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**Sara Nicholls**

AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE / AUTHOR OF THESIS

**M.A. (Human Kinetics)**

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TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS

**Dr. Audrey R. Giles**

DIRECTEUR (DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS SUPERVISOR

**Dr. Christabelle Sethna**

CO-DIRECTEUR (CO-DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS CO-SUPERVISOR

**EXAMINATEURS (EXAMINATRICES) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS EXAMINERS**

**Dr. Carol Amaratunga**

**Dr. Alexandre Dumas**

**Gary W. Slater**

Le Doyen de la Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales / Dean of the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

**Playing Games with Power and Privilege: Subjugated Knowledges and Sport for Development**

**Sara Nicholls**  
**Honours Bachelor of Arts, Faculty of Health Sciences: Kinesiology**  
**University of Western Ontario, 2000**

**Co-Supervisor: Dr Audrey R. Giles**  
**Co-Supervisor: Dr. Christabelle Sethna**  
**Committee Member: Dr. Carol Amaratunga**  
**Committee Member: Dr. Alexandre Dumas**

**THESIS**

**Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Arts, Human Kinetics and Women's Studies**

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## List of Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ASC	Aboriginal Sport Circle
CABOS	Commonwealth Advisory Board on Sport
CAAN	Canadian Aboriginal AIDS Network
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CGC	Commonwealth Games Canada
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NIF	Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports
PCH	Canadian Heritage
SCORE	Sport Coaches Outreach
SCSA Zone VI	Supreme Council for Sport in Africa Zone VI
SDP	Sport for development and peace
SDP IWG	Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOSDP	United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace

## Abstract

In this thesis, I focus on Southern African peer educators' experiences in facilitating HIV/AIDS education activities within the Kicking AIDS Out network. By utilizing Foucault's (1975) conception of "subjugated knowledges," I work towards four main objectives. In chapter one, I aim to surface a sample of young people's subjugated knowledges pertaining to the "lack of evidence" discourse of sport for development. In chapter two, my objective was to understand better what tools peer educators need to be more effective in their HIV/AIDS education efforts in a sport environment. Chapter three suggests steps to encourage knowledge exchange on sport for development across geographical and cultural boundaries to further national HIV/AIDS education and health goals with Aboriginal communities. I meet my fourth objective, to provide recommendations to the Kicking AIDS Out network regarding the training and support needs of peer educators in a field report, which is not contained in this thesis.

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To the Kicking AIDS Out peer educators, you are brilliant and I am so grateful that you shared your brilliance with me – your commitment and passion is inspiring.

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Aboriginal peoples. While process and accuracy were of utmost importance in producing this document, any mistakes, omissions or errors are my own.

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**Introduction**

**Sara Nicholls (MA Candidate)**

**University of Ottawa: Human Kinetics and Women's Studies**

## Introduction

The use of sport as a tool to support international development objectives has occupied a place of relative obscurity in North American consciousness and scholarship. Sport can be defined in the broad sense as encompassing “all forms of physical activity which through casual or organized participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being, forming social relationships or obtaining results in competition at all levels” (Schwery, 2003, p. 15). Sport's potential to foster leadership, good citizenship and self-esteem are commonly understood (Maguire & Young, 2002), but the use of sport to achieve international development has stood outside mainstream understandings of sport's role in society. The emerging field of sport for development<sup>1</sup> focuses not only on the development of sport itself, but also on the social development of individuals, communities and nations by harnessing the power of sport to achieve broad-based social change within a global development agenda (United Nations (UN), 2003).

In this thesis, I focus on the experiences of Southern African peer educators' in facilitating HIV/AIDS<sup>2</sup> education activities within the Kicking AIDS Out network. Kicking AIDS Out is an international network of organizations that uses sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS peer education (Jakobsen, 2005). I had four main objectives in embarking on this thesis: (a) to examine a sample of young people's subjugated knowledges pertaining to the “lack of evidence” discourse of sport for development; (b) to understand better what tools peer educators need to be more effective in their HIV/AIDS education efforts in a sport environment; (c) to suggest steps to encourage knowledge exchange on sport for development across geographical and cultural boundaries to further national HIV/AIDS education and health goals and; (d) to provide recommendations to the Kicking AIDS Out network regarding the training and support needs of

peer educators to improve and strengthen community-level impact. I have produced three papers and a field report to meet these objectives.

In the first paper, I analyze a sample of what I argue are peer educators' subjugated knowledges. I maintain that a dominant discourse within sport for development presumes a "lack of evidence" of the benefit of sport in a development context. Furthermore, this "lack of evidence" discourse depends on marginalizing or ignoring the subjugated knowledges of young peer educators. This paper, "Power/knowledge: An analysis of the 'lack of evidence discourse' in sport for development," employs theoretical tools of investigation drawn from Michel Foucault's (1975, 1980) work on power and subjugated knowledges. I use the terms "local" and "grassroots" to describe these "subjugated" knowledges both to highlight where the knowledge is being produced, and to call attention to the way these terms (local and grassroots) are frequently disqualified, deemed unscientific and "located low down on the hierarchy" (Foucault, 1980, p. 13). In particular, I focus on calls from the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) and the United Nations (UN) for more scientific evidence to provide justification for sport for development programs. Through an examination of the power relations embedded in the field of sport for development, I propose an uptake of subjugated knowledges - knowledges that emanate from traditionally marginalized sources, namely, young, black, African women who are peer educators. The consideration of subjugated knowledges opens up the possibility for the co-creation of alternative knowledges. This knowledge may in turn help to ensure that sport for development policy and program development is more relevant to practitioners and participants.

In the second paper, I set out to understand better what tools peer educators need in order to be more effective in their HIV/AIDS education efforts in a sport environment. In this paper,

“Missing pieces: Sexual health and sexuality in sport for HIV/AIDS education,” I explore how the Kicking AIDS Out network has begun to consider sex and sexuality training as a possible component of peer education training. Sport for development programs centred on HIV/AIDS have traditionally focused on basic facts of biology and transmission. I use Patton’s (1994, 1999) work to elucidate how socio-cultural context, poverty and gender are creating an urgent need for more precise understandings of sex and sexuality in the use of sport for HIV/AIDS education. Based on interviews with peer educators, I suggest that specific training on issues pertaining to sex and sexuality should be included in Kicking AIDS Out training/programming. Finally, I argue that relying on the basic biological facts concerning HIV/AIDS is no longer sufficient in light of peer educators’ needs, the complexity and growing discourses of HIV/AIDS and the growth of rights-based approaches.

In my third and final paper, “Sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS education: A potential catalyst for change,” my co-author Audrey R. Giles and I lay the theoretical foundation for the use of sport as a tool for social development in Canadian Aboriginal communities. In addition, we suggest steps to encourage knowledge exchange and dialogue between African and Aboriginal stakeholders to further national HIV/AIDS education and health goals. We contend that there are lessons to be learned from the young peer educators in Southern Africa in the development of sport for development programs in Aboriginal communities. While peer educators from Southern Africa can inform project design, actual implementation must be created and facilitated by those for whom the programs are intended. If any change is going to occur, it cannot be prescribed from the outside. It is unwise to merely transpose an African initiative into an Aboriginal community, or to create a program strategy within the confines of the federal government. What can be started, however, is the initiation of dialogue between

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interested parties that privileges subjugated knowledges and is cognizant of the colonial legacy that is perpetuating the cycle of HIV infection in Aboriginal communities. We do not pretend to understand fully the complex nature of Aboriginal communities, but instead note that sport for development has been identified as a point of interest in Canadian sport policies and by Aboriginal leadership (Canadian Sport Policy, 2002; Iwaski et al., 2006) as an opportunity to advance social change agendas.

Knowledge transfer between the two regions is particularly relevant because women in Southern Africa and in Aboriginal communities in Canada both share a high rate of HIV infection due to myriad socio-political issues. It is no coincidence that both African women and Aboriginal women contract HIV in disproportionately high numbers as both groups share similar interlocking oppressions. Poverty, racism and stigma all contribute to the overrepresentation of Aboriginal women (Public Health agency of Canada, 2006) and of Southern African women in the HIV epidemic (UNAIDS, 2006). While it was beyond the scope of this thesis to conduct consultations with Aboriginal stakeholders, it is my hope that this thesis, particularly this final chapter, can encourage dialogue between Aboriginal communities and African leaders. Long-term, meaningful partnerships that value subjugated knowledges is absolutely central to any efforts to address the spread of HIV/AIDS in either Iqaluit, Nunavut or Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

I end this compilation of articles with a concluding section that summarizes my findings while remaining ever mindful that any conclusions proposed are mere starting points for larger conversations. My thesis suggests that the subjugated knowledges of peer educators are not valued outside of the confines of local programming. I contend that peer educators have a contribution to make to build the evidence base for sport for development and that peer educators know what they need in order to be successful in implementing HIV/AIDS education through

sport. If new HIV/AIDS education programs are to be considered in communities with a high HIV/AIDS prevalence (such as in Canadian Aboriginal communities), then the knowledges that reside within young people in Southern Africa should be at least considered in new program designs. As the culmination of my course and fieldwork, this thesis challenges dominant interpretations of knowledge production that marginalize young peer educators' contributions, while simultaneously envisioning what sport for development could look like in partnership with Aboriginal communities in Canada.

It has been widely accepted that the most effective sport for development programming comes from the grassroots level (International Working Group on Women and Sport, 2006; SDP IWG., 2006; UN, 2003). Interesting then, that the bulk of information about sport for development programs comes from donor-driven evaluations or funding reports produced for donor agencies. This information is available to only a few gatekeepers and is not typically available for public viewing or academic study. This limited access has led to the continued isolation of the field of sport for development from academia, as academics are typically unwilling to take anecdotal evidence seriously. Further, the lack of academic evidence can be disconcerting to development professionals who are increasingly pressed to justify how projects make contributions to the global development agenda. This thesis seeks to address this situation in three ways. First, it seeks to contest the dominant assumption that grassroots knowledges (following Foucault (1975, 1980), what I will term "subjugated knowledges") lack rigour and therefore should be disregarded. Second, it examines what policy-makers, organizations and donors are missing when they ignore young peer educators' grassroots knowledges. I use the case of a pilot sex and sexuality workshop for Kicking AIDS Out peer educators to understand what peer educators need to be more effective in their efforts. Finally this thesis seeks to

advocate for a dialogue between different communities and geographies in an effort to acknowledge that too often program development occurs in isolation and there is much to be learned from the experiences of peer educators in Southern Africa. All of these efforts are part of an attempt to bridge the gap between subjugated knowledges and academic study, while considering how sport for development can operate differently outside of traditional donor-driven development, to which it is particularly vulnerable.

Over the course of researching and writing this thesis, I have attempted to build the case for a different kind of sport for development - a sport for development that recognizes that it exists to serve the needs of young people and that peer educators have a critical contribution to make to shape the direction and growth of the field. I hope that this thesis will demonstrate that a different kind of sport for development is possible and necessary. I have kept in mind the principles of “ubuntu,” a South African concept that means “I am who I am because of you, and you are who you are because of me.” I have consciously drawn on the principles of ubuntu throughout this work, recognizing that without the peer educators, NGO practitioners and policy makers I worked with, my contribution to academia and my commitment to praxis would be seriously compromised.

#### Contested Key Terms

There are several key terms that need defining in this thesis. For the purposes of this thesis, the term “the global South” will refer specifically to the African continent, and furthermore to Southern Africa (which I recognize is not a monolithic category). I use the term “the global North” to include what is often deemed “the West” (usually North America and Europe). In a few instances or when contained in a quotation, I will refer to “the West” or specifically to the United States as appropriate. The term “development” can be problematic, as

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it is frequently considered to be a finite solution to poverty and its challenges (Mohan & Wilson, 2005; Sen & Grown, 1987). The often uncritically accepted hegemonic northern-based goals of development, gaps between policy and practice, as well as the oversimplification and homogenization of the “Other” residing in the global South have provided fodder for numerous debates regarding development (Fletcher, 2003; Marchand & Parpart, 1995; Parpart, 2004; Said, 1979; Saunders, 2004). Within the context of this thesis, I use a definition of development that values subjugated knowledges and is grounded in participatory processes (Elabor-Idemudia, 2004; Ristock & Pennel, 1996; Smith, 1999).

Peer education is another problematic term. A high percentage of sport for development activities are facilitated by young peer educators tasked with leading sport and physical activities in conjunction with peer-to-peer discussion groups on issues such as HIV/AIDS, sexual health education, environmental sustainability, peace building and gender equality (Nicholls, in press). Peer education can be broadly defined, but it “typically involves the use of members of a given group to effect change among other members of the same group” (Kerrigan, 1999, p. 7). Peer education has been accepted as a credible means of imparting critical life skills and information regarding sexual health issues due to the comfortable atmosphere created by learning from one’s peers (Sethna, 2006). In this thesis, I also use the term “practitioners” to refer to peer educators and the civil society staff that support them, to implement sport for development programs.

The use of the label “Aboriginal” in the third paper also requires caution, as diverse populations can be included within this reference and I aim to resist the homogenizing categorization and labeling of groups. The term Aboriginal can include those who identify as First Nation, Métis and Inuit. Shared identity is not an obvious product of race or class, “but discursively produced in relation to hegemonic discourses which privilege whiteness,

heterosexuality and the middle and upper classes” (Weedon, 1999, p. 106). Indeed, popular discourses can create innumerable labels and categorizations that “obscure and depoliticize the embodied nature of colonialism” (Culhane, 2003, p. 593). Through the use of such terminology it is possible to create a sameness that erases difference and perpetuates the idea of a single, universal world history (Chakrabarty, 2000). As interest grows in addressing social development and HIV/AIDS issues in Africa and Canada (especially in Aboriginal communities), I am aware of the propensity to call for a universal solution, but understand this is unwise. No one population is monolithic and any intervention must consider the varied experiences of race, gender, socio-economic status and ability that shape social development and HIV/AIDS issues. Further, I acknowledge that it is unwise to merely transpose an African initiative into an Aboriginal community; instead, I seek to use my work as a catalyst to initiate a dialogue between interested parties, one that privileges the knowledges of young peer educators and is cognizant of colonial legacies (Canadian Aboriginal AIDS Network (CAAN), 2005, 2006).

#### Historical Context of Sport for Development

In 2001, the former President of Switzerland, Adolf Ogi, was appointed the first Special Advisor to the UN Secretary General on Sport for Development and Peace, signifying a formalization of the use of sport as a tool for social development at the UN level. Ogi, who was replaced by Wilfried Lemke of Germany in early 2008, was mandated to engage the world of sport to promote the UN’s work and ideals, while also connecting with other UN bodies (UN, 2003). Ogi’s work has been linked to attempts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs),<sup>3</sup> as well as to meeting the objectives of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention to Eliminate all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (UN, website, 2006). Ogi’s appointment as Special Advisor was not the first time that sport was

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recognized as a valid tool to achieve development goals. Sport has been used in an ad hoc fashion by the UN in humanitarian situations for many years (SDP IWG, 2006) and by sport federations such as the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF) with partners in Southern Africa since the mid 1980s as a component of international development cooperation (NORAD, 2005).

In 2002, the UN Secretary General commissioned an interagency task force to examine the use of sport for development and peace in a coordinated and systematic manner (UN, 2003). This task force was first asked to identify existing sport for development activities, and then encourage UN bodies to use sport as a tool to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), recognizing that to date the majority of activities had been “ad hoc, informal and isolated” (UN, p.1). Still, the task force found that “well-designed sport-based initiatives are practical and cost-effective tools to achieve objectives in development and peace” (UN, p. v).

On November 3, 2003, Resolution 58/5 of the General Assembly of the United Nations entitled “Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace” was passed. It created the foundation to declare 2005 the International Year of Sport and Physical Education (IYSPE), thus recognizing the potential contributions sport could make toward achieving the MDGs (Beutler, 2006). The MDGs are eight global development goals that if achieved by 2015 will drastically reduce extreme poverty and related challenges. Sadly, indicators show that these goals are not being met (UN, 2003).

Building on the momentum from Resolution 58/5, the SDP IWG was created in 2004 with a four year mandate to “engage and work with national governments on policy recommendations to support the integration of sport and physical activity into their national and international development strategies and programs” (SDP IWG, 2006, p. 1). At the 2006 Torino

Paralympic Games, the SDP IWG presented “*From practice to policy*,” a document that recognized that many sport for development activities have sprung from the grassroots level without a comprehensive policy framework to ensure a coordinated approach. By examining a diverse cross-section of the countries that are involved in either funding or implementing sport for development initiatives, the SDP IWG presented final policy recommendations to encourage governments to link sport and development cooperation goals in Beijing at the 2008 Olympic and Paralympic Games. While academic research is limited regarding the long-term impact of sport for development, many national governments have committed to evaluating rigorously the impact of programs that receive government funds. This focus on monitoring and evaluation, although understandable and relevant in some situations, can at times be onerous and irrelevant in others. Evaluations play an important role in understanding what sport can and cannot contribute in a development context, but should not be the only point of reference in measuring success. Instead, this thesis values the contributions of young peer educators who implement sport for development programming on a daily basis and are well placed to articulate how sport has had an impact on their selves, their peers and their communities. This thesis seeks to challenge traditional forms of “evidence gathering” which often privileges knowledge developed by academic institutions.

## Review of Literature

### *Minimal Academic Results*

The UN (2003) noted that sport can “serve as an effective tool for social mobilization, supporting health activities such as HIV/AIDS education and to be of vital importance to the development of young people” (p. v). The academic evidence to support this claim is scant but growing (Brady 1998; Brady, 2005; Kidd, 2007; Schwery 2003). Recently, the SDP IWG

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commissioned the University of Toronto to conduct literature reviews on five broad themes (health, youth, gender, peace and people with a disability) in an attempt to strengthen the evidence base related to sport for development activities (Kidd). These literature reviews examined the limited academic evidence pertaining to sport for development. They also synthesized a broad cross section of information to illustrate preliminary signs of sport's impact on achieving social development goals in all five themes (Kidd), although information from grassroots initiatives remains in short supply.

### Epistemological and Theoretical Foundations

Engaging with theory can be a formidable task for any student, and the interdisciplinary nature of sport for development makes the challenge that much greater. Development, sociological, postcolonial, poststructural and feminist theories all make large and valid contributions to this field of study. Theory can serve as a catalyst for social change by acting as a frame of reference to examine existing knowledges and its subsequent production (Maguire & Young, 2002). Epistemology, theory, methodology and methods connect to address a research challenge (Crotty, 1998). Epistemology serves as the foundation of qualitative research. The theoretical perspectives, research methodologies and subsequently research methods then flow from the epistemology to produce a comprehensive "structure" that encompasses the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of qualitative research.

Epistemology applies to "the nature of knowledge, its possibility, scope and general basis" (Hamlyn, 1995, p. 242). Of the main types of epistemology, the three papers included in this thesis engage with a constructionist epistemology. Constructionism is "the view that all knowledge, and all therefore all meaning is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted

within an essentially social context” (Crotty, 1998, p. 42). This epistemology articulates that meaning is not found, but constructed in a manner that is highly dependant on human interaction with the world (Crotty). Such an approach is particularly important when applying theory to sport for development, as experiences and interaction with the various shapes and forms of knowledge influence the meanings individuals attach to concepts. It is thus difficult to agree on the “universal” meaning of sport for development. Importantly, constructionist theories can be used argue that there is no one meaning that can be attached to sport for development. By understanding that there is no universal truth or definition, but instead a collective of varied meanings (Weedon, 1987), sport for development practitioners are challenged to illustrate how their use of the concept utilizes the power of sport to facilitate social change. The overarching theoretical framework for this thesis is informed by feminist, poststructural and postcolonial theoretical perspectives.

### *Poststructural Thought*

Poststructuralism is not easily defined, as it inherently challenges fixed definitions (Rail, 2002). Poststructuralism both occupies a place in time after modernity and challenges many of modernism’s founding assumptions, ideas and projects (Abercrombie et al., 2000). Modernist assumptions born of the “Enlightenment project” suggest that science and technological advancement hold the answers for society and that universal and truthful knowledge can be accessed and asserted (Rail; Sarup, 1988). In contrast, poststructural thinkers contend that there are no universals truths, challenge grand narratives and oppose the use of entrenched binaries (Sarup). Poststructural thought allows for both socio-political analysis and cultural critique as it is concerned with society, culture and history (Rail); thus, it offers tools to question hegemonic, patriarchal practices. French philosopher Michel Foucault was a major contributor to

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poststructural thinking about how power and knowledge exist within society (Sarup). Although Foucault did not write specifically on development theory or the sociology of sport, his work has far reaching applications and can be used to examine how colonial histories, gender and race shape what knowledge is valued and by whom.

Central to Foucauldian theory is the concept of discourse and the ways in which discourses are linked to power relations (Rail, 2002). A “discourse” can be understood as a system of ideas, language, texts and knowledge that is used to create meaning and therefore legitimize certain power relations (Fairclough, 2003). Since discourses both produce meaning and realize power relations (Rail), societies are never free of discourses and their associated relations of power (Diawara, 2000; Giles, 2005; Pringle, 2005).

In his work, Foucault (1975) stressed that “power is neither given, nor exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised, and that it only exists on action” (p. 89). For Foucault, power is therefore fundamentally linked to knowledge. Power shapes what knowledge is valued and as a result, knowledge contributes to building power. According to Foucault, power is considered to be fluid and connected to the concept of discourse. The diverse relations of power rely on the “production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse” (Foucault, p. 93). Foucault further illuminated the flow of power relations by noting that “truth” is produced within discourse, but that discourses do not possess a static true or false dichotomy (Diawara, 2000; Foucault; Rail, 2002; Smith, 1999). In addition to examining the dominant forms of truth and knowledge produced by different discourses, Foucault also explored what he called “subjugated knowledges.” These knowledges are a “whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity” (Foucault, p. 13). As I

indicated above, in this thesis I examine knowledges that have been subjugated by the dominant discourses of sport for development. These dominant discourses value academic, Northern and donor-created knowledges over the grassroots, local knowledges of the young African peer educators who deliver most sport for development programs. Foucault further contends that through the “re-emergence of these low-ranking knowledges, these unqualified, even directly disqualified knowledges” (Foucault, 1980, p. 82) it is possible to critically reflect on power relations.

