Look After Yourself: An Analysis of Life Skills for Preventing HIV/AIDS in Sport for Development and Peace Curriculum Material

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Abstract

HIV/AIDS education and prevention are often described as one way that sport for development and peace (SDP) organizations can contribute to international development through teaching life skills and empowering individuals. However, there has been no critical analysis of how discourses drawn upon within SDP curriculum material construct and legitimize particular conceptions of life skills, representations of SDP participants, and strategies used to teach life skills. The purpose of this study was to conduct a critical discourse analysis of the curriculum manual entitled Live Safe Play Safe (LSPS) that Right to Play (RTP), a large international SDP organization, uses to train facilitators for its HIV/AIDS prevention program. Postcolonial theory and critical and decolonial pedagogy provided a theoretical framework to guide the critical discourse analysis.

The findings show that discourses of risk, individualism and deficiency were drawn upon to frame health as a possession of individuals and HIV/AIDS as a threat to individuals’ bodies. Thereby justifying and constructing life skills as attributes that individuals needed to learn in order to protect their health and express their self-interests. These discourses largely emphasized individual responsibility and the management of risk, as opposed to the broader social and political constraints that individuals face. Identities of LSPS participants, particularly girls, were largely constituted through discourses of deficiency that represented them as being passive yet holding the potential to be empowered by learning life skills. Aspects of the manual drew from critical pedagogy; however, the overall approach to teaching life skills was rooted in discourses of deficiency and individualism that underpinned pedagogical strategies focusing on building self-interested and responsible individuals, while neglecting strategies that would engage communities in broader processes of social change. Suggestions for challenging the dominant discourses that structure SDP and decolonizing curriculum is provided in the conclusion.
Preface

This dissertation is original, unpublished, and independent work by the author, S.D. Forde
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List of Abbreviations

AIDS - Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
HIV - Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LSPS - Live Safe Play Safe
PEPFAR – President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
RTP - Right to Play
SDP - Sport for Development and Peace
UN - United Nations
UNICEF - The United Nations Children Fund
UNAIDS - The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
USAID – United States Agency for International Development
WHO - World Health Organization
Acknowledgements

Looking at the title page of my thesis, I have come to realize that claiming to be the sole author on a project such as this is somewhat disingenuous; it hides the intellectual and emotional investments that others have contributed. I cannot say enough about the patience, guidance, and insight provided by my supervisor Dr. Wendy Frisby, the feedback and comments from my committee members Dr. Brian Wilson and Dr. Shauna Butterwick, and the engaging and challenging environment provided by other graduate students in The Annex.

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Finally, it is fitting that I write these acknowledgements so soon after Mother’s Day. I know that the words I put down on paper, in this section or in a Mother’s Day card, cannot do justice to the love and support I have received from my mom. All of my achievements and successes I owe to her.
**Chapter 1: Background and Introduction**

Sport is increasingly championed as a tool in international development because of its supposed ability to transmit life skills, break down barriers, and empower individuals (Beutler, 2008). It has been endorsed by the United Nations through a number of resolutions as a way to achieve the UN Millennium Development Goals, and it forms the foundation of a number of non-governmental sport for development and peace (SDP) organizations. These organizations strive to address a variety of health and social issues through sport and play programs in the Global South.

In his speech during the Laureus World Sport Awards in Monaco in 2000, Nelson Mandela eloquently described his view on the power of sport in promoting social change as follows:

> Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to unite in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination. (Mandela, 2000)

In a lot of ways, Nelson Mandela’s speech echoed my own reasoning for first becoming a physical education teacher and then working with a SDP organization in Lesotho in southern Africa. However, during my time in Lesotho, many of the beliefs I held about sport and its role in development were challenged. The organization I was working with trained local coaches and organizations to use sport and play as a tool for facilitating

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1 There are a variety of terms used to describe the contexts in which international SDP initiatives take place. These include Global South, developing world, developing countries, the Third World, and low and middle-income countries. These terms are often juxtaposed with Global North, the developed world, and the First World. Although I use these terms throughout this thesis, mostly in line with the literature I draw upon, I recognize that this terminology when used uncritically can perpetuate hierarchical binaries and essentialized boundaries.
discussions with youth about HIV/AIDS prevention, aiming to provide them with life skills allowing them to make healthy decisions. Many of these coaches and organizations focused their work on young girls, as they were labeled one of the most at-risk groups for contracting HIV/AIDS.

During one of my first weeks in Lesotho, after attending a program that was attempting to empower adolescent girls through sport, I read an article in the local newspaper about a teenage girl who was raped and consequently contracted HIV/AIDS. The article was short, hidden in the back pages of the paper, and as I would find out from reading the paper on a regular basis, this was not an uncommon story. Later that year, I also read about Eudy Simelane. She was a former member of the South African Women's national soccer team, a champion for human rights, one of the first women to live openly as a lesbian in her township, and she was gang-raped and murdered by a group of men in 2008. Both stories made me question the effectiveness, appropriateness, and difficulty of teaching life skills while focusing on individual improvement and behaviour change in contexts where individuals are constrained by historical relations of power. The teenage girl written about in the newspaper could have been one of the girls from the program I had worked with, and I wondered if and how knowledge about HIV and various life skills could have prevented her from being raped. Eudy Simelane was a high level athlete, a human rights activist, and by most definitions she would have been considered empowered, but if anything this made her a target for violence.

Additionally, during my time in Lesotho, engaging with the concept of life skills represented a constant problem, particularly because my job title was the Football and Life Sills Coordinator. The vagueness and ambiguity of the concept caused me concern because I
felt that focusing on improving individuals’ skills made it difficult to address broader social, political and cultural factors affecting the lives of people I was working with. Fairclough (1992) has stated that it is these points of crisis, or the recognition of such contradictions, which can lead to the initiation of a critical discourse analysis. From my experience, the concept of life skills in SDP has become a buzzword that is pervasive and largely unquestioned. It is precisely because concepts like this become taken-for-granted that they are appropriate foci for analysis (Butterwick & Benjamin, 2006). As Cornwall and Brock (2005, p. 1044) stated, development buzzwords “do more than provide a sense of direction: they lend the legitimacy that development actors need to justify their interventions.” The concept of life skills in SDP is potentially constructed through various means such as fundraising and promotional materials, policy documents, and locally constructed understandings. However, I see SDP curriculum materials as particularly important sources of analysis because they include the knowledge and pedagogical strategies that SDP organizations feel are important or necessary to address various social and health problems.

There has been a lack of research that has examined the actual pedagogical strategies utilized in SDP. Spaiij and Jeanes (2012) provided an exception to this in a recent paper where they reflected on the pedagogical approaches to SDP they observed in Brazil and Zambia. They argued that there were three dominant pedagogical approaches: (i) traditional didactic which referred to a lecture based approach that was focused on the transmission of information. Within this approach it was assumed that the teachers, often foreign volunteers, possessed superior knowledge and skills and were attempting to transmit these to participants; (ii) peer-education, was based on a more horizontal approach in which a facilitator would engage their peers in discussion and debate relating to important issues, and
(iii) relationship building, which involved shifting the focus from the transmission of information to building long lasting and trust-based relationships between coaches and participants. It is important to note that terms such as pedagogical approaches, pedagogical strategies and pedagogical methods are often used interchangeably in the literature without clear definitions. For example, Spaaij and Jeanes (2012) discussed the pedagogical approaches taken by SDP organizations, but at various points they also referred to pedagogical philosophies, pedagogical strategies, and pedagogical methods. For my study, I am interested in the pedagogical strategies presented in the curriculum material and I use the term to describe the prescribed teaching methods and instructions for facilitators. For me, a pedagogical strategy refers to the specific, while pedagogical approach is more general. Distinguishing between the general and the specific will be important for an analysis of curriculum material. For example, Spaaij and Jeanes labeled peer education and relationship building as dominant approaches within SDP that are potentially amenable to a critical pedagogical approach. However, they also acknowledged that organizations using a peer education or relationship building approach still largely relied on strategies relating to didactically transmitting facts with the aim of individual behaviour change. Therefore, there were contradictions between the approach that was espoused and the actual strategies used. Although Spaaij and Jeanes recognized that SDP organizations are not homogenous, I believe that focusing on dominant pedagogical approaches limits the ability to describe the diverse ways in which SDP organizations attempt to educate their participants. For that reason, instead of describing the overall pedagogical approach that is taken by an organization’s curriculum material, I have decided to focus on how the specific pedagogical
strategies presented in curriculum are constructed and presented. For example, how are facilitators instructed to carry out lectures, group discussions, games, and activities?

The language used in SDP manuals to construct concepts like life skills is not neutral and examining how language functions in constructing certain ways of knowing and being is possible through critical discourse analysis. While discourse has been defined in numerous ways, for my study, it will be conceptualized as a way of describing aspects of the world from certain perspectives (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2008). In this sense we can talk about various discourses being prevalent in particular social domains such as SDP, or institutions within SDP, such as the organization I worked with in Lesotho. The notion of development is central to SDP and there are various perspectives that influence the way it is written and spoken about and practiced. For example, historically, prevalent discourses of development have been based on perspectives that prioritize economic growth, industrialization, and ‘progress’ from a traditional to a modern society (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Even though development can be viewed as a contentious term with multiple meanings, discourses become dominant and frame understandings of development and underdevelopment in particular ways and therefore contribute to normalizing certain modes of talking, speaking, writing, and thinking about development (Escobar, 1995; Grillo, 1997; Robinson-Pant, 2001).

In a similar way, particular discourses are drawn upon and enacted through language in SDP curriculum materials to construct the concepts like life skills along with the identities of those thought to be in need of developing their life skills. The ways in which life skills are socially constructed also has implications for how SDP programs are developed and the pedagogical strategies that are practiced. Critical discourse analysis offers a way of
examining how language contributes to the construction of discourses that scaffold our social world, how particular discourses can be interpreted as dominant and normalized, and the implication this has on producing, maintaining, challenging, or transforming power relations.

The purpose of this study was to conduct a critical discourse analysis of the curriculum manual that Right to Play (RTP) has used to train facilitators for its HIV/AIDS prevention program called Live Safe Play Safe (LSPS). I addressed the following research questions:

(i) how do discourses reflected in the LSPS manual construct the concept of life skills,

(ii) how do these discourses represent SDP participants, particularly girls, and

(iii) how are these discourses related to the pedagogical strategies constructed in the manual?

In the following sections of this chapter, I will briefly describe my theoretical framework along with the rationale for using critical discourse analysis and for selecting the LSPS manual.

1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

There are a variety of approaches to critical discourse analysis, but Jorgensen and Phillips (2008) have argued that a commonality between them is a focus on the processes through which discourses become dominant and normalized and the ways that unequal power relations are maintained through these processes. In understanding how discourses become dominant and normalized, I have drawn on an approach to critical discourse analysis that is in line with Fairclough’s (1989, 1992) theorizing and methods. His social theory of discourse was based on the concepts of ideology and hegemony as developed by Althusser (1971) and
Gramsci (1971). For Fairclough (1992), ideologies were “constructions of meaning that contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of relations of domination” (p. 87), while hegemony referred to the dominance of one group over another. Importantly, hegemonic dominance has been constantly resisted and never fully achieved, as it has involved a process of negotiation and “constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or through ideological means, to win their consent” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 92). Essentially, Gramscian hegemony has emphasized that power imbalances do not need to occur only through coercion, but result from ongoing processes of negotiation, resistance, and consent (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2008).

Taking account of these processes entails moving between an analysis of the LSPS manual (e.g., textual analysis), an analysis of the broader context in which the LSPS manual exists (e.g., social practices), and an analysis of the various discourses that mediate relationships between the text and broader social context (e.g. analysis of discourses). These three levels constitute an analysis of the configurations and relationships between multiple discourses within a particular social domain (e.g., SDP) or an institution (e.g., RTP). This is important to analyze because of the ways that some discourses become naturalized and operate as a form of cultural hegemony within a field or institution (Fairclough, 1989). Thus, the discourses within an institution such as RTP can construct knowledge and identities in ways that contribute to the perpetuation of dominance of certain groups. The multiple discourses drawn upon and enacted through the various ways that RTP understands, documents, and speaks or writes about SDP, and the articulation of these discourses, pose implications for how RTP practices development through the use of curriculum materials in programs like LSPS.
1.2 Theoretical Framework

Critical discourse analysis is often referred to as both a theory and a method (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2008; Rogers, 2004). However, scholars have also argued that depending on the object of analysis, additional theoretical approaches may be needed to examine the implications that discourses have in terms of power relations and social practices (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2008). Given my purpose and research questions, I have drawn upon postcolonial theory as well as critical and decolonial pedagogy to explore how discourses, identities, and pedagogical strategies connected to the concept of life skills within the LSPS manual may perpetuate or challenge existing power relations inherent in SDP practices. This is further described in Chapter Two.

1.3 Discourses of Development

Discourse may perpetuate power relations through legitimizing and normalizing certain ways of knowing, acting, and being. As Griillo (1997) noted, “A discourse (e.g., of development) identifies appropriate and legitimate ways of practicing development as well as speaking and thinking about it” (p. 12). This notion has also been applied to how certain terms, such as life skills, mean different things in different contexts for different people. Discourses of development are involved in fixing meanings and therefore are implicated in processes of generating a “globalized technology of knowledge and power, [which] depend on circumscribed…ways of seeing that flatten out local complexity and rely on unequal power relations between ‘North’ and ‘South’ to work” (Kothari, 2006, p. 18).

After returning from a year in Lesotho, where the estimated HIV prevalence rate was close to 24%, it has sometimes been difficult to convince myself of the importance of a critical discourse analysis because of critiques that it neglects the material conditions that
people face in their daily lives (McEwan, 2008). During the course of this study, I was often challenged by this same criticism because of the real effects of HIV/AIDS that I observed in Lesotho. Dying is not discursive and I have worried that conducting a critical discourse analysis may give the impression that I have lost sight of this. However, in critiquing the LSPS manual, I am not arguing that education and prevention efforts targeting HIV/AIDS should be abandoned because knowledge about the virus and how it is transmitted is essential to prevention efforts. However, I do believe that the effects of HIV/AIDS, such as stigma and discrimination, and the responses to the disease through life skills education are partly discursive. As a result, the ways in which HIV/AIDS is understood, and the ways that life skills and certain identities are constructed in relation to it have important implications for how SDP programs are developed and implemented and what outcomes they are able to achieve. As McEwan (2008) has argued:

Clearly, development discourse promotes and justifies very real interventions with very real consequences…it is therefore imperative to explore the links between the words, practices and institutional expressions of development, and between the relations of power that order the world and the words and images that represent the world. (p. 300)

1.4 Right to Play and the Live Safe Play Safe Manual

RTP was created through the Organizing Committee of the 1994 Lillehammer Olympics as a program called Olympic Aid that served to raise funds for humanitarian assistance. In 2000 Olympic Aid became RTP, and based on the philosophy of “Look After Yourself, Look After One Another” the organization became involved in directly implementing sport and play programs in refugee camps in Africa. Since then it has expanded and currently operates in over 20 countries across South America, Africa, and Asia (Right to Play, 2010c).
RTP has played an influential role globally through its role as secretariat for the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace from 2002 to 2004, and then as the secretariat for the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group from 2004 to 2008. These positions have allowed RTP to be a driving force in developing policy and influencing international organizations, governments, sporting bodies, and national governments with regards to SDP (Hayhurst, 2009). RTP programs have been implemented through what they call a capacity building approach, whereby local teachers, coaches, and community workers have been trained in various topics so they can act as facilitators in programs involving HIV/AIDS education and prevention, holistic child development, the inclusion of children with disabilities, peace building and conflict prevention, and participatory leadership (Right to Play, 2010b).

LSPS is a facilitator’s manual used to train local coaches, teachers and community leaders to implement activities for LSPS participants aged six to 19 to promote HIV/AIDS education and prevention. Throughout this study, when I use the term facilitator, I am referring to the local community members who are trained to be RTP leaders, while I use the term participants to refer to the youth who are then guided through the LSPS program by the facilitators. RTPs curriculum development is described as a collaborative process whereby the organization works with “a team of curriculum experts and with many representatives from RTP project locations around the world to redesign existing resources and create new resources that support continued learning, assessment and ongoing improvement (Right to Play, 2010a, para 17). Terms such as 'curriculum expert' and 'collaboration' are left unexplained; however, LSPS curriculum developers largely come from the Global North and are trained in the fields of health promotion, education, and international development. The
John Hopkins University/Centre for Communication Programs in the United States, which is involved in producing a variety of health promotion and communication materials, was responsible for writing and testing the curriculum in partnership with RTP and the CORE initiative. CORE is a global program funded by the United States Agency for International Development that aims to connect community and faith-based organizations involved in HIV/AIDS prevention.

It is also important to note that different versions of the LSPS manual are publicly available. The version of the manual I am analyzing was made available in 2008 through the International Platform on Sport and Development\(^2\), a website that disseminates information on SDP that aims to connect professionals and organizations working in the SDP sector. I also found a copy that is used with RTP programs in Tanzania that included some slight modifications. Additionally, during my experience in Lesotho, one of the organizations I was involved with also used the same LSPS manual for its HIV/AIDS education and prevention program. The rationale for choosing the LSPS manual and the specific version I focused on are provided in Chapter Three.

