of what would be the best way to structure and to teach HIV/AIDS education in Rwanda.

A teacher's guide to advise about methodological approaches that breaks the traditional emphasis on strong internal classification and framing is needed. Effectively what we are saying is that a powerfully formulated and explicit *external* policy is needed that encourages learner participation and understandings *within* the classroom. Rwanda, in 2005, had exactly the opposite - a completely underspecified policy that resulted in the traditional repetition of strongly classified and framed HIV/AIDS lessons that stopped at the level of learners being able to recognize the content. All the learners needed to do was remember what the teacher said, not actively realize new practices. Clearer classification and framing rules for HIV/AIDS education are needed for an unmistakable space to be set up for sustained engagement with learners. Neither the teachers nor the learners were taking the HIV/AIDS lessons seriously in a sustained way as the lessons cropped up in different subjects in different years. Furthermore, the subjects worked with very different classification and framing rules to those demanded by HIV/AIDS lessons. For example, Biology at secondary schools in the selected classrooms of our study worked with strong classification between everyday practices and school knowledge. The focus was on Biology, not everyday life experiences.

When doing an HIV/AIDS lesson the inter-discursive classification relationship between everyday practices and school knowledge needs to be explicitly weakened to the point where learners are able to discuss and engage with their personal and social practices (Silin, 1995). In a similar way, the framing relationships in Biology were very strong in the sample schools and exactly the opposite kind of framing relationship is needed for HIV/AIDS lessons, where the teacher allows the learners to take a more active, even directive, role in the lessons. To expect teachers and learners to be able to reverse these basic classification and framing relationships from strong to weak when shifting from a biology lesson to a HIV/AIDS lesson without an explicit and powerfully formulated directive and set of practices pointing to how this is to be done, is to be in love with impossibility.

Being clear on the different variables of classification and framing enables one to argue for, and then later to research, the effect of differing classification and framing strengths within and between different variables on HIV/AIDS education. One could hypothesize that weak classification relations at an inter-discursive level are vital to good HIV/AIDS pedagogic practice, whereas strong classification relations at an inter-disciplinary level could help the learner become clearer on what HIV/AIDS education actually is. One consequence is that rather than offering a generic suggestion for what good pedagogy could be for HIV/AIDS education (such as learner centred education), one can begin to explore differing combinations of pedagogic variables and their intersections with differing contexts.

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Endnotes

1 There is a danger of understanding weak framing in this instance as 'underspecified' (only three words) not as 'allowing learner control through discussion.' Framing refers to the second sense, although we would also want to point to the under-specification of pedagogic strategy within the document.

Appendix A. ***Summary of the Observation Schedule in Terms of Classification and Framing***

Lesson code:				Subject:							Topic:					
School:				Date:							Hour:					
									Phases of the lesson							
Relations	Introduction/ Revision				New Lesson Sequence 1				New Lesson Sequence 2				Conclusion/ Evaluation			
Classification	C++	C+	C-	C--	C++	C+	C-	C--	C++	C+	C-	C--	C++	C+	C-	C--
Inter-disciplinary relations																
Inter-discursive relations																
Intra-disciplinary relations																
Insulation of spaces between teacher-learner																
Insulation of spaces between teacher-learner																
Framing	F++	F+	F-	F--	F++	F+	F-	F--	F++	F+	F-	F--	F++	F+	F-	F--
Selection																
Sequencing																
Pace																
Evaluation Criteria																
Hierarchical-Teacher/ learner																
Hierarchical-Learner/ Learner																
Conclusion																