Critical reflection on the power relations that have shaped the growth of development through sport is imperative to make visible alternative knowledge production mechanisms (McDonald & Birrell, 1999). By encouraging reflexive critiques of the expressions of power in sport for development, it is possible to bring to the surface local practitioners’ subjugated knowledges and, thus, further develop and enrich existing sport for development practices. The meaningful inclusion of subjugated knowledges in program and policy development will make it possible to (co-)create an alternative vision for sport for development that is informed by grassroots experiences and not merely well-intentioned but disconnected rhetoric. Questioning dominant discourses means that one must examine how “mechanisms of power have been - and continue to be – invested, colonised, utilized” (Foucault, 1975, p. 99). Foucault’s use of the term “colonized” illustrates the role of the dominant group’s exercise of power and the maintenance of its privileged position. Nevertheless, it should be noted that resistance is a form of power. Those who experience oppression based on class, race, gender, age and sexual preference can challenge the multiple axes of power through resistance, although the capacity of many to resist domination can be limited (Bucharski et al., 2006; Cassidy et al., 2001; Chakrabarty, 2000; DIAND, 1995; Farley et al., 2005; Fiske, 2006; Giles, 2004; Kelm, 1998).

*Colonialism: Past, Present, Post?*

Colonial history and multiple layers of oppression connect to silence resistance to the dominant group's exercise of power. Colonial influence on Africa is omnipresent. As Mohanty (1988) noted, "colonisation has been used to characterize everything from the most evident economic and political hierarchies to the production of a particular cultural discourse about what is called the 'Third World'" (p. 61). This definition of colonization implies a system of control whereby dominant discourses continue to propagate practices of subjugation within a marginalized population (Mohanty). Dominant discourses privilege white, patriarchal Northern knowledges and deem inferior the knowledges stemming from the non-white South (Cassidy et al., 2001; Chakrabarty, 2000). Indeed, local knowledges are often a casualty of the colonization process as they are not considered valuable or relevant contributions to colonial societies (Cassidy et al.). By ignoring the contribution of local knowledges to "valid knowledge production," the "dominant group seeks to impose its values, morality, norms and standards upon the minority" (Cassidy et al., p. 77). Colonial processes have thus often resulted in the domination of local contributions to mainstream bodies of knowledge.

Postcolonial theory highlights the power and dominance embedded in colonial legacies and explores modes of resistance and reframing through which the colonized can challenge the colonizer. The strength of postcolonial theory is that it allows one to examine the connection between power and knowledge, in that to exert power often means the ability to control knowledge production. Nevertheless, an important critique of postcolonialism is that the use of "post" signifies that colonialism has somehow ended, when it remains all too clear that damaging remnants of colonial rule continue to persist long after the political independence of various regions has been achieved (Kelm, 1998; Mishra & Hodge, 2005). Hence, "post" in this

sense “do[es] not signify an ‘after’ but rather marks spaces of ongoing contestation enabled by decolonization struggles” (Frankenberg & Mani, 1993, p. 294).

### *Linking Poststructuralism, Feminism and Postcolonialism*

Postcolonial theory shares many commonalities with feminist perspectives, with each complementing the other. Both feminism and post-colonial theory can be used to recognize the importance of the need to honour subjugated knowledges, but Western feminisms can homogenize the lives of women in the global South (Mohanty, 1988). The “discursive homogenization and systematization of the oppression of women” (Mohanty, p. 63) illustrates the danger of feminism that does not include global perspectives. If left unexamined, Western feminisms can propagate hegemonic interests (Diaswara, 2000). Conversely, when cognizant of postcolonial concerns, feminist theory can privilege contributions from women that have been subjugated under both colonial and national projects (Reinharz, 1992).

Many postcolonial, feminist and poststructural thinkers share a common commitment to anti-essentialism. All three theoretical perspectives challenge the idea that there is something “essential” about categories like gender, race or nation and argue that the world is fundamentally heterogeneous. Poststructuralism’s multiple meanings (Weedon, 1987) add complexity to the challenge of analyzing any issue through a poststructuralist perspective. There is general agreement that poststructural feminists “reject traditional assumptions about truth and reality” (Ollenburger & Moore, 1998, p. 25). Weedon contends that all forms of poststructuralism assume that meaning is created through language and that this meaning is not guaranteed by the subject who speaks it. Further, not all speakers are seen as being able to make legitimate speech acts within certain discourses and thus their contributions are subjugated. Indeed, poststructural, feminist and postcolonial theories work toward unearthing previously marginalized voices,

voices that can make valuable contributions to understanding the ways in which differences exist between and within women.

A feminist orientation to poststructuralism and postcolonialism focuses on knowledge and language in order to understand the pervasive gendered power relations that shape society (Sarup, 1995; Rail, 2002). The political implications of power in language are particularly important to consider when examining documents produced by global bodies such as the UN, one of the main producers of text on development through sport. The influence of such an organization in shaping global discourses can be significant, as is the opportunity for local structures to resist this influence (Petchesky, 2003; Pettman, 2004).

When used together, feminism, poststructuralism and postcolonialism make for a robust theoretical framework through which sport for development in the area of HIV/AIDS education can be studied. Certainly, the construction of discourses about HIV/AIDS is shaping understanding of the epidemic (Treichler, 1993, as cited in King, 2000). Treichler has explained that

linguistic constructs that generate meaning and simultaneously facilitate and constrain our ability to think and talk about material phenomena. Language is not a substitute for reality; it is how we know it. And if we do not know *that*, all the facts in the world will not help us” (p. 286).

Her comment brings to light the social construction of what we know about HIV/AIDS.

Language around HIV/AIDS creates binaries – infected/not infected, straight/gay, white/non-white – that perpetuate stereotypes and fuel both overt and symbolic violence (King). These binaries contribute to maintaining the divide between the potentially “dangerous” (typically black and oppressed) bodies of the infected and the supposedly “safe,” “clean” (typically white and privileged) bodies of those who are not yet infected (King). These binaries foster stigma, ignorance and discrimination. Feminist, poststructural, postcolonial theory can create a space to

disrupt these binaries and call for alternative approaches that meet individuals' needs, instead of feeding stereotypical dichotomies. Further, this approach contributes to the recognition that "the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices" (Smith, 1999, p. 2), bringing to light the exaggeration of Northern "expertise," which fosters the dismissal of Southern knowledges (Chowdhry, 1995; Parpart & Marchand, 1995).

### Methodology and Methods

A multiple case study informed by feminist participatory action research (F-PAR) has been employed in this thesis. Multiple case studies allow for intensive, detailed analyses of individual situations to better understand common experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). F-PAR privileges women's contributions to research projects, encourages movement from theory to praxis, and examines how gender interlocks with other variables of oppression such as race, class and ability (Frisby et al., 2005). F-PAR utilized with a multiple case study approach is useful in challenging broad categorization of the experiences of "Africans" or "women" and instead offers a nuanced understanding of experiences at the community level. As a result, F-PAR and a multiple case study offer relevant tools to examine the experiences of peer educators involved in Kicking AIDS Out.

Kicking AIDS Out is an international network that trains young peer educators to facilitate sport and HIV/AIDS awareness programs. An African initiative, Kicking AIDS Out is supported by a Secretariat managed by the Norwegian Confederation of Sports and Olympic and Paralympic Committee (NIF). NIF supports partners (with funding from UK Sport and Commonwealth Games Canada) to deliver grassroots peer education that trains coaches to deliver a specific curriculum. Peer educators are trained in delivering Kicking AIDS Out games. These games have been adapted to deliver life skills and HIV/AIDS prevention messages. The

peer educators debrief each game and encourage dialogue among the participants about the HIV/AIDS or life skill messages contained in the game (Mwaanga, 2001). At first, peer educators receive Leader Level One (LL1) training. Once they demonstrate the ability to facilitate discussion and answer questions correctly, their organization may recommend them for Leader Level Two (LL2) training. LL2 training involves advanced training in HIV/AIDS prevention and facilitation skills. LL2s are tasked with training new LL1s. There are fewer than ten Master trainers who have been involved in developing the Kicking AIDS Out curriculum and are responsible for training and supporting the LL2s. Kicking AIDS Out is a methodology that is used by various sport for development organizations in Botswana, Canada, the Eastern Caribbean, Kenya, Lesotho, Mali, Namibia, Norway, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Vanuatu, Vietnam, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Based in numerous countries on various continents, the network is an ideal candidate for the F-PAR informed multiple case study approach. Kicking AIDS Out serves as the common point of reference for the multiple perspectives of the leaders who participated in this thesis. As a result, the experience of each peer educator represents a different case, connected to their unique experiences with a different organization in a different country.

The interviewees who participated in this thesis represent organizations from Canada, Kenya, Lesotho, Namibia, Norway, South Africa and Zimbabwe. In total, 17 leaders participated in semi-structured interviews that lasted between 45 minutes and two hours, conducted by either myself or myself and my research assistant, Lucinda van den Heever. Participants included five Kicking AIDS Out administrators (one female, four male), five LL2s (four female, one male) and seven LL1s (six females, one male). Emphasis was placed on recruiting female peer educators to participate in the project in recognition of the multiple layers of socio-political and

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cultural challenges faced by young women in Southern Africa and the high infection rate experienced by young women in Southern Africa. Further, over 60% of Kicking AIDS Out peer educators are female. All participants were over the age of 14 and interviewed in English with small segments conducted in Afrikaans or Xhosa when necessary. Lucinda van den Heever is a South African Master trainer who has extensive experience facilitating Kicking AIDS Out training in South Africa, Namibia, Vietnam, the Eastern Caribbean and Zambia. Lucinda played a critical role in offering interpretation support, navigating the community processes and ensuring that community members were informed of the project's scope and potential impact.

Snowball sampling, a form of purposeful sampling where participants recommend other participants whom they believe to be information-rich sources (Cresswell, 1998), was used to locate interview participants. Interview questions were developed and refined in collaboration with the interviewees and two key informants. As key informants, Lucinda van den Heever, a young South African female and Séodhna Keown, a young Canadian female based in Namibia, served a critical role in shaping the scope of this thesis. They identified questions via e-mail and phone that they felt would be culturally and socially relevant to elicit appropriate input from interviewees. Kirstie Fieber, Stefan Howells and Bjorn Omar Evju also offered critical insight into the conceptualization and actualization of this thesis.

A responsive interviewing model was used to create an environment where the interview participants would feel valued and a part of an extended conversation (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Responsive interviewing recognizes that the interviewer and the interviewee can form a relationship during the interview and as such change the tone and scope of the interview. Responsive interviewing can be beneficial as empathy encourages participants to share their experiences.

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Peer educators were asked a series of questions related to their role as peer educators. For article one, questions such as, “Do you feel like your work is reflected in UN publications on sport for development?” were asked to understand if peer educators feel that there is a space for their contribution in the global discourses of sport for development. For article two, questions such as “What considerations need to be made when discussing sexual health in a development through sport setting?” were asked to better understand how peer educators delivered HIV/AIDS education, what support they need to be successful and the challenges they face in facilitating sport for HIV/AIDS education and stigma reduction. Finally, questions such as, “Do you feel that any of the work that you do as a peer educator could be used in other countries and to address other issues? What do you feel that you have to share? If not, what could be done to create that opportunity?” were asked to validate the theoretical arguments in article three which advocate for knowledge exchange between peer educators with experience in facilitating sport for development and those who do not. All interviews were transcribed verbatim and participants were provided a copy for verification, personal record, and feedback purposes. Analysis of program reports, training modules, briefings, UN, SDP IWG and government documents added supplemental information to the data collected from interviews. As required, this research was approved by both my thesis advisory committee and the University of Ottawa’s Research Ethics Board.

Nvivo 7, a computer-based qualitative analysis tool (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Richards, 2005), was used to code the data, preparing it for discourse analysis. Discourse analysis provides an opportunity to go beyond structural examinations of grammar and syntax to a functional analysis that juxtaposes discourse and the cognitive, cultural, social, racial and gendered aspects which fuel discourse production (Code, 2000; Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 1985; Wolf, 1996).

Further, discourse analysis can expose social change through what is omitted from text (Fairclough; Miller, 2000; Parker, 1992; Reinhartz, 1992; Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

### Conclusions and Contributions

In that this thesis is to be submitted as partial fulfillment of a collaborative MA in women's studies, it is necessary to elucidate the links between it and women's studies. It is hoped that this thesis will create a space to understand better the contributions that young female peer educators make to sport for development and what they need to be more effective. Young people's knowledges, and in particular the knowledges of young, female Africans is rarely considered within dominant discourses, and is therefore, a form of subjugated knowledge. By treating the contributions of these peer educators as legitimate, expert knowledges (Kirby & McKenna, 1989), this thesis challenges the perspectives that have dominated sport for development thus far.

This thesis has been written in the "stand alone paper" rather than the "traditional" format. As such, there is some overlap between the chapters. Each employs some aspect of Foucauldian analysis, feminist post-colonial theory, and descriptions of the methodology I employed. Regardless, the common theme throughout all three papers is that of the exploration of subjugated knowledges. By understanding the need to surface subjugated knowledges, it opens up the possibility of co-creating knowledges. Without recognizing that all stakeholders have contributions to make to strengthen the field, then sport for development will continue to be seen as a fad in development and not a serious contributor to social development and youth engagement. As such, I embark on the enclosed three chapters with ubuntu in mind. I am who I am because of you; you are who you are because of me.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The terms “sport for development,” “sport-in-development” and “development through sport” are used inter-changeably to note the conscious use of sport to achieve social development objectives. See Levermore & Beacom (Eds.) (2008) for more on this debate.

<sup>2</sup> The term HIV is used to indicate infection with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV). HIV is a retrovirus that attacks CD4+T cells, required for the body’s immune functioning. When the CD4+T count is less than 200 per micro litre, cellular immunity is compromised and individual is considered to have AIDS (Acute Immunodeficiency Syndrome). With AIDS, the body is extremely susceptible to opportunistic infections. The term HIV/AIDS is used to refer to the physical symptoms and social situations that apply to both HIV and AIDS (World Health Organization, WHO, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are eight development goals endorsed by the international development community to eradicate poverty if achieved by 2015 (UN, 2008).

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**Chapter 1**

**Power/knowledge: A Challenge to the “Lack of Evidence” Discourse in Sport for Development**

**Sara Nicholls (MA Candidate)**

**University of Ottawa: Human Kinetics and Women’s Studies**

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### Abstract

Through an examination of the power relations embedded in the international movement of sport for development, I use Foucault's power/knowledge nexus to examine the dominant "lack of evidence" discourse, which is calling for more rigorous, scientific proof to validate the sport for development field. I argue for an increased emphasis on the co-production of knowledges, which acknowledges the contributions of academics, Northern donors and grassroots practitioners. This approach will ensure that alternative knowledges can influence the field and therefore increase program relevance to the communities who access programs.

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I think a lot of the time, knowledge is created and normalized in places where there is more power, whether it's economically, politically and otherwise, so when it comes to knowing what is 'best' in this field ...there is a lot of rhetoric or jargon. When push comes to shove about making decisions about regional strategies, I am not sure there is always a lot of consultation.

– Female Kicking AIDS Master Trainer

In recent years, the United Nations (UN) has passed multiple resolutions calling for the increased uptake of sport as a tool to achieve development goals within the UN system and by Member States (Beutler, 2006; UN, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2006). Complemented by documents made publicly available by the Sport for Development International Working Group (SDP IWG) (2005, 2006), these resolutions point to the numerous ways in which sport is believed to foster social change, address gender inequality, slow the spread of HIV/AIDS and promote intercultural dialogue.<sup>1</sup> While the extent to which these goals are actually achieved through sport is debatable, there is an increasing call for more “evidence” as to the effectiveness and impact of sport for development programs. The evidence that is called for is firmly entrenched in a positivist scientific knowledge paradigm, which excludes alternative forms of knowledge (Holmes et al., 2006). Indeed, knowledges possessed by grassroots practitioners in the global South is often regarded as anecdotal information that contributes little or no valid evidence to the field of sport for development.

This chapter, which is informed by a feminist postcolonial perspective and by a feminist participatory action research approach, seeks to address the purported lack of evidence for sport for development programs by using Foucault's (1975, 1980) work on power, discourse and subjugated knowledges. I use Foucault's work to explore why contributions from the global South are devalued in the field of sport for development, and to pose broader questions about what kind of evidence or knowledge is considered legitimate when evaluating programs or developing policy for sport for development. Seventeen interviews with participants who have

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varying levels of involvement in the Kicking AIDS Out network, a network of organizations that use peer education and sport to facilitate HIV/AIDS education reveal the need to listen to contributions from grassroots practitioners to facilitate the co-production of knowledge. Interview data span three themes which create a perception that there is a “lack of evidence” of the effectiveness of sport for development, while a fourth theme builds on the first three. The themes are: 1) barriers to the co-creation of knowledge; 2) the politics of partnership; 3) donor driven priorities and top down approaches; and 4) calls for more research. I argue that the increasing call for positivist scientific evidence limits our ability to incorporate knowledges from grassroots practitioners into the policy development process, which, therefore, hinders the maturation of the field of sport for development.

In an age of globalization, contact between the global North and the global South is often fraught with messages of southern cultural inferiority and northern domination (Razack, 1998). Interaction between the North and the South has been marked by histories of oppression, subsequently determining who can be considered an authoritative speaker (Razack, 1998). The “politics of knowledge in bridging the ‘local’ and the ‘global’” (Mohanty, 2003, p. 238) in the area of sport for development are complex and are often manifested in the rhetoric of partnerships. For the purposes of this chapter, the term “the global South” will refer specifically to the African continent, and furthermore to Southern Africa (which I recognize is not a monolithic category). I use the term “the global North” to include what is often deemed “the West” (usually North America and Europe). In a few instances, I refer specifically to the West to demarcate North America. Partnerships between North and South, donors and recipients, as well as between policy makers and practitioners, are fundamentally shaped by the pervasive discourses of development. These discourses position the North as the benevolent, educated

development worker and the African continent as a poverty stricken and disease-ridden child in need of salvation. Although these partnerships can be built on positive principles such as respect and open communication, often partnerships are infused with power relations experienced by those that have the funding and those that need it.

Academics and development agencies in the global North have consistently had the privilege of shaping what sport for development is and what constitutes relevant and valid evidence of its success. The knowledges of grassroots practitioners, and in particular young, female Africans, is rarely considered as part of the evidence base of sport for development and is often dismissed in favour of knowledges emanating from the global North (Nicholls, in press). Following Foucault (1975), I take subjugated knowledges to be “local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges” (p. 83), knowledges which are considered to be “beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity” (p. 82). Such alternative knowledges are often devalued due to unexamined hegemonic assumptions that privilege scientific Northern knowledges. This paper explores the dominant “lack of evidence” discourse of sport for development which is calling for more scientific knowledges, while also creating room for examining subjugated knowledges.

#### *The Kicking AIDS Out Network*

The Kicking AIDS Out network is not immune to the influence of power on knowledge production. It is an international network that uses the power of sport to promote education and to break down the stigma associated with HIV/AIDS. An African initiative, Kicking AIDS Out is supported by a Secretariat managed by the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Confederation of Sports (NIF). NIF supports partners (with funding from UK Sport and Commonwealth Games Canada) to deliver grassroots peer education that trains coaches to deliver a specific curriculum.

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Peer educators are trained in delivering Kicking AIDS Out games. These games have been adapted to deliver life skills and HIV/AIDS prevention messages. The peer educators debrief each game and encourage dialogue among the participants. At first, peer educators receive Leader Level One (LL1) training. Once they demonstrate the ability to facilitate discussion and answer questions correctly with peers, their organization may recommend them for Leader Level Two (LL2) training. LL2 training involves advanced training in HIV/AIDS prevention and facilitation skills. LL2s are tasked with training new LL1s. There are less than ten Master trainers who have been involved in developing the Kicking AIDS Out curriculum and who are responsible for training and supporting the LL2s. Kicking AIDS Out is a methodology that is used by various sport for development organizations in Botswana, Canada, the Eastern Caribbean, Kenya, Lesotho, Mali, Namibia, Norway, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Vanuatu, Vietnam, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The participants in this thesis represent organizations from Canada, Kenya, Lesotho, Namibia, Norway, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Kicking AIDS Out has grassroots African beginnings (Mwaanga, 2001) and is increasingly vulnerable to demands for empirical, scientific knowledges about its effectiveness as other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) partner with academic institutions to do the same.<sup>2</sup> This type of evidence is not produced consistently by the Kicking AIDS Out network, thereby placing it and its peer educators at a disadvantage (Kruse, 2005).

*Discourses: the Site of the Power/Knowledge Nexus*

There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth. (Foucault, 1980, p. 93)

Understanding what makes up legitimate forms of knowledge is related to Foucault's (1980) work on the power/knowledge nexus. Central to Foucauldian theory is an examination of

the influence of power on knowledge production and the ways in which relations of power shape the production, marginalization or valorization of different forms of knowledge (Foucault, 1980; Mills, 1997). Foucault (1980) has argued that power circulates and is exercised through a capillary-like network (Fraser, 1989). For Foucault, discourses reinforce and legitimize certain regimes of truth, meaning, and knowledge. It is frequently through discourse that power is manifested, power relations negotiated and meanings reinforced or resisted (Rail, 2002). While the fluidity of power makes its origin difficult to determine, power can also be defined by what it represses or silences (Foucault), such as subjugated knowledges. Foucault's work thus offers strong tools of analysis to examine the relations of power/knowledge at work in the field of sport for development.