My choice in focusing on the LSPS manual is based on the argument that texts have a central role in social organization as a way of coordinating or organizing activities across local settings and across time (Smith, 2001). With regards to ruling relations, Smith (2001) has argued that texts and documents can allow power relations to transcend time, place, and people’s activities. Additionally, Hodder (2000) argued that documents are “embedded in social and ideological systems” (p. 704) and can be used to investigate or ask questions about broader social and ideological systems. Examining the ways that the LSPS manual draws on

\(^2\) [www.sportanddev.org](http://www.sportanddev.org)
various discourses can illustrate the ideologies underpinning the practices of RTP and the implications this has on maintaining or challenging unequal relations of power.

1.5 Live Safe Play Safe Manual in Context

Conducting a critical discourse analysis requires an understanding of the context in which the text under analysis is embedded. One way of illuminating this is to examine the intertextuality of the LSPS manual by considering what other texts are referenced explicitly or implicitly in it. From my initial readings of the LSPS manual, I found that texts from SDP, international development, health promotion and education are drawn upon. In Chapter Two I will outline the literature in these areas in more detail, but first I will explain how my analysis addresses gaps in SDP research.

Recent research on SDP has focused on discourses and the ways that SDP organizations represent program participants. For example, both Darnell (2007) and Tiessen (2011) conducted discourse analyses of SDP websites and online materials, and Hayhurst (2009) conducted a discourse analysis of SDP policy documents. In all three studies, the authors found that SDP organizations were drawing on dominant discourses representing the Global South as backwards, deficient, and in need of assistance from organizations and donors located in the Global North. Although my study has largely been motivated by the three previous studies and has taken a somewhat similar approach, it is important to acknowledge Lindsey and Gratton’s (2012, p. 5) critique of these types of studies.

Research approaches that are driven by specific theoretical frameworks (e.g. Gramscian hegemony theory in Darnell 2010) or rely solely on textual analysis of documentation (as Hayhurst 2009 does with policy documents) are more likely to reify singular and abstracted accounts of development. Based on their ethnographic work in Zambia, they argued that international organizations had much less of an impact on local SDP than critical research approaches have presumed.
They argued this is because the aid-chain is so long from donor to recipient and from policy to implementation that the rhetoric and intentions of large international organizations do not necessarily trickle down to local communities. Similarly, Gardner and Lewis (2000) contended that previous deconstructionist research has been overly deterministic in presenting development as a top-down dominating enterprise. Despite these critiques, neglecting the ways that identities, practices, and social relations are constructed within SDP texts risks perpetuating neocolonial processes where power relations and inequalities are maintained and left unchallenged (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). My use of the term neocolonial is derived from postcolonial theorists and represents the lingering belief that the North is a civilizing benevolent saviour and it is through the stewardship of the North that the Global South will successfully develop (McEwan, 2008). Additionally, in a response to Lindsey and Gratton's (2012) critique, Darnell and Hayhurst (2012, p. 120) argued that understanding local actions is important, but it needs to be accompanied by focusing on “understanding, interrogating and, where appropriate, challenging institutions, practices and ideologies that uphold and maintain structural inequalities.” Additionally, from their research in Zambia Hayhurst, MacNeill, and Frisby (2011) found that even when SDP programs were locally developed and implemented, local voices were still lost in the dominant discourses of global international development.

In conducting a critical discourse analysis of the LSPS manual I was not able to comment on how the document is acted upon locally, but I was able to provide a glimpse into the ways that the document and concepts were discursively constructed and the impact this may have on power relations. I attempted to emulate Gardner and Lewis (2000, p. 17) who, in conducting a discourse analysis of the British Government’s White Paper on International
Development, argued that examining discourse “can only become politically engaged when it is used to demonstrate the fluidity and heterogeneity of discourses within development as well as the power relations which they inevitably involve.” With this in mind, I was interested in uncovering the multiple, overlapping, and sometimes ambiguous discourses articulated within the LSPS manual as opposed to identifying and essentializing a single dominant discourse.

1.5.1 SDP, Health Promotion and Education, and International Development.

Although HIV/AIDS education and prevention have often been described as one way that SDP contributes to development (Banda, 2011; Koss & Alexandrova, 2005; Levermore & Beacom, 2009), there has been no research that I have uncovered that has critically examined how this assumption has been and continues to be discursively realized in the curriculum materials used by SDP organizations. A number of authors have written about the potential of using sport in HIV/AIDS prevention (Banda, 2011; Beutler, 2008; Koss & Alexandrova 2005; Mwaanga, 2010; Nicholls, 2009; Nicholls & Giles, 2007). Others have also examined technical aspects involved in sport and HIV programs, such as partnerships (Lindsey & Banda, 2010), or educational mandates, teacher training, and resources in the integration of HIV prevention into physical education (Njelesani, 2010). Empowerment has also been examined in terms of using peer educators to facilitate discussions about HIV prevention (Jeanes, 2011; Nicholls, 2009). However, these studies have not examined the ways HIV/AIDS prevention programs are constructed through discourses that legitimize certain understandings of and responses to HIV/AIDS, such as the promotion of life skills.

Additionally, even though many of these programs have been developed with the assistance of organizations in the fields of international development and health promotion, research in
HIV/AIDS and SDP has largely neglected important critiques developed by critical scholars in international development, health promotion, and education.

1.6 Summary

By conducting a critical discourse analysis of the LSPS manual, I analyzed how discourses relating to life skills (RQ1) were drawn upon and how these discourses constructed particular identities for LSPS participants (RQ2); and explained the ways these are connected to the pedagogical strategies as well as the broader social context in which the LSPS manual has been deployed (RQ3). To address the research questions, the remainder of the thesis is structured as follows.

The second chapter is my theoretical framework and literature review, where I describe the context within which the LSPS manual was developed. The third chapter is my methodology and includes two major sections. First, I describe data collection, including a rationale for selecting the LSPS manual and a general description of it, along with a rationale for selecting certain portions of the manual to analyze. Second, I outline my methods of data analysis that were based on a three dimensional model of discourse analysis developed by Fairclough (1992). In Chapter 4, I present my findings and discussion. The first section involves an analysis of the discourses used in the LSPS manual that construct the concept of life skills from particular perspectives. Following this, I explore how identities, particularly those of girls, were constructed, and how the pedagogical strategies prescribed were influenced by these discourses. In the concluding chapter, I summarize my findings, discuss the limitations of the study, propose ideas for future research, and provide some suggestions for curriculum development and pedagogy within RTP and SDP.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

The construction of the LSPS manual was obviously influenced by texts and discourses from SDP, international development, and health promotion and education, and as a result, these literatures will be briefly reviewed in this chapter. Conducting a critical discourse analysis requires situating a text in a broader social, historical, and political context in order to understand the role that discourses may play in maintaining or challenging power relations (Fairclough, 1992; Gee, 2011; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). This requires considering the various texts and discourses that are drawn upon to construct the text being analyzed (Fairclough, 1989, 1992). After initial readings of the LSPS manual it became clear that as a curriculum document it has been influenced by international organizations such as the World Health Organization, UNAIDS, and UNICEF. Activities and lessons in the manual have also been adapted from SDP organizations like Kicking Aids Out and Grassroots Soccer, both of which use sport in HIV prevention programs in sub Saharan Africa. The manual also brings in activities and information from the American Peace Corps' Life Skills Manual and various public health bodies, such as New Mexico AIDS.

Critical discourse scholars have advocated for drawing on various social theories to gain an understanding of the context in which texts are developed, disseminated, and consumed. For me, this involved developing a theoretical framework based on postcolonial feminist theory as well as critical and decolonial pedagogy. This helped to frame the literature I reviewed as well as provided me a perspective from which I questioned some of the taken-for-granted and common sense assumptions related to the concept of life skills in SDP.
2.1 Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Postcolonial Theory. My original interest in postcolonial theory was due to how it has considered discourse and identities in terms of issues of difference, subjectivity, agency, and hybridity. Said's (1978) *Orientalism* is often considered to be a founding work of postcolonial theory (Childs & Williams, 1997) because he was interested in the construction of the Orient by the Occident. The construction of the 'Other', Said (1978) noted, was in opposition to the 'self' and colonial power was and continues to be demonstrated by this ability to define, describe, and theorize about the 'Other'.

Spivak’s (1988) essay entitled “Can the subaltern speak?” has also been particularly influential. For Spivak, the subaltern referred to those groups of people who are at the very margins of society, who do not even have access to participate in processes of oppression. Through the example of sati, the practice in some Indian communities involving a recently widowed woman joining her husband on the funeral pyre, Spivak problematized the possibility of speaking about or for the Other through describing how accounts of sati were only provided from the perspectives of British colonial officials or Hindu elites. For her, the idea of whether the subaltern can speak should be addressed with skepticism because intersections of patriarchy and colonialism make it impossible to recover an authentic subaltern voice. Postcolonial feminists such as Mohanty (1988) and McEwan (2008, p. 73) have argued that instead of speaking for or speaking about the Other, intellectuals from the Global North and development practitioners must be critically reflexive of the ways our “discursive practices are intimately shaped by our positioning, in terms of socio-economic factors, gender, culture, geography, history and institutional location.” This requires recognition of how our representations of the Other and our willingness to speak for and
about the Other are wrapped up in our own social positions within a complex set of power relations. This is relevant for how the LSPS manual represents the Other and how it is important for me to be critically reflective, which I will discuss further in Chapter Three.

Hybridity in postcolonial studies, which refers to “the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonialism” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2007, p. 108) is another important concept for my analysis. Bhabha (1994) argued that colonial situations result in ambivalence on the part of the colonizer that allowed for the fixed subject positions of colonizer and colonized to be challenged so that hybrid identities can be created and enunciated. Bhabha emphasized the interdependency of the construction of the colonized and colonizer subject. In first reading about hybridity, I was incredibly excited about the potential it alluded to because SDP has been accused of simply imposing Western values on local communities (Giulianotti, 2004; Guest, 2009; Kidd, 2008, Tiessen, 2011). However, these organizations also claim to work collaboratively with local communities to develop programs. Some have also argued that SDP, which often involves a focus on health as well as personal and social development, represents a challenge to traditional forms of development that have prioritized economic growth (Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Lindsey & Grattan, 2012). For me, this points to the possibility of SDP offering a space where traditional essentialized identities and forms of may be challenged.

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3 Similar to my discussion above regarding terms such as developing world and Global South to denote the context in which SDP projects take place, it is important to recognize a similar concern with language that attributes a set of values, ideas, beliefs, or knowledges to a certain group, or geographical region. However, in line with the SDP literature, I use the term Western to refer to values and knowledges that have largely developed out of the European enlightenment and within the Global North. In this way, throughout this thesis I use Global North and Global South to refer to geographical locations, while I use Western to refer to ideas, values, and beliefs associated with the Global North.
Shizha (2008) has argued that this would potentially allow learners to combine local and western knowledge to participate in activities and achieve outcomes that they value. It has been argued that knowledge pluralism and hybridization can replace voices that are missing in the official curriculum, and can neutralize and challenge the power differentials created by hegemonic practices and imposed Western values (Shizha, 2008). However, it is important to note that Bhabha's conception has been criticized for neglecting the historical and material effects of colonialism. Shizha (2008) acknowledged this in stating that the possibility of a space in which hybridity can be enunciated does not equalize power relations and the ways in which some forms of knowledge are prioritized in relation to them.

Both McEwan (2008) and Slater and Bell (2002) have outlined a number of questions derived from postcolonial theory that are relevant for my analysis. For Slater and Bell (2002), a postcolonial framework:

… foregrounds issues of difference, agency, subjectivity, hybridity and resistance. It does so, however, in a way which aims to destabilize Western discourses of modernity, progress and development, always making connections with the continual salience of colonial and imperial imaginations. (p. 339)

Postcolonial theory, in particular theorizing by postcolonial feminists, can also provide links between the discursive and the material through considerations of how discourse is intertwined with lived experiences (McEwan, 2008). Furthermore, postcolonial feminist theory challenges the ways that power relations and inequalities continue to be maintained through various cultural and ideological means and experienced in the daily lives of women living within a globalized capitalist economy (Hayhurst et al., 2011; McEwan, 2008).

One of the strengths of postcolonial feminist theory has been to highlight and question discourses represented in development texts. As McEwan (2008) stated:
Development texts are written in representational language, using metaphors, images, allusion, fantasy and rhetoric to create imagined worlds that arguably bear little resemblance to the real world. Consequently, development writing often produces and reproduces misrepresentation. Postcolonialism seeks to remove negative stereotypes about people and places from such discourses, requiring that categories such as 'Third World', 'developing world' and 'Third World women' are problematized and rethought...An understanding of the discursive power of development is central to this. (p. 121)

There has also been recent research on SDP that was guided by and advocates for a postcolonial feminist framework. Hayhurst et al. (2011) examined the work of EduSport, a Zambian NGO that uses sport for a number of personal and community development purposes. The authors argued that postcolonial feminism could be used to destabilize dominant discourses and to centre the voices of women in the Global South through more participatory and culturally appropriate forms of SDP research and practice.

I was also drawn to work by Fanon (1963) whose post-colonial writings about struggles for independence and liberation in Algeria became influential for a number of scholars and activists interested in liberation and decolonization. His influence on education is of interest to my work, particularly with regards to critical pedagogy.

2.1.2 Critical Pedagogy. Fanon’s (1963) ideas influenced a number of critical pedagogy scholars, including Paulo Freire (De Lissovoy, 2007), who promoted an approach to pedagogy that was guided by liberatory and humanizing ideals. It focused on working with oppressed people to uncover and address the structures and systems that constrained them (Freire, 2000). Critical pedagogy is also an appropriate addition to my theoretical framework as the work of Freire continues to be an inspiration for progressive educators and is even more relevant in today's globalized world in which neoliberal capitalism can be seen as operating in neocolonial and oppressive ways (De Lissovoy, 2008; Spaaij & Jeanes, 2012).
Critical pedagogy as derived from Freire’s work has focused on developing students’ critical consciousness and addressing “how domination, wrapped in educational policy, pedagogy, curriculum development and assessment oppresses, marginalizes, and/or silences students, especially those from working-class backgrounds” (Weiner 2007, p. 62). Developing a critical consciousness and addressing oppression begins by challenging what Freire referred to as ‘banking education’, which is the depositing of information into students. This partially occurs through deconstructing the traditional teacher-student dynamic where the teacher is the possessor of knowledge and the student is the passive recipient of it. For Freire, in any educational setting, every teacher is simultaneously a student, and every student is simultaneously a teacher. For him, both teacher-students and student-teachers worked together through discussions relating to problems that community members face. He termed this problem-posing education and conceived of it as revolving around generative themes that were relevant social, cultural, or political problem meant to generate discussion. Following the introduction of a theme, discussion focused on developing a collective and contextual understanding of the issue, and proposing, implementing, and analyzing potential solutions. These terms are relevant for my analysis of the pedagogical strategies within the LSPS manual. For example, what pedagogical strategies are used to facilitate discussions relating to problems that the participants face, do these strategies position facilitators as in positions of power, and in what ways do these strategies open or close spaces for dialogic encounters.

Researchers and educators interested in issues of inequality and social justice are often drawn to critical pedagogy, but it is important to acknowledge some criticisms that lead me to more contemporary critical approaches to pedagogy, namely decolonial pedagogy. For
example, critical pedagogy has been critiqued by some for: i) overly relying on Marxist critiques that are narrowly focused on social class, ii) simply being a different form of modernism or liberalism, and iii) being utopian and unattainable (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 2008; Stanley 1992). Criticisms of critical pedagogy have also been linked to primarily white North American male academics who have been accused of appropriating the concepts without being reflexive of their own social positions (Pinar et al., 2008). As a result, Ellsworth (1989) has warned that embracing critical pedagogy can simply be a form of voyeurism when researchers are not critical of their own voice. Additional criticisms of critical pedagogy relate to discourses of deficiency and empowerment, whereby assumptions that people can be empowered by gaining an understanding of their situations, presumes that they are lacking in skills and knowledge to begin with (De Lissovoy, 2007). Along similar lines, some critical pedagogues have been accused of trying to convince uneducated oppressed peoples about the value of the progressive forms of knowledge promoted through critical pedagogy (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). As a result of these criticisms, I have been drawn to decolonial approaches to pedagogy that build upon Fanon (1963) and Freire (2000).

2.1.3 Decolonial Pedagogy. Decolonial approaches to pedagogy have been described as “confronting, challenging, and undoing the dominative and assimilative force of colonialism as a historical and contemporary process,” and the Eurocentrism that perpetuates it (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 280). Analyzing curriculum from a decolonial perspective involves questioning the conceptual basis of the curriculum along with the knowledge and worldviews that legitimize the content of educational programs (De Lissovoy, 2010). This provided me with another theoretical lens to question aspects of the LSPS manual that appeared to be common-sense or taken-for-granted (Butterwick & Benjamin, 2006).
De Lissovoy (2008) has drawn on Fanon (1963) and Freire (2000) to develop a compound standpoint framework of pedagogy that understands oppression in terms of cultural hegemony, capital accumulation, and discourse. Theoretically this approach is similar to critical discourse analysis and to recent related articles in SDP (see Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011, 2012), in that it foregrounds analyses of power and oppression in both local and global contexts. De Lissovoy (2008) advocated for a philosophy of praxis that would combine the oppressor/oppressed dialectic developed by Fanon (1963) and Freire (2000), with the concept of multitude from Hardt and Negri (2004). De Lissovoy (2008, p.140) defined multitude as “the name of a new mode of production of social life and for a new class and political project that links working people, the poor, and creative humanity generally in a struggle against ‘empire’.” Freire’s (2000) conceptualization of oppressor and oppressed was largely based on Marxist notions of class struggle and De Lissovoy (2008) argued that this dialectic is relevant for discussions regarding all forms of oppression because it highlights the ways in which oppression is experienced and resisted in day-to-day life. His notion of praxis occurs when those involved in local struggles see themselves being connected to other local struggles in a global context. These global connections are not meant to universalize local struggles or present a monolithic solidarity. Rather, they are thought to create spaces in which new, and possibly hybrid ways of being are enacted. Furthermore, a decolonial approach in this respect refers to the creation of a globality based on a respect for and recognition of difference, and specifically the differences that have arisen from the ongoing project of colonization.

In terms of putting forward a pedagogical strategy, De Lissovoy (2008) built on Freire’s (2000) notion of a generative theme by arguing that processes of reflection and
action need to occur by engaging with issues at the local, regional, national, and international levels. This conception of praxis has been exemplified in recent writings on decolonial approaches to education and provided me with insights that I used to question the pedagogical strategies developed in the LSPS manual.

Adjei and Dei (2008) described a decolonial approach to education in Ghana that attempted to challenge power relations derived from hierarchies established through colonial encounters and relations of domination between and within the Global North and South. Like other scholars, they argued that local people should be the driving force for addressing problems faced through drawing upon knowledge connected to local histories, values, and cultures. It is in this respect, that I see connections to critical pedagogy and Fanon's ideas on liberation. For Fanon (1963), the most important aspect of decolonization “is that it starts from the very first day with the basic claims of the colonized. In actual fact, proof of success lies in a social fabric that has been changed inside out” (p. 1). This is connected to Freire's concept of conscientization and his notion of problem-posing education, but is presented in a way that mitigates the criticisms of critical pedagogy mentioned earlier. That is, it avoids discussing a universal humanizing path, and instead posits that people possess knowledge that can contribute to solving problems that they identify. Additionally, foregrounding local knowledge can contribute to the deconstruction of the teacher-student dynamic in much the same way that Freire and other critical pedagogues have advocated for. However, a decolonial perspective also acknowledges the danger in romanticizing and homogenizing all forms of knowledge labeled local or indigenous and vilifying all forms of knowledge labeled Western or modern.
Shizha (2008) has expanded on this by explaining the possibilities of knowledge pluralism. Similar to Adjei and Dei (2008), Shizha (2008, p. 48) argued that reified conceptions of global or local knowledge are inadequate in assisting local populations to develop sustainably. However, he also proposed that there is potential to combine local knowledge with other global forms of knowledge. His argument drew on the concept of hybridity discussed earlier when he showed how students could draw on multiple sources of knowledge to take on new identities and to participate in ways they valued. Shizha argued that these processes provided a way to recuperate the voices of the colonized into educational practices.

A decolonial perspective relating to pedagogy and curriculum provided me with guidance in analyzing how the pedagogical strategies included in the LSPS manual contributed to, or demonstrated, the privileging of certain forms of knowledge or whether the strategies employed provided a space for hybridity and knowledge pluralism.

2.1.4. Critical Pedagogy and Sport for Development and Peace. A number of scholars have theorized the potential benefits that critical pedagogy could offer for SDP research and practice (Darnell, 2012; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2012; Nicholls, 2009; Spaaij & Jeanes, 2012). Nicholls (2009) argued that because many SDP projects included peer education there was the potential for programs to foster empowerment through collective reflection, discussion, and action. Reflecting on their research in Brazil and Zambia, Spaaij and Jeanes (2012) emphasized peer education as one of three dominant pedagogical approaches in SDP, the other two being traditional didactic and relationship building. They also argued that peer education and relationship building approaches could serve as potential avenues for delivering a Freirean critical pedagogy. Importantly, they
noted that the programs they had experience with were most likely not fostering any form of critical consciousness among participants, but were instead interested in transmitting information. Even programs that were utilizing peer educators were still relying on didactic forms of pedagogy.

Spaaij and Jeanes (2012) outlined three key principles that organizations could follow in adopting a critical pedagogical approach. First, they argued that curriculum must be contextually developed and based on participants lived experiences, not externally developed and pre-packaged. Second, there should be a move away from strategies that align with a didactic approach towards more locally relevant forms of pedagogy. Third, they argued that the educational process should not be authoritarian or manipulative, but should still be directive in terms of striving to create a safe space to foster dialogue.

Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) and Darnell (2012) have also drawn on critical pedagogy, but have taken a different approach in arguing for a more radical change to how SDP is practiced. They have based their arguments on critiques of development forwarded by scholars who have “argued for a radical vision of development that centres on processes of empowerment, emancipation, and liberation involving the full and active participation of those previously marginalized” (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, p. 294). These views are in opposition to historically dominant practices of development that privilege Western knowledge and values, and present those in the Global South as primitive, backwards, ignorant, and unable to develop themselves. With this in mind, they stated that the goal of a more radical form of SDP could be to challenge the hegemonic knowledge, structures, and relations that perpetuate inequalities.
2.2 Sport for Development and Peace

Many scholars have argued that SDP is occurring within a social and political environment dominated by a neoliberal ideology (Black, 2010; Darnell, 2010; Darnell & Black, 2011; Giulianotti, 2004; Hayhurst, 2009; Hayhurst, 2011; Hayhurst, Wilson, & Frisby, 2010; Kidd, 2008; Levermore, 2009; Wilson, 2012; Wilson & Hayhurst, 2009; and Tiessen, 2011). This is also an argument that has been made in development studies more broadly (Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Levermore, 2009; McKay, 2008). There are multiple definitions of neoliberalism, but for the purposes of this study, I am drawing on recent theorization of neoliberalism as discourse (Springer, 2005), as well as the relationships between neoliberalism and neoconservativism (Brown, 2003). Springer, drawing on work by Ward and England (2007), argued that there are four different understandings of neoliberalism: “Neoliberalism as an ideological hegemonic project; neoliberalism as policy and program; neoliberalism as state form; and neoliberalism as governmentality” (p. 136-137). Relevant to this study, are the notions of neoliberalism as hegemonic ideology and as governmentality. Although these strands of thought derive from Marx and Foucault respectively and contain some contradictions, Springer argued that they can be productively brought together.

Harvey’s (2005) conceptualization of neoliberalism is along the lines of hegemonic ideology. He defines the term as:

A theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. (Harvey, 2005, p. 2)

Central to Harvey’s (2005) conceptualization of neoliberalism is that it serves to maintain class interests and class domination through a process of coercion and consent (Springer,
Contrary to this top-down perspective is the notion of neoliberalism as governmentality.

This understanding implies power as a complex, yet very specific form centering on knowledge production through the ensemble of rationalities, strategies, technologies, and techniques concerning the mentality of rule that allow for the de-centering of government through the active role of auto-regulated or auto-correcting selves who facilitate ‘governance at a distance’ (Springer, 2012, p. 137).

For Springer (2012), these two approaches, which are based on Gramscian and Foucauldian understandings of power, provide a dialectical understanding of neoliberalism. That is, there are institutions within society, such as the media, schools, governments, think tanks, and so on that promote neoliberalism as a hegemonic ideology. Additionally, social relations and ongoing negotiations of the meaning of neoliberalism influence that hegemonic ideology.

Further, work that analyzes how neoliberalism and neoconservativism have come together, particularly in the United States during George W. Bush’s time as president, are relevant for this study. Neoliberalism and neoconservativism may appear to be contradictory rationalities, in that neoliberalism is generally viewed as a market based political rationality, while neoconservativism is moral based, and in some ways Brown (2003) has argued that the moral subjects constituted through neoconservativism can be seen as under threat from a neoliberal subject that is motivated by self-interest. Additionally, these competing rationalities are illustrated in how the United States engages in foreign relations and how its “imperial behavior veers between commitments to corporate interests and free trade on one side and statist moral crusades at odds with these interests on the other” (Brown, 2003, p. 698). It was during George W. Bush’s first term that he initiated the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), which illustrates the collision of neoliberal and neoconservative rationalities. The initiation of PEPFAR could be seen as a moral response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Along these lines, conservative moral values also underpinned
how funding was dispersed. It was required that one-third of funding should go to abstinence only prevention programming and that organizations needed to agree to not implement programming that supported commercial sex workers, or harm reduction programming such as needle exchanges. However, the initiative also demonstrated various aspects of a neoliberal rationality in how pharmaceutical companies were given primacy in HIV/AIDS treatment efforts. The first coordinator was a former chief executive of a large pharmaceutical company. Additionally, in its initial years PEPFAR would only provide funding for branded anti-retro viral drugs as opposed to cheaper generic drugs. The focus on abstinence only prevention programming also resulted in prevention education that focused on producing citizens that were able to govern their own health (Boler & Archer, 2008).

There are a number of aspects of SDP that reflect notions of neoliberalism discussed above. For example, it has been argued that SDP is operating in a context that deemphasizes the structural and contextual factors related to poverty in favour of emphasizing personal responsibility and character building (Darnell, 2010). Furthermore, SDP is largely unregulated and privatized (Hayhurst, 2009; Kidd, 2008), and often bolsters the reduction of state involvement in favour of private sector market driven approaches (Coalter, 2010; Hayhurst, 2009). It has also been argued that this neoliberal ideology promotes the acceptance of simple universal solutions regardless of the context (Darnell, 2010; Hayhurst, 2009), while encouraging competition between NGOs for funding and resources (Hayhurst, 2009; Kidd, 2008; Wilson & Hayhurst, 2009). It has also encouraged increased linkages between SDP NGOs and the private sector, which may give corporations undue power in determining what social problems are considered worthy of collective responses (Hayhurst, 2011; Levermore, 2009, 2010).
It is important to recognize that neoliberalism, through a focus on individualism and entrepreneurialism, has the potential to offer liberatory potential for individuals to express themselves in contexts where their voices and opinions are not heard. Thus, neoliberalism can be seen as a way for marginalized individuals to gain inclusion and participate in the dominant global economy (Ong, 2006). However, viewing neoliberalism in this light may be problematic in how it decontextualizes and depoliticizes acts of individual self-expression. For example, in patriarchal societies it would be potentially dangerous for women and girls to publicly express their opinions. This has been further described by Gonick (2006), who examined two seemingly contradictory dominant discourses—“Girl Power” and “Reviving Ophelia”—that articulated together to construct girlhood in particular ways. Although Gonick did not refer to neoconservativism, her descriptions of the Girl Power and Reviving Ophelia discourses had clear links to Brown’s (2003) discussion of neoliberalism and neoconservativism. As Gonick argued “girls are simultaneously recognized as the potential idealized autonomous neoliberal subject even as they are also always already at risk of failing to secure the position” (p. 19). With regards to HIV/AIDS prevention, failing to secure this position is usually attributed to the vulnerability and fallibility of the female body, as well as the failing to avoid immoral behaviour and decisions (Ailio, 2011; Bezner Kerr & Mkandawire, 2012; Faria, 2008; Nauta, 2010).

Although it is difficult to trace the historical development of neoliberalism, both McKay (2008) and Kidd (2008) connected the prevalence of a neoliberal ideology to the collapse of the Soviet Union, which effectively discredited socialist alternatives to capitalism. During this shift, the free market became the preferred vehicle for development and government services declined (McKay, 2008). Kidd (2008) explained that this period
included a number of global events such as famine in Ethiopia, conflicts and genocide in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic that mobilized forms of popular humanitarian intervention. This will-to-act, in combination with the entrepreneurial and free market approaches connected to neoliberal forms of government and development, provided space for the rise of the athlete activist as exemplified by RTP’s Athlete Ambassadors. The RTP organization itself was initiated by Johann Olav Koss and other athletes at the Lillehammer Olympics. Koss was motivated to start the organization as a result of being emotionally impacted after humanitarian trips to famine stricken Eritrea. This form of athlete activism was described by Giulianotti (2004, p. 356) as constituting a form of neo-colonial repositioning in which the work of Western “sport evangelists” is shifted to developing countries.

With respect to my critical discourse analysis of the LSPS manual, I anticipated that the theory described above could be reflected in how language presented problems or objectives that need to be addressed, along with the identities and pedagogical strategies associated with them. In addition to operating within a neoliberal environment, there are also a number of discourses identified in the literature that are prevalent in SDP and relevant for my analysis.

**2.2.1 Discourses of sport for development and peace.** In Darnell’s (2007) research involving RTP online material, his use of the term discourse was derived from Foucault and was based on challenging notions of ‘truth’ and constructions of knowledge. He highlighted the dominant discourse of development as positioning the Third World as underdeveloped, unstable, and trapped in poverty. Additionally, sport was understood as being functional in its ability to bring groups together to achieve a variety of positive outcomes. Darnell (2007) acknowledged the presence of oppositional discourses within SDP, but justified the use of his
framework because of the resiliency of the dominant discourses and how easily they are intelligible culturally, socially, and politically. Drawing on Said (1978), he concluded that these discourses were underpinned by constructions of the Other that served to perpetuate representations of RTP’s participants as underdeveloped and lacking the skills and abilities to develop. Conversely, RTP and RTP volunteers and staff were constructed as the benevolent white saviors.

Along similar lines, Tiessen (2011) drew on Said (1978) as well as the concept of global citizenship in an analysis of the online materials of eight SDP organizations. She concluded that the SDP organizations presented themselves as benevolent and in a position to help children in the Global South. Furthermore, the recipients of SDP were represented as being passive and waiting for the help of organizations from the Global North. She argued that these representations were aligned with discourses of global citizenship representing those in the Global South as objects of globalization as opposed to active subjects, within a globalizing world.

In another study, Hayhurst (2009) examined SDP policy documents using a postcolonial framework to critically analyze six policy documents. She found that the policies were unclear, advocated for assimilation into the dominant model of North-South development rather than collaborative partnerships, and were aligned to neoliberal approaches to international development that neglected the social, political, and cultural factors that marginalize groups and individuals. These three studies taken together would suggest that the discourses reflected in SDP materials perpetuate colonial representations of SDP participants and communities, while at the same time privileging a development orthodoxy based on neoliberal ideologies.
2.2.1.1 Empowerment. Empowerment is a common concept within the SDP literature, but is a contentious term. It has been argued that empowerment as a concept has been appropriated to legitimize the necessity and effectiveness of development (Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Rahnema, 1992). Participatory approaches to development came about as a response to criticisms relating to the power relations involved in development and were seen as a way to challenge power relations and empower the beneficiaries of development. However, similar to criticisms of critical pedagogy (see De Lissivoy, 2007), this participatory approach to development was based on the assumption that some groups were lacking power and that other groups knew how to empower them (Peet & Hartwick, 2009; Rahnema, 1992). This serves to maintain power relations as it positions some as deficient and in need of assistance.

Along these lines, Nicholls (2009) drew on post-colonial theory and critical pedagogy to argue that peer educators in SDP offered the potential of creating spaces in which local youth could reflect on oppressive conditions and move towards individual and social change through practices that involved them talking about and gaining an understanding of the problems affecting their lives. This approach is similar to the participatory approach described above in that it is attempting to challenge power relations, but may also be reinforcing them by assuming that local communities are not already engaging in these processes.

Furthermore, the concept of empowerment is broadly defined across disciplines and contexts (Israel, Checkoway, Schulz, & Zimmerman, 1994). As a result, it can be seen as a Western concept that may not transfer to other cultures and contexts (Guest, 2009). Also, it is possible to talk about different discourses of empowerment, some of which emphasize
individual improvement and self-determination associated with the need to develop life skills (Kay, 2009). Other discourses of empowerment represent it in more relational and collective terms by emphasizing the broader contextual factors that influence the actions and behaviours of individuals (Jeanes, 2011; Kay, 2011).

As an example, Kay (2009) conducted research on the GOAL project in Delhi India by interviewing the young women who were participants and coaches, as well as their teachers and parents. GOAL is a sports-based program that aims to empower girls and women and assist them in advocating for change in their communities. She conceptualized empowerment as the ability of participants to gain knowledge and utilize it in their lives. Kay (2009) concluded empowerment was accomplished through educational opportunities and knowledge acquisition and that it was one of the main benefits associated with the program. In another study, Kay (2011) contrasted the personal empowerment obtained through educational programs with the structural constraints that participants face. In doing so, she questioned discourses of personal empowerment that neglect the difficulties participants faced in transferring the skills learned to the often-oppressive contexts in which they lived their daily lives.

For example, Jeanes (2011) interviewed a number of youth in Zambia regarding their perceptions of SDP and HIV/AIDS. The youth she interviewed believed that knowledge and critical consciousness were important first steps in gaining control over their own lives. She noted that the SDP program played a role in developing 'power within', which referred to the “spiritual strength to inspire, to be able to think and see alternative ways of existing,” (Jeanes, 2011, p. 5), even though the youth were constrained in the broader social contexts in which they lived. She added that translating 'power within' to 'power to' or challenging
'power over', were difficult given the context in which the programs are implemented. Her conclusions were similar to those of Kay (2011) in terms of overcoming the difficulty of translating benefits from sports programs into the broader contexts of the participants’ lives.

In both Kay’s (2011) and Jeanes’ (2011) studies empowerment was conceptualized similar to how Israel et al. (1994) argued that empowerment needed to be theorized and analyzed at individual, community, and organizational levels. Both Kay and Jeanes found that although SDP programs were focusing on participants’ individual empowerment through building their self-efficacy, self-esteem, and their ability to make decisions affecting their lives, and to some degree were successful at developing this within the context of the programs, overall the participants were limited in exercising power outside the context of the program as a result of broader structures of oppression and power relations.