It is through discourses that power is realized and knowledges subjugated. Central to this chapter is the recognition that discourses do not exist in isolation, but interact and conflict with other discourses (Mills, 1997). Discourses "facilitate and limit, enable and constrain what can be said, by whom, where and when" (Willig, 2007, p. 172), whereby "dominant discourses privilege those versions of social reality which legitimate existing power relations and social structures" (Willig, p. 172). The types of discourses accepted by society and deemed "true" or dominant are subject to numerous influences. "Truth" is linked to systems of power which influence the production of dominant discourses and systems to create and regulate privileged "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1980). Society affords great authority to those who validate what is true and what is false (Foucault, 1975), often resulting in the production of putative scientific truths. The nexus of power and knowledge thus "circumscribes which forms of knowledge count and how they are produced" (Mohan & Wilson, 2005, p. 261). Being cognizant of the links between power and knowledge makes it possible to examine how concepts come to be considered "true"

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and subsequently considered to be “evidence” (Holmes, Murray, Perron, & Rail, 2006). Certainly, those who are charged with validating what counts as true have the ability to exert specific forms of power (Foucault, 1980). The challenge facing both the sport for development field and the wider development community is the necessity of challenging the production of truth and detaching “the power of truth from the forms of hegemony, social, economic and cultural, within which it operates at the present time” (Foucault, 1980, p. 133).

By comparing texts produced by the SDP IWG and by the UN with the experiences of grassroots practitioners from the Kicking AIDS Out network, discourse analysis can be used to draw attention to possible differences and similarities between the two. By encouraging the deconstruction of texts to politicize and challenge knowledge production, those who are written about (e.g., sport for development grassroots practitioners in the global South) are able to “engage with the surface rhetoric more capably and to contest deep assumptions where necessary” (Rail, 2002, p. 192). Creating an environment that encourages those who have been marginalized to join the debates connected to sport for development would then legitimize “their non-credentialed interventions into the scientific field” (Rail, p. 192).

In that a large majority of grassroots practitioners involved in Kicking AIDS Out programs in Africa are young, black women (Kicking AIDS Out, 2007), a Foucauldian analysis of power must be complemented by a focus on both gendered and racialized relations of power. Feminist perspectives on Foucault’s writing about the links between power and knowledge frequently note his andro-centric (Sawicki, 1998), Euro-centric view of the world (Stoler, 1995). Although Western feminist scholarship is often accused of considering women as a monolithic category, postcolonial feminist scholars have disrupted this broad categorization by pointing out that women’s experiences vary greatly (Mohanty, 1994). The young women involved in Kicking

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AIDS Out are no exception. Depending on age, years of involvement in Kicking AIDS Out, organizational position, ability, sexuality or race, each woman will have a different experience. As such, the analysis employed in this paper draws on not only Foucauldian analysis, but also postcolonial feminist theory.

### Setting the Scene: Methodology

Participatory action research (PAR) can create a space where subjugated knowledges can be used to resist claims of “truth.” Moreover, PAR may enhance opportunities for the interaction between the global and the local in a mutually respectful manner. A feminist application of PAR (F-PAR) highlights the centrality of power in the construction of knowledge while recognizing the need to disrupt patriarchal dominance in the power/knowledge nexus (Corbett, Francis, & Chapman, 2007; Harding, 1987). F-PAR is an appropriate methodology when researchers seek to understand the experiences of those involved in, affected by, or excluded from various discourses (Frisby, Reid, Millar, & Hoeber, 2005). F-PAR is especially relevant when the experiences of the participants’ are markedly different from those of privileged researchers.

F-PAR serves as the methodological framework for this chapter in a conscious effort to surface participants’ subjugated knowledges and to recognize it as distinct and valid in an effort to inspire critical reflections on the power relationships that pervade research. This commitment was realized through the co-design of this thesis with two key informants, both of whom were identified through my past work in the field of sport for development: one young South African female, Lucinda van den Heever and one young Canadian female based in Namibia, Séodhna Keown. Both informants have extensive involvement in the Kicking AIDS Out network as Master Trainers. These two key informants have been heavily implicated in grassroots sport for development programs. They served a critical role in shaping the scope of this thesis and

identifying questions via e-mail and phone that they felt would be culturally and socially relevant and thus elicit appropriate input from interviewees. The interview guide, interview process and thematic analysis were analyzed in collaboration with my research assistant (who was also the South African key informant), Lucinda van den Heever. The interviews took place in Windhoek, Namibia and Cape Town, South Africa in English, with a few instances where Xhosa was used to add emphasis.

I am fortunate to have worked in the field of sport for development for the last seven years and recognize that my personal relationships with the individuals and organizations reflected in this body of research may have been affected by our negotiation of power relationships and shared perspectives of the histories of sport for development. I recognize that my invisible backpack is full of multiple privileges. I am a white, heterosexual, middle class, able-bodied, English-speaking woman, categories that privilege my contributions in certain situations (such as the academy) (McIntosh, 2007). I tried my best to ensure that this thesis did not replicate what we sought to challenge, which was a privileging of my voice over those who know this material best. My role was defined from the start: to ask questions, to listen, to analyze, and to engage, but ultimately to respect the knowledges which reside with the participants. My ability to credit the co-producers of this piece of work, meaning the peer educators and sport for development administrators interviewed for this thesis, has been limited due to their request that I eliminate the majority of personal identifiers that may have compromised their confidentiality. In a field that is so small, noting the age, sex, race and nationality of an interviewee would compromise their anonymity; nevertheless, their contributions to this paper were crucial to its development.

## Methods

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For the purposes of this research, snowball sampling, a form of purposeful sampling (Cresswell, 1998), was used to locate interview participants. Interviewees were asked a broad range of questions in a semi-structured interview format lasting from a minimum of forty-five minutes to a maximum of two hours. Semi-structured interviews were deemed appropriate as this method offers an opportunity for interviewees to shape the interview's direction as active conversational partners with valid contributions to make, rather than as passive respondents to "expert" questions (Rubin & Rubin, 2005; UNFPA & Population Council, 2006). Questions centred on participants' understanding of the global discourses of sport for development, if they felt they had a mechanism through which to contribute to or challenge these global discourses, and if the "big picture" documents reflected their experiences. For example, participants were asked, "Do you feel connected to the policy development process of sport for development? What are the barriers to narrowing the gap between policy makers and programme delivery professionals? What can be done to facilitate a more relevant dialogue between policy makers and grassroots practitioners?"

Seventeen interviews were conducted by me or by my research assistant. Five women from South Africa, two Namibian women, two Norwegian males, two Canadian women, two South African males, one male Zimbabwean, one Kenyan male, one Kenyan woman, as well as a woman from Lesotho participated in interviews. I am aware that this may seem like a diverse group, in that the 17 interviewees occupy varied roles in the network as funders (one male), administrators (two men, one woman), LL1s (five women), LL2s (one male, two women) or Master trainers (two men, three women). Importantly, this group constitutes a broad cross section of perspectives of leaders in organizations that support the Kicking AIDS Out methodology. While the experiences of women are central to the questions explored here, six men were

involved. These men's perspectives were included because while women's experiences are often marginalized, these men offer much needed insight on the roles of women within the network. Although 60% of the peer educators involved in the Kicking AIDS Out network are female, the heads of the organizations represented in the network are overwhelmingly male.<sup>3</sup> Therefore those at the decision making table and with access to the dominant discourses are often male. The (female) Canadian and Norwegian (male) Master trainers acknowledged that they negotiate a particularly challenging space. While one may assume that they would share the perspective of a Northern funder, the many years that they have spent living and working in Southern Africa has resulted in an increased sensitivity to the grassroots level experience.

All interviews were transcribed verbatim and participants were provided with a copy of their transcript for verification, personal record, and feedback purposes. Nvivo 7, a computer-based qualitative analysis tool (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Richards, 2005), was used to code the data, thus preparing it for thematic grouping and discourse analysis. A preliminary set of themes was shared with the interviewees for feedback and validation, as was the abstract that has served as a guideline for this paper. Comments from participants were provided on drafts of this paper and have been incorporated into this final copy.

#### A Dominant Discourse: Lack of Evidence

As noted above, policy documents produced by Northern sport for development organizations frequently lament the lack of evidence to support the claims of success from the use of sport as a tool for development (Coalter, 2006; Schwery, 2003). Similarly, these documents discuss the need to build a stronger understanding of the impact of field programs. UNICEF (2005) has noted the "need to assemble proof, to go beyond what is mostly anecdotal evidence to monitor and evaluate the impact of sport in development programmes" (p. 67). The

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UN has added that in order to “uphold the values of sport and physical education as tools to promoting education, health, development and peace,” it is crucial that there be an

[e]nhancement of social-scientific research, information and knowledge on the benefits and role of sport in contributing to peace and development. Quantitative data enables governments to include sport for systematically in social and development policies. Evaluation of all programmes must be made using effective monitoring and evaluation instruments. (p. 390)

The SDP IWG (2006), the other major purveyor of the “lack of evidence” discourse, has similarly noted that, “[e]fforts must be made to strengthen the monitoring and evaluation of programs, to increase the current evidence base and to enhance international and cross-sectoral coordination at the field and policy levels” (p. 2). Of course evidence is always a critical component of the policy development process, but the question remains as to what type of evidence is necessary. At present, “scientific” and “academic” evidence appear to be preferred, leaving little room for the “rhetoric” produced by grassroots practitioners. For example, Beutler (2006) stated, “[a]cademic and research institutions, including the United Nations University, are encouraged to develop collaborative agendas on Sport for Development and Peace, including the documentation, analysis and validation of experiences, and development of instruction, monitoring and evaluation methods and instruments” (p. 20). By rejecting program reports that are often written by grassroots practitioners in the field as anecdotal, academic knowledge continues to be privileged. Academics must become aware of this privilege and disrupt exclusionary practices to ensure that the quest for evidence includes those knowledges subjugated by their very nature of location outside of the academy. A singular focus on scientific, academic knowledge will limit the ability of the field to be relevant to the communities it seeks to serve. Concern with evidence-based program evaluation is understandable in an age of accountability and evidence-based policy development, and often

reflects policy makers' genuine desire to develop and implement effective programs. Regardless, Holmes et al. (2006) noted that the "exclusion of knowledge ensembles relies on a process that is saturated by ideology and intolerance regarding other ways of knowing" (p. 185).

In effect, the sport for development policy makers are policing the boundaries of what counts as legitimate knowledge by requiring a certain type of evidence. A female Kicking AIDS Out Master Trainer noted the difference in priorities between those developing policy and those implementing programs:

I think that all those reports and declarations and documents are a waste of time. I have never seen anything change because of a report or a document. Honestly, the amount of money that they spend to produce reports, I always think, do you know how many kombis [buses] you could have bought to transport kids around a soccer league with that money?

Certainly, literature reviews commissioned by the SDP IWG and facilitated by the University of Toronto (Kidd & Donnelly, 2007) serve as valuable bodies of work in response to the many calls for peer reviewed research from the SDP IWG. Although all of the University of Toronto/SDP IWG literature reviews considered multiple sources of data from multiple disciplines, Larkin & Razack (2007) have noted the scarcity of studies, literature and data *from* rather than *about* the global South concerning sport for development in general. This finding highlights the fact that few grassroots programmers have access to the language or the opportunity to publish in academic journals (Nicholls & Giles, 2007). In the context of these constraints, researchers must make an effort to reach out to community members and acknowledge community-based contributions as valuable data sets that can serve as compelling evidence.

#### Listening to Grassroots Practitioners

Research participants' contributions highlighted three themes which show how the "lack of evidence" discourse has come to be and converge to influence a fourth theme. The first three

themes are: barriers to the co-creation of knowledge, the politics of partnership and donor driven priorities/top down approaches. These themes subjugate local knowledges and create the perception that there is a “lack of evidence” of the effectiveness of sport for development. A fourth theme illustrates the need to listen to the contributions from grassroots practitioners to facilitate the co-production of knowledge. These themes do not constitute the totality of the many varied discourses in circulation around the concept of sport for development, but note the need to focus the contributions from grassroots practitioners.

### *Barriers to the Co-Creation of Knowledge*

Nobody from the UN’s office has ever tried to get a hold of me. Not to say that I have all the answers, but if they did any sort of research on this subject, they should know that we are a network and I sit in the office of the Secretariat for the network, and therefore have access to a whole lot of organizations. They just have these weird conferences with fancy names and it remains on a policy level, and there is never anything at the implementation level. – Female Master Trainer

The Master Trainer quoted above shared her thoughts on not even being “known” or acknowledged by policy makers. Certainly, it would be virtually impossible for the staff of the UN Office on Sport for Development and Peace or the SDP IWG to connect with the hundreds of NGO staff who are active in the field of sport for development.<sup>5</sup> Regardless, these networks represent many partners and offer an important opportunity to solicit feedback and to stay connected to how the policy development process could better support programming in the field.

Two female Master trainers in the Kicking AIDS Out network shared:

I think that peer educators are very disconnected from policy development. There are probably many reasons for that ... but I don’t think there is a very clear channel for how the information gets from the community levels around Southern Africa to be channeled up to affect policy at their own national level ...so you can imagine how big the gap is to reach places like the UN.

I feel very disconnected from what is happening up there [at the policy level]. I probably have very little idea to be honest. I think that it is really important that there is more of a link between what is going on at the grassroots level and what

is happening at the policy level, because if these guys on the top are making all the policies and whatnot, it is really important to hear what is going on, of what is going on at the top and what is going on at the ground.

Both young women have had extensive training in implementing Kicking AIDS Out methodologies and have participated in varied sport for development activities. Their feelings, as articulated above, highlight the fact that their role at the grassroots level is far removed from the site of policy development. As such, regardless of their contribution to “doing” sport for development, they are not considered legitimate knowers who have important insights to share about how programs could become more effective.

### *Politics of Partnership*

Much of the debate on what counts as legitimate knowledge centres on different views of the principles of partnership between donors and recipients. If partnership dynamics remain unequal, with the funder dominating the process, then the contribution of program implementers is muted, if not silenced. If Southern partners are not considered to have valuable contributions to make to the partnership process, then it merely perpetuates the cycle of domination of the donor/recipient relationship instead of a partnership approach. The head of a grassroots South African NGO explained, “I think maybe what’s missing is an understanding of partnership and the commitment to the true principles and values of partnership. It’s not discussed enough, it’s not interrogated enough ...there needs to be more discussion about it.” He continued,

Well it’s clear that it [partnership] is central to this work and it is really a serious issue which defines partnership. The power relations define the partnership and it is made worse by the fact that we are working in a developmental context, where there are haves and have nots to begin with and it is made worse by the fact that we are working in a sports context, which is highly competitive, and a sport political context. If it were just about development, it would be different, but I think when it’s about who is hosting the next set of games, that adds a whole other dimension that development doesn’t have to deal with in the same way. I mean people don’t compete to host the tsunami and to deal with the damage. If you want to compare, it is a bit like that -- the tsunami is going to hit South Africa

in 2010, so we better all be there and let's show off and I think that is really unfortunate and it really muddies the waters about what sport and development practitioners are really trying to do.

These comments highlight the challenges faced by grassroots practitioners who are forced to navigate multiple imperatives. These imperatives involve discourses of the benevolent Northern development worker (Darnell, 2007), as well as that of a sport organization trying to garner favour to win a bid for a major set of games. Both of these factors are far removed from the principles of sustainable development. The history of partnerships between Northern "donors" and Southern "recipients" has been characterized by colonial relations of power. While efforts are being made to create a more engaged and equitable model of partnership, there is still much work to be done. For example, sport for development practitioners in the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa Zone VI are making positive inroads through their annual Partnership in Practice meetings that bring together funders and recipients to discuss partnership issues. The senior administrator of a regional sport structure shared his perspective on the annual Partnership in Practice meetings (SCORE & SCSA Zone VI, 2005):

The danger was that at one stage, and maybe its still there, of duplication, of lack of focus, and of not using the terminology partnership in a way which probably both parties need to understand. When we met to discuss the whole concept of partnership, we work to agree on a common approach and this is more or less the approach that we have been trying to take with those partnership meetings, but when we meet with our Northern cooperating partners, we open up, on matters on which we think we need to open up on ... it is unfortunate sometimes that when you then go to Europe, or to the North, or even here in the South, South to South you do stumble on information, whether people give it to you willingly or by mistake, but you do get information and then you say, ah, but I was talking to my cooperating partner yesterday, we had a meeting, why didn't he tell me this?

These comments illustrate the ways power relations are seriously affecting the sport for development field. Power is not something that can be possessed, but can be instead considered a relation (Murray et al., 2007). Certainly, "[n]eocolonial practices in developing countries

reproduce unequal distributions of power that [can be] replicated in sport” (Larkin & Razack, 2007, p. 97). Larkin & Razack (2007) also underlined the importance of using postcolonial tools of analysis to understand how “race, ethnicity, culture and human identities are contested and represented” (p. 98). Power relations are deeply influenced by colonial histories, as colonial practices fuel binaries of the dominant/weak which divide races, genders, abilities and classes.

The quotes above demonstrate the lack of coordination and high level of political motivation which is hindering the development of equitable partnerships. If partnerships fail to be built on a foundation of mutual respect, partnerships will remain unequal, catering to the dominant member’s political agenda. Movement towards more equitable partnerships rests on the recognition of valid contributions from all parties, which involves the privileging of formerly subjugated knowledges.

Discourses that emanate from a colonial history can make the privileging of subjugated knowledges within partnerships particularly challenging. Colonial discourses can be defined as those discourses which strategically create an apparatus of power that denies the intersection of race, culture and history such that it privileges the colonizers’ production of knowledge (Bhabha, 1983; Mohanty, 1994). Sport for development is not immune to pervasive post-colonial power relations. As noted by a male NGO leader,

The issue around partnership and the partnership between the North and the South, the partnership between donors and recipients - I think it is still very paternalistic. It is very much: I kind of know and I come from a position of power and knowledge and I am helping you solve your problems, and you have to define your problem, but I am helping you solve your problem. I am not sure that is the most effective way.

This quote highlights an undercurrent of paternalism, born out of a long history of colonialism that indicates that Southern recipients of donor support from the North are

not intelligent enough to deal with the challenges that they face. A female LL2 further explained that,

When you bring the Southern partners together, ones who in this model are perceived to be the ones with less power, because they are the ones receiving a lot of the funding ... that is not necessarily solving the issue...we need to come to a place where northern and southern partners can like come to the table and feel that they can be safe in expressing when things are working and when they aren't.

The lack of safe spaces to discuss sensitive partnership issues can keep valuable knowledges subjugated. Acknowledging the existence of subjugated knowledges (Foucault, 1980) and the mechanisms that keeps them subjugated offers an opportunity to challenge discursive colonization. Discursive colonization is the dominance of an ideology that excludes subjugated knowledges (Holmes et al., 2006). Hill Collins (1991) noted that the inclusion, consideration or incorporation of subjugated knowledges is rarely a threat to dominant discourses. Often subjugated knowledges are either “ignored, discredited, or simply absorbed and marginalized in existing paradigms” (Hill Collins, p. 219). Surface level acceptance of subjugated knowledges that fails to incorporate those knowledges into actual policy development remains paternalistic and reproduces colonial ideals, therefore causing harm to any trust or partnership that has been developed. A long-term commitment to co-creation of knowledge is critical to mitigate this unfortunate state of affairs.

Diawara (2000) has noted the necessity of local knowledges to make any progress in determining what is valid in any given field, although progress will not be possible without forums that acknowledge imbalances of power. These imbalances of power have contributed to unequal partnerships. As a result it is necessary to consciously create forums that explore how mutual learning and understanding can be a precursor to the co-creation of knowledge, thereby supporting the use of sport as a tool for development. A female Master trainer explains:

These [local] bodies of knowledge are contained in isolation, which isn't always bad, but it would be amazing to see how powerful that would be if they could actually share that learning, because people are constantly re-inventing the wheel. Everybody is facing the same challenges and imagine if there were forums to talk about how you can lobby your government more effectively and one or two organizations in southern Africa have done it and they want to share that story. Then, it is how can we facilitate the reflection and the learning in an international forum where policy makers and government officials are present and can give feedback and can also participate, to talk about what they have seen and to ask their questions?

She continued,

I think forums to bring people together are so effective, where young people and people who are implementing, the practitioners and people on the ground have an opportunity to sit and actually engage, not just sit next to you, not just attend the same event, but discuss their programs, share their stories and honestly talk about some of what the real challenges are for them, the real challenges, but there is not many of those forums that are provided, even nationally, let alone internationally, and when you do happen to attend a forum or a conference, where you might have practitioners and policy makers alike, there often isn't a way to bring the two together effectively, sometimes they are sitting in the same room, they are attending the same presentation and I am not entirely convinced that even though policy makers and practitioners alike attend a conference, that they actually discussed anything. I don't know what the solution is, I genuinely don't know what the solution is, I think about it all the time.

Committed partnership involves a long-term commitment to create forums to share successes and challenges such that admitting to failure does not jeopardize a Southern partner's funding.

Forums, if designed in a sensitive and locally grounded manner, can serve as sites to co-produce knowledges, but participants need to be informed and aware of the colonial and paternalistic undertones that shape a dominant discourse of sport for development

#### *Donor-driven Priorities and Top Down Approaches*

The complex relationships between discourses are often influenced by the interaction between local/global and social/political contexts (Fairclough, 1992). Historically, dominant groups have either monopolized or have had privileged access to particular kinds of knowledge

and have, therefore, exerted power through circulating self-serving discourses (Merton, 1972).

An NGO leader noted:

I have been fortunate to be at some of the conferences where some of this stuff [partnership and policy development] is discussed, and one can assume that the policy is linked to national agendas, national policies and eventually comes from what are real problems or challenges or problems in a society and a community... the formation of policy is obviously far away from the communities in which those issues are faced on a daily basis, so of course some of the responses are, and the design of the those responses, are not linked to the realities either. That's true at national level and even at international level.... I certainly don't think that it goes the other way round, policy makers have not really approached [my organization] to ask what we think.

Although some members of civil society are able to participate in major knowledge production events such as the former Magglingen conference series—a major sport for development conference hosted by the Swiss Government—representatives from the South that participate in these events are few and far between. The above quote also demonstrates that mere participation is inadequate. As a result, local voices from the South must be sought out to play an active role in the formation of policy (Meir, 2005) in order to challenge top down, donor-driven approaches to sport for development.