In his interviews with SDP interns, Darnell (2010) did not address empowerment directly, but he did analyze how participation in sport was connected to leadership and responsibility such that “individual notions of success and achievement...suggests a form of neo-liberal citizenship of which sport participation can play a formative role” (p. 66). In this way, discourses of empowerment within SDP contributed directly to a neoliberal ideology of preparing individuals for participation in a competitive capitalist economic system.

In analyzing the LSPS manual and focusing on discourses, I would not be able to determine if participants are empowered through RTP programs, or if gaining certain skills is thought to be empowering. Instead, my purpose is to analyze how particular discourses of empowerment may be related to life skills, what identities are represented as being empowered or in need of empowering, what pedagogical strategies are being used to empower people, and what is the process of empowerment that the manual prescribes?
2.2.1.2 Deficiency. Closely related to the discourses of empowerment in SDP are discourses of deficiency, difference, and neo-colonialism. These discourses are interconnected and can help in understanding the complexities involved in SDP curriculum development. Ironically, to label a group of people as being in need of empowerment by arguing they are lacking or deficient in some way can be disempowering, as noted by Darnell (2007) when he stated that:

Within the development through sport movement, a well-intentioned and benevolent ‘mission’ of training, empowering and assisting is not only based upon, but to an extent requires, the establishment of a dichotomy between the empowered and disempowered, the vocal and the silent, the ‘knowers’ and the known. (Darnell, 2007, p. 561)

This is also illustrated by the ways that SDP tends to be directed towards disenfranchised groups, such as girls and women, persons with disabilities, the poor, minorities, children, and people suffering from disease (Burnett, 2009). Although targeting marginalized groups for programs or services is not necessarily ‘bad’, it is important to consider the ways that programs and services are justified and developed for those groups. In a study involving the Sport Steward Program in Rotterdam Holland, Spaaij (2009) argued that SDP programs function as a form of social control or regulation through which marginalized groups are targeted for integration into society. This was supported by Donnelly (2011) when he found that ‘at-risk’ and marginalized youth are often targeted by sports programs underpinned by discourses of social control, as opposed to social opportunity. It is also important to ask why it seems to be a taken-for-granted assumption that marginalized groups are the ones that need to be targeted. For example, while I was working in Lesotho I was troubled by the fact that my work was exclusively targeting youth who were deemed at risk, while ignoring the fact that until recently the availability of life-saving, affordable, generic HIV/AIDS drugs were
 withheld from distribution in sub-Saharan Africa by pharmaceutical companies and Western governments. Would it not be appropriate to plan and implement initiatives that target and teach life skills to politicians and corporate executives, or that allow for the possibility of SDP participants organizing in such a way as to demand access to healthcare, treatment, and lifesaving drugs?

In addition to social control or regulation, discourses of deficiency that are frequent in development and SDP are connected to ideas of personal improvement. In this regard, people who are labeled as deficient in some way need to take personal responsibility to change. For example, the 'Girl Effect', which is the belief that adolescent girls hold the potential to drive change and end poverty for themselves and their communities (Girl Effect, 2011), has been used to explain how SDP programs position girls and young women as having gendered identities that need to be altered. The impetus is then placed on the girls themselves to address their deficient identities to achieve equality and the role and actions of men and boys are not targeted for change, nor are larger historical and structural conditions that contribute to their marginalization (Hayhurst, 2011).

2.2.1.3 Otherness. My use of the concept 'the Other' was drawn from Said (1978) who discussed the ways in which colonial powers were legitimized through discourse and the superiority of the Global North was secured by representing ‘the Other’ variously as a threat, a responsibility, and an alter ego to the self (Young, 2001). This can be illustrated by Darnell’s (2007, p. 574) comment that:

Through sport and development, Whiteness is (re)confirmed as an intelligible and recognizable subject position, one characterized as benevolent, rational and expert. This position is intelligible in opposition to bodies of colour, recognized as marginalized and unsophisticated, yet simultaneously and continuously grateful for the boons of development.
Tiessen (2011) came to similar conclusions when she connected otherness to discourses relating to deficiency by arguing that the process of othering represented participants of SDP as passive objects waiting to be supported by the West. Within development it has also been noted that the process of othering, which in the colonial context may have occurred through more explicit descriptions of ‘race’ and difference, now occurs more subtly through references to culture (Kothari, 2006). As Kothari argued, “Discourses about culture are implicated in the racialization of development language when they explain and justify development interventions and failures, and obstacles to progress” (p. 18) and a focus on helping others has served to deflect critical attention away from considerations of race in development. This notion of helping the passive other also relates to neo-colonial discourses, which I discuss next. Within HIV/AIDS prevention, this othering has also occurred through colonial and racist discourses of African sexuality and culture (Kothari, 2006; Nauta, 2010).

2.2.1.4 Neocolonialism. Neo-colonial discourses are prevalent in the development and SDP literatures in terms of representations that describe the practices of organizations from the Global North as benevolent and civilizing, while also representing the beneficiaries of development as passive, uneducated, backwards, primitive, and ignorant (McEwan, 2008; Tiessen, 2011). Hayhurst (2011) argued that the work of corporations and organizations promoting the 'Girl Effect' are often underpinned by discourses of neocolonialism that are very similar to colonial notions of paternalism. These discourses have become understandable as 'Third World girl' empowerment and have constructed girls in the developing world as “requiring the benevolence of their counterparts in the Global North in order to be 'saved‘” (p. 534). This was also discussed by Tiessen (2011) when she argued that the form of global citizenship that SDP organizations promote emphasizes what those
from the Global North can offer others through sport thereby promoting a charity-centered benevolent approach to development.

It is also important to discuss the neo-colonial notion of the Global North as a civilizing force, in which sport is championed as a vehicle for transmitting values, morals, and character. In his ethnographic research in Angola, Guest (2009) problematized the rhetoric of SDP that promotes certain values by arguing that it oversimplifies the complex realities of the diverse contexts of many SDP organizations. His observations were of a RTP program where the values and life skills extolled by the organization did not have the same meaning for the participants in the targeted community. For example, the participants, who were young adult males, generally viewed sport and play as either activity for children or professional athletes. Additionally, they felt they were able to organize their own activities and did not think learning abstract life skills like self-esteem and teamwork were necessary. Both Giulianotti (2004) and Kidd (2008) have made similar points relating to Western values driving SDP programming. Kidd (2008) articulated it well by stating that:

Whereas the best community development is ‘needs-and-asset-based’, i.e. premised on the expressed needs and available resources of the local population, articulated during a careful, consultative joint planning process, much of SDP is donor-defined, planned and conducted with missionary zeal. (Kidd, 2008, p. 377)

2.3 From Health Education to Health Promotion

The LSPS manual describes itself as a “skills based health education program” (LSPS, 2008, p. 4), so I briefly present an overview of some health education and health promotion literature on sub-Saharan Africa here. Sanders, Stern, Struthers, Jack, and Onya (2008) argued that contemporary health promotion in sub-Saharan Africa has been shaped by neoliberal globalization and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. It has also been shaped by colonialism
and global shifts in approaches to health promotion (Kickbusch, 2001; Nutbeam, 2000; Sanders et al., 2008). For example, Nutbeam (2000) has noted that approaches to health education in the early 1960s began with fairly simplistic understandings of individual behaviour and focused on transmitting factual information. Over time these approaches began to draw on more sophisticated models of behaviour change, such as Bandura's Social Learning Theory, however they still largely emphasized the notion that rational individuals can change their behaviour through reasoned action (Nutbeam, 2000). Airhihenbuwa and Obregon (2000) have argued that the prevalent behaviour change models in HIV/AIDS prevention programs are designed to address “prevention from an individual, linear, and rational perspective” (p. 8) and are ineffective in contexts like southern Africa where individual behaviour is mediated through cultural and social norms. These didactic methods of health education have also been criticized for not recognizing the ways individuals are supported or constrained by their social contexts (Kickbusch, 2001; Nutbeam, 2000).

2.3.1 Gender, Development, Health and Neoliberalism. Criticisms of health education and individual behaviour change approaches have contributed to a shift towards health promotion approaches that grew out of the Ottawa Charter that recognized health is influenced by a number of social determinants (WHO, 1986). Health promotion approaches shifted from emphasizing individual behaviour change to focusing on the structural constraints to health and the empowerment of individuals (Kickbusch, 2001; Nutbeam, 2000; Sanders et al., 2008).

Although shifts to health promotion would seem to be appropriate for considering the complex ways that structural factors and social relations impact health and development, it is debatable whether these approaches have been operationalized on the ground. This is partly
because of the role that neoliberal economic policies have had on privatizing health services, as well as privileging neoliberal discourses related to health, gender, and empowerment that continue to promote individual responsibility while neglecting the social and cultural constraints that individuals face (Sanders et al., 2008; Wilson, 2011).

Some of the most relevant literature relating to the LSPS manual and my research questions was from studies that investigated the links between gender, development, neoliberalism, and HIV/AIDS. One key argument was that the identities of women in HIV/AIDS programs are often constructed in relation to contradictory empowerment and deficiency discourses, whereby they are positioned as being responsible for preventing the spread of the virus, while at the same time being blamed for spreading it (Connelly & McLeod, 2010; Faria, 2008; Higgins, 2010). Additionally, women and girls are often represented as having the potential to be empowered and to be rational decision makers within families (Bezner Kerr & Mkandawire, 2012; Wilson, 2011). The result is that individual action in the prevention of HIV has often been prioritized, while considerations of power and social relations, and structural factors like class, gender, and race have not received sufficient attention (Ailio, 2011; Faria, 2008).

In their study of HIV prevention policy and programs in Malawi, Bezner Kerr and Mkandawire (2012) noted that there was an ironic connection between broad policy statements emphasizing structural conditions and power relations and approaches to HIV prevention that target individuals based on categorizations of risk. This has also been demonstrated in research examining language, HIV/AIDS, and disparities between official discourses of health promotion and local understandings and capabilities (Drescher, 2010; Higgins, 2010; Jones & Norton, 2007; Khushrushahi, 2010; Mutonyi & Kendrick, 2010).
Bezner Kerr and Mkandawire (2012, p. 466) have argued that this approach constitutes “subjects in a manner that is consistent with certain neoliberal political rationalities” and that these rationalities are “embedded within the assumption of individualism as revealed through emphasis on the notion of personal choice.”

Additionally, discourses that have constructed empowerment in HIV prevention have been critiqued for doing so along masculine lines by constructing competitive, self-interested, and rational identities (Bezner Kerr & Mkandawire, 2012). Ailio (2011) described these as nonmaterial approaches to development through which:

Issues are not solved but managed. It is not likely that problems like HIV/AIDS could be tackled through nonmaterial development, but it is possible through nonmaterial development to legitimately bring areas, which contain risks, within the reach of global liberal governance and ensure security of the liberal way of life. (p. 355)

Approaches to HIV/AIDS prevention that promote the empowerment of women and girls, but do not consider the relations of power and structural factors that may oppress them, reproduce discourses that support neoliberal constructions of self-interested and self-governing citizens. Furthermore, approaches that present women as agents who can be empowered to affect change would seem to be a positive move away from constructions of vulnerable and passive Third World women in need of assistance from the Global North (McEwan, 2001; Mohanty, 1988; Spivak, 1994). However, Wilson (2011) argued that these discourses represent a rebranding of colonial discourses rather than a fundamental shift away from them. In her study involving media campaigns of international development organizations she argued:

This interdependency between constructions of ‘women in the developing world’ as both objects of transformation and redemption and potential entrepreneurial subjects echoes the structure of colonial discourses of salvation, which simultaneously infantilised its objects and imposed a moral responsibility for self-improvement on them. (p. 329)
2.4 International Development

Conceptualizations and debates regarding international development heightened after World War II (Escobar, 1995; McKay, 2008; Peet & Hartwick, 2009), as illustrated in Harry Truman's 1949 inaugural address that is often credited as launching the discursive construction of 'underdeveloped' nations.

The Truman doctrine initiated a new era in the understanding and management of world affairs, particularly those concerning the less economically accomplished countries of the world. The intent was quite ambitious: to bring about the conditions necessary to replicating the world over the features that characterized the “advanced” societies of the time - high levels of industrialization and urbanization, technicalization of agriculture, rapid growth of material production and living standards, and the widespread adoption of modern education and cultural values. In Truman's vision, capital, science, and technology were the main ingredients that would make this massive revolution possible. (Escobar, 1995, p. 3-4)

Development was largely understood through discourses emerging from Western 'enlightenment', that privileged notions of economic growth, progress, rationalism, and individual emancipation and freedom from the constraints of nature (Escobar, 1995; McGillivray, 2008; Peet & Hartwick, 2009). These discourses were drawn upon to emphasize an approach to development that emulated progress by prioritizing economic growth and industrialization through science and technology (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). This conception viewed societies along a continuum from 'traditional' to 'modern', where traditional was synonymous with being backward and irrational. Histories of colonialism and unequal power relations were viewed as irrelevant to how countries could develop. These ideas gained traction and became dominant following World War II because of their seeming practicality in terms of offering economic and technological solutions to alleviate poverty, and also because they offered ideological opposition to communist and socialist movements during the Cold War (McEwan, 2008).
During the 1950s, dependency theory emerged as a challenge to discourses and practices of development that privileged economic growth and industrialization derived from Western and capitalist conceptions of development (Peet & Hartwick, 2009; McGillivray, 2008). Dependency theory largely arose in connection with socialist movements in Latin America and was based on Marx’s arguments about uneven development and exploitation brought about through a capitalist mode of production (McEwan, 2008). Underdeveloped countries that were integrated into the global economic system served to increase the wealth of the Global North at the expense of countries in the South through resource extraction, international divisions of labour, and unfair economic agreements relating to trade and credit, which favoured countries within the Global North. This line of thought served to raise questions about unequal power relations and the historical impacts of colonialism and exploitation, yet dependency theory was also criticized because it was based on visions of modernization and progress (McEwan, 2008). As Escobar (1995) noted:

"Even if concepts such as dependency and unequal exchange were new, the discursive space in which they operated was not. Nevertheless, because they functioned within a system that had a different set of rules (that of Marxist political economy, in which concepts such as profit and capital establish a different discursive practice), they are - at the level of discursive strategies - a challenge to the dominant frameworks. In sum, although they did not constitute an alternative to development, they amounted to a different view of development and an important critique of bourgeois development economics. (p. 82)"

McEwan (2008) noted that the opposition between modernization and dependency perspectives resulted in an impasse in conceptions of development throughout the 1980s. This stalemate in combination with a global economic crisis, and the collapse of the Soviet Union contributed to the proliferation of neoliberal ideologies, which are now seen as dominant within development (McEwan, 2008; Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Neoliberal economic policies focused on decreasing state involvement in favour of a free-market
approach that involved a “disciplining of economies by market competition and self-interested individuals ‘efficiently’ choosing between alternatives in the allocation of productive resources” (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, p. 86). This has often resulted in decreased taxes and decreased public spending on sectors such as health and education. Although the neoliberal ideology is dominant, it is still important to consider discourses that challenge this dominance.

Post-development, unlike other critiques of the dominant discourses, fundamentally rejected all conceptualizations of development because they were seen to be Eurocentric forms of cultural imperialism (McEwan, 2008). Instead post-development theorists have advocated for alternatives to development based on grass-roots social movements (Escobar, 1995). Yet, post-development has been criticized for presenting development in a simplistic and conspiratorial way that is essentially throwing the baby out with the bathwater by overlooking the impact that critical perspectives within development have had in changing the ways that development is practiced (McEwan, 2008). Connecting notions of development and progress exclusively to the Global North is also seen as simplistic (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). For this reason, postcolonial theory and postcolonial feminism are seen as appropriate for challenging the hegemonic neoliberal ideology without dismissing the concept of development altogether.

Following from this it is important to consider the variety of discourses that are drawn upon to structure appropriate and legitimate ways of practicing development in addition to speaking, thinking, and writing about it (Grillo, 1997, p. 12). In his anthropological work in Lesotho, Ferguson (1994) used this notion of discourse to argue that:

“Development” institutions generate their own form of discourse, and this discourse simultaneously constructs Lesotho as a particular kind of object of knowledge, and
creates a structure of knowledge around that object. Interventions are then organized on the basis of this structure of knowledge. (p. xiv)

The ways that certain ideas about Lesotho were institutionalized had important effects in terms of the interventions prescribed and the types of social or structural change that was sought. In his research involving the World Bank and IMF in Columbia, Escobar (1995, p. 41) extended this conceptualization by arguing that it is not only through institutions that discourses are constituted, but through the systematized relations between institutions and the variety of ways that discourses are drawn upon and institutionalized by organizations. In order to understand the discourses that are drawn upon in the LSPS manual, it is important to not simply identify or describe discourses, but to also explain the relationships between discourses and how these relationships:

[Establish] a discursive practice that sets the rules of the game: who can speak, from what points of view, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise; it sets the rules that must be followed for this or that problem, theory, or object to emerge and be named, analyzed, and eventually transformed into a policy or a plan.

2.4.1 International development and gender. Challenges to the dominant discourses of development have also come from women's movements such as the women in development (WID), women and development (WAD) and gender and development (GAD) movements (Hunt, 2008; Peet & Hartwick, 2009; McEwan, 2008). As the LSPS manual focuses a great deal on gender, these three movements are important to explore in more detail.