It is necessary to include the grassroots practitioners who are often young people and in particular, young, African women as co-creators of knowledge and partners in policy making (Nicholls, in press). An NGO leader reflected on the priority setting process and the subsequent top down approach:

I...think that the policy making in those [northern] organizations is honestly not driven by the real needs in the South, it is driven by political considerations in their own countries and it's driven by their own constituencies and then they try to kind of make that fit. So I think there is a question there as well, so where they do have their strategies, where they do have their plans, the question is where is the interface between that plan and that agenda, and the agendas of the people that they are trying to bring that agenda to, is there a clear link, or is it a top down approach?

The NGO leader's words articulate that political considerations can override community needs in developing development agendas. Political and economic interests of donor countries are a key component in setting development agendas (Brown, 2007). This assertion of dominance affects not only who receives donor funding, but also what knowledge counts in validating the effectiveness of this support. As Smith (1999) has noted, "[t]he globalization of knowledge and Western culture constantly reaffirms the West's view of itself as the centre of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge and the source of 'civilized' knowledge" (p. 63). This positional superiority over language, knowledge and culture creates a powerful dynamic to be challenged if the field of sport for development is to co-create knowledge. Discourses that reflect both dominant hegemonic knowledges and local subjugated knowledges can only exist together effectively if hierarchies are eliminated (Foucault, 1980). The hierarchies between North/South, donor/recipient, policy maker/practitioners contribute to the subjugation of local knowledges. As noted by a female Master trainer:

When it comes to creating strategies about how you are going to roll out bigger programs, spend bigger amounts of funding, I can't say that my experience has been that there is that much consultation and the element of time and who values time and how time is created comes into play because there is a lot of deadlines coming from the North, money has to be spent by when, new strategy has to be presented by when, so with all that pressure on a lot of the funding donor organizations more Northern based partners, it means that often the importance of community consultation, of consultation and dialogue between partners is overlooked or it is skipped because of all the pressure around, I would say a lot of it is around the funding element and that has been my experience.

In the sport for development community these hierarchies are continually reified by funding relationships because the funders control the majority of the plans and processes. It is, therefore, even more critical that consultations with practitioners occur at all stages of the policy and program development process in a sustained manner to reflect needs-based initiatives that value all actors' contributions.

*Calls for Research: Does More Empirical Evidence Equal More Knowledge?*

It is not my intention to minimize the importance of empirical evidence and of partnerships with academic institutions. Rather, my intention is to problematize the singular focus on academic contributions on the part of sport for development funders. Partnerships with academics are critical to the growth and “legitimization” of sport for development as contributing to development issues. Unfortunately, research that assumes the primacy of Northern “truth” conveys a sense of paternalism to be able to solve the challenges of those in the South (Smith, 1999). This paternalism contributes to practices that determine what counts as legitimate research and who counts as legitimate researchers (Smith, 1999). This overt faith in scientific evidence results in a colonization of knowledge production systems (Holmes et al., 2006). The privileging of scientific knowledge creates a “regime of truth” and subsequently excludes alternative knowledges (Holmes et al.). Although the calls for more research often emanate from bodies such as the SDP IWG, practitioners also acknowledge the need for more evidence. Thus, it becomes necessary to negotiate what counts as evidence to meet the needs of all involved. Further, practitioners also want to understand better what sport can do in a development context. The negotiation between the needs of donors and recipients of the objectives of evaluation is tenuous. Holmes et al. (2006) see this negotiation as a necessity. Moreover, they argue that it is an ethical responsibility of the academic community to disrupt the power relations that subjugate the needs and contributions of practitioners. While Holmes et al did not write specifically about sport for development, their insights are relevant for this analysis. A male NGO leader stated:

We make all these claims for sport, and there is this constant quest for justification and you know evaluation, monitoring and evaluation ... when in fact we should be thinking much deeper about what we really do and maybe stick to our core business of sport and understand sport and what it does for development

first, before making claims about sport as a tool for development. We need to engage with development practitioners [meaning the development community].

A male Kicking AIDS Out Master trainer further contributed:

I think that research is always needed, I think there is more research that can be done to look upon improvements, but I also think that we need to be very focused on some areas, not getting researchers in and doing fieldwork and step in for two weeks and then come back, but more long term to develop M&E [monitoring and evaluation] tools and to develop quality ways for reporting for M&E in an innovative and in a fun way that is not a burden of paper work

A female Master trainer acknowledged that practitioners' knowledges and the impact of their work has not been documented by researchers:

No, it [the impact of the work] is not actually captured, to be honest. You know, we are trying to capture, you know, what we do, what we do try and capture it just like statements; it's not really stories to be honest. I think the stories are very important, because the stories also give us an indication of where they [practitioners] are at. Sometimes an evaluation form just doesn't give you what you need, so those stories, I think, are very important, because then we are able to say, wow, okay, we have actually, you know, made an impact on this level, that level, but it is very poorly documented, to be honest. It is definitely not because it's undervalued [at the organizational level]. I think just because we are just so hectic in our organization that we actually don't take the time to capture those stories, you know, we have finish this, these set of workshops, by this date and you know, its that kind of pressure.

These comments note that the sole reliance on monitoring and evaluating outputs by donors and academics is not doing the field justice. Further, sport for development organizations may benefit more from partnering with local development organizations to learn how to capture their work more effectively, instead of supporting academics to conduct formal evaluations. By recognizing that sport for development organizations are struggling to document their work in ways that are relevant, academics and donors need to reexamine how they engage with grassroots practitioners in order to develop research that is appropriate. As such, I would contend that what is needed is not more research, but better research. By working to capture sport for development stories in a new way, the sport for development community, through the very act of co-creating knowledge,

can attain the potential for social change (Reinhartz, 1992).

### *Co-production of Knowledge*

In the neo-colonial world, there is a tendency to see “true” knowledge as being produced in Northern academic institutions, donor agencies or working groups. These groups are connected as sound policy development is always supported by empirical research. This tendency undervalues the subjugated knowledges that exist within local communities. Holmes et al. (2006) addressed this issue, noting that the movement towards “evidence” and “truth” is “outrageously exclusionary and dangerously normative” (p. 181). This movement makes it difficult for “unscientific evidence” to be accepted, creating a “single, powerful lexicon” (Holmes et al., p. 184). While it is equally problematic to accept uncritically subjugated knowledges, these contributions should not be ignored. The need to consider scientific and subjugated knowledges could be addressed in the co-production of knowledge. Co-production involves fostering links between local and international contributions in developing bodies of knowledge. This approach should be encouraged as a respectful consideration of cultural representations and social practices which are complementary to other forms of expert knowledge (Diawara, 2000). Knowledge that is co-produced has the benefit of being informed by grassroots practitioners’ experiences in addition to dominant discourses surrounding sport for development.

For example, a female Kicking AIDS Out Master Trainer said:

The reality is that I am not communicating on a daily basis or a weekly basis or ever with policy makers, so inevitably I tend to feel very powerless. I don’t necessarily feel that I have a lot of power when it comes to sharing my experiences at a community grassroots level, because that is my scope in this job, so I also feel disconnected and I think about it a lot, about how can I more effectively facilitate the sharing of these stories, up to policy makers, you know, to facilitate...those links. Is it my role? I always question [that] as well. Is it something that I should be facilitating or do we need to look at this a little more

critically and look at what needs to happen so that the people actually implementing on the ground on a daily basis have ways to communicate upward.

If practitioners do not feel that their experiences are reflected or that they have opportunities to challenge mainstream representations of their experiences, then it becomes critical to re-examine the discourses that are shaping the sport for development policy creation process and how they can be modified to make room for alternatives.

### Conclusion

The perspectives and the voices and the knowledge of the Southern partners [are] incredibly important and should be driving this process of sport for development, because it inevitably is affecting the very communities that they live in.

– A female Master trainer

Throughout this thesis, I have attempted to focus on making theoretically sound arguments that have practical applications to the field of sport for development. It is clear that the power/knowledge nexus is active in discussions related to sport for development. Power relations between policy makers and program practitioners are subjugating knowledges that could be used to build a more nuanced evidence base. I do not believe that the marginalization of practitioners' experiences and knowledges is malicious; instead it reflects a colonial legacy that continues to inform relations between donors/recipients, policy makers/practitioners, and North/South. In order to challenge the traditional and normative models of building and validating evidence, it is necessary to create a mutually respectful climate of knowledge exchange and to promote techniques to encourage that exchange. A female Master trainer suggested:

One thing that I can say from the Southern perspective is that you have got to get people who have a history of grassroots sport for development programming who have skills to eventually move up, so that eventually people can qualify for some of these jobs in the Directorates of Sport, in Ministries of Sport, in football and various other sport associations, in the UN, because I think when you come from

that background, it hopefully means you have more experience on the ground, you know what to look out for, you know what you are listening for.

Encouraging practitioners to engage actively in positions of influence with the support of those who are currently best situated to exercise power would disrupt dominant practices and influence the co-production of knowledge. Subjugated knowledges produced at the local level can provide alternatives to dominant discourses. It is one thing to state that co-production of knowledge is important, but sport for development practitioners, donors and academics must systematically examine colonial power relations that still pervade this field if any change is to occur.

In conclusion, the research findings contained in this chapter give the impetus for two recommendations. One, local knowledges should be recognized as valid knowledges and, two, links between donors, academics and practitioners must be nurtured in order to facilitate research that can meet multiple needs. If considered, these two recommendations increase the likelihood of a commitment to the co-production of knowledge. Co-production of knowledge that incorporates subjugated knowledges, can serve to challenge our collective imagination as to what valid knowledges related to sport for development can be. Young women are at a particular disadvantage in negotiating the power/knowledge nexus and have a unique contribution to make to the co-production of knowledge. As I have argued above, academia has an important role to play in supporting young women to participate in the co-production of knowledge. Academics are well placed to acknowledge, politicize and resist pervasive power relations, noting that the co-creation of knowledge is necessary to address the power relations that pervade the North/South dichotomy evident in sport for development.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The use of sport to achieve development goals can involve a “sport-plus” program that incorporates development objectives into a sport program (such as an after-school running club that meets once a week to discuss health issues), or a “plus-sport” program development project that uses sport to achieve its goals (such as a soccer match as a health promotion opportunity to raise awareness about preventing malaria with bed nets) (Mercy Corps, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> For example, NGOs such as Grassroots Soccer have worked with academics from Dartmouth College and Harvard.

<sup>3</sup> In examining the main organizations involved in Kicking AIDS Out the demographic of the heads of the organizations are as follows; NIF (male), OYAP (female), Sport in Action (male), Edusport (male), SCORE (male), PAY (male), SEDYL (female), CGC (male), MYSA (male), UK Sport (female) [with 7/10 (70%) being male]

<sup>5</sup> A review of the [www.sportanddev.org](http://www.sportanddev.org) database notes over 300 sport for development projects spanning the globe.

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**Chapter 2**

**Missing Pieces: Sex and Sexuality in Sport for HIV/AIDS Education**

**Sara Nicholls (MA Candidate)**

**University of Ottawa: Human Kinetics and Women's Studies**

### Abstract

While sex and sexuality are commonly understood as critical components of effective HIV/AIDS education (World Health Organization, 2008), sport for development organizations have yet to take up the issue of sexual health as a crucial component of HIV/AIDS education in a systematic way. Nevertheless, Kicking AIDS Out, an international network of organizations that uses sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS education, has begun to recognize the importance of sexual health. In September 2007, Kicking AIDS Out hosted a sex and sexuality pilot workshop to consider addressing these issues as part of its existing HIV/AIDS training for peer educators. Based on fieldwork conducted in the fall of 2007 in Namibia and South Africa, I examine how socio-cultural context, poverty and gender create an urgent need for enhanced understandings of sex and sexuality in organizations that use sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS education. Conclusions suggest that relying on education that addresses only the biological basics of HIV/AIDS education is no longer sufficient in the light of the complex and growing discourses concerning HIV/AIDS.

AIDS has been a plague of paradoxes, of concentric catastrophes, of disordered relations of power from the interpersonal to the international, the productive to the reproductive, the societal to the sexual. (Setel, 1999, p. 236)

Kicking AIDS Out is an international network of organizations that use sport<sup>1</sup> as a tool to facilitate Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)/Acquired Immunodeficiency Disease (AIDS) education activities. Many of the organizations that use Kicking AIDS Out's methodology to facilitate HIV/AIDS prevention have typically been narrow in focus, using sport to convey information and biological "facts" about issues like the transmission of the HIV virus. Nevertheless, interviews conducted with Kicking AIDS Out peer educators revealed that if Kicking AIDS Out is to meet the needs of peer educators and the youth affected by the programming these educators offer, several changes need to be made. The network must encourage the creation of safe spaces to explore issues of sex and sexuality, acknowledge the interlocking forms of oppression that frame sex as inherently dangerous, and incorporate sexual health and sexuality education that challenges normative and disciplinary understandings of sex into its HIV/AIDS peer education programming. In the following pages, I use a rights-based approach to explore why these changes are necessary. In my interviews with peer educators from the Kicking AIDS Out network, I argue that peer educators are often ignored by sport for development<sup>2</sup> policy makers and donors; therefore their "subjugated knowledges" about what they need to be effective educators need to be taken seriously when designing sport for development programs. I also contend that if sport for development truly aims to make an impact on the HIV/AIDS pandemic, its programs must include insights from both the international health movement and from peer educators (ICRW, 2008; Milburn, 1995; WHO, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c; WHO 2007). Finally, I suggest that comprehensive sexual health education needs to move beyond earlier, biology-based models of HIV/AIDS education.

## Sport as a Tool for HIV/AIDS Education and Kicking AIDS Out: The Context

### *The HIV/AIDS Pandemic*

HIV/AIDS is an infection that reflects and magnifies inequalities around the world (Nolan, 2007). Although it is inaccurate to speak of Africa as one homogenous continent, it is difficult to ignore the fact that Africa, and in particular sub-Saharan Africa, is being devastated by HIV/AIDS (Nduati & Wambui, 2000; Varga 2007; Wellings et al., 2006). The virus has cut a deep swath across the continent, destroying families, communities and nations, leaving a generation of orphans in its wake. HIV is overwhelmingly transmitted through intimate sexual activity (UNAIDS, 2008). Such activity is heavily influenced by the complex socio-political landscape of communities across the African continent (Lewis, 2005; Posel, 2004; Sachs, 2005; Wight et al., 2006), preventing many from accessing basic social service and opportunities.

### *HIV/AIDS: Facts and Figures*

The most recent figures released by UNAIDS & WHO (2007) reveal that 33.2 million people are living with HIV worldwide. Although HIV/AIDS is having a devastating impact in sub-Saharan Africa, the destruction is not limited to the region. Everyday over 6,800 persons are infected with HIV and 5,700 people die from AIDS worldwide. The main reasons for these deaths are inadequate access to HIV prevention and treatment services (UNAIDS & WHO, 2007). Regardless, sub-Saharan Africa remains the region most seriously affected by this disease. With an estimated 2.1 million deaths due to AIDS in 2007, Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for 76% of the total deaths due to AIDS worldwide (UNAIDS & WHO, 2007). More than 2 out of 3 (68%) of all adults and 90% of the total children infected with HIV live in this region (UNAIDS & WHO, 2007). Unlike the rest of the world where HIV/AIDS mostly affects males, in sub-Saharan Africa, almost 61% of adults living with HIV/AIDS in 2007 were women

(UNAIDS & WHO, 2007). South Africa is the country with the largest number of HIV infections in the world. Swaziland has the highest prevalence, as approximately one in four (26%) of adults (15-49 years) are infected with HIV (UNAIDS & WHO, 2007). Indeed, the 2008 International AIDS Conference in Mexico City underlined the need to focus on prevention strategies to affect any chance on the spread of HIV (UNAIDS, 2008).

Much is known about how HIV is transmitted and how this transmission can be prevented (UNAIDS, 2007). Transmission is linked with the failure to engage with socially and culturally appropriate tools to facilitate delivery of treatment and prevention programs aimed at those who need it most (UNAIDS, 2007). Recent research highlights the need to focus on holistic prevention interventions, which include comprehensive sex and sexuality training as well as a focus on life skills (ICRW, 2008). Without the inclusion of life skills and consideration of socio-cultural context, prevention efforts are proving to be insufficient (International Planned Parenthood Foundation (IPPF), 2006; UNAIDS, 2007). This recent research is particularly relevant for the field of sport for development. Yet, this field has traditionally neglected a holistic approach to prevention and education in favor of a more limited focus on biological facts.

For a multitude of reasons, women and girls are more vulnerable to HIV infection than are men and boys. Females aged 15-24 are three to four times more likely to become infected. Gendered power imbalances and inequalities linked to poverty make it difficult for women and girls to negotiate the complex web of economic, legal, political, cultural and psychosocial determinants of health (Baylie & Bujra, 2007; UNAIDS, 2007), therefore increasing their risk of infection (Maticka-Tyndale, 2001). Patton's (1994, 1999) extensive work on the gendering of

HIV/AIDS highlights that, “AIDS is not an equal opportunity disease” (p. vi); instead, it “reinforces social inequalities – of gender, of social status, of race and of sexuality” (p. vi).

The concept of “empowerment” is often used in the HIV/AIDS education field in an attempt to address the inequalities highlighted by Patton (1994; 1999). The empowerment of girls is a common practice in the HIV/AIDS education field. UNAIDS (2007) has recognized that “too few girls and women have access to information, sexuality education and reproductive health services that would empower them against HIV” (UNAIDS, p. 63). Empowerment, however, is a contested term, as issues of culture, class, race and community may restrict the level to which empowerment can really affect change for women. Although young women may feel empowered in the confines of a training course or on the sports field, systematic oppression in the home and community can make it difficult for this empowerment to extend any farther, particularly into sexual relationships. As the interviews with peer educators reveal below, it is this imbalance in power that makes simple transfer of “facts” about HIV transmission insufficient in programs that use sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS education. Girls in particular require more nuanced approaches to negotiating sex and their own sexuality in the face of oppressive gender relations.

Typically, the use of sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS education in Southern Africa has centred on the training of young peer educators to facilitate basic movement games, which are adapted to transmit a HIV/AIDS education message (Mwaanga, 2001; SDP IWG, 2006). Peer educators then facilitate frank discussions pertaining to the basic biology of HIV infection and the progression of HIV infection to AIDS with their peers. Peer educators also attempt to challenge the deep-rooted stigma HIV infection carries through discussion (Kruse, 2005; Lesko, 2007). Kicking AIDS Out does encourage a focus on life skills, such as communication skills.

The use of peer educators to deliver sport for development programs is valuable because peer groups can transmit information and teach life skills in a credible and nonthreatening way (Sethna, 2006). Peer education is arguably the most popular methodology for engaging young people in issues related to HIV/AIDS (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Shoveller & Johnson, 2006; UNAIDS, 1999). Research has shown that peer education is particularly relevant when discussing issues related to sexual health (Sethna, 2006). Still, for all the strengths of peer education, Campbell's (2004) research found that an important factor in the failure of HIV-prevention programs lies in over-confidence in the ability of peer educator programs to change behaviour significantly in marginalized communities, especially in the absence of appropriate partnerships with local health professionals. Chances of peer education success can only be enhanced by introducing complementary efforts to create supportive social environments through the building of alliances between peer educators and local health professionals in the community (Campbell, 2004; Majumdar & Roberts, 1998; Turner & Shepherd, 1999).

### *Sport for Development*

Sport for development is the use of sport as a tool to achieve international development and social change goals. Involving UN agencies, national governments, sport organizations and civil society, this field has shown significant growth in recent years. This chapter stems in part from optimism about the future of sport for development and the potential it has to expand its analysis to include a human rights and holistic health/sexuality approach. Although sport for development programs have not typically engaged with broader conceptions of health and human rights, access to education, social services, health care and economic opportunities all fall within common definitions of basic human rights. Further, the access and freedom to participate in sport is also considered a human right by the United Nations (UN, 1978). Sport in its broad definition

can be “both a tool for attaining development objectives and a right in its own” (Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG), 2007, p. 1). The growing acceptance of sport as a tool for social development (UN, 2003) has highlighted the intersections between human rights (WHO, 2007), sport (UNESCO, 1978) and access to social and health services (UN, 1948).

Kidd and Donnelly (2007) have noted that rights-based analysis involves a “commitment to human dignity” (p. 134). The basic right to participate in sport and leisure is enshrined in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) International Charter of Physical Education and Sport (1978) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1979). The UNESCO Charter states:

One of the essential conditions for the effective exercise of human rights is that everyone should be free to develop and preserve his or her physical, intellectual and moral powers, and that access to physical education and sport should consequently be assured and guaranteed for all human beings (n.p.)

Such rights-based documents have set the scene for the emergence of the field of sport for development. While there is no single, universally agreed rights-based approach, there may be an emerging consensus on the basic constituent elements in certain fields. Rights-based approaches have become crucial elements in development programs, with the growing importance placed on conceptions of accountability, empowerment and attention to vulnerable groups (Aggleton & Campbell, 2000; Armas, 2007).

A holistic rights-based approach has particular relevance for the issue of HIV/AIDS education because, as Glasier et al. (2006) have noted, “sexual and reproductive health is not only about disease, but a collection of related health and human rights issues” (p. 1598). The connections between sexual rights and human rights are readily acknowledged in health communities (Cornwall & Jolly, 2006; Germain & Woods, 2005; Gruskin et al., 2007).

Unfortunately, these connections are not often recognized in sport communities. In contrast, the World Health Organization (WHO) (2008) has identified sexual and reproductive health education as an essential component of effective HIV/AIDS education as well as a critical component of often neglected human rights.

While the “universality” of rights is often critiqued as being a neo-liberal Western notion (Giulianotti, 2004; Mohanty 2003), rights-based approaches to issues related to HIV/AIDS can assist organizations by highlighting the racialized and gendered aspects of the disease, and the ways in which marginalized populations can often be excluded from the category of “rights-bearing” individual. As Nussbaum (1999) and Moller Okin (1999) have persuasively argued, universal human rights often provide these marginalized groups with languages and concepts from which to articulate their claims. In the context of sport for development programs, a rights-based approach can also help to expand programs’ goals beyond simple transfer of facts and information to include goals such as empowering women and girls. (Moller Okin; Nussbaum)

The potential for expanding the scope of sport for development programs is beginning to be explored but needs further investigation. The sport for development community is at a critical juncture as calls for more evidence of the impact of sport for development are being met with an influx of anecdotal stories from the field; indeed, both scientific and anecdotal accounts of the benefits of the use of sport as a tool for development are beginning to surface. These accounts refer to sport’s ability to foster leadership, good citizenship and self-esteem (Maguire & Young, 2002), encourage gender equality (Brady, 2005a; Brady, 2005b, Brady & Khan, 2002) and promote HIV/AIDS education (Clark et al., 2006; Kruse, 2006; Mercy Corps, 2006; Mwaanga, 2001; Peacock-Villada, 2006) among youths. Groups such as the SDP IWG, an international working group of governments, civil society and UN agencies, are working to build the evidence

base, to entrench sport within the UN system, and to ensure that sport is recognized as a possible intervention to achieve development goals. Still, more could be done to temper scholars' work with contributions from peer educators.

Brady & Khan's (2002) work with the Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA) was one of the first studies that considered how sport environments can be safe spaces for young women to access social interventions. This study elucidated a clear picture of how participation in sport activities that intentionally address social development issues can have a positive effect on young women's lives (Brady & Khan). Brady (2005) next researched the Ishraq program in upper rural Egypt. In this project, she noted that the spaces created by programming specifically for young women in sport do more than challenge restrictive gender stereotypes. They also promote visibility in the public sphere, challenge male perceptions of the women's roles and contribute to the transformation of social norms. Brady's project set the stage for other academic studies in the field of sport for development. I seek to build on this emerging research to contend that by listening to the voices of grassroots peer educators—voices that have traditionally been subjugated by dominant powers like donors and Northern policy makers—sport for development programs like Kicking AIDS Out can expand their curriculum. An expanded curriculum needs to include a holistic and rights-based approach that will better address the needs of the participants and educators in the programs themselves.

### *Kicking AIDS Out*

Kicking AIDS Out is an international network of organizations that uses sport for HIV/AIDS peer education. Active since 1999, the Kicking AIDS Out network supports training and leadership development through sport and life skills programs. Kicking AIDS Out uses movement games, which are a selection of basic cooperative games that have been modified to

have an HIV/AIDS education component, to encourage understanding of the modalities of HIV/AIDS infection (Mwaanga, 2001). Kicking AIDS Out is, therefore, both a concept and a network which seeks to integrate sport and life skills through movement games, role playing, drama and other cultural and recreational activities. Kicking AIDS Out brings together sport organizations and NGOs to raise awareness about HIV/AIDS, to build life skills and to provide a forum for exchange and learning between organizations from different countries and continents (Kruse, 2006).

Peer educators are trained in a pyramid format. A select number of Master trainers are intimately involved in curriculum development and are responsible for training and supporting the Leader Level Twos (LL2s). LL2 are trained in advanced facilitation skills, high level HIV/AIDS education and advanced coaching. LL2s are then tasked with training Leader Level Ones (LL1s), who develop mid-level facilitation skills, HIV/AIDS education and coaching skills. LL1s are then tasked with training the peer educators who facilitate Kicking AIDS Out games in their communities and lead discussion groups with their peers. Between 2003 and 2006, the Kicking AIDS Out network trained 140 LL2s, 900 LL1s and countless others received some form of Kicking AIDS Out peer education training. Although the three different levels of peer educators have varied knowledge and experience in facilitating discussion around HIV/AIDS, the HIV/AIDS training that is provided is predominantly centred on biology with basic life skills and does not engage with issues of sex and sexuality.

In a Norwegian Aid (NORAD) commissioned study, Kruse (2006) conducted a survey of Kicking AIDS Out activities in Zambia and Tanzania. He sought to learn if there were significant differences between groups of young people who participated in Kicking AIDS Out activities and those who did not in terms of knowledge about HIV/AIDS prevention, attitudes and sexual

practices. Two main findings came from this study. First, there are only insignificant differences in the level of knowledge about HIV/AIDS and in attitudes to stigma and discrimination between participants exposed to Kicking AIDS Out activities and those who were not. The unexposed group reported only a slightly higher level of knowledge. Kicking AIDS Out activities are therefore having limited impact in spreading new knowledge and information about HIV/AIDS, stigma and discrimination. Kicking AIDS Out is, instead, reinforcing knowledge through games and sports which are gained through other channels, such as school or the media. Second, Kruse found a notable difference between the groups in their ability to make independent decisions and say no in matters of sex and also on the level of self-confidence. Those who had Kicking AIDS Out training were able to make more decisive decisions and say no more confidently. Kruse further acknowledged that an individual's decision making skills and self-confidence are critical in reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS.

In examining how to move toward peer education that is more effective, Kruse (2006) recommended the inclusion of HIV positive youth, young people with disabilities and the involvement and participation of girls and young women at all levels of Kicking AIDS Out. He also recommended that members of the Kicking AIDS Out network strengthen their HIV/AIDS competence and counseling skills to improve the quality of peer education. Kruse's findings highlighted that young people in Southern Africa are saturated with HIV/AIDS messaging and that the opportunity for Kicking AIDS Out lies not in spreading basic facts, but in expanding life skills to include sex and sexuality training. Kicking AIDS Out must beware of assumptions around HIV status, ability and sexuality to ensure that the numerous rights of young people are considered in the planning and development of curriculum.

Feedback from peer educators that I discuss below indicates that they feel ill-equipped to

deal with the wide spectrum of sex and sexuality issues connected to HIV/AIDS. Kruse's findings and the insights of peer educators I interviewed, all point to the importance of integrating training around sex and sexuality into the Kicking AIDS Out training and programs. There is evidence that Kicking AIDS Out is open to the approach outlined by Kruse (2006). Kicking AIDS Out recently explored the possibility of integrating sex and sexuality as a unit within LL2 training to complement existing peer education training. In October 2007, the City of Toronto Public Health Unit and the Kicking AIDS Out Secretariat piloted a sex and sexuality workshop that explored issues such as the self as a sexual being and sexual taboos as part of a LL2 refresher course in Botswana. Nevertheless, there remains hesitation to embrace fully this approach, as sport for development practitioners tend to focus on what they do best: sport.

Before considering peer educators' views on the inclusion of a broader sex, sexual health and sexuality approach to HIV prevention and education, it is important to examine the context for discussions of sex and sexuality among youth in the groups facilitated by Kicking AIDS Out educators. Stigma, racism, neo-colonial relations of power and gendered power imbalances all create a complicated environment for young peer educators and the youth with which they work. This environment contributes, in turn, to the subjugation of peer educators' opinions and insights about the education they create and deliver. The knowledges produced by local peer educators, most of whom are young, black, African women, is devalued. According to Foucault (1975), this knowledge is "subjugated". Foucault considered subjugated knowledges to be a "whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity" (p. 13). I use the terms "local" and "grassroots" to describe these subjugated knowledges interchangeably to highlight where the knowledge is being produced and to call

attention to the way these terms (local and grassroots) are frequently disqualified as unscientific. Subjugated, local and grassroots knowledges rarely influences policy making or curriculum decisions about sport for development programs. Indeed, addressing young peer educators' needs is not seen as critical to the success of a sport for development intervention. Material concerning sex and sexuality is marginalized or ignored for many of the same reasons that the peer educators' knowledge is ignored. Further, the peer educators themselves can be caught up in the legacy of colonization that still positions young African women as hypersexual.

### A Complicated Landscape: Sex and Sexuality

Sex – that agency which appears to dominate us and that secret which seems to underlie all that we are, that point which enthralls us through the power it manifests and the meaning it conceals, and which we ask to reveal what we are and to free us from what defines us – is doubtless but an ideal point made necessary by the deployment of sexuality and its operation. (Foucault, 1990, p. 155)

Sex and sexuality occupy contradictory space in contemporary society. Overt expressions of sexuality pervade the media, but when it comes to frank and candid discussions of safe sex and young people as sexual beings, the topic is subject to many taboos and stigmas. HIV infection, which progresses to AIDS is a sexually transmitted disease that is particularly stigmatized in disciplinary discourses about sexual activity (Foucault, 1990). Consider for example, American President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief<sup>3</sup> (PEPFAR). It refuses to provide funding to HIV/AIDS education programs that discuss condom use, or abortion, or any other prevention model beyond abstinence. PEPFAR is an example of the coercive imposition of conservative religious American values that are highly politically motivated and aim to build domestic support for President George W. Bush (Center for Health and Gender Equity, 2008; Mauldon & Luker, 1996).

While sex positive literature and the public health field have made great strides in framing sex and sexuality as positive issues, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has resulted in increasingly negative connotations for all sexual activity. The concept of sex as a dangerous act has emerged from “discourses aimed at sex, intensifying people’s awareness of it as a constant danger” (Foucault, 1990, p. 31). Taboos surrounding sex have resulted in a repressive environment that has driven discussions of sex and sexuality underground, creating ripe conditions for HIV/AIDS to spread as the disease feeds on misinformation.

The normative and disciplinary power of discourses are also pertinent to this thesis as conservative religious values have a large influence on the donor-driven world of sport for development, where donors and facilitators determine the acceptability of the information to which the peer educators have access. Such information contains stereotypes of race and sexuality that hyper sexualize black women thereby creating reinforcing visions of the “other” (Sander, 1985). Sport for development participants and facilitators alike become the recipients of information about sex that is wrapped up in racialized and gendered notions of its dangers.

Stoler’s (1995) analysis allows for the examination of disciplinary regimes and how they both create identities and subjugate the experiences of non-white, female subjects. A feminist post-colonial interpretation of the factors that contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS acknowledges the interlocking nature of gender, sexuality, race and poverty. In particular, post-colonial and feminist work challenges the homogeneity of “women of colour” or “women of the South” and ensure that varied experiences have voices in academic analysis. Such an analysis takes into consideration how differences of race (Razak, 1998), ethnicity (Said, 1979), class (hooks, 2000) and lived experience (Mohanty, 2003) influence the experience of and resistance

to power at the community, national and international levels. Being gender and race sensitive is essential to a nuanced understanding of the sport for development field.

As sport increasingly becomes a mechanism to achieve development goals as well as a tool of international influence (UK Sport, 2008), the colonial legacy of attitudes towards sexuality and sport cannot be ignored (Schwery, 2003). As Stoler (1995) explained, “[d]iscourses about sexual contagions, moral contamination and reproductive sterility were not applicable to any and all whites, nor were they freefloating, generalized pronouncements that treated all bodies equally susceptible and the same” (p. 176). This racialized understanding of sexuality has had far reaching implications for the debate on sexually transmitted infections. Sexual contagions and sexual immorality are disproportionately associated with bodies of colour. Sexually transmitted diseases are read, therefore, as indications of moral worth or guilt (Stoler). The impact of colonialism on the understanding of health issues should not be overlooked as racist interpretations of the cause and spread of disease continue to mark black bodies as hyper-sexual (Sander, 1985), dirty and diseased (Kelm, 1998).

While the United States has linked conservative religious values to debates of sex and sexuality, these values have also been accepted by many African leaders as well. For example, homosexuality is illegal in many African nations, resulting in a strong homophobic undercurrent (Mugabe, 1995). Conservative religious African leaders have contributed to shaping the debate on sexuality. Not surprisingly, the sport for HIV/AIDS education environment is not immune to these influences. As sport moves into development and health education territory, those involved must be aware that sport as a tool for development can be a vehicle for neo-colonial sexual health discourses and a means by which to impose conservative religious values. As noted by a participant, sport for development initiatives are most certainly not “value free.” The interviews

below reveal that peer educators work in programs shaped by notions about the dangers of sex, as well as by colonial constructions of the hyper-sexualized black body.

### Methodology & Methods

Participation makes it possible to facilitate transformative processes (Kirby & McKenna, 1989), and for this reason a feminist participatory approach informs this research. A feminist participatory approach involves partnership between the researcher and research participants in order to understand mutually the constraints exerted on people's experiences and to explore options for transformation (Frisby et al., 2005). I recognize that my position as a young, white, female, Western academic affects the power dynamics of this process and that I am accorded multiple class and race privileges (McIntosh, 2007). Having built varying degrees of trust with all of the participants involved in this thesis during my seven years of involvement in the sport for development field, and by including the participants in each step of the research process, I have tried to acknowledge and mitigate the potentially negative relations of power created by my position as researcher.

It is important to problematize the categories of analysis that I use in this thesis. Indeed, I acknowledge that the categories of "women," "youth,"<sup>4</sup> "African" and "people living with HIV/AIDS" are complex and frequently oversimplified. Attempts to be sensitive to the ambiguities and complexities of these categories and to recognize the inherent diversity that is contained within them have been made (Shoveller & Johnson, 2006). A feminist participatory action research (F-PAR) approach informed by multiple case studies was employed. This approach allowed for intensive, detailed analyses of individual situations in order to understand better common experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). F-PAR privileges women's contributions to research projects and highlights how gender interlocks with other axes of oppression, such as

race, class and ability (Frisby et al., 2005). F-PAR encourages movement from theory to praxis (Frisby et al.). When utilized with multiple case studies F-PAR challenges broad categorization of the experiences of “Africans” or “women” and instead offers a more nuanced understanding of lives at the community level.

In total, 17 members of the Kicking AIDS Out network participated in semi-structured interviews lasting between 45 minutes and two hours that were conducted either by me or by my research assistant, Lucinda van den Heever. Of the 17 interviews, one funder (male), three administrators (two men, one woman) five LL1s, (women) three LL2s (one male, two women) and five Master Trainers (two man, three women) from Botswana, Canada, Kenya, Lesotho, Namibia, Norway and South Africa participated in this thesis, providing a cross section of views from various network partners. Master Trainers, LL2 and LL1 are all peer educators, each with an increased skill level. These interviews were conducted after the completion of the Kicking AIDS Out pilot sex and sexuality workshop. Emphasis was placed on recruiting female peer educators to participate in this thesis. Their recruitment spoke to the multiple layers of socio-political and cultural challenges to the high HIV/AIDS infection rates faced by young women in Southern Africa and to the fact that over 60% of Kicking AIDS Out peer educators are female. All participants were over the age of 14 and interviewed in English with small segments conducted in Xhosa when necessary. Lucinda van den Heever, also a Master Trainer, played a critical role in navigating the community processes, translating/interpreting when necessary and ensuring that community members were informed of this thesis’ scope and potential impact. Although F-PAR encourages the inclusion of biographical information of interviewees, I have limited this information to sex and Kicking AIDS Out training level. I have done this consciously

as the Kicking AIDS Out network is small. Thus, any further descriptors would compromise the participants' requested anonymity.

In the spirit of F-PAR, interview questions were developed and refined in collaboration with the interviewees, and two key informants. As key informants, Lucinda van den Heever, a young South African female and Séodhna Keown, a young Canadian female based in Namibia, served a critical role in shaping the scope of this thesis. Snowball sampling, a form of purposeful sampling where knowledgeable participants help to recruit other participants (Cresswell, 1998), was used to locate interview participants. Peer educators were asked about their roles as peer educators, what support they needed to be successful, and the challenges they face in facilitating sport for HIV/AIDS education. The questions posed included: "How do you promote sexual health and HIV/AIDS education in a sport and physical activity setting?", "Sexual health and HIV/AIDS can be difficult topics to discuss. How do you feel that sport and physical activity environment create a space to discuss these issues?" and "Do you feel that you have the skills to deal with issues of sex and sexuality? If not what do you need to address these issues?" All interviews were transcribed verbatim and participants were provided a copy for verification, personal record, and feedback purposes. Nvivo 7, a computer-based qualitative analysis tool (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Richards, 2005), was used to code the data, thus preparing it for thematic grouping and discourse analysis. A preliminary set of themes were sent to the interviewees for feedback and validation.

#### Listening to Subjugated Knowledges: What Peer Educators Have to Say

According to the peer educators who were interviewed, if Kicking AIDS Out is to meet the needs of the peer educators and the youth affected by programming, the network must encourage the creation of safe spaces to understand better their sexuality, acknowledge the

interlocking forms of oppression that frame sex as dangerous, and incorporate sexual health and sexuality education that challenges normative and disciplinary understandings of sex into its HIV/AIDS peer education programming. Listening to peer educators would encourage sport for development programs such as Kicking AIDS Out to re-imagine the scope and complexity of the programs they develop as well as to find ways to better meet peer educators' needs.

### *Safe Spaces*

A male Kicking AIDS Out Master Trainer stated that currently there are few safe spaces to have sensitive discussions about sex and sexuality,

HIV and AIDS rate will continue to rise, why, because there is no safe space to discuss issues, there is no safe space to build relationships... to be able to share and learn ... I think that it is important for girls at some point to be given a safe space where they can share their issues.

The gendered aspect of the need for safe spaces was found to be particularly prominent when discussing young women's heightened vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. The importance of considering gender issues was highlighted by a female LL2: "what happens in our African cultures is that sexuality would be addressed in a very polite manner, but when it comes to women's issues in terms of sexuality, yo! There are too many bad things coming up." The peer educators confirmed Patton's (1994, 1999) assertion that HIV/AIDS is a gendered pandemic and argued that HIV/AIDS education needs to address gender relations to be effective. In particular, they highlighted the need for safe spaces where youth feel comfortable enough to speak honestly about the challenges they face in relation to their own sexuality.

The Kicking AIDS Out administration acknowledges the need for safe spaces, but has yet to expand formally the concept to encompass issues of sex and sexuality. Ideal peer education opportunities create an environment where young people can discuss a wide range of sexual behavioural possibilities and develop accounts of alternative behavioural norms and options in

their own terminology. The definition of safe space traditionally stands as a site free from harassment, discrimination and/or stigma (Brady & Kahn, 2002). The health profession has recognized the importance of safe spaces for young people as a place to access HIV/AIDS information, as well as to discuss issues and find support (UNAIDS, 2007). A safe space to deal with sensitive issues is crucial to creating a holistic learning environment. Indeed, youth programs are most effective when they exist in intentionally inclusive and systematically non-discriminatory environments, in which to identify and confront personal issues (Johnston et al., 2004). Further, Campbell & MacPhail (2002) noted that if peer educators are to have a lasting impact beyond “a superficial empowerment of their participants” (p. 342), then young people must be given the opportunity to develop the necessary learning environments.

A male Kicking AIDS Out Master Trainer noted the role of culture in subverting discussions of sexual health and sexuality in HIV/AIDS education settings, which contributes to a lack of available safe spaces:

In our society, where talking about sex is a problem, especially in Botswana... people do things secretly and then if [it is] heard that you are doing it, you will be stigmatized ...if our kids were comfortable with their sexual bodies ...then they would not be fearing to talk about it, which has made AIDS a big problem.

This insight is particularly important because it highlights the connections between stigma, secrecy and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Preventing HIV transmission for this Master Trainer is not simply a matter of giving youth “information” about the disease. Effective prevention requires being comfortable enough with sex and sexuality at a societal level that youth can speak openly. In order for this type of dialogue to occur, the peer educators must acknowledge themselves as sexual beings and learn about their bodies in a holistic manner, not only from a biological perspective. Here again “local” knowledges can be used to inform emerging research at the global level on the importance of an interlocking and broad-based approach to HIV/AIDS

education that includes discussions of sex and sexuality. The above quote also reflects the need to cultivate actively these discussions. Sport for development programs can play an important role if they expand their concept of education from a simple model of transferring facts about HIV/AIDS and building basic life skills to a holistic model that includes sexual health and sexuality education.

### *Discourses of Danger*

In addition to the need for safe spaces to discuss sex, it was noted that the topic of sex itself was viewed as inherently dangerous. A female Kicking AIDS Out Master trainer acknowledged that the notion of dangers of sex are pervasive in her experiences with HIV/AIDS education:

I think HIV and AIDS or any sexually transmitted disease has everything to do with human behaviour, relationships, how we relate to our bodies, our values, our religion, our culture and so much of the education that is happening ... is a lot about protect yourself from, protect, protect, protect, use condoms, abstain, but a lot of the work jumps right into the heavy stuff without allowing the individual to journey inward to explore their own values around their sexuality, how they feel about their bodies, exploring body image, exploring issues around self esteem and I think inevitably, a curriculum that ignores sexual health, is only really attacking half of the picture.

Another female Kicking AIDS Out LL 2 noted that potentially dangerous sexual behaviour and poverty are intimately connected:

I think, yes, there is definitely a disconnect in the sense that AIDS is so much bigger than just the virus, there is the gender issues, there is the fact that women cannot negotiate condom use, there is that problem of poverty right? You can tell me not to have unprotected sex, but then if at the end of the day that is the only way that I can get some money to feed my kids, then what?

Importantly, both of the above comments reflect an interlocking understanding of the ways poverty, gender and power interact to shape young people's choices about sex. Further comments also point to the impact of colonial conceptions of sex and sexuality. Without examining the larger issues, HIV/AIDS education efforts will be irrelevant.

*Sex & Sexuality*

In a developing country context, disciplinary discourses about sex produced by donors and imposed on recipients has resulted in the imposition of conservative American values and the assumption that these values are more “civilized” than those held by “backward” countries (Said, 1979). Conservative religious values are embedded in this colonial discourse as colonial expansion was linked to the spread of conservative religious doctrine. A female Kicking AIDS Out Master Trainer reflected on the values that come with sport for development programs saying,

We are not very value neutral – we spread Western values of self choice, and women’s rights and equality and those things ... and we don’t often talk to them about why the rules are the way that they are and we don’t really often try to understand things like polygamy, we often just judge it as against our values and therefore wrong.

Comments such as the above point to the need for an expanded understanding of peer education that moves from a simple model of the transmission of facts to a pedagogy that acknowledges the historical context that peer educators and participants face. For peer educators, transforming this model means allowing for a broader mandate as well as for more resources and training. HIV/AIDS has changed the world that young people are growing up in and as such communication skills, assertiveness and a strong sense of self are necessary to navigate the myriad challenges posed by the infection (Campbell, 2004; Campbell et al., 2005; Gordon & Mwale, 2006). In peer education programs there are often many assumptions made about the homogenous nature of youth. The assumption of heteronormativity is pervasive in development discourses, with the literature tending to make sweeping generalizations about youth sexuality (MacPhail & Campbell, 2006). Rural youth, youth who have tested HIV positive, LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer) youth, youth with disabilities, and youth working in the sex trade all have profoundly different experiences with the disease (UNICEF et al., 2002);

therefore, they require different programs to address these different experiences. Further complicating peer education is that the majority of information about HIV/AIDS portrays sex as a dangerous, immoral, largely heterosexual penetrative act that is devoid of any analysis of the roles gender, race, and class play in the spread of the infection (Shoveller & Johnson, 2006). Ensuring that people living with HIV/AIDS, people with a disability and LGBTQ youth have access to sexual and reproductive health services would contribute to ensuring that human rights are upheld for all. This approach resists a one size fits all approach to sport for HIV/AIDS education.