With a focus on economic growth, early approaches to development neglected the role that women played in economic relations. Additionally, discourses of the Western nuclear family supported the deployment of development projects that did not recognize the historical role of women and largely supported divisions of labour along traditional Western
gender lines (Hunt, 2008; Peet & Hartwick, 2009). In many societies women have historically held various roles in agricultural production and in market exchange. However, development projects involving agriculture and income generation often targeted men, while projects involving women were often based on their role in reproduction and childcare. In the 1970s, the WID movement challenged these approaches by arguing for the equal integration of women into development. However, these arguments were supported by notions of development as modernization and economic growth and inadequately challenged discourses of deficiency, passivity, and Otherness that represented a homogenized backwards and oppressed Third World woman (McEwan, 2008).

The WAD movement followed from feminist Marxist critiques regarding the exploitation of the labour of women through uncompensated reproductive and domestic responsibilities. Additionally, although women had become more integrated into economic aspects of development, they were often paid lower wages and employed on a casual an unsecure basis, which ultimately perpetuated unequal gender relations and their oppression (Hunt, 2008). As a result, the WAD movement challenged notions of modernization and the desire to simply integrate women into a social and economic system that was inherently unequal. The WAD approach was based on the argument that improving the ability of women to earn money in the short-term was ineffective unless there was a long-term process in place for people, particularly women, to gain control over the economic structures impacting their lives (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). In order to do this, the WAD approach emphasized the empowerment of women. Both the WID and WAD approaches have been criticized for “universalizing the Western sexual division of labor and employing categories like ‘labour’ and production’ rooted in the culture of capitalist modernity” (Peet & Hartwick,
2009, p. 267). Similar to WID, WAD has also been criticized for grouping all women together to represent a homogenized Third World woman.

GAD differed from the previous two approaches by focusing on gender relations as opposed to essentialized gender categories.

Women's roles in society could not be seen as autonomous from gender relations, and this perspective became a way of looking at the structures and processes giving rise to women's disadvantaged position, which was a function too of the globally pervasive ideology of male superiority. (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, p. 267-268)

The GAD approach went further in challenging the structural constraints faced by both men and women and was still largely based on notions of empowerment, but some argued that it also relied on essentialist representations of Third World women that have been fundamental to securing hegemonic discourses of development that privilege progress and modernity.

2.5 Life Skills

The concept of life skills is prevalent in SDP, international development, health promotion, and education. As an example, it is emphasized in the following way in Article 53 of the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS declaration:

By 2005, ensure that at least 90% and by 2010 at least 95% of young men and women aged 15 to 24 have access to the information, education, including peer education and youth-specific HIV education, and services necessary to develop the life skills required to reduce their vulnerability to HIV infection, in full partnership with young persons, parents, educators and health care providers. (UNGASS, 2001, p. 6-7)

Life skills also appear in the Education for All goals, which are global commitments made by countries around the world to achieving various educational indicators (UNESCO, 2012). The third goal is: “Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes” (UNESCO, 2012, para. 4). RTP lists the following life skills: “the ability to manage stress, resist peer pressure, communicate assertively, make decisions, set goals, motivate and lead others”
(Right to Play, 2010b, para. 6). UNICEF (2012) also relies on a similar conceptualization:

> Education that helps young people develop critical thinking and problem solving skills, that builds their sense of personal worth and agency, and teaches them to interact with others constructively and effectively, has transformative potential. Whether as individuals or nations, in both the developed and developing world, our success as human beings and as democratic societies depends on how well we are able to manage challenges and risks, maximize opportunities, and solve problems in cooperative, non-violent ways. Life skills are defined as a group of cognitive, personal and inter-personal skills that enhance such abilities. (para, 1)

In a literature review of life skills in sport, Gould and Carson (2008) discussed how life skills could be examined and developed from a psychological perspective that neglected to question the underlying ideologies that have promoted the definition and selection of certain life skills by curriculum developers.

Although the concept has not been critically addressed in SDP, it has received attention from some development and educational scholars. Boler and Aggleton (2005) identified four problems with the use of life skills in international development. First, the authors argued that the concept is too vague and ambiguous to be operationalized effectively. In contrast, others have argued that the ambiguity may also allow for life skills to be interpreted and taken up in locally relevant ways in a variety of contexts (Ansell, 2009).

Second, the pedagogical strategies that are promoted for teaching life skills such as role plays, discussion, and interactive games often conflict with formal models of education that involve teacher-directed activities such as lectures. Furthermore, teachers receive little training in implementing life skills curriculum. The third problem, was that life skills were based on assumptions regarding individuals as rational beings who can change their own behaviour based on processes of awareness raising and reasoning. Boler and Aggleton (2005) concluded that life skills focused on individual behaviour change, ignored local contexts, and assumed that people have the resources to change their lives.
These issues were also raised by Ansell’s (2009) study of how life skills are taught in the educational system in Lesotho. She argued that life skills programs neglected the structural constraints that participants face by focusing too heavily on individual responsibility, similar to critiques of behavioural approaches to health promotion and education. She also stated that these programs represented a form of social control, as informed by Foucaultian notions of biopower that served to regulate children's bodies through Western discourses of health emphasizing self-management and regulation.

Life skills have also been critically examined in educational studies. In a critique of the *Career and Personal Planning Curriculum of British Columbia*, Hyslop-Margison (2000) argued that there were conceptual problems with how cognitive-based processes, like problem solving and critical thinking, as well as certain attitudes, values and personal attributes such as responding positively to change and having a good work ethic, were categorized as life skills that should be practiced and learned. He argued that conceptualizing skills in this manner resulted in pedagogical strategies that were disconnected from history and context.

In another study, Butterwick and Benjamin (2006) conducted a critical discourse analysis of the *British Columbia Life Skills Curriculum* with the purpose of challenging taken-for-granted assumptions about personal development. They noted that although the curriculum had the potential to empower students by focusing on emotions, desires, and learning from community, it overwhelmingly emphasized once again on individual responsibility and personal choice in overcoming adversity. The authors argued that the discourses underpinning the life skills curriculum supported broader neoliberal shifts in
policy from employment to employability that deemphasized dealing with structural factors that constrain employment in the first place.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter I began by reviewing postcolonial theory and critical and decolonial pedagogy and discussing how they provided guidance in critically analyzing the discourses, identities, and pedagogical strategies reflected in the LSPS manual. Following this, I reviewed literature relating to SDP, health promotion and education, international development, and life skills to illustrate gaps that my study could begin to fill. Prominent themes were neoliberalism and the role of discourse in the construction of identities in international SDP, health promotion, and development work. The literature reviewed, as well as postcolonial theory, cautions against essentialist and homogenizing representations that are prevalent in development work broadly, and in SDP more specifically. Although the literature and my theoretical framework provided a starting point for examining the discourses reflected in the LSPS manual (see guiding questions in section 3.2.3), it is important to note that I was also open to ways in which discourses are enacted that have not already been identified in the literature.
Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter is comprised of three main sections: data collection, data analysis, and reflexivity. In data collection section I discuss my rationale for selecting the LSPS manual and the portions of it that I chose to analyze. Next, I describe the methods used for my data analysis in three parts. First, I describe the coding process I used to identify prominent themes connected to life skills and the discourses that structured those themes (RQ1). Second, I outline my analysis of the text itself through the use of metaphors, transitivity and nominalization, topics and themes, and modality, which further allowed me to analyze the discourses connected to life skills and the identities and pedagogical strategies constructed through those discourses (RQ2 and RQ3). Third, I describe my analysis of social practice, which involved connecting my findings from analyzing the LSPS manual to the broader social context through my theoretical framework and the relevant literature. In the final section, I discuss reflexivity with regards to critical discourse analysis and situate myself in relation to my analysis.

3.1 Data Collection

As I noted in Chapter One, there are multiple versions of the LSPS manual. I selected the LSPS manual that is publically available through the International Platform on Sport and Development because I believed that it was representative of the training and curriculum material used by SDP organizations involved with HIV/AIDS prevention in sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, RTP is arguably one of the largest and most influential global SDP organizations. As a result, the ways that RTP writes, speaks, and presents its work, and the approach that it takes in the development and implementation of programs has consequences for the field in terms of legitimizing certain ways of doing SDP. Furthermore, this version of
the manual is publically available through the International Platform for Sport and Development, a networking hub for SDP organizations and there are currently hundreds of organizations listed. The fact that the LSPS manual is available in the toolkit section of the platform means that it has a global reach and can impact both large SDP organizations as well as locally developed organizations that connect with the platform.

3.1.1 Description of the LSPS Manual. The LSPS manual is a curriculum and training manual that aims to teach local leaders (e.g., teachers, coaches, youth workers, peer leaders) how to implement the LSPS program. The manual contains nine general sections: an introduction, seven modules, and appendices (see Appendix 1 for LSPS Table of Contents). The introduction provides the course purpose and a rationale for why the LSPS manual is necessary. It also explains the importance of involving the community and outlines guidelines for effective facilitation. Following the introduction, there are seven modules entitled: Program Launch, Facts about HIV/AIDS, Preventing HIV, Values and Vulnerabilities, Communicating Assertively, Choosing Compassion, and Conclusion. These modules are further divided into lessons (Module 2: Facts about HIV/AIDS has the most lessons with four; Module 1: Program Launch, Module 6: Choosing Compassion, and Module 7: the Conclusion does not include separate lessons; Module 3: Preventing HIV/AIDS, and Module 5: Communicating Assertively each have three lessons; and, Module 4: Values and Vulnerability contains two lessons). Each module begins with a 'Key Message' and a 'Key Skill' and each lesson provides a purpose statement and a set of objectives. Each lesson is further divided into various games, activities, role-plays and discussions, and each activity also begins with a purpose statement. Examples of these are provided in the findings.
3.1.2 Selection of Material within the LSPS Manual. Although my initial readings and coding involved the entire LSPS manual, it is important to note that after the first two readings, I decided to focus mostly on the background information provided for facilitators (e.g., the purpose and objectives of the modules, the key skills and messages that are supposed to be taught, and the relevant facts and definitions related to HIV/AIDS and other terms provided) along with the instructions for facilitators on how to organize and facilitate the lessons, discussions, games, and activities. I felt that the language in these portions of each module described what facilitators needed to know, what facilitators were expected to teach participants, what prior knowledge participants were expected to have, and how facilitators and participants should act and behave. The background information and the instructions for facilitators also included language related to life skills, identities of those in need of developing life skills, and the pedagogical strategies used to teach life skills.

3.2 Data Analysis

Fairclough (1992) developed a model of critical discourse analysis involving three dimensions: i) an analysis of discourses reflected and enacted in a text, ii) an analysis of the text to explore how these discourses were linguistically developed, and iii) an analysis of the broader social structures and practices that these two dimensions were connected to. Luke (2002) described the analytic process outlined by Fairclough as moving between micro-analyses of text and macro-analyses of broader social structures and practices because:

CDA involves a principled and transparent shunting back and forth between the microanalysis of texts using varied tools of linguistic, semiotic, and literary analysis and the macroanalysis of social formations, institutions, and power relations that these texts index and construct. (p. 100)

In the following three sections I outline the specific methods used to address each of Fairclough’s (1992) three dimensions. It is important to note that they do not represent a
sequential process, and my analysis involved constantly shifting between discourses, the text, and connecting these two dimensions to broader social structures and practices.

3.2.1 Analysis of Discourses. Fairclough (2003) outlined a way to conceptualize discourses by providing two main steps in identifying and describing them. Defining a discourse as “representing some particular part of the world, and representing it from a particular perspective,” Fairclough (2003, p. 129) stated that a discourse analysis should “(a) identify the main parts of the world (including areas of social life) which are represented – the main 'themes' [and], (b) identify the particular perspective or angle or point of view from which they are represented.” Therefore, my discourse analysis began with a coding process to identify the main themes related to life skills, and the use of a number of textual and linguistic tools as well as analytic memos to identify the perspectives from which those themes were represented.

To address the first step I utilized a combination of descriptive and structural coding with analytic memos to uncover themes relating to life skills. Descriptive coding involved identifying the “basic topic of a passage of qualitative data” (Saldana, 2009, p. 70) with a phrase or a single word. For example, I will use the following statement from the manual as an illustration.

Conclude by explaining that staying healthy is directly connected to speaking up. Standing up for yourself is essential to staying healthy. While society traditionally expects young women to be passive, the risk of HIV infection is too great for young women to continue to remain silent. (LSPS, 2008, p. 111)

This quote was initially coded with the following descriptive codes: Youth, Women and Girls, Passive, HIV/AIDS, Assertiveness and Risk. After coding the document, I then went through the data a second time and applied structural coding, which involved using conceptual phrases or research questions to classify the data (Saldana, 2009). I coded based
on the concept of life skills, the identities connected to life skills, and the pedagogical strategies used to teach life skills. For example, the code Assertiveness in the above quote was connected to a Life Skills conceptual code and the code Passive was connected to an Identities conceptual code.

During the coding process, I was constantly making notes and comments about the text and my coding scheme (see Appendix 2 for code list and samples). In addition, I used analytic memos in the qualitative data analysis package ATLAS.ti to periodically reflect on connections between my descriptive and structural codes, to develop possible themes, and to make initial connections to my literature (Saldana, 2009). For example, with the quote above I commented that codes for HIV/AIDS, Risk, and Assertiveness could be grouped together under a ‘Health and Safety’ theme. Through this process I was following Fairclough’s (2003) suggestion to outline the main themes within the text and the three themes relating to life skills that emerged from my analysis were i) health and HIV/AIDS, ii) awareness and knowledge, and iii) actions and behaviours. Building on this, I continued using my comments and analytic memos, as well as my textual analysis, to identify the discourses that structured the ways in which these themes were presented. To illustrate, for the above quote I commented on the fact that the importance of standing up for yourself was emphasized. Initially, I did not have this as a descriptive code or a structural code, but through my comments and analytic memos I noted that individualism was often connected to the three themes of health and HIV/AIDS, awareness and knowledge, and actions and behaviours. Through this process, and in combination with my textual analysis described below, I identified individualism as a prevalent discourse that structured the three themes connected to life skills.
To further describe the discourses, I next drew on linguistic tools that Fairclough (1992) and Gee (2011) outlined to “cast light on how discourses are activated textually and arrive at, and provide backing for, a particular interpretation” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2008, p. 83).

3.2.2 Analysis of Text. In drawing on Fairclough’s (1992) approach to critical discourse analysis it is important to note that he was influenced by critical linguistics, particularly Halliday’s (1985) systematic functional linguistics (SFL), where language is viewed as a social semiotic system. Within this system, the structure of language functions to facilitate social and personal interactions (e.g., the interpersonal function), represent ideas about the world (e.g., the ideational function), and combine these interactions and ideas into relevant texts (e.g., the textual function). Fairclough (1992, p. 64) expanded on Halliday’s interpersonal function by arguing that it involves both identity and relational functions: “The identity function relates to the ways in which social identities are set up in discourse, the relational function to how social relationships between discourse participants are enacted and negotiated.”

Because I am primarily interested in the discourses that constructed the life skills and related identities, I chose linguistic tools that primarily focused on Fairclough’s (1992) identity function of language as well as his use of Halliday’s (1985) ideational function of language. The particular tools associated with these functions include examining metaphor, transitivity, modality, topics and themes, and nominalization to outline the ways that themes were discursively constructed through language and to describe the perspectives from which the themes were presented. As a way to manage what Fairclough (1989) referred to as my corpus, or my discourse samples, I limited my analysis to portions I already coded and used
metaphor, transitivity, modality, and nominalization as structural codes during my coding process to label passages of data.

3.2.2.1 Metaphors. Metaphors are used to construct certain representations of the world and Fairclough (1992) argued that: “metaphors structure the way we think and the way we act, and our systems of knowledge, and belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way” (p. 194). Metaphors are figures of speech such as metonymy, personification, and simile that can be used to construct meaning (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). Importantly, metaphors can become naturalized and taken for granted in texts even though chosen metaphors are contestable (Locke, 2004). Metaphors are used to represent aspects of the world from certain perspectives and examining them helped me to describe the perspectives from which the themes of Health, Awareness and Knowledge, and Actions and Behaviours were developed. As an example, metaphors such as tackling HIV/AIDS or waging a war on HIV/AIDS demonstrate a particular perspective on health, as well as what the virus is and how to respond to it. Waging a war on HIV/AIDS presents it as an adversary that needs to be dealt with. The focus may then be on treating and preventing the virus and its effects as opposed to addressing some of the broader social, cultural and economic factors that contribute to the spread of disease such as poverty, gender and social inequality.

3.2.2.2 Transitivity and Nominalization. The concept of transitivity refers to the ways that “events and processes are connected (or not connected) with subjects and objects” and “the ideological consequences that different forms can have” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2008, p. 83). In examining the transitivity of clauses I took note of the ways that subjects were presented as active or passive. For example, stating that the LSPS manual teaches life skills to participants is different from saying that participants already have life skills that can
be built upon, or that participants will be active agents in learning life skills. In the first case, participants are presented as being passive and acted upon whereas in the second case they are constructed as active subjects.

Nominalization is related to transitivity in that it is also concerned with relationships between subjects and processes. Nominalization refers to changing a verb or a social process into a noun, effectively rendering some subjects invisible. For example, stating that rape and violence put women and girls at risk of HIV/AIDS is an example of nominalization because it refers to rape as a noun and therefore frames women and girls as the objects acted upon by a disease. This serves to centre the problem on women, thereby excluding a consideration of the role of men, gender relations, and other factors like poverty in HIV/AIDS transmission.