Currently, much is expected of Kicking AIDS Out peer educators although there are few resources and little community support available to them. A common theme in comments by peer educators was the pressure they felt to know everything related to HIV/AIDS, and the minimal opportunity they have to find the answers. A female Master trainer explained that:

[y]ou can't expect peer leaders to have all the answers, but you can expect them to refer people to people who do know the answers to things, and to build up good relationships, so when they are referred, it is comfortable and it's safe, and it's not humiliating.

This comment, and others like it, point to the valuable insights gained from listening to peer educators and exploring the knowledge they gain from working at the grassroots level. As noted earlier, Campbell's (2004) research found that HIV/AIDS prevention programs can expect too much from peer educators. The problem of HIV/AIDS is massive and peer educators cannot alone be expected to halt the spread of the disease. Indeed, there is a pressing need to manage expectations at the organizational level. Developing curriculum and training programs for educators that take a holistic approach, combining facts approach and life skills with an interlocking analysis of the context for HIV transmission is of central importance to the peer educators with whom I spoke.

Earlier in this study, I noted Kruse's (2006) recommendations for the inclusion of HIV positive youth, young people with disabilities and for the involvement and participation of girls and young women at all levels of Kicking AIDS Out. He also recommended that members of the Kicking AIDS Out network strengthen their HIV/AIDS competence and counseling skills in an effort to improve quality in the encounters between peer educators. I would take these recommendations one step farther. It is no longer acceptable for the sport community to rest on its laurels and to only recognize a responsibility to sport. If Kicking AIDS Out is to enact any meaningful change in the area of HIV/AIDS prevention, the network must officially recognize that HIV/AIDS and sexual health are inextricably linked. I recommend that the network employ a rights-based, holistic approach that formally entrenches sex and sexuality within any effective HIV/AIDS education program, whether the vehicle for education is the arts, music, textbooks or sport.

### Conclusion

Some people are saying this is way outside of our scope as coaches and as trainers and as sport for development NGOs - that we never wanted to get in the business of sexual health, but if you are claiming that our programs have an impact at the community level – that we facilitate dialogue around HIV/AIDS, then you need to acknowledge that HIV and AIDS is a sexual health issue – then build the skill set here, because we are not giving the full picture. (Female Kicking AIDS Out Master Trainer)

Thus far, networks such as Kicking AIDS Out have focused on what they are good at: promoting good sport leadership and creating vibrant sporting environments. Although many sport for development organizations facilitate HIV/AIDS education, their approach is often devoid of discussions of sexual health and sexuality and, as such, fail to meet peer educators' and participants' holistic, multifaceted needs. While northern knowledges are at present privileged over knowledges from peer educators, in the broad sport for development field, Kicking AIDS Out is demonstrating a willingness listen to the needs of peer educators. Young peer educators

are calling for the inclusion of sex and sexuality in their peer education training in order to enable them to be as effective as possible. The pilot sex and sexuality workshop I referred to earlier is a step toward giving peer educators access to materials that can support their understanding of themselves and others as sexual beings. Peer educators need to be fully prepared to speak about complex issues, including taboos, sex, and sexuality. Further, they need access to tools to cultivate a safe space in which these discussions can take place. As a result, local knowledges and community requests for training must be respected by considering local taboos dealing with an abundance of myths, and by consulting the young people who facilitate and receive programming (Grant et al., 2004). Certainly, the AIDS pandemic makes it necessary to challenge stigma and silence in order to be able to understand how central sexuality and sexual rights are to “human dignity” (Kidd & Donnelly, 2000).

My purpose in this chapter is not to prescribe solutions, programs or interventions. Instead, my purpose is to share insights from peer educators in the field of sport for development and to make recommendations that will enhance their work at the grassroots level. I wish to support the young people who are peer educators by examining one aspect of the peer educator experience: the needs of peer educators in creating an environment for a more holistic education regarding sex and sexuality. This chapter serves as a starting point for the sport for development field to consider the needs of peer educators who want to use sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS education beyond rote biological facts about HIV/AIDS and basic life skills. The public health field has long recognized that effective HIV/AIDS education involves extensive understanding of sex and sexuality. If the sport for development field begins to incorporate sex and sexuality into peer education efforts, it is important that the interlocking issues which fuel the HIV/AIDS epidemic are addressed. Kicking AIDS Out needs to be cognizant of both colonizing and cultural

influences, which are both contradictory and powerful in developing programming for peer educators. By creating space for the inclusion of sex and sexuality in sport for HIV/AIDS education programming, organizations that use sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS education will recognize their responsibility to address the multi-faceted, holistic needs of participants.

It is not necessary to subscribe to the romanticized proclamations about the power of sport to change lives radically to acknowledge the potential of sport to create an environment for social change. In sub-Saharan Africa, the social change agenda is firmly linked to HIV/AIDS as the disease affects massive portions of the population. Indeed, the time has come to move beyond basic biological information and basic life skills in peer education training to encourage instead the development of a rights-based comprehensive sex and sexuality education that equips young people with the skills they need to be effective as peer educators (IPPF, 2006). By involving young people in the program design and delivery process, there is an opportunity to develop relevant HIV/AIDS education interventions that incorporate sex and sexuality to support personal learning and are increasingly effective.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Sport can be defined in the broad sense as encompassing “all forms of physical activity which through casual or organized participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being, forming social relationships or obtaining results in competition at all levels” (Schwery, 2003, p. 15)

<sup>2</sup> The terms ‘sport for development,’ ‘sport-in-development’ and ‘development through sport’ are used inter-changeably to note the conscious use of sport to achieve social development objectives. See Levermore, R & Beacom (Eds.) (2008) for more on this debate.

<sup>3</sup> PEPFAR is a massive initiative of the American government which seeks to target 15 countries (12 of which are in Southern Africa) with \$322 million (2004-2006 budget) with the colonial economically manipulative practice of tying education (abstain from sex as the only modality of sexual health) to funding and refusing to support initiatives that endorse condom use (Gordon & Mwale, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> The UN uses the following guidelines to describe young people: i) adolescents: 10-19 year olds (early adolescence 10-14; late adolescents 15-19), ii) youth: 15-24 years old, and iii) young people 10-24 years old (UNFPFAB, 2008).

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Chapter 3

Sport as a Tool for HIV/AIDS Education: A Potential Catalyst for Change

Sara Nicholls (MA Candidate)

University of Ottawa: Human Kinetics and Women's Studies

and

Dr. Audrey R. Giles, Assistant Professor

School of Human Kinetics, University of Ottawa

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“...sport is not instinctively seen as a vehicle for social development, but used creatively; it can involve, educate, protect and mobilize the young people who participate.”

-Stephen Lewis UN Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa  
(Commonwealth Games Canada, 2002)

Just five months following the Toronto AIDS Conference, which drew over 20,000 delegates from around the world, Canadians marked World AIDS Day 2006 with little fanfare. Perhaps we should not be surprised that the event garnered so little attention. Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper did not attend the Toronto AIDS Conference, and thus appears unwilling to see AIDS as a Canadian problem that demands urgent attention. Prime Minister Harper did not attend because the conference had become “too politicized” (Ubelacker, 2006). Of course AIDS is politicized, could an issue that magnifies oppression and poverty be anything but political? Such inaction further contributes to the notion that AIDS is an ‘African problem’, not important enough for consideration within the borders of the developed world (Larkin & Mitchell, 2004). Consequently, the many faces of AIDS in Canada, especially those of Aboriginal<sup>1</sup> women and Aboriginal youth, remained hidden and silenced. This sad glimpse into the Government of Canada’s priorities gives insight into the post-colonial legacy of shame, blame and silence that plagues the AIDS epidemic as it sweeps the globe and makes its indelible mark on Canadian history.

What follows is a discussion of HIV/AIDS<sup>2</sup>, its impact on Aboriginal youth and women, an acknowledgment of the intersectionality of issues which magnify vulnerability to this epidemic and the ways in which sport<sup>3</sup> might be used to combat high rates of HIV infection. The international community has begun to utilize sport and physical activity as a means to address the poverty driven cycle of HIV/AIDS by creating a platform for education in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean and to initiate community dialogue and to break down barriers of stigma and

discrimination that are endemic to the disease. Although Canada is a leader in the international use of sport for development, and particularly in the use of sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS education, this learning has not been applied domestically. A policy level mandate exists to use sport for social development and health education in Canada, therefore laying the political foundation for the beginning of a domestic strategy, but issues of colonial legacy, collaboration and power dynamics must be continually examined in the process. Although not a panacea, sport can play an innovative and creative role in reaching out to populations who may not feel connected to traditional public health or sexual education approaches. In his 2006 World AIDS Day address, Kofi Annan, the former Secretary General of the United Nations stated, “[AIDS] has become the greatest challenge of our generation” (Annan, 2006). The power of sport has been underutilized in Canada and the rates of AIDS both globally and domestically demand that we employ all the tools at our disposal – including sport - to address this challenge because, if left unchecked, HIV/AIDS will not merely define our generation, but will instead destroy it.

This paper seeks to bring to the foreground the potential use of sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS education in Canada with the hope of stimulating further dialogue as to the concerns, challenges and possibilities of building on international initiatives and the potential to make a lasting, culturally appropriate contribution to stemming the tide of HIV infection in Aboriginal populations within Canada. Starting with an examination of the international movement of sport for development to situate the discussion of the role of sport for development in Canada, this paper will discuss the Euro-Canadian colonial legacy of domination as well as post-colonial thought and the potential for its use within the realm of sport, physical activity and health. In particular, colonial legacies will be connected to a historical understanding of the HIV/AIDS crisis facing Aboriginal peoples today. After illustrating how the Aboriginal sport movement has

been successful in resisting colonial expressions of domination, we provide insight into potential uses of sport to tackle the issues outlined above. Specific examples of how sport has been used in the global context and a sampling of these programs' results will be provided. Finally Canadian strategies to address the HIV/AIDS crisis will be discussed, and potential links between the health, sport and development sector will be proposed in order to ascertain the potential use of sport for HIV/AIDS education in Canada.

### *How Can Sport Play a Role?*

Sport for development, also known as development through sport or sport for development and peace, is a relatively new movement that uses the convening power of sport to address social, health and development issues (Kent, 2005; Swiss Academy for Development and Cooperation (SADC), 2005). This can be differentiated from sport development, which focuses on the development of sport structures and sport capacity, for example coaching (SADC, 2005). Sport for development focuses not only on the development of the sport, but also on the development of individuals, communities and nations. Development is a problematic term, often considered to be a finite solution to the challenges of the world. Nevertheless, development is not a linear process, but is instead a process of change that involves many factors (Fletcher, 2003) and is the site of hotly contested debates on what development is, if it is necessary and who benefits from the often uncritically accepted hegemonic goals of development (Parpart, 2004). For the purpose of this paper, we employ a definition of sport for development that draws on community-based capacity building practices that are committed to privileging traditional knowledge (Ristock & Pennel, 1996; Smith, 1999), connect this definition to efforts on the international stage to use sport as a tool to achieve social, health and development goals, and then, with care, extend it to the Canadian context.

In 2001, the former President of Switzerland, Adolf Ogi, was appointed as the Special Advisor to the United Nations (UN) Secretary General on Sport for Development and Peace. Ogi was mandated to engage the world of sport to promote the work and ideals of the UN, while building connections with other UN bodies such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (UN, 2006). Ogi's work has been linked to attempts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) - eight global development goals that if achieved by 2015 will radically change the face of our world, as well as to contribute to achieving the objectives of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (UN, 2006), which both highlight the potential of sport to achieve development goals.

In 2002, the UN Secretary General commissioned an interagency task force to examine the use of sport for development and peace in a coordinated and systematic manner (UN, 2003). This taskforce was challenged to identify existing sport for development activities and thus encourage UN bodies to use sport as a tool to achieve the MDGs, recognizing that, to date, the majority of activities had been "ad hoc, informal and isolated" (UN, 2003, p.1). The taskforce found that "well-designed sport-based initiatives are practical and cost-effective tools to achieve objectives in development and peace" (UN, 2003, p.v). In addition, this task force found that sport can play a role as "a vehicle to help mitigate the spread and impact of HIV/AIDS" (UN, 2003, p.22).

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of November 2003, Resolution 58/5 of the General Assembly titled, "Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace," was passed in the UN and created the impetus to declare 2005 the International Year of Sport and Physical Education (IYSPE), thus recognizing the power of sport to make active contributions to the MDGs. Goal

number six calls for the halting and reversal of the spread of HIV/AIDS (UN, 2000). Quite often developed countries do not recognize the need to commit to addressing development goals with their own borders, and instead only focus on outward development of 'Others'. Sadly, indicators are showing that the MDGs' targets are not being met; nevertheless, this declaration creates a formal mechanism for sport to contribute to the MDGs (UN, 2003).

Building on Ogi's work, the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) was created in 2004 with a four year mandate to "engage and work with national governments on policy recommendations to support the integration of sport and physical activity into their national and international development strategies and programs" (SDP IWG, 2006, p.1). At the 2006 Torino Paralympic Games, the SDP IWG presented "From Practice to Policy," a document that recognizes many development through sport activities have sprung from the grassroots and typically in the absence of a policy frameworks, which has severely impeded a coordinated approach to sport for development efforts. By examining a diverse cross-section of the countries that are involved in either funding or implementing sport for development initiatives, the SDP IWG has outlined challenges and successes that can be used to formulate the policy recommendations that will shape the final report to be tabled at the 2008 Summer Olympic Games in Beijing.

Canada became involved in sport for development after the meeting of the Commonwealth Committee on Development through Sport in 1991 (SDP IWG, 2006), during planning for the 1994 Commonwealth Games in Victoria, British Columbia. As a part of the legacy of the Games, the then Chair of the Commonwealth Heads of Government (CHOGM) Committee on Cooperation through Sport, the Honorable Roy McMurty, challenged Canada to take up sport as a tool for social development and to demonstrate leadership (SDP IWG, p. 120).

From this challenge, Commonwealth Games Canada (CGC) created the International Development through Sport Unit, mandated to use sport for social development in the Caribbean and Africa. CGC's work is supported by Patrioine canadien/Canadian Heritage (PCH) and the Agence canadienne de développement international/Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Interestingly, there is no formal definition of terms or policy related to development through sport used by PCH and CIDA; however, "the operating understanding is that 'sport for development' means the use of sport for individual and social development" (SDP IWG, p.120), while 'sport' is "used in its broadest terms and includes everything from physical activity to high-performance competition" (SDP IWG, p.120).

Canada has supported development through sport from its very conception at CHOGM and presently supports international policy development through contributions to the SDP IWG, while CGC and Right to Play, an athlete driven international humanitarian organization, receive program support. As such, Canada is in a unique position to draw on policy and program experience to create a forum for domestic use of sport for development. In 2005, the Honourable Stephen Owen, Minister of Western Economic Diversification and Minister of State (Sport) convened an "experts" roundtable on international and domestic development through sport. This meeting served as an opportunity to begin discussing the possibility of Canadian strategy for sport for development and peace. Owen stated, "With what we have learned from this roundtable, we will be able to develop a strategy for Canada to advance this important movement, both domestically and internationally" (Owen, 2005, p.1). Although the roundtable provided an interesting opportunity to initiate dialogue, post-roundtable action has been limited, as was Aboriginal participation, therefore highlighting challenges and concerns to sustainability, cultural relevance and appropriate collaborative process (Kent, 2005). Policy development has

been a source of oppression and assimilation of Aboriginal peoples throughout Canadian history and, as a result, any progress in the use of sport as a tool for development at both the policy and program level must be led by Aboriginal peoples for Aboriginal peoples. In order to understand the ways in which sport for development may move forward, it is important to understand the policies and the contexts in which they were created and how they have contributed to an uneven distribution of resources that marginalize and oppress Aboriginal peoples in Canada, thus creating the need for sport for development initiatives in Aboriginal communities.

*Theoretical Understanding: Colonialism in the Past, Present and Future*

Collaboration in the use of sport for development between government policymakers and Aboriginal peoples necessitates an understanding of colonialism and its legacy, as well as a theoretical understanding of the ways in which power can be exercised. The term colonialism is one laden with many interpretations (Abercrombie et al., 2000), but can generally be defined as, “the policy or practice of acquiring political control over another [country], occupying it [with settlers] and exploiting it economically” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2006, p. 282), or more simply, “a system of domination” (Frankenberg & Mani, 1993, p. 293). Colonialism involves the interruption and destruction of culture by European imperialism (Smith, 1999). While colonialism implies a physical presence of the oppressor, imperialism implies a hegemonic dominance from afar. Unfortunately in Canada, both colonialism and imperialism abound. As a result, conducting research into the legacy of colonialism requires “a careful, thoughtful approach towards power relations” (Giles, 2004, p.12), especially in developing discussions of Aboriginal health within the context of dominance and oppression that colour colonial legacies (Kelm, 1998). Such an examination allows for a deeper understanding of the social, political,

economic and historical forces that shape the spread of HIV/AIDS within a vicious cycle of colonial oppression (Buharski et al., 2006; Farley et al., 2005).

Colonialism's legacy is omnipresent in Aboriginal communities, especially for Aboriginal women. On June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1985, Parliament passed Bill C-31, an Act to Amend the Indian<sup>5</sup> Act, as an attempt to bring the antiquated British North America Act (BNA) of 1876 into line with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, after being found in breach of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights by the United Nations Human Rights Committee (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1995; Rebeck, 1995). Prior to 1985, the Indian Act had remained relatively unchanged, apart from a few minor amendments, existing as a compilation of all existing policies that affected Aboriginal Canadians; it also outlined the Government of Canada's responsibilities to Aboriginal people (DIAND, 1995). The BNA set the stage for social domination, political oppression and economic marginalization. This is *the* document that defined the identity of who was – and still is, for that matter - a “status” Indian and who was (is) not. Women were greatly affected by the regulations of the Indian Act, as their status and that of their children could be removed along with all the rights and privileges guaranteed under the Indian Act if they were to marry outside of their Band (Mann, 2005). Bill C-31 attempted to change the federal registration system so that status was not based on sexually discriminatory rules that had traditionally marginalized women through marriage, divorce and child bearing (DIAND, 1995), and thus attempted to reverse the matriarchal assimilation and patriarchal privilege of the Indian Act that has been called by some a genocide (Rebeck, 2005). Although a positive step, Bill C-31 still excludes some women. Indeed, communities and families became “divided as Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal along gender lines” (Fiske, 2006, p. 256) as status was withdrawn or afforded along the Bill C-31's new guidelines. These changes

added fuel to endemic poverty and marginalization, as many women lost financial and societal support when they were unable to meet new standards for status identification (Fiske).

Mohanty (1988) noted, “colonization has been used to characterize everything from the most evident economic and political hierarchies to the production of a particular cultural discourse about what is called the ‘Third World’” (61). This definition of colonization implies structural domination, meaning a system of control and discursive oppression whereby the dominant discourse privileges white, patriarchal knowledge and deem inferior the knowledge stemming from the non-white and matriarchal (Cassidy et al., 2001; Chakrabarty, 2000; Mohanty). Certainly, local knowledge, especially that stemming from women, is a casualty of the colonization process, as it is not considered a valuable contribution to the colonial project (Cassidy et al.). By forcing assimilation and ignoring the contribution of local culture and knowledge, the “dominant group seeks to impose its values, morality, norms and standards upon the minority” (Cassidy et al., p. 77), therefore disrupting and causing great harm to local cultural and community practices, including those pertaining to sport. Many scholars have turned to post-colonial theory to understand these disruptions.

#### Post-colonial Considerations

Generally speaking, post-colonialism is a theoretical construct used to understand society after independence from colonial domination. Post-colonial theory is valuable in that it allows for a point of reflection about the power and dominance embedded in colonial legacies through which those who have been “colonized” can challenge the “colonizer”. A term that defies singular, coherent definition (Castle, 2001; Parry, 1995; Slemon, 2001), post-colonial theory signifies critical analysis directed toward colonial values (Castle) that privilege the dominant and render invisible the dominated (Slemon). The strength of post-colonial theory is that it allows for

the examination of power and knowledge. In response to colonization and its ensuing discourses, post-colonial theory allows for subjugated knowledge to challenge the hegemonic practices of domination (Giles, 2005), as the “colonized” challenge meta-narratives and traditional discourses of their inferiority. Subjugated knowledge is explained by Foucault (1980) as, “[A] whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity” (p. 13). By eliminating the opportunity for contributions of local knowledge into research and health programs, local knowledge is subjugated, thus making a major contribution to the main construct of the colonial project: assimilation (Cassidy et al., 2001). When employed in a meaningful fashion, post-colonial theory is valuable in that it can “disrupt colonialist mainstream discourses through the surfacing of subjugated knowledges” (Giles, 2004, p. 13), thereby contributing to the creation of mechanisms for social change.

Though it offers important ways through which one can understand colonialism’s impact, post-colonial theory is not beyond critique. An important critique of post-colonialism is that the terminology of “post” signifies that colonialism has somehow ended, when it remains all too clear that damaging remnants of colonial rule continue to persist long after independence (Kelm 1998; Mishra & Hodge, 2005). Frankenberg and Mani (1993) clarify that the “post” “do[es] not signify an ‘after’ but rather marks spaces of ongoing contestation enabled by decolonization struggles” (p. 294). It is therefore useful to use the prefix “post” to mark the attempt to right the wrongs of the colonial past and to engage in strategies that acknowledge the legacy and in turn learn from it (Frankenberg & Mani, 1993). In utilizing post-colonial theory, attention must be paid to the individual experience of domination and that ‘the colonized’ not be homogenized into one group of “the oppressed”, with no attention paid to unique challenges,

forms of resistance and culture. Meta-narratives of oppression must be challenged to ensure that the individual lived experience is not lost in an attempt to bring attention to the issue, which in turn may reproduce the dominant, hegemonic assimilative practices, including sport, it seeks to address.

### Understanding Discourse and Power

Colonization necessitates uneven exercises of power, and thus post-colonial theory draws heavily on interrogations of power relations. Michel Foucault was a renowned French sociologist who devoted much attention to the notion of discourse, a notion that can be particularly productive in understanding colonialism and post-colonial theory. Discourse and the ways in which discourse transmits power (Rail, 2002) are central to Foucauldian theory. Discourse can be defined as a system of ideas or knowledge linked to specific text that is used to identify and legitimize the privileging of power of one person over another (Fairclough, 2003) or, more simply, “a body of language use that is unified by common assumptions” (Abercrombie et al., 2000, p. 99). It is within discourse that meanings are developed and power relations can be reinforced or challenged, including, for example, those generated through colonialism. Thus, discourses concerning the apparent necessity of sport for development through which the global South is the recipient of the global North’s sporting practices privileges a particular understanding of “legitimate” sport and reflects relations of power whereby the North is able to dominate ideologies of sport. Such colonial practices, however, can be challenged when local knowledge is privileged and recognized as legitimate.

Challenging dominant discourses necessitates an examination of power to observe how “mechanisms of power have been - and continue to be – invested, colonised, utilized” (Foucault, 1975, p. 99). Foucault’s (1975) use of the term colonized illustrates the role that power plays in

the dominating group's (the colonizers') exercise of power and maintenance of its privileged position over the colonized. Nevertheless, it should be noted that resistance is a form of power and that marginalized discourses have the opportunity to resist dominant discourses and subsequently force change (Pringle, 2005). Resistance is the mechanism whereby those who experience oppression, such as class, race, gender, age and sexual preference, can challenge the multiple axes of power. Foucault, however, recognized that the ability of some to truly resist domination can be limited, and that not all individuals have equal opportunity to challenge dominant discourses, a premise often experienced by Aboriginal peoples due to oppressive legislation and assimilative hegemonic colonizing practices that pervade Canadian history. Certainly, resistance can be located in sporting practices and, thus, can be connected to sport for development that focuses on health.

#### Colonially-rooted Health Crisis

The Indian Act and Bill C-31 are two pieces of legislation that are both firmly rooted in colonial discourses and have had and continue to have an impact on Aboriginal women's health. Aboriginal women's lived experiences, by the nature of their proximity to poverty, create an environment that fosters vulnerability to HIV/AIDS (Barlow; 2006; Bucharski et al, 2006; Gusatfsen, 2005; Maticka-Tyndale, 2001; Mill, 1997; Waldram, 2006). This historical legacy has had and continues to have a tremendous impact on social, economic and health wellness. These two pieces of legislation illustrate colonialism's impact on health service provision that has compromised the health status of Aboriginal people (Reimer, 2005) and contributed to the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Aboriginal communities.

Given the Canadian Medical Association's statement that "Aboriginal peoples are the most marginalized group in Canadian society" (Kelm, 1998, p. xv), it is perhaps not surprising

that Aboriginal peoples are overrepresented in the HIV epidemic in Canada, with the most significant impact being felt by the most marginalized of all: Aboriginal women (CAAN, 2006; Canadian Public Health Association (CPHA), 2005; Gusatfsen, 2005; Mill, 1997; Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC), 2006; Waldram, 2006). Conditions of poverty, oppression, marginalization and stigma are virtual breeding grounds for the spread of HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 2006). Aboriginal peoples are infected younger, diagnosed later and die sooner than non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada (CAAN, 2006; Canadian Women's Foundation, 2005; Talaga, 2000). The Canadian Women's Foundation (CWF) (2005) found in its comprehensive scan of health research as applied to Canadian women and girls that, "Aboriginal youth are becoming sexually active as young as age 11, and that by age 16, 62% of those interviewed were sexually active, with more than half reporting little or no use of contraceptives" (p. 26). The invisibility of Aboriginal peoples, noting women and youth in particular, adds fodder to Frideres' (1994) hypothesis that, "AIDS will be the leading cause of death for Aboriginal people in the near future" (p. 279).

Statistics show that although representing only 3.3% of the Canadian population, Aboriginal peoples comprise 5-8% of current infections and 6-12% of new HIV infections (PHAC, 2006), representing 400 new Aboriginal infections per year (CAAN, 2006). Among the Aboriginal population, 45.1% of positive HIV tests are female, while within the non-Aboriginal population this figure is 19.5% (Health Canada, 2004a). Further highlighting the disparity between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations in Canada, HIV infections happen at a younger age in Aboriginal compared to non-Aboriginal peoples CAAN (2006). 28.6% of Aboriginal peoples infected are under the age of 30, while 17.6% of non-Aboriginal infections

occur in under 30 years of age. These figures are even more startling when one recognizes that almost two-thirds of the Canadian Aboriginal population is under age 30 (CAAN, 2006).

Although statistics are important in understanding the nature of any disease, there are many weaknesses in the official statistics for HIV/AIDS in Canada. Delays in reporting, stigma around testing, classification of ethnic status and the biomedical methodology of collecting such sensitive data are all detrimental to the compilation of HIV/AIDS statistics (Bucharski et al., 2006). For example, the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec do not collect information on the ethnicity of people diagnosed with HIV; it is thus difficult to produce an accurate figure of HIV infections in Aboriginal peoples (PHAC, 2004). Some might say that by not demanding this information, the government again fails Aboriginal communities by masking the problem of HIV/AIDS. Further contributing to ambiguity, the figures reported by the provinces and territories only reflect the cases that are reported to public health officials; it is unknown how many cases go unreported and undiagnosed each year (PHAC). With over 50% of Aboriginal people living in urban centres (Salée, 2006), this leaves the health status of a large portion of the Aboriginal population unknown. Inconsistencies in data are further exacerbated by layers of challenges faced by Aboriginal peoples, as factors such as homelessness, poverty and distrust of research, erect powerful barriers to gathering accurate statistics (Smith, 1999). It is thus necessary to be cognizant of these barriers and their roots in the past and present colonization of Aboriginal peoples throughout Canadian history. Keeping these barriers in mind, it is necessary to look for creative avenues to learn and share knowledge on how to reach those who do not feel connected to traditional, dominant public health methods. Sport offers such an opportunity as part of a holistic health intervention.

While sport for development can be used in health initiatives, it is important to note that sport, as mentioned above, has been part of colonial processes. Understanding the ways in which sport has been used as a form of assimilation and domination is necessary in order to create sport for development models that challenge, rather than re-inscribe, colonial legacies, including the HIV/AIDS crisis.

### Sport's Colonial Intentions

In the past, sport has been used as part of broader colonizing strategies to assimilate young Aboriginal peoples into “dominant Euro-Canadian culture” (Robidoux, 2006, p. 267). Sport has been used for over 200 years as a means for imperial domination of Aboriginal peoples by the Euro-Canadian colonizing project (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; Giles, 2004; Paraschak, 1997). Euro-Canadian understandings of “civilized” behaviour were enforced through legislation laden with assimilatory intentions that outlawed participation in traditional physical cultural practices and dances with the intention of erasing the cultural history of Aboriginal people, a void was to be replaced with more “civilized activities,” and ultimately “recast the Indian in the image of the white man” (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006). A relatively recent example of the federal government's attempt to use sport as a means of assimilation includes the Native Sport and Recreation Program, which was in existence from 1972 to 1981. Paraschak (1997) argued that this program attempted to oppress the expression of traditional sporting practices by connecting federal physical activity funding to participating in mainstream Euro-Canadian sport.

The initial colonial intention of “civilizing” Aboriginal peoples through sport served as a platform for resistance and cultural preservation (Forsyth & Wamsley 2006), thereby situating sport in Canada as a contested site. The mainstream focus of the Native Sport and Recreation Program was challenged by Aboriginal sporting groups that refused to concede traditional

activities excluded from the program (Paraschak, 1997). The program was ultimately discontinued after Aboriginal leadership refused the federal government's call to "assimilation through sport" (Paraschak, 1997, p. 6). The creation of Aboriginal sporting bodies, such as the Aboriginal Sport Circle, and sport/cultural events, such as the North American Indigenous games (NAIG) and the Arctic Winter Games, demonstrate resistance to dominant hegemonic sport and enable Aboriginal peoples to demonstrate that cultural assimilation will not succeed (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; Giles, 2005; King, 2006; Paraschak). By recognizing sport as an arena of resistance to hegemonic colonial ideology that has sought to erase Aboriginal culture, Aboriginally-defined and implemented sport for development in Canada thereby serves as an opportunity to reclaim culture and harness the power of sport to affect positive change.

While national sport programs and national and international competitions inculcated ideas of the superiority of Euro-Canadian ways of life, Euro-Canadian sports, such as basketball and hockey, were also prominent in residential schools. Sport played a significant role in the assimilation agendas of governments, which have been said to have "ruptured the fabric of native cultural life" (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006, p. 295). Residential schools not only destroyed families and communities, but created a legacy of poverty, abuse, negative coping mechanisms and loss of identity and culture, all of which have combined to create the ideal conditions for the proliferation of diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Barlow, 2003; Haslip, 2001).

The havoc created by the residential school system, at least part of which was facilitated through sport, has created a cycle where "wounded children grow up to be wounded adults" (Barlow, 2003, p. 4). Through extensive literature review Barlow has attempted to link the residential school legacy with the rising HIV infection rate in Aboriginal communities. Although there is lack of a clear link, the impact of the physical, sexual and emotional abuse that occurred

in residential schools has created barriers between residential school survivors and their families and communities, further creating conditions for isolation and negative coping mechanisms, which are ideal for spread of the HIV virus (Barlow). Every day at least one Aboriginal person becomes infected with HIV (Health Canada, 2004b), which underlines the historically rooted health crisis of HIV/AIDS, and the necessity to use all the tools at our disposal to address these issues. It is thus all the more important to acknowledge and respond to the initial colonial intentions of sport *for* Aboriginal peoples in order to shape a conscientious understanding of the possibility of the use of sport *with* Aboriginal peoples and HIV/AIDS education in Canada. Despite the use of sport as a means of assimilation, communities are beginning to call for alternatives such as sport to make positive contributions to addressing the negative outcomes of colonial legacies and hegemonic government policies (Haslip, 2001).

*Aboriginal Sport Policy: Creating the Framework for Sport for Development*

The Aboriginal Sport Circle (ASC) provides a national voice for Aboriginal sport and recreation in Canada. A collective of Aboriginal Sport Bodies representing all 13 provinces and territories, the ASC is dedicated to advancing Aboriginal sport and recreation at all levels (ASC, 2006). In a speech to the Standing Committee on Health, the ASC acknowledges the use of sport for social development and social inclusion:

We refer to sport and recreation as 'powerful medicine'. This powerful medicine is a means of healing which helps provide our communities with strength and pride. But it is also preventative medicine which is based on our traditions of balance and integration of the spiritual, emotional, mental and physical aspects of our beings. (Jacobs, 2006, online)

Jacobs acknowledges the Maskwachees Declaration of 2000, which supports; "[s]ustainable commitment and investment in active living. Physical activity, physical education, recreation and sport are essential to promote health and address social issues facing Aboriginal/Indigenous

Peoples in communities across Canada” (Sport Canada’s Aboriginal Sport Policy, 2006, p. 11). Further, Jacobs builds a strong case for sport not only to combat obesity, but also to promote a broader agenda for sport to shape Aboriginal communities’ health and social agendas.

In May 2005, Sport Canada’s Policy on Aboriginal People’s Participation in Sport was released. Although not perfect, this policy creates a framework to address the barriers Aboriginal peoples face in the area of sport. This policy builds on the 2002 provincial and territorial bodies’ endorsement of the Canadian Sport Policy (CSP), a policy that acknowledges that Aboriginal peoples face barriers to participation in sport and physical activity. The CSP was borne out of the Physical Activity and Sport Act (also known as Bill C-54) of 2002, whereby the importance of sport as a tool for social development, both internationally and domestically, was outlined as a steadfast commitment by the federal government. Sport Canada’s Policy on Aboriginal People’s Participation in Sport (2005) states, “sport has long been recognized by Aboriginal peoples across Canada as a means to combat some of the negative factors affecting Aboriginal communities, in particular those affecting their youth” (p. 2).

Recognizing the importance of a holistic approach to sport balancing the physical, mental, emotion, cultural and spiritual aspects of life, the Policy on Aboriginal People’s Participation in Sport (2005) recognizes that “the traditional Aboriginal perspective does not distinguish between sport, recreation and physical activity; all of these activities are intertwined and integral to personal and community well-being” (p. 3). Aboriginal sport leaders from across Canada have also identified youth sport and recreation “as one of the primary means for community wellness: as preventative medicine for the social dilemmas that Aboriginal youth face” (Canada’s Policy on Aboriginal People’s Participation in Sport, p. 4). Outlining in the guiding principle that “sport [can act] as a vehicle for social change” (Canada’s Policy on

Aboriginal People's Participation in Sport, p. 5), Sport Canada's Policy on Aboriginal People's Participation in Sport sets the stage for the traditional knowledge and cultural teachings of play, games and sport to be effectively utilized in Aboriginal communities to drive health related change, while concomitantly recognizing women's, girls' and youths' unique needs. The formal policy section in section 3.1 e) states that, "Increasing the participation of Aboriginal youth in all forms of sport will help them address social and economic challenges and provide constructive and optimistic prospects for their development" (Canada's Policy on Aboriginal People's Participation in Sport, p. 7). We thus contend that the policy framework has presented itself and that the time is ripe to work with AIDS service organizations, Aboriginal sport bodies, youth and women to move beyond lip service and devise a plan to actualize these statements of support and to further resist colonial discourses by creating tangible mechanisms for the power of sport to be fully utilized in combating the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Though it has been found that sport can make a positive contribution to HIV/AIDS interventions, as of yet sport has burgeoning policy level or community level support. Although positive, this support has not allowed sport to be utilized to its full potential. With thoughtful collaboration and a commitment to long term sustainable programming from the grassroots – which will entail the acknowledgement and use of subjugated knowledge from Aboriginal communities - to the government level, there is an opportunity to create a mutually beneficial environment that addresses community public health needs and assists AIDS service organizations to reach those who are most adversely affected; namely women and youth. In order to move towards action on the use of sport for HIV/AIDS education in Canada, preliminary evidence generated internationally must be understood and shared among interested stakeholders to foster a unique vision that has learned from the international community's challenges. Where

the most potential lies in formulating this vision is in post-colonial analysis of how sport can be used to re-shape, re-claim and re-envision the potential of sport to address the colonial legacy which has wreaked havoc in Aboriginal communities.

#### Preliminary Evidence

Sport has been claimed to “serve as an effective tool for social mobilization, supporting health activities such as HIV/AIDS education and to be of vital importance to the development of young people” (UN, 2003, p. v), but supporting academic evidence is not readily accessible. By understanding the need to capture the work of local NGOs and to build on the existing scant evidence, UK Sport and the United Kingdom’s Department of International Development released a consultation paper examining the role of sport to create a platform for HIV/AIDS education (Hobman, 2005). This document provides information on the value of sport in influencing society as well as case studies of the use of sport in Africa to address the spread of HIV/AIDS. The anecdotal evidence presented through case studies argues for the use of sport for development and lays the foundation for research on the intersection between sport, development and HIV/AIDS education (Hobman).

It has been widely accepted that the most effective development through sport programming comes from the grassroots level (International Working Group on Women and Sport, 2006; SDP IWG., 2006; UN, 2003), and UK Sport’s initiative has sparked discussion on how to capture field practitioners’ stories to promote knowledge exchange. Certainly, the bulk of printed text concerning what occurs in sport for development programs comes from donor-driven evaluations or funding reports produced for donor agencies, be they CIDA or the Norwegian Development Agency (NORAD), as all development assistance programs require reporting on outcomes, outputs, challenges and best practices; this information, however, is typically not for

public viewing. That this information is inaccessible to the academic community and is accessible by only a few gatekeepers has continued to isolate the field of sport for development from academia, as academics are typically unwilling to take anecdotal evidence seriously.

The lack of research is continually highlighted as a barrier to furthering the objectives of sport for development and the UN Office on Sport Development and Peace (UNOSDP) is committed to reducing this barrier. Though Adolf Ogi would be the first to share his perspective that sport is “the best school of life” (Ogi, 2006, p. 2), for many this rhetoric is not enough to inspire confidence that sport for development is an effective means of addressing issues pertaining to human health. Few grassroots programmers have access to the language or the opportunity to publish in academic journals; this does not mean that their practical understanding of how sport development works should be any less valid. More researchers are needed who can bridge the existing gap between academics, policy makers, and grassroots practitioners. Bridging this gap will allow for field practitioners’ subjugated knowledge to be included in research, which will in turn enhance the likelihood that the voices of women and youth who facilitate and participate in the use of sport for development will be included in developing programs that resist discourses that privilege Northern (in the African context) and non-Aboriginal (in the Canadian context) expertise. As a result, a strong evidence base will be developed, thereby increasing opportunities for knowledge sharing.

In discussions of research it needs to be acknowledged that “research is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself; ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary” (Smith, 1999, p. 1). The silence and distrust that this term conjures up in many Aboriginal communities illustrates that “the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices” (Smith,

p. 2). The field of sport for development is relatively new in Canada, and thus affords an opportunity for interested stakeholders to progress in a sensitive and collaborative manner that privileges Aboriginal peoples' contributions, and is mindful of the colonial legacy that continues to plague Aboriginal peoples. With thoughtful intention, the progression of sport for development in Canada holds the opportunity to build programs, connections and a research agenda that is not hated but a collective, collaborative goal, which is principally driven by Aboriginal leadership.

What follows are examples of how holistic strategies have been employed in other countries facing HIV infection crises. These examples are shared with the intention of triggering the imagination as to the potential of what sport for development could look like in Canada. It is necessary to remain cognizant of the differences between Africans and Aboriginal Canadians, as homogenization within and between these populations occurs frequently in colonial ideology, as the "dominated" are considered within a monolithic "inferior" grouping. Nevertheless, this process creates the opportunity to simultaneously utilize and challenge post-colonial visions to address dominant development discourses.

#### Examples of sport for development

Although sport does not provide an all encompassing solution to stemming the tide of HIV/AIDS, sport can play an innovative and creative role in reaching out to populations who may not feel connected to the traditional sexual education model of HIV/AIDS prevention. Sport in combination with HIV/AIDS education has begun to demonstrate positive results, particularly with young women in Africa. For example, the Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSAs) based in Nairobi, Kenya has been training coaches and leaders to share HIV/AIDS education in sport event forums (Brady, 2005; Koss & Alexandrova, 2005), while building an often replicated

community engagement through sport model. In 1992, MYSA developed a girls program that focuses specifically on addressing the vulnerabilities that young Kenyan women face with regards to poverty, illiteracy and HIV/AIDS (MYSA, 2006). Now, 3,500 girls play on 250 teams in 40 MYSA girls' leagues with access to coaches trained in HIV/AIDS peer education (MYSA, 2006). The significance of this number is even more powerful when you realize that 80% of the families living in Mathare are headed by single mothers who have little to no education (MYSA, 2006), thus making a massive contribution to breaking the poverty driven cycle of HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS can be described as "both a cause and a consequence of poverty, creating a complex cycle that demands multi-sectoral emergency and long-term strategies" (Interagency Coalition on AIDS and Development (ICAD), 2006, p.1). Examination of what connotes a successful sport for HIV/AIDS education program shows that "a comprehensive approach to HIV prevention, one that uses various methods from which people can chose, works best" (Koss & Alexandrova, 2005, p. 53). By embracing a culturally sensitive educational format (Majumdar & Roberts, 1997) through the use of sport, MYSA is making not only a lasting community contribution, but is heralding the attention of grassroots organizations, national governments and the United Nations (UN) to better understand the convening power of sport to foster social change. It is with the attention of the United Nations that the spotlight has turned toward sport to make lasting contributions to achieving global development goals.

Clarke et al. (2006) recently released an evaluation of Grassroots Soccer (GRS), an American-based NGO that works within school structures in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. The intent of this study was to evaluate the impact of GRS health education through sport curriculum as delivered by professional Zimbabwean soccer players to students in four schools. Students from comparable schools were used as controls in this quasi-experimental design (Clarke et al., 2006).

Results from this study showed significantly higher understanding among soccer participants of the stigma around HIV/AIDS, as well as an increased understanding of methods of protection (Clarke et al.). Students increased their understanding of the effectiveness of condoms from 53% to 78% in pre- and post-test scores (Clarke et al., p. 4). Interestingly, after five months the control group scored similarly to the intervention due to peer to peer interaction, caused by a diffusion of information, creating an unexpected positive effect (Clarke et al.). By using Zimbabwean nationals as the main mechanism for program delivery, Clarke et al also demonstrated a post-colonial sensitivity that values the importance of learning being facilitated in the local language and by Zimbabweans for Zimbabweans.

In Egypt, the Population Council has been leading a study since 2005 to illustrate how sport can be used creatively for sexual health education in a development context. In partnership with the International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF), the Population Council has supported the development of Ishraq, a community-based program which challenges traditional concepts of gender appropriate behaviors (Brady, 2005). In an experimental intervention in rural Upper Egypt, girls aged 13-15 are afforded a safe space by NGO and government partners to meet in a protected space to participate in sport and education (Brady). Ishraq focuses on the development of new leadership skills and freedom of expression and movement, essential ingredients for an empowering environment (Sever, 2005). Preliminary results from the Ishraq pilot show that 95% of female participants state that boys are wrong to believe that girls cannot participate in sport, and 88% believe that sport has changed them in a positive way, contributing to feeling healthier, developing social confidence, increasing self-esteem and making new friends (Hobman, 2005).