3.2.2.3 Topics and Themes. In his research, Gee (2011) outlined a helpful ‘Topics and Themes’ tool for discourse analysis. A topic refers to the subject of a sentence. A theme refers to the way a topic is framed or as Gee (2011, p. 66) explained “the ‘Theme’ creates the perspective from which everything else in the clause or sentence is viewed. It is the launching off point for the rest of the information in the clause or sentence.” For example, in the sentence (LSPS, 2008, p. iv) “Africa now accounts for over 70 percent of new HIV infections and four fifths of AIDS-related deaths globally”, AIDS in Africa is both the theme and the topic of the clause. The form of the sentence changed when it was written in full: “According to UNICEF, Africa now accounts for over 70 percent of new HIV infection and four fifths of AIDS-related deaths globally” (LSPS, 2008, p. iv). Now, the topic of the sentence is still “Africa now accounts for …,” but the theme, the launching off point, is “According to UNICEF.” When language is organized in this way, Gee (2011) termed it a marked clause and argued that questioning why marked clauses are organized the way they
are is a valuable tool for discourse analysis. My analysis of topics and themes involved coding the document for marked themes and then using an analytic memo to collect examples and to develop arguments for how marked themes were used to organize information in certain ways.

3.2.2.4 Modality. I also drew on the concept of modality, which is used by many critical discourse analysts to examine the strength of statements. I was interested in documenting how some information was presented as fact and other information was presented as contestable. For example, saying 'using condoms will prevent HIV' differs from saying 'using condoms may prevent HIV'.

3.2.3 Analysis of Social Practice. It is through the discursive practice of meaning making that Fairclough (1989, 1992) and others argued discourses function ideologically as socially constructed meanings that produce, reproduce, or transform relations of power. This forms the basis for Fairclough's understanding of hegemony that explains how meanings are constructed and naturalized through discourses and the consequences this has on power relations. Additionally, he argued that it is necessary to draw on other social theory to explain how discourses impact social practices.

My analysis of social practices involved considering how the prevalent life skills discourses related to the pedagogical strategies that were prescribed and the broader context in which RTP operates. This involved explaining how the discourses I identified constructed, reproduced, or challenged existing understandings and practices of SDP. In order to do this, I was guided by the literature review on SDP, health promotion and education, international development, life skills, as well as a set of guiding questions I developed based on my theoretical framework. These questions included:
1. Who are the agents of knowledge and in what ways do they speak for, or speak about ‘the Other’ (Slater & Bell, 2002)?
2. How have these agents of knowledge defined the concept of life skills, and the identities of those who lack, or possess, life skills?
3. Who has defined the problems that the LSPS manual is attempting to address?
4. On whose terms is space created in which these others are allowed to speak? Are we merely trying to incorporate and subsume non-western voices into our own canons? (McEwan, 2008, p. 72)?
5. Whose knowledge has been valued in the construction of the LSPS manual?
6. Does the LSPS manual allow for a possible third space and the hybridization of knowledge, discourses, and identities?
7. To what extent do our depictions and actions marginalize or silence these groups or mask our own complicities (perpetuating epistemic violence) (McEwan, 2008, p. 72)?
8. Who is being empowered and who is being marginalized (Slater & Bell, 2002, p. 339) through the discourses in the LSPS manual?
9. How do the pedagogical strategies in the LSPS manual aim to empower?

The literature and these questions allowed me to make connections between the discourses identified in the text and the identities and pedagogical strategies constituted through the discourses.

3.3 Reflexivity within Critical Discourse Analysis and Situating Myself

In Chapter 2, I briefly discussed a criticism of critical pedagogy that it has been appropriated by academics who are not critically reflexive of their own positions and privilege (Ellsworth, 1989). I believe these criticisms are also relevant for critical discourse analysts, who although they often take an explicitly political stance in their desire to uncover and challenge inequalities (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2008), may not be critically reflexive of how they are situated in relation to the texts analyzed. My previous employment in China and Lesotho, in addition to returning to graduate school to conduct research within an academic institution, speak to a number of privileges I possess as a white, heterosexual, middle-class, Canadian male. As a researcher from the Global North, I am critically analyzing a document that has been produced and implemented by an organization to assist
individuals in the Global South. In her critique of imperialism, colonialism, and postcolonial reasoning Spivak (1988, p. 297) referred to the problematic notion of “White men saving brown women from the brown men.” In aligning myself with critical and postcolonial scholars and engaging in an analysis of a curriculum document produced by experts from the Global North that targets those in the Global South, I acknowledge that I may be positioning myself as a white man trying to save brown/black girls from not only brown/black men, but also other white men and women.

With this in mind, I have attempted to undertake my research with an ongoing critically reflexive approach. Critical discourse analysis operates as social critique and deconstruction and in this way aligns with how Finlay (2002) described social critique and discursive deconstruction as forms of reflexivity. However, Finley cautioned that discursive deconstruction can lead to a nihilistic and decontextualized research product. Although I did not have a ‘plan’ to avoid this, while I was completing this study I also happened to be writing an autoethnography of my experiences in Lesotho relating to whiteness and masculinity in SDP work, which very much involved what Finlay described as reflexivity as introspection. As Finlay noted:

The challenge for researchers using introspection is to use personal revelation not as an end in itself but as a springboard for interpretations and more general insight. In this sense, the researcher moves beyond ‘benign introspection’…to become more explicit about the link between knowledge claims, personal experiences of both participant and researcher, and the social context. (p. 215)

Although I do not explicitly refer to my own experiences throughout this study, it is important to acknowledge that my analysis has grown out of my experiences; furthermore, I believe that engaging in a reflective, introspective process relating to my experiences, helped to ground my analysis and avoid the nihilism that Finley discussed.
3.4 Validity and Reliability of Critical Discourse Analysis

The variety of approaches to critical discourse analysis lends itself to multiple perspectives on validity (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2008). However, the commonality across perspectives is that the traditional notion of validity relating to objectivity, truth, and representing reality, has limited applications for critical discourse analysis. For the purposes of my study, I have relied on four aspects of validity that Jorgensen and Phillip (2008) outlined. They identified multiple validity criteria, but for this study I attempted to produce an analysis that was fruitful, solid, comprehensive, and transparent. For Jorgensen and Phillips, fruitfulness refers to the production of knowledge. Additionally, I feel that the fruitfulness of an analysis should be judged by how well it is able to elicit critical discussion and reflection. Thus, I hope that the knowledge produced through my analysis challenges the people involved in SDP to critically reflect on how curriculum is developed and how it constructs and legitimizes certain understandings of life skills and development. The solidness of an analysis is determined by the degree to which various textual features are considered. The comprehensiveness of an analysis is determined by the fullness to which the questions asked of the text are answered. Finally, if an analysis is transparent then there should be enough information presented that would allow for the reader to confirm the claims that are made.

In the following chapter, I outline my findings relating to the discourses, identities, and pedagogical strategies presented in the LSPS manual.
Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion

I begin this chapter with further details about the LSPS manual including an overview of RTP’s models of behaviour change, education, and coach training, as well as a description of how the LSPS manual is situated within the broader field of SDP. Following this, I present my critical discourse analysis in three sections. First, I analyze how discourses of risk, individualism, and deficiency are framed in particular ways in relation to health, awareness and knowledge, and appropriate actions taken to develop life skills. Next, I analyze how these discourses contribute to the construction of the identities of the targeted LSPS participants. Finally, I outline how these discourses are related to the pedagogical strategies in the curriculum document. Throughout my findings, I move between Fairclough’s (1992) three dimensions of discourse analysis by describing the text, analyzing the text based on the linguistic tools outlined in Chapter 3, and drawing connections between my analysis, theoretical framework, and the relevant literature.

4.1 Overview of the LSPS manual

In addition to the examples provided above regarding the availability of the LPSP manual and its use by various organizations, my rational for examining it is further bolstered by RTP’s involvement with the Kicking Aids Out (KAO) Network. KAO was originally formed by EduSport, a Zambian SDP organization, and the network now includes a number of organizations in Africa, Asia, and South America that are using sport in HIV/AIDS prevention programs. RTP has been described as a collaborative partner for KAO for curriculum development (Kicking Aids Out, 2009) and as Banda (2010, p. 328) has pointed out, “the training that [youth peer leaders] receive is based on a curriculum designed under the international Kicking Aids Out (KAO) Network, which has been created to ensure
uniformity and quality in training of peer coaches.” The stated purpose of the network and the involvement of RTP as a collaborative partner in curriculum development problematizes Lindsey and Gratton’s (2012) argument that international organizations have little actual influence on local SDP organizations.

It should be noted that the importance of adapting content to suit the communities where programs are operating was discussed in the introduction to the manual. Ansell (2009) has argued that life skills programs offer opportunities for adaptation because the concept itself and the pedagogical strategies for teaching life skills are often vague and ambiguous.

With regards to adapting the materials, it was stated that:

Because every community is different, it is essential that you adapt each and every session to make it appropriate to the local culture. This may mean translating it into the local language, changing the names or situations in role-plays, or revising the entire content of a session and possibly even discarding entire sessions altogether. Because sexual issues are taboo and highly charged in most cultures, it is important to work in close collaboration with local counterparts. (LSPS, 2008, p. vii)

However, as I discuss below, this contrasts with how the language analyzed privileged certain forms of knowledge. Additionally, although local cultures and knowledge were recognized as important factors to consider in educational programs, they were also presented as impediments to be overcome. Additionally, references to terms such as ‘culture’, ‘society’, and ‘place’ was reminiscent of how Kothari (2006) outlined how these concepts were still used to racialize and other development beneficiaries. This was exemplified in the sections dealing with attitudes, values, and expectations and the following quotation was illustrative of this:

Community involvement can contribute to the acceptance and successful implementation of HIV/AIDS programs for young people. This is especially true in places where initial resistance is high. Programs that educate young people about sexual and reproductive health often face resistance because they challenge deeply
held cultural beliefs about sex, parenting and the roles of men and women. (LSPS, 2008, p. vii)

Culture is also represented as a reason why women are at greater risk of contracting HIV/AIDS.

Every culture gives certain roles to men and women. In many societies, these expectations put women at special risk for HIV infection. For example, the expectation that men have authority over women can make it impossible for a woman to talk to her husband about being tested for HIV. Without the right to address this issue, many women are powerless to avoid infection from their husbands. Consequently, rates of HIV infection in many African countries are much higher among married women. (LSPS, 2008, p. 88)

This presents an interesting contradiction whereby local culture needed to be respected and taken into consideration in planning activities, but this was done with the ultimate aim of subverting that same culture. Depending how this is done, it could be seen as a form of cultural imperialism that is attempting to impose Western values (Giulianotti, 2004; Kidd, 2008), thereby reproducing colonial discourses. For example, as Kothari (2006) noted:

There has been a racialization of discussions on HIV/AIDS that attribute to Africans a kind of sexual promiscuity and irresponsibility that is assumed not to be true of the west. The legacy of these representations of sexual practices arguably lies in colonial narratives of, for example, desire and the exotic. (p. 16)

However, it is also possible that this approach speaks to forms of decolonial pedagogy in that adapting to local contexts provides a space for local knowledge and other knowledges to come together so that community members and facilitators can discuss and work together in addressing the issues they face (Abdi & Dei, 2008; Shizha, 2008).

4.2 Right to Play’s Model of Behaviour Change

RTP's method of program delivery is largely based on facilitating behaviour change (Right to Play, 2010b), that is very similar to the transtheoretical model of behaviour change that attempts to explain how individuals progress through various stages on their way to maintaining appropriate behaviours (Prochaska & Velicer, 1997). The transtheoretical model
involves pre-contemplation (not ready), contemplation (getting ready), preparation (ready), action, and maintenance. Similarly, the theory of behaviour change that RTP draws upon includes the following stages: unaware, aware, believe, practice, maintain, and advocate (Right to Play, 2010b). Stages of behavioural change approaches have been criticized for categorizing people and learning as distinct stages and promoting interventions that transition people between stages in a progressive and linear manner thereby placing responsibility for change on individuals (West, 2006). This neglects how learning occurs and contextual factors that influence motivation and the ability to make change, thus absolving political bodies and organizations of responsibility for supporting change efforts that address structural determinants of health and well being (Kickbush, 2001; Nutbeam, 2000).

Additionally, as Airhihenbuwa and Obregon (2000) argued, these linear approaches to behaviour change are underpinned by discourses of individualism and rationalism that are not universally appropriate, particularly for sub-Saharan contexts.

4.3 Training of Local Coaches and Trainers

Another aspect of RTP’s approach was its focus on capacity building. As Beacom and Read (2011) stated:

At the programme level, the core delivery methodology has been designed to build local capacity and ultimately, sustainability...[T]hrough a continuous training cycle there is the possibility for exponential growth in numbers of coaches and children reached, and the ongoing assurance of programmatic quality control. (p. 343-344)

The delivery method that Beacom and Read described is represented by a pyramid. At the top of the pyramid are two levels of staff; there is a Project Coordinator (PC), and under them there are a small number of supervisors. Below these two levels are two more levels of local volunteers; these include coach trainers, and under them the coaches, teachers, and peer educators (facilitators). Children represent the largest group and are located at the bottom of
the pyramid (participants). This model is viewed as sustainable because after supervisors and coach trainers have been trained there is little need for outside assistance with regards to training facilitators.

I would argue that training local leaders to act as future coach trainers, who will then be able to train and develop local coaches is more appropriate then parachuting coaches in from the Global North to implement programs for children. However, this train-the-trainers model advocated by international development and health promotion organizations can also be problematic because of how it reinforces a hierarchical structure of knowledge and opportunities. In his research on human rights in Malawi, Englund (2006) examined civic education organizations that were using a similar delivery method as RTP to train local facilitators who would then go into communities to hold discussions regarding human rights.

A relevant argument he raised was that:

Despite its promise of dialogue and empowerment, civic education on human rights in Malawi contributed to making distinctions between the grassroots and those who were privileged enough to spread the messages. The distinction would be irrelevant if civic education were to bring people together with diverse backgrounds to discuss human rights on equal terms. Nobody occupies, however, a social space where discussions proceed as if everybody there were equal. (p. 70)

The approaches that civic education organizations utilized, which are similar to the approach prescribed by RTP, are problematic in how they construct a hierarchy of those who know and those who do not know; those who need to change, and those who can facilitate the change; and, those who need help, and those who can help. Ultimately, as opposed to empowerment, this may reinforce a charity-centred approach, as Englund (2006) argued:

Charity differs from structural change, whether by legislation or revolution, in that it presupposes a categorical distinction between the advantaged and the disadvantaged. The former help the latter to sustain themselves, while the distinction itself remains virtually intact. (p. 71)
4.4 Where is the Sport in LSPS?

It is important to note that the amount of ‘sport’ and ‘play’ that is presented in the LSPS manual is minimal. While understandings of sport within SDP have included a broad range of physical activity and play (Beacom & Read, 2010), the majority of lessons, activities, and games mostly involved discussion, group work, role play, but seemingly little sport or physical activity. If I did not know that the LSPS manual was produced and used by RTP, I would not necessarily have identified it as SDP material. This illustrates the somewhat ambiguous nature of the field of SDP.

Coalter (2007) introduced a general classification scheme for SDP that described organizations as either “sport-plus”, or “plus-sport”. Sport plus refers to programs that are focused on sport development and participation, but may also include social outcomes, and as Coalter notes “these outcomes are pursued via varying mixtures of organizational values, ethics and practices, symbolic games and more formal didactic approaches – but rarely simply through sport” (p. 71). The LSPS manual could be used by sport organizations to integrate HIV/AIDS prevention into their programming. On the other hand, 'plus sport' refers to programs that emphasize social, health, or education outcomes more so than sports development. In these programs, “sport, especially its ability to bring together a large number of young people, is part of a much broader and more complex set of processes” (Coalter, 2007, p. 71). Thus, the LSPS manual could be used by various development organizations as part of their non-sporting mandates. This was also exemplified by my work in Lesotho, where one of the organizations we were partnered with was the Lesotho Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS (LENEPWHA) and part of our program involved integrating sport
into their already existing outreach targeting people living with HIV/AIDS and orphaned and vulnerable children.

4.5 Discourses of Risk, Individualism, and Deficiency

I found that life skills were developed and justified in relation to particular perspectives of health, knowledge and awareness, and actions and behaviours that reflected discourses of risk, individualism, and deficiency. In the next two sections, I analyze how these discourses justified the need for life skill development. Following this, counter-discourses are offered that present a challenge to these dominant discourses.

4.5.1 Justification for Life Skills. LSPS is described as a form of health education even though health as a concept is never explicitly defined. Instead, health is referred to as an abstract state of being, or as something that individuals can possess and are responsible for protecting on their own. This was particularly apparent in the sections that referred to remaining healthy, staying healthy, and maintaining health.

Participants will know three different ways to protect themselves from HIV infection and be more able to stay healthy (p. 59)” and a little bit later on “This program is about how to enjoy your life and relationships in ways that keep you safe and healthy. (p. 62)

In constructing health as something that individuals possess and are responsible for maintaining, the need for protection was emphasized as illustrated in the following excerpt.

For young people to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS, they must be able to express their choices assertively - taking the steps to avoid consequences they do not want, and to protect their health…Good communication skills are essential to protecting one’s own health. Such skills enable young people to express a desire not to have sex or unsafe sex; to influence others; to abstain from sex altogether or practice safer sex; and to express compassion for people living with HIV/AIDS. (LSPS, 2008, p. 108)

In addition to constructing health as something that individuals need to protect, HIV/AIDS is also presented as a threat to all individuals, one that is invisible and rapidly spreading. Schee
and Baez (2009) noted the same framing with regards to HIV/AIDS education curriculum used in New York City. They argued that the curriculum presented everyone as being at risk for contracting HIV/AIDS and this was in line with recent neoliberal approaches to health promotion emphasizing risk management and individual responsibility.

The notion of an invisible and rapidly spreading risk of disease was clearly illustrated by two games within Module 2 (Facts about HIV/AIDS). The first was the “HIV Transmission Game” (LSPS, 2008, p. 12) where participants were instructed to move around an area and introduce themselves to four other people. After meeting each person they were asked to write their name on a piece of paper. After everyone had collected four names, the facilitator was instructed to choose three volunteers who were asked to come to the front of the class and announce that they were HIV positive but did not know it. They were then asked to read the list of people they met and those people were subsequently asked to come to the front of the class as well to read out their lists. Quite quickly everyone in the room would be at the front and the facilitator was told to “conclude by saying: This game shows us how quickly HIV can spread. It’s also a reminder that you can’t tell who is infected by looking” (p. 17).

The second game was 'Don't Believe your Eyes' where a group of participants were invited to stand shoulder to shoulder in front of the rest of the group and were then asked to pass a ball behind their backs and between each other. Audience members were then told to guess who was holding the ball. In discussing the activity, participants were asked how this game related to HIV and the correct answer was that “the object represents HIV. It can be caught by anybody. It’s difficult to tell who has it because everyone is active and moving around” (p. 37). Based on this language, HIV was constructed as invisible, fast moving,
threatening to everyone, and capable of destroying their bodies. Additionally, the process of infecting and becoming infected is isolated from the social contexts in which transmission occurs.

As a result of this construction, the need for individuals to gain certain knowledge and life skills was emphasized, and this was bolstered by the use of metaphors. For example, bodies were represented as structures or fortresses: “To infect someone, the virus has to get past the body’s defenses” (LSPS, 2008, p. 23). Once inside, “HIV gradually destroys the body’s ability to defend itself from disease. Some have compared HIV to termites that weaken a house until the point where wind or rain finally destroys it” (LSPS, 2008, p. 13). This metaphor is reinforced through an activity in Module 2 entitled “What's the Fluid, Where's the Door?” (LSPS, 2008, p. 18) where it was emphasized that HIV can enter the body through open doors (e.g., cuts or sores, opening in the skin, soft, wet tissue in the vagina, penis, anus or mouth), thereby reinforcing the idea that the body is a building, structure, fortress that needs to be protected.

This discourse of risk and the construction of the body as a structure that needs to be defended was further strengthened by the use of scientific and technical language to describe HIV/AIDS and the information provided as undeniable facts. In contrast to representations of health, HIV/AIDS is explicitly defined:

HIV = Human Immunodeficiency Virus. HIV is the virus that causes AIDS. HIV attacks and eventually destroys the body’s defenses.
AIDS = Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. AIDS is the disease caused by the HIV virus. A person has AIDS when the virus has damaged the body so badly that infections and cancers develop. (LSPS, p. 10)
A great deal of technical information is used to define HIV/AIDS and how it is contracted, detected, and treated. In terms of contracting HIV/AIDS, information is presented as facts while dispelling myths:

HIV can be contracted only in very specific ways. First, a person must be in direct contact with one of the four body fluids that transmit HIV. These are the only fluids that can spread HIV: Fluids That DO Spread HIV: Blood, Semen, Vaginal Fluids, Breast Milk. Other body fluids do not have enough HIV-virus to infect another person... The most common way people get HIV is through sexual intercourse (vaginal or anal) with an infected partner... There is no way to “catch” HIV like a cold, by being near a person with HIV, or by sharing their cup or bathroom, or even by hugging or kissing them. There are no documented cases of HIV from sharing toothbrushes. Babies can become infected from an HIV-positive mother during pregnancy, childbirth, or breastfeeding. HIV can also be spread by using a needle or syringe that has been used by someone who is infected, or through transfusions of unscreened blood. (p. 10-11)

Testing for HIV/AIDS is presented in a similar way:

A blood test is the only way for a person to know if they are infected with HIV. HIV/AIDS testing centers perform confidential counseling and testing. HIV testing can detect infection early. People who know their HIV status can seek out medical services and care. They can also learn how to live with the virus and avoid infecting others. While there currently is no cure for AIDS, new medicines are helping people with HIV/AIDS stay healthy for many years. (p. 11)

While I am not critiquing the factual nature of these statements, It is important to examine how some knowledge is framed as factual and other knowledge as belief or myth, and what identities are associated with different types of knowledge. Using phrases such as 'can', 'will', 'must', or ‘the only way’, as opposed to using 'may', or 'might' represent a modality that associates the knowledge presented by the manual as definitive and factual. For example, “You can avoid any risk of HIV if you practice abstinence (not having sex). You also won’t get infected if your penis, mouth, vagina or rectum doesn’t touch anyone else’s penis, mouth, vagina, or rectum” (p. 23). Drawing on discourses of health that present risk in definitive and universalized terms allows for the construction of life skills as an individualized strategy that
needs to be developed to mitigate these risks (McEwan, 2008). Rather, if discourses were drawn upon that recognized the structural and social factors that influence health and HIV/AIDS, prescriptions about life skills could be quite different. For example, if the above statement read ‘you may be able to avoid risk of HIV if you are able to practice abstinence.’ Using the word 'may' instead of 'can' emphasizes the importance of context. Definitively stating that the risk of HIV can be avoided essentially offers a universal and decontextualized solution.

Discourses related to risk and deficiency that provide justification for the necessity of life skills development are similar to dominant bio-medical discourses of health and HIV/AIDS that have emphasized the role and responsibility of individuals in maintaining their own health. This is problematic for the reasons outlined by Islam and Mitchell (2011) who argued that “attempts to isolate the educational response to HIV and AIDS within the neoliberal articulation of self-improvement and individualistic fixations have not provided comprehensive prevention” (p. 132). Additionally, a focus on the individual serves to distract from the neoliberal policies and market-led reforms related to the availability and affordability of HIV/AIDS drugs.

Bio-medical and western knowledge is further developed in the first activity in Module 2 entitled the “Fact or Fiction Game.” Discourses related to risk and deficiency framed a particular conception of health and knowledge when facilitators were told to “explain that this activity looks at facts about HIV and AIDS. There are many myths about HIV and AIDS. To make good decisions, you need to be sure what is fact and what is fiction” (p. 12). In an activity that attempted to improve factual knowledge around sexually transmitted infections, facilitators were told to:
Explain the difference between fact and myth. A fact is something that is true. A myth is something that many people believe is true, but actually is not. For example, many people believe you can get HIV from mosquitoes. This is a myth. It is not true (p. 37).

Privileging scientific language also serves to develop dichotomies such as fact/myth, truthbelief, or correct/incorrect. This is reinforced through games and discussions such as in the Fact or Fiction game that is meant to be played: “on the first day to bring out participants’ beliefs and address misinformation” (LSPS, 2008, p. 12). The information presented is considered to be true and based on facts. For example, in the introduction it is noted that: “the course begins with basic, accurate information on the risks of unprotected intercourse and ways to avoid these risks” (LSPS, 2008, p. iv). The information presented is contrasted with the knowledge of the participants, who assumed to either lack the knowledge or possess the incorrect knowledge. To illustrate, the purpose of the Fact or Fiction game is to “challenge participants to explain their beliefs about HIV/AIDS. The facilitator then corrects participants’ misconceptions and explains how HIV actually is spread” (LSPS, 2008, p. 9).

Participants’ knowledge is constructed as cultural beliefs or attitudes that hinder HIV/AIDS prevention because they are incorrect. As discussed earlier, the emphasis placed on adapting the program to local contexts was encouraged and alluded to the possibility of a decolonial approach. However, the privileging of mostly Western knowledge as truth and the construction of local knowledge as beliefs or myths obstructed the possibility of creating a third space where knowledge could be shared and hybridized. This was further illustrated by various references to surveys, international organizations, and statistics, that served to establish the curriculum as a legitimate source of knowledge.

According to UNICEF, Africa now accounts for over 70 percent of new HIV infections and four fifths of AIDS-related deaths globally...Statistics from UNICEF, UNAIDS, and WHO indicate that of the 8.6 million young people living with
HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, nearly 70% are young women.” (LSPS, 2008, p. iv-v)

All of these examples represented marked clauses (Gee, 2011) where the topics and the themes of the clauses were not the same. This was seen as important because the curriculum developers have positioned these organizations as themes within the text. The statistics and information is understood through the authority of these institutions. Their authority is assumed and not debated or questioned and this served as the foundation for justifying information. It was common for language in the text to be structured this way as themes were used to front various statements to establish the authority of the text and justify suggestions or actions based on certain forms of knowledge (Fairclough, 1992). In these ways, dominant bio-medical discourses of HIV/AIDS were often drawn upon (Aulette-Root, 2010; Schee & Baez, 2009) that served to maintain oppressive political and social structures by marginalizing local understandings of HIV/AIDS (Drescher, 2010).

Although RTP claimed to be working in partnership with local communities in developing and adapting HIV/AIDS prevention materials, this partnership may have been more window dressing than a substantial shift in international development practice (Bond, 2002). Overall, the problems presented and the justified solutions in the form of life skills development were defined by RTP and other Western institutions. RTP thereby established itself as the agent of knowledge who is speaking for and about the Other (Slater and Bell, 2002). As McEwan (2008, p. 72) noted, this serves to perpetuate a charity-centred approach that operates as “epistemic violence” by silencing marginalized groups and glossing over our own complicity in social inequalities.
The modality of language also differed depending on the HIV/AIDS prevention method discussed. For example, definitive language was used when advocating for abstinence:

Abstaining from sexual intercourse is the only 100% way to avoid HIV infection, STIs and unwanted pregnancy. Abstaining from sex has other advantages too. Abstinence can make people feel good about themselves. It can help them develop their relationship in other ways. Abstinence costs nothing and can be started at any time. But even with all these advantages, abstinence is not for everyone. (LSPS, 2008, p. 58).

This contrasted with language related to condom use that often hedged any claims of effectiveness:

Condoms are highly effective at preventing STIs, HIV and pregnancy. They are easy to use, inexpensive and discreet. Using condoms requires the two people to talk together about having safer sex. These discussions can be difficult to initiate, and sometimes impossible for women. (LSPS, 2008, p. 58)

This statement implicitly acknowledged the social and power relations that may deny women the opportunity to use condoms; however, importantly these same considerations were not connected to abstinence.

Schee and Baez (2009) argued that drawing upon discourses of risk serves to legitimize abstinence in prevention programs. This focus has also been influenced by international donors, particularly from the United States during former president Bush’s administration, partially as a result of religious ideology that shaped how prevention programs were planned and delivered (Boler & Archer, 2008; Islam & Mitchell, 2011). Importantly, one of the groups involved in leading the CORE initiative (the organization described in Chapter One that was involved in developing and publishing the LSPS Manual) is the World Council of Churches, which is a global networking group for Christian churches. The influence of faith-based organizations within HIV/AIDS prevention
programming, especially with regards to George W. Bush’s PEPFAR initiative, speaks to Brown’s (2006) argument regarding the collision of neoliberal and neoconservative political rationalities.

Programs that have emphasized abstinence, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, are seen as problematic for two main reasons. First, they neglect the social and cultural constraints that prohibit people from practicing abstinence. In their research involving Ugandan girls, Jones and Norton (2010) demonstrated that many of the girls in their study agreed that abstinence was the best option, but regardless of this knowledge, they engaged in sexual relations as a result of financial pressures, power relations that denied them the opportunity of abstaining from the sexual advances of teachers and older men, or because they chose to have sex because they wanted to. Second, focusing on abstinence is symptomatic of the disciplinary nature of health promotion that places the emphasis on individual responsibility (Schee & Baez, 2009). Further, this governmentality approach to health, specifically with regards to girls, results in a focus on the deficiency of girls’ bodies and the moral and mortal perils of not being able to achieve a neoliberal subject position (Gonick, 2006). Along similar lines, the discourses related to risk, individualism, and deficiency can be viewed as being aligned with neoliberal approaches to health and HIV prevention that prioritize individual action and fail to address structural and social factors that contribute to the prevalence of the disease (Faria, 2010; Nauta, 2010; Sanders et al., 2008).

4.5.2 Assertiveness and Decision-Making as Life Skills. Discourses related to risk and individualism were also drawn upon to secure assertiveness and decision making as key life skills. This was particularly noticeable in how a metaphor of a rising flood was used to
describe HIV/AIDS. The metaphor began with the premise that there was a rising flood and three available life boats named Abstinence, Faithfulness, and Condoms. Through an activity, this metaphor was used to teach participants about HIV/AIDS, assertiveness, and personal choice. In finishing the activity, facilitators were told to:

Conclude with a discussion about the advantages and drawbacks of each boat. Address the drawbacks frankly. Remind the group that different choices are better for different people. Emphasize that the most important thing is to be on a boat, any boat, not in the water. (LSPS, 2008, p. 73)

Essentially, it was argued that decisions need to be made; people should attempt to get on one of the boats and inaction was not an option if people want to be safe. Again, this emphasis on individual action and responsibility aligned with literature that has described the predominance of a neoliberal ideology in SDP (Darnell, 2010; Hayhurst, 2009; Kidd, 2008), international development (Peet & Hartwick, 2009; McEwan, 2008; McKay, 2008), and health promotion (Bezner Kerr & Mkandawire, 2012; Islam & Mitchell, 2011; Sanders et al., 2008).

A game titled “Future Island” further developed this metaphor. It presented three characters, Kofi, Dora, and Comfort, who were each described as having a 'future island'. On Kofi's island, he saw himself playing professional football while both Dora and Comfort saw themselves as seamstresses. All three saw themselves with spouses and children. The focus on the future and possible employment has clear parallels with discourses connected to the Western nuclear family, modernization, progress, and gendered divisions of labour that have historically been prevalent in international development (Hunt, 2008; McEwan, 2008; Peet & Hartwick, 2009), as well as entrepreneurship and individual responsibility that are now prevalent within development, health promotion, and SDP (Ailio, 2011; Darnell, 2010; Hayhurst, 2011; Peet & Hartwick, 2009). In presenting this game, facilitators were told to:
Explain that the path to your future island will not always be easy sailing. There are bound to be challenges and dangers. Situations will arise where it may be difficult to stay on the boats because of the many pressures to have risky sex.” (LSPS, 2008, p. 95)

An obstacle that was emphasized was peer pressure and “because adolescence is a time when young people are acutely sensitive to peer pressure, the course gives special attention to building participants’ capacity to respond assertively” (p. iv).

Language used to explain peer pressure can be further analyzed by examining marked clauses. The universal vulnerability and passivity of adolescents was assumed by fronting the sentence with “Because adolescence is a time when young people are acutely sensitive to peer pressure…” (p. 95). Youth were thus seen as being vulnerable because of some deficiency. Peer pressure was not connected to broader social and cultural factors as responding to peer pressure was represented as the individual 'giving-in', or 'giving-up'. In this sense, actions that may relate to peer pressure were presented as passive and inevitable responses. This aligned with literature that has discussed the ways in which particular discourses construct participants as passive and vulnerable (Ansell, 2010; Darnell, 2007; McEwan, 2008; Tiessen, 2011). In opposition to this passivity, resisting peer pressure through assertiveness became the productive action. For example, in a later activity that involved practicing assertive communication it was stated that: “assertive communication skills are very useful for staying safe. These skills help you get out of tough situations without giving in. This exercise is a way to practice these skills and have fun too” (LSPS, 2008, p. 118). In a similar activity, facilitators were told to “conclude by explaining that staying healthy is directly connected to speaking up. Standing up for yourself is essential to staying healthy” (LSPS, 2008, p. 111).

Similar to arguments made by Hyslop-Margison (2000), I would argue that
constructing assertiveness as a life skill requiring development does not take adequate account of the contexts in which most LSPS participants would find themselves. Although there was a recognition that unequal power relations exist between adults and youth, as well as between men and women and boys and girls, there was little acknowledgement of the potential danger in challenging these dominant relations through the promotion of assertiveness as a life skill.

Notions of personal responsibility and choice, personal change and personal benefit were also prevalent, as reflected in language reflecting the need for individuals to change:

The purpose of any training is to deliver results. Participants must be more effective after the training than they were beforehand. What do they now know that they didn’t know before? What can they do now that is new? How have their feelings changed as a result of the course? If a beneficial change has not taken place, the course has not been successful. (LSPS, 2008, p. 2)

Sport as a metaphor was used to further develop this discourse. In describing how soccer players need to practice with their weaker leg, individual change was described as something that may be uncomfortable, but positive. Facilitators were instructed to explain that: “players often change and improve their sports technique. At first these changes can feel uncomfortable, but in the end the change is often for the better” (LSPS, 2008, p. 92). Change was seen as universally good and necessary, and local contexts were not considered in the development of solutions (McEwan, 2008). I am not arguing that change in itself is bad; however, discourses of individualism were also reflected in this language and change was primarily understood along neoliberal lines in which self-interested and responsible individuals with the correct information can make decisions and choices to maintain their health. This may be problematic if the broader social and power relations that contribute to inequalities are neglected in favour of focusing on individual responsibility (Darnell, 2010;
Islam & Mitchell, 2011). It is also problematic, as it neglects to consider contexts in which some individuals may be restricted in choosing to change (Gonick, 2006), or may meet with resistance through physical and emotional violence as a result of changing.

Additionally, rationalism has been prevalent in discourses of development, which are narrowly conceived as Westernized views of progress and economic development (Escobar, 1995; Peet & Hartwick, 2009). In describing the “Future Island” activity facilitators were told to explain to participants that: “you can each create your own future island. Your island is how you would like things to be at some point in the future” (LSPS, 2008, p. 95). The notion of choice is further illustrated by the advice that was given for delaying having sex.

Go to parties and other events with friends; Decide how far you want to go sexually before you’re in a pressure situation; Decide your alcohol or drug limits before a situation arises or do not use alcohol or drugs at all; Avoid falling for romantic words or arguments; Be clear about your limits; Do not give mixed messages or act sexy when you don't want sex. (LSPS, 2008, p. 79)

The strong focus on decision-making was supported by an approach that emphasized personal outcomes and benefits. Again, this aligned with neoliberal constructions of girlhood that positioned girls as neoliberal subjects with the potential to be empowered, while at the same time being at risk for not reaching this subject position if they were not able to manage risk and behave morally (Gonick, 2006). In this example, managing risk is based on decision making and avoidance on the part of girls. They are told what not to do, but the actions and behaviours of men are invisible. Facilitators were told to explain that: “this training is about staying healthy and getting what you want in life” (LSPS, 2008, p. 3). Building on this, the purpose of the first module was that “participants will understand the workshop’s goals and how it will benefit them personally” (LSPS, 2008, p. 3) and “participants will understand
how the course will benefit them personally” (p. 7). Additionally, in the first module, facilitators were told that:

> When participants feel that the training will benefit them personally, they will be motivated to attend and learn...Each person is responsible for learning. As the facilitator, you are responsible for creating the best climate for learning to take place. (LSPS, 2008, p. 2)

Bond (2002) has noted that this focus on the personalization of development issues such as HIV/AIDS by convincing participants of the seriousness of issues is problematic because it is incredibly hypocritical. This is because it assumes that people are not aware of the problems they face and that there is a lack of mobilization around issues affecting communities. This also ignores the fact that when communities do mobilize to address issues they can face serious repercussions or repression. In many ways this hypocrisy was evident in how mobilization was described as a positive outcome, but only if that mobilization involved personal action and individual behaviour change.

This focus on personal benefit also influenced the perceived need for facilitators to make the lessons fun and enjoyable to engage participants. For example, in concluding a lesson that introduces the course to participants, facilitators were told to say:

> We are going to explore all these things in a fun and interesting way. We will play games, tell stories, act out some dramas and discuss things together. There won't be any long lectures. The issues about HIV and AIDS are serious, but we can still enjoy learning about them. When we have fun, we learn even more. (LSPS, 2008, p. 3)

A description for the first lesson in Module 3 (Preventing HIV/AIDS) stated that: “These fun, imaginative lessons engage participants in a real, physical experience of protecting themselves from HIV. Participants begin thinking about their future and their options for staying safe” (LSPS, 2008, p. 57). This language illustrates what McEwan (2008) has called
discourses of indolence and passivity that have been prevalent in international development and focus on the need to “awaken colonized people from their passive and lazy disposition and to infuse them with a work ethic and energy” (p. 139).

This focus on personal benefit was further reflected in numerous sections that emphasized an outcome-oriented approach to problem solving and decision-making such as when facilitators were told to explain that:

When we are dealing with a difficult issue, people will often ask “Problem Focused” questions like: (i) What is the problem? (ii) Who caused it? (iii) Where did it come from? (iv) Why have I got this problem? (v) What else is going wrong in my life because of this problem? (vi) How can I get away from this problem? These questions may offer some useful information, but they are often not very helpful in getting to a good solution. They focus on the problem, and whom to blame for it. Problem focused questions leave people feeling stuck in the problem and unable to do much. A more helpful approach is to ask “Outcome Focused” questions like: (i) What do I want? (ii) How many different ways are there to get there? (iii) What else will I have when I get there? (iv) What support do I need? (v) What is the first thing I need to do now? (LSPS, p. 61)

This approach to dealing with issues from an outcome-focus explicitly asked participants to move from an abstract perspective to one focused on themselves as individuals. Instead of focusing on the nature of a problem, participants were encouraged to ask what they wanted, what they needed, and how they could achieve it. This specific strategy has not been discussed in the literature I reviewed, but it highlights the same irony that Bezner Kerr and Mkandawire (2012) found in their study in Tanzania where complex social dynamics that contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS were recognized, but were eschewed in favour of an approach that foregrounded individual risk and action based on personal benefits. Ailio’s (2011) argument regarding nonmaterial approaches to development that serve to manage issues and not solve them is relevant here. The outcome-focus explicitly encouraged
participants to forego discussions relating to the root causes of social problems and instead search for ways to manage the issues arising from those problems.

The metaphor of the rising flood can be adapted to illustrate how this is problematic. If participants are in their 'Abstinence' boat on the way to their future island and realized that the boat has sprung multiple leaks, the outcome-focus model would encourage them to simply plug the holes and continue on their way to the island, or to hop into another boat. Here there is no space to ask who constructed the boat so poorly, why it was leaking, and what happens to the next people who have to use the boat? The outcome focus is based on the notion that individuals are mainly self-interested, which would seem to contradict the latter portion of RTP’s philosophy of 'Look after yourself, Look after one another'.

4.5.3 Counter Discourses. In addition to the discourses outlined above, I identified discourses related to knowledge and awareness, and appropriate actions that emphasized critical awareness and collective action that represented potential contradictions regarding the construction of life skills. I will now briefly describe the ways these discourses challenge the dominant constructions of life skills through particular discourses of risk, individualism, and deficiency.

4.5.3.1 Alternative discourses of knowledge and awareness. When attitudes, values, and stigma associated with HIV/AIDS were discussed in the manual, critical reflection, awareness, and action were presented as methods for achieving social change. In the introduction this was discussed as part of facilitation training:

One of the most important facilitation skills is asking questions—drawing information out of participants instead of always giving it to them. Any group of young people already has their own experience of life and impressions about HIV/AIDS. Your challenge is to help participants explore their values and beliefs, leading them to consider their thoughts more deeply. (LSPS, 2008, p. x)
This was reiterated when some pedagogical strategies were highlighted:

Games, group work, role-plays and competitions get participants attention and engage them in a learning experience. During each exercise, participants think, reflect and answer questions. Later they draw conclusions or generalize ways this applies to real life. Finally, with guidance from the facilitator, they apply the knowledge or skill to their own life. (LSPS, 2008, p. 2)

Although these processes of thinking, reflection, and application were introduced early on, it was mostly in the concluding modules relating to values and stigma where the activities and discussion took on an approach that was less individualistic. For example, in describing stigma there was a focus on social relations:

There are many causes of stigma. Foremost among them is a lack of knowledge, incorrect beliefs and fear about how HIV is spread. This unfamiliar disease and its fatal outcome frighten people. Because HIV/AIDS is associated with sex, people make moral judgments, concluding that people living with HIV/AIDS are promiscuous or immoral. People are often unaware of their stigmatizing language and behaviors. Most have good intentions and many provide empathy, care and support to those who are infected. By becoming aware of stigmatizing behaviors, people and communities can change and show greater compassion. (LSPS, 2008, p. 130)

Facilitators were then told to encourage participants to reflect on their own attitudes and feelings about people living with HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, the games and discussions attempted to develop a sense of empathy for others. This resulted in an emphasis on a collective response where individuals were not simply motivated by their own interests:

Looking after one another not only means talking openly about HIV/AIDS and how to avoid it, but also encouraging friends to get tested, going for testing together, speaking out against unsafe sex practices, and advocating for fair treatment of people living with the disease. (LSPS, 2008, p. 138)

These discourses related to critical reflection and collective action are quite different from discourses relating to risk, individualism, and deficiency that construct life skills as attributes that individuals can use to manage risk, express their self-interest, and gain personal benefits.
4.5.4 Summary of Discourses Constructing Life Skills. Discourses related to risk, individualism, and deficiency blended together to justify and construct certain life skills that individuals needed to develop to help them better manage their health and succeed as individuals. These discourses align with dominant understandings of development prevalent in SDP, international development, and health promotion. However, there were discourses that represented possible contradictions to the predominant neocolonial and neoliberal discourses within the manual. Notions of critical reflection and awareness as well as collective action were apparent in various sections of the manual. Fairclough (1992) has argued that the presence of contradictory discourses can be seen as textual evidence of social change. However, from the ways in which the identities of girls were constructed in relation to discourses connected to risk, deficiency, and individualism, and the ways that pedagogical strategies were presented, it was clear that if change is occurring it was not framed as radical and decolonizing, but instead involved an appropriation of certain critical and postcolonial thoughts into a neocolonial and neoliberal framework.

4.6 Identities: The Passive yet Empowered Girl

Although HIV was presented as a risk for everyone, there was a particular focus on youth: “Biology, psychology and lack of information make young people especially vulnerable to HIV exposure” (LSPS, 2008, p. iv). Therefore, “If young people are to be part of the solution for the HIV/AIDS crisis, not only do they need knowledge about HIV/AIDS, they must also be equipped with the skills to put that knowledge into practice” (LSPS, 2008, p. v). Additionally, in terms of risk and deficiency there was an emphasis on why girls were more vulnerable because of their bodies, lack of knowledge and lack of skills. A number of factors that made women and girls more susceptible to infection were described as follows:
Young girls may not know about the risk of HIV infection, (ii) They may be unable to refuse unwanted sexual advances, (iii) Older men often seek out young girls and provide gifts in exchange for sex, (iv) Sex may be traded for money for food, clothes or school fees, (v) The vaginal membranes of younger girls are thin and fragile, (vi) The vagina exposes more surface to infection, (vii) Female genital cutting may tear during intercourse, (viii) Dry sex can tear the skin. (LSPS, 2008, p. 11)

The third point recognized how men play a role in the process of infecting girls and women, but the remainder of the language focused on deficiencies in girls' bodies and minds. These risks were developed further in Module 2 in an activity titled “Special Risks for Girls”. It outlined why girls faced greater risk due to physical, cultural and social, emotional and educational, and economical factors, while boys and men were rarely discussed in relation to these risks. This language referenced social, cultural, and economic risk factors, however, discourses of risk, individualism, and deficiency were primarily drawn upon to construct identities for girls as passive, vulnerable, and uneducated. HIV was also presented as a female problem when of the 26 risk factors presented in the lesson on “Special Risks for Girls”, only three mentioned boys or men. This was further illustrated by examples of nominalization that represented verbs or social processes as nouns such as: “girls are also vulnerable to exposure as a consequence of rape and sexual coercion” (p. iv). This would read very differently if it was stated as: “Girls are also vulnerable to exposure as a consequence of being raped by men.” The first example presents rape and sexual coercion as a female problem and therefore it is the girls who need to be ‘fixed’ (Higgins, 2010). It is also problematic to simply blame men, or to represent men as villains, because it still emphasizes singular considerations of fixed genders as opposed to examining the complexities of gender relations (Cornwall, Edstrom, & Greig, 2012). However, I agree with Hayhurst (2011) who, based on recent research in Zambia, argued that: “the onus seems to be on the girls to change their behaviours, actions and attitudes in order to achieve gender
equality, while ignoring the need to enlist men and boys to accomplish this same feat” (p. 534).

Along similar lines, research by Higgins (2010) found that HIV/AIDS prevention programs in Tanzania that attempted to shift the focus from women to gender roles and relations still drew on discourses of responsibility that placed the onus on girls and women to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS. My findings also speak to work that has argued that even though current approaches to health promotion and international development focus on empowerment, they do so in a way that represents a repackaging of colonial discourses of paternalism and stewardship (Hayhurst, 2011; Wilson, 2011). Along these same lines, female LSPS participants were presented as passive, uneducated, and vulnerable, but with the assistance of the LSPS program, they could become assertive and empowered. However, empowerment in this sense was viewed along neoliberal masculine lines in terms of producing a competitive, rational, self-responsible, enterprising, and assertive individual (Ailio, 2011; Bezner Kerr & Mkandawire, 2012). Although assertiveness was presented as an appropriate life skill for both boys and girls, the importance of girls learning assertiveness was developed in more depth. For example:

Some people are naturally aggressive, assertive, or passive. Girls are often raised to be passive and are unprepared to express their feelings and needs. An assertive communication style, however, can be learned and reinforced by practicing new communication skills. (p. 108)

This is problematic because prevention takes on a narrow and individual focused approach that emphasizes assertive communication that allows girls to express their self-interest and make rational informed decisions (Ailio, 2011). Higgins (2010, p. 150) also discussed this in her analysis of HIV prevention programs in Tanzania when she was troubled because girls and women felt “the need to formulate their behavior with regard to a male perspective,
rather than being able to engage in a negotiation that involves” multiple gendered perspectives. Some have argued that because sport is often associated with discourses of masculinity, it offers an ideal space to challenge these discourses and hierarchies of masculinity (Banda, 2011; Brady, 2005; Saavedra, 2009). However, as Higgins (2010) noted, this is problematic if it simply involves girls and women adopting masculinized perspectives. Bezner Kerr and Mkandawire (2012) have also argued that constructions of the enterprising, self-interested, and empowered female feeds into a neoliberal ideology emphasizing masculinity and competitiveness. Furthermore, both Ailio, (2011) and Ansell (2009) have argued that approaches to HIV/AIDS prevention that focus on the individual responsibility of girls perpetuates a system of neoliberal governance, whereby girls’ bodies are viewed as points of vulnerability. Certain knowledge, attitudes, and skills are then prescribed to enable individual girls to maintain and protect their own health. This neoliberal approach to health and risk management is sexist in the way that it positions girls’ bodies as sites of vulnerability and risk, while simultaneously constructing subject positions for that require them manage risk, as well as their morality.

Cornwall et al. (2012, p. 25) have argued that constructing identities for girls and women as both “heroines and victims, and men as perpetrators, or indeed as shadowy figures who are being virtually airbrushed out of the picture” serves to perpetuate a hetero-normative approach to gender and development that normalizes the notion of static and concrete gendered roles and identities. A conspicuous absence within The LSPS manual was any mention of sexuality that differed from heterosexual relations. On the one hand, this can be seen as surprising as RTP operates in contexts in which people identifying as gay, lesbian, queer, or anything other than straight, face severe oppression and persecution. Additionally,
within a curriculum addressing HIV/AIDS, the absence of any discussion relating to men who have sex with men, even if it is to argue that it is an insignificant driver of the virus in sub-Saharan Africa, seems odd. On the other hand, this is not entirely a surprise as RTP explicitly identifies itself as an apolitical organization, and to raise issues related to sexuality would likely limit its ability to operate in countries, such as Uganda for example, that have criminalized homosexuality. Although negotiating this contradiction seems unavoidable while operating in current development and health promotion contexts, I believe that it raises questions about the type of social change that RTP is attempting to achieve and the degree to which RTP follows its own philosophy of looking after one another.

Furthermore, similar to what McEwan (2008, p. 134) has discussed, discourses were drawn upon that supported the notion of a “northern nuclear family.” For example, in the future island game discussed above, all three characters saw their ideal future involving a spouse of the opposite sex, and only two or three children. The two female characters within the game saw themselves as seamstresses, and the male character saw himself as a professional football player. Notions of the northern nuclear family have played a significant role in development in terms of targeting men and women with different development initiatives, sometimes with the effect of destabilizing local economic and social relations. For example, Peet and Hartwick (2009) discussed how women have often been targeted with health promotion and population control programs, while men were targeted with economic and agricultural interventions, even in local contexts in which women historically had significant agricultural and economic roles within their communities.
4.7 Pedagogical Strategies Related to the Transmission Life Skills

Spaaij and Jeanes (2012) outlined three dominant pedagogical approaches that are common within SDP. These included a didactic model where teachers or facilitators transmitted information to participants, a peer educator approach in which youth are trained to act as facilitators and lead youth groups in their communities, and a relationship building approach designed to foster positive relationships between facilitators and participants. They argued that current approaches within SDP do not go far enough in affecting social change at broader structural levels. However, they posited that the peer education and relationship building approaches could offer an opportunity to utilize Freire’s (2000) critical pedagogy to assist communities in overcoming the problems faced. Although their article is important for being the first attempt within SDP literature to map the pedagogical approaches adopted and to use critical pedagogy as a guiding framework, I believe that my study demonstrates a more complicated picture. In making my argument, I begin by further elaborating on how the need to build and practice skills was presented. Following this, I focus on two aspects of critical pedagogy, banking education and problem-posing education, to illustrate that RTP has already adopted and appropriated aspects of critical pedagogy. In doing so it is critically important to examine how their prescribed strategies align with the intentions of critical pedagogy.

4.7.1 Building and Practicing Skills. The primary strategy prescribed for participants was to use 'I Statements'. To practice using 'I Statements' there was a formula:

“I” Statement Formula
“When you...”
“I feel...”
“Because...”
“What I would like is...” (p. 111)
This strategy was connected to the vulnerability and deficiency of LSPS participants.

Facilitators were told to:

Explain that for adolescents, peers are very, very influential. Young people crave acceptance and approval from their friends. The need for approval can make it very difficult to do what you think is right when you don’t agree. “I Statements” are a good way to respond assertively to this kind of pressure. (LSPS, 2008, p. 117)

Furthermore, they were told to “conclude this exercise by explaining that everyone experiences conflict in daily life. Communication skills, such as