Moving from the global to a North American context, Miller et al. (1998, 1999) and Sabo et al. (1999), who both work at State University of New York, have hypothesized the links

between sport participation and risk of pregnancy, tying the two together with the argument that self-esteem developed through sport allows for stronger negotiation with partners concerning condom use and subsequent informed sexual decision making for American high school students. According to findings, females who participated in athletic activity were less likely than their non-athletic peers to engage in risky sexual behaviour or to report a pregnancy (Miller et al., 1998, 1999; Sabo et al.). Sabo et al. found that female athletic participation was directly proportional to reduced pregnancy risk. Miller et al. (1999) found that girls who participate in sport have a later age of first sexual intercourse, higher rate of contraceptive use and fewer sexual partners. The rationale for this change is that in sport, young women are able to access the education and life skills development that is not available to them in mainstream society that privileges male access and opportunity (Saavedra, 2005). While these North American studies were not conducted with Aboriginal youth, the findings may offer important insight that may be useful in designing and evaluating programs for Aboriginal youth in Canada.

The work of Grassroots Soccer, the Population Council and the researchers at State University of New York highlight encouraging research that illustrates the power of sport to affect change and create a forum for health education. There are many other examples of innovative and effective uses of sport for development, such as the Leaders in Training (LIT) program in Swaziland, Physically Active Youth (PAY) in Namibia and Sport Coaches OutReach (SCORE) in South Africa, Zambia and Namibia, but their information and results cannot be found in academic journals. For example, Kicking AIDS Out is an international network of organizations that work with peer leaders from the Caribbean, Africa and Asia to develop locally relevant HIV/AIDS education interventions using the convening power of sport (Mwaanga, 2001; Jakobsen, 2004). An initiative borne out of Africa, Kicking AIDS Out is widely successful

in practice, but apart from conference proceedings, a website and a few documents, Kicking AIDS Out is absent from academic literature on sport for development. Although the results of Grassroots Soccer and the research from the State University of New York are encouraging, the fact that these are the only organizations that have partnered with academics highlights further the disconnect between the amount of work being done in this area and the academic activity that has resulted from it. Indeed, there are literally hundreds of organizations that are using sport for development as found on the Swiss Platform for Sport for Development and Peace ([www.sportanddev.org](http://www.sportanddev.org)), which is a database of sport for development initiatives that exists to raise the profile of the movement. However, few if any of these projects have the ability to access privileged academic discourses on the use of sport for development, rendering their contribution, in the eyes of the academic world, anecdotal and invalid.

### *Strategies for Change*

Through a better understanding of the historical and theoretical contexts that contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS in Canada, it is clear that Aboriginal women and youth are dealing with circumstances that are creating enhanced vulnerability to HIV/AIDS infection. As stated by the Blueprint for Action on Women and Girls and HIV/AIDS (2006), “historical events and colonization have led to deplorable racism and to the violation of human rights of Aboriginal peoples [in Canada (First Nations, Métis and Inuit) and] across the world. This has had a severe impact on susceptibility to HIV, particularly for women and girls” (p. 1). The Blueprint demands that there be acknowledgement of the “direct causal relationship between colonization, stigma and discrimination and Aboriginal women and girl’s susceptibility to HIV/AIDS” (p. 3).

The Blueprint is one of many strategies created to call attention to the unique needs and the diverse faces of HIV/ADS in Canada. Such strategies are aimed at addressing the needs of

the most vulnerable. Examples of such strategies are the Aboriginal Strategy on HIV/AIDS in Canada (ASHAC), the Young Eagles' Challenge created by the Assembly of First Nations, and *Leading Together: the Federal Strategy on HIV/AIDS*. Action plans have been developed by the Métis National Council, the Canadian Inuit HIV/AIDS Network (Stratton et al., 2006) and the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network. The Canadian Aboriginal AIDS Society has also developed a community mobilization tool kit which outlines how people can share prevention and coping information at the community level (Stratton et al., 2006). This list is not exhaustive as many provincial/territorial and municipal strategies have been created recently.

The Aboriginal Strategy on HIV/AIDS in Canada (ASHAC) was developed by the Canadian Aboriginal AIDS Network (CAAN) in 2005 in an effort to coordinate provincial, territorial and municipal HIV/AIDS strategies to create a cohesive approach at the federal level. This strategy creates a common ground through which Aboriginal people can develop tools to challenge the disease in ways that work best in Aboriginal communities (CAAN, 2005). ASHAC recognizes that women have specific needs and that programming needs to address shortfalls in the care and support of Aboriginal women both affected and infected by the disease (ASHAC, CAAN, 2005).

*Leading Together* (Canadian Public Health Association, 2005) is Canada's collective response to HIV/AIDS. Although this comprehensive strategy was developed through widespread consultation, what is missing is clear links through which provincial, territorial and non-governmental organizations can coordinate their efforts. The consistent theme through all of these strategies is the need for culturally appropriate, community-based programming that is driven by Aboriginal peoples, recognizing the need to focus on women and youth. Aboriginal leadership has recognized that Aboriginal youth are faced with tremendous challenges and that

“sport and recreation activities would be a positive contribution to individual and community development” (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006, p. 303). The strategies above are calling for innovative approaches in the fight against HIV/AIDS, but have yet to draw on sport, even though sport and physically activity are valued by Aboriginal communities (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; Iwasaki et al, 2006).

We suggest that four practical steps could begin to make connections between health needs and sport policy commitments. These recommendations are as follows:

- a) revisit the outcomes of the domestic “expert” roundtable and collaborate with Aboriginal leadership who were absent from this discussion to develop a consultative process that would lay a stronger foundation to understand if sport for development is of any use to Aboriginal communities;
- b) commit to a community of practice that privileges the contributions and existing strategies of Aboriginal community leadership, Aboriginal AIDS service organizations and Aboriginal sport in any and all program and policy discussions that focus on the use of sport for development in Canada
- c) build on the international connections of Canadian NGOs to learn from field practitioners, instead of relying solely on dominant sport for development discourse produced at the United Nations and Northern donor level;
- d) call on the federal government to realize policy objectives and ensure that sport is incorporated as part of a holistic health, social and community development strategy to address in part the colonial legacy that is fuelling the spread of HIV/AIDS in Canada.

These suggestions for process are based on post-colonial constructs that encourage resistance to dominant hegemonic practices. Any actual implementation must be created and facilitated by those for whom the programs are intended.

### Conclusions

As mentioned at the outset of this discussion, on World AIDS Day 2006, former Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan (2006) stated “[AIDS] has become the greatest challenge of our generation.” In reflecting on the opportunity availing itself to build on the international use of sport for HIV/AIDS education, it becomes clear that if Canadians do not use all available tools to address this silent killer that our generation will be judged harshly for its apathy and neglect. Each life is valuable and the sport community has a contribution to make in reaching out to women and young people. As emphasized by Gro Brundtland, former Director General of the World Health Organization (WHO), “sports are the most popular activity among youth and have a unique chance to educate and influence the future generation of people” (Jakobsen, 2004, p. 7).

Further research is needed to facilitate dialogue between Aboriginal AIDS service and sport organizations, Canadian international development through sport organizations, African development organizations, Canadian policymakers and the United Nations system to embrace the Aboriginal leadership’s endorsement of “sport as a vehicle for social development” (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006, p. 300). Herb George, Vice-Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, readily acknowledges that the government cannot be relied on to fight HIV/AIDS at the community level (Canadian Press NewsWire, 2001). In calling for Aboriginal leadership to be proactive in the fighting the spread of the disease, George (2001) recognizes that, “We have to care for ourselves, nobody else is going to do it.” George’s words foreshadowed Prime Minister Harper’s

absence at the 2006 Toronto AIDS Conference and hold an important message: If any change is going to occur, it cannot be prescribed from the outside. It is unwise to merely transpose an African initiative into an Aboriginal community, or to create a program strategy within the confines of the federal government. What can be started, however, is the initiation of dialogue between interested parties that privileges local traditional knowledge and is cognizant of the colonial legacy that is perpetuating the cycle of HIV infection in Aboriginal communities. Within this dialogue the extent to which sport can play a role in Aboriginal communities - both on- and off-reserve - to affect positive change in the HIV/AIDS epidemic can be critically and openly examined. The tools to fight the spread of HIV/AIDS come in various shapes in forms and although sport is underutilized, the time has come to access the power of sport to fight HIV/AIDS in Canada.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The use of the label “Aboriginal” in this paper is problematic, as diverse populations can be included within this reference, and feminist poststructuralist practices challenge the categorization and labeling of groups that homogenize experiences. Shared identity is not an obvious product of race or class, “but discursively produced in relation to hegemonic discourses which privilege whiteness, heterosexuality and the middle and upper classes” (Weedon, 1999, p. 6). Within this, popular discourses can create innumerable labels and categorizations that “obscure and depoliticize the embodied nature of colonialism” (Culhane, 2003, p. 93). Unfortunately, through the use of such terminology, “sameness is created, which gives us access to a universal language, one that, through translation, erases difference” and perpetuates the idea of a single, universal world history (Giles, 2004, p. 19).

<sup>2</sup> The term HIV is used to indicate infection with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV). HIV is a retrovirus that attacks CD4+T cells, required for the body’s immune functioning. When the CD4+T count is less than 200 per micro litre, cellular immunity is compromised and individual is considered to have AIDS (Acute Immunodeficiency Syndrome). With AIDS, the body is extremely susceptible to opportunistic infections. The term HIV/AIDS is used to refer to the physical symptoms and social situations that apply to both HIV and AIDS. (World Health Organization, 2006)

<sup>3</sup> Sport can be defined in the broad sense as encompassing “all forms of physical activity which through casual or organized participation, aim at expressing or improving physical fitness and mental well-being, forming social relationships or obtaining results in competition at all levels” (Schwery, 2003, p. 15)

<sup>4</sup>The 0.7 GNP promise was proposed by Lester B. Pearson in 1961. The premise is that if all wealthy nations donated 0.7% of their Gross National Product to assist developing countries, that poverty would be eradicated. Sadly Canada's contribution is only at 0.27% of our GNP.

Campaigns such as 'Make Poverty History' have taken up the call to educate Canadians on the importance of this commitment and to advocate to government to fulfill their promises to hit this target. source: Make Poverty History <http://www.makepovertyhistory.ca/e/home.php>

<sup>5</sup>The term 'Indian' is used in the legal and historical sense in order to accurately reflect terminology used in the BNA and Bill C-31. I recognize that 'Indian' is the colonizer's term for the colonized.

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Conclusions

Sara Nicholls (MA Candidate)

University of Ottawa: Human Kinetics and Women's Studies

‘UBUNTU: A South African concept that means ‘I am who I am because of you, and you are who you are because of me.’

Academics, donors, recipients and peer educators are connected in their pursuit of effective sport for development interventions. As the field exists now, this connection is unbalanced due to pervasive power differentials, colonial legacies and racialized and gendered development practices. I recognize this imbalance in reflecting on the previous chapters while keeping the principle of ubuntu in mind: I am who I am because of you; you are who you are because of me.

This thesis has been written in the stand alone paper rather than the traditional thesis format. As such, there is some overlap between the chapters as it was necessary to re-articulate my theoretical and methodological approaches. Regardless, the common thread linking these articles is that of subjugated knowledges. The chapters that comprise this thesis explore why certain knowledges are subjugated in sport for development. In chapter one, I propose options to co-create new knowledge. In chapter two, I advocate for the inclusion of subjugated knowledges in program design to ensure that peer educators have the tools that they need to be effective. Chapter three explores the use of subjugated knowledges to inform new program design in different geographical locations. By advocating for the need to value contributions from the local, grassroots level, I share my vision for sport for development that recognizes contributions from all stakeholders.

Over the course of writing this thesis, I have attempted to build the case for a different kind of sport for development - a sport for development that recognizes the critical role that young, peer educators play in shaping the field. The interviews that informed this thesis offer a particular glimpse into the experiences of young peer educators and their reflections on knowledge production, power relations and effective programming. The 17 participants from

Canada, Kenya, Lesotho, Namibia, Norway, South Africa and Zimbabwe, who are all connected through the Kicking AIDS Out network, shared their perspectives on the broader policy creation process in sport for development. They articulated what they need to be effective as peer educators, noting the importance of sex and sexuality training. These contributions are a part of larger debates that have gone on for years. I hope that the small excerpts contained in these papers reveal the importance of listening to peer educators. By treating the contributions of peer educators as legitimate, expert knowledge (Kirby & McKenna, 1989), this thesis challenges the perspectives that have dominated sport for development thus far.

In chapter one, I used theoretical tools of analysis drawn from Michel Foucault's (1975, 1980) work on power and subjugated knowledges to challenge the dominant sport for development texts which often call for more rigorous or scientific evidence to prove sport for development's impact. Through an examination of the power relations embedded in the international movement of sport for development, I shared a vision of sport for development that values grassroots practitioners' contributions and acknowledges the need to be cognizant of the pervasive power relations that shape knowledge production. Power relations are shaping what is deemed "valid" knowledge in sport for development and subjugates knowledges from peer educators. As stated earlier, I do not believe that the marginalization of peer educators' knowledge is malicious. Instead, I believe it reflects the lack of critical dialogue due to a colonial legacy that continues to inform relations between donors/recipients, policy makers/practitioners, and North/South. It is one thing to state that co-production of knowledge is important, but sport for development practitioners, policy makers and academics must systematically examine the privileges and power relations that pervade this field if this co-production – and change that may stem from it – is to occur.

In chapter two, I show that networks such as Kicking AIDS Out have focused on what they are good at: promoting sport leadership and creating vibrant sporting environments. Although many sport for development organizations facilitate HIV/AIDS education, their approach is often devoid of discussions of sex and sexuality. As the sport for development community matures, and, in some instances, integrates sport programming and youth leadership development with HIV/AIDS education, there is an opportunity to deepen the understanding of the role of sexual health and sexuality in training young peer educators. This integration would help to alleviate an unnecessary burden being placed on unprepared peer educators who are being asked to tackle issues so deep and complicated with only surface level skills. The public health field has long recognized that effective HIV/AIDS education involves extensive understanding of sex and sexuality (World Health Organization, 2008). Kicking AIDS Out has begun to explore the incorporation of sex and sexuality into peer education curriculum, but it is yet to fully embrace this approach. By creating space for the inclusion of sexual health and sexuality in sport for HIV/AIDS education, it is my sincere hope that the programs that use sport as a tool for HIV/AIDS education will recognize their responsibility to address participants' multi-faceted, holistic needs.

In chapter three, I call for a Northern country, Canada, to look inside its borders and recognize that there are social justice and health issues that could benefit from thoughtful applications of sport as a tool for development. Aboriginal leadership has recognized that Aboriginal youth are faced with tremendous challenges and that "sport and recreation activities would be a positive contribution to individual and community development" (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006, p. 303). In this chapter, co-author Audrey R. Giles and I propose to extend carefully the knowledges of peer educators in Southern in Africa as a valuable contribution to the

theoretical consideration of sport as a tool to address the rising HIV/AIDS rate in Canadian Aboriginal communities. In dealing with the links between interlocking oppression and HIV/AIDS, an “add local knowledge and stir” approach is insufficient (Marchand & Parpart, 1995). Concerted, long term partnership is needed to unearth the subjugated knowledges of young peer educators buried by layers of oppression and patriarchy. The subjugated knowledges of young peer educators hold valuable insights into the dynamics of sport for development programming. While peer educators from Southern Africa can inform project design, any actual sport for development implementation in Aboriginal communities in Canada must be created and facilitated by those for whom the programs are intended. If any change is going to occur, it cannot be prescribed from the outside. It is unwise to merely transpose an African initiative into an Aboriginal community, or to create a program strategy within the confines of the federal government. If communities are not central to the program design process, chances of community relevance are greatly diminished. What can be started, however, is the initiation of dialogue between interested parties that privileges local and is cognizant of the colonial legacy that pervades power relations and that perpetuates the cycle of HIV infection in Aboriginal communities. Within this dialogue the extent to which sport can play a role in Aboriginal communities - both on- and off-reserve - to affect positive change in the HIV/AIDS epidemic can be critically and openly examined. The tools to fight the spread of HIV/AIDS come in various shapes in forms and although sport is underutilized, there is an opportunity to build on the power of sport to fight HIV/AIDS in Canada.

The field of sport for development is rapidly growing. As we deepen our understanding of what sport can and cannot do in a development context, I am optimistic about the potential for sport to become a widely recognized tool for social development. Conversely, I recognize that

there are many challenges to be addressed before a “different” sport for development can take shape. During an interview, a young male Kicking AIDS Out LL2 told me, “the world’s ears only want to listen to those that are educated.” It is my hope that this kind of statement will have no place in sport for development in the near future as new knowledge that is co-created in partnership with grassroots practitioners and academics become common practice in this field.

In that sport for development operates within numerous overlapping discursive frameworks, involving international development, social justice and sport (Darnell, 2007), it is critical that the field grow and mature to reflect the changes in these paradigms. I am concerned that as the sport for development landscape becomes more complicated, that the field will rest on its laurels and delay taking up innovative concepts and initiatives due to lack of resources. Organizations such as Kicking AIDS Out have a responsibility to the peer educators that they train to continue to change and grow and taking on partners such as local health practitioners will be valuable support to peer educators.

#### Where to From Here?

I have drawn on the principles of “ubuntu” throughout this thesis, recognizing that without the peer educators, NGO practitioners and policy makers, my contributions to academia and my attempts to facilitate a commitment to praxis would be empty and devoid of any relevant application. It is with the principles of ubuntu in mind that I propose a summary of commitments which, if undertaken by sport for development policy makers, would begin to acknowledge the pervasive subjugation of peer educator’s knowledges and, therefore, would begin to create a vision of a different kind of sport for development:

- A commitment to supporting knowledge sharing networks and encouraging the participation of grassroots practitioners;

- A commitment to engaging with postcolonial and feminist theoretical constructs to recognize the colonizing and hegemonic influences that are active in sport for development discourses;
- A commitment to valuing young peer educators' input – and particularly input from young, female peer educators as they truly bear the brunt of the responsibility of development through sport at the community level;
- A recognition of the sport community's responsibility to build relevant partnerships with the health and development fields in order to ensure programs' maximum relevance;
- A commitment to co-create more participatory, southern-driven, alternative forms of research that acknowledge the importance of stories from the field.
- A commitment to developing new partnership models that move beyond rhetoric to challenge the colonial interpretation of donor-recipient relationships.

These commitments offer a new way of looking at partnership and power relationships in the field of sport for development by serving as a point of reflection on dominant interpretations of knowledge production. If undertaken by actors in the sport for development community, these six commitments will lay a strong foundation to address the subjugation of knowledges which is pervading sport for development.

I began this research with four goals: (a) to surface a sample of young people's subjugated knowledges pertaining to the "lack of evidence" discourse of sport for development; (b) to understand better what tools peer educators need to be more effective in their HIV/AIDS education efforts in a sport environment; (c) to suggest steps to encourage knowledge exchange and dialogue across geographic and cultural boundaries to further national HIV/AIDS education and health goals and; (d) to provide recommendations to the Kicking AIDS Out network

regarding the training and support needs of peer educators to improve and strengthen community-level impact. While I met these objectives through the production of three chapters and a field report, there are still numerous areas of future research to build on this contribution. I will focus on three areas here: i) to build on the pilot sex and sexuality workshop supported by the Kicking AIDS Out Secretariat and the City of Toronto Public Health; ii) to establish university-community partnerships; iii) to understand how public health officials can support peer educators; and finally iv) to produce community driven research with Aboriginal communities that could be exchanged with African practitioners.

If the City of Toronto Public Health Unit and Kicking AIDS Out are to continue to support the inclusion of sex and sexuality curriculum in peer education training, there is an incredible opportunity to learn how peer educators receive and then apply this knowledge. In response to my call for the co-production of knowledge lies the possibility for academics and practitioners to form mutually beneficial partnerships to develop a more nuanced understanding of both community level and policy impacts of sport for development interventions. The involvement of local public health practitioners in each country that Kicking AIDS Out operates in could provide important resources for peer educators as they build on their sex and sexuality training. I note that I have merely touched on the possible theoretical links between African and Aboriginal uses of sport as a tool for development and hope that this work will be taken up by practitioners and academics to be more fully explored.

With an area of study that is multi-disciplinary, it has been a challenge to negotiate the numerous theoretical constructs at work in sport for development. I believe that Foucauldian tools of analysis, when informed by feminist and postcolonial theory, are valuable in keeping issues of power and knowledge at the forefront of critical analysis in order to challenge

development's often uncritically accepted hegemonic goals. With subjugated knowledges as the main theme of this thesis, I felt and continue to feel a compelling responsibility to acknowledge my multiple privileges and to advocate for an environment where my colleagues and friends who work at the grassroots level feel valued, welcomed and encouraged to participate. My main concern when embarking on this thesis was to be gentle with, and respectful of, the words that others shared with me.

I end here humbled by the process of researching and writing a thesis, inspired by my colleagues and filled with optimism that the words contained in these pages may trigger some small positive change in the field of sport for development. I would like the young, peer educators who participated in this thesis to know that their voices can be a catalyst to create the conditions for them to become the most effective peer educators possible. A close friend who spent many hours of interview and planning time with me said, "Sara, I want your thesis to mean something." I am hopeful that it will. I hope that these words will now contribute to a new phase of critical reflection, because I am who I am because of you and you are who you are because of me: ubuntu.

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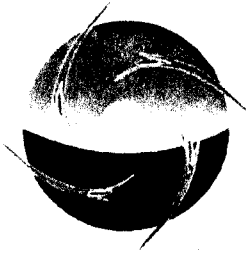
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# Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Indigenous and Aboriginal Community Health

October 23, 2008

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Please be advised that Sara Nicholls has permission to include, as a part of her thesis submission, the article published in Volume 5 Issue 1 of *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Indigenous and Aboriginal Community Health*, entitled "Sport as a Tool for HIV/AIDS Education: A Potential Catalyst for Change" (Nicholls & Giles, 2007).

Sincerely,

General & Managing Editor

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Pimatisiwin Editorial Office  
Native Counselling Services of Alberta  
10975 - 124 Street  
Edmonton, Alberta  
T5M 0H9

[patti.laboucane@nasa.ca](mailto:patti.laboucane@nasa.ca)

fax: (780) 428-0187

[www.pimatisiwin.com](http://www.pimatisiwin.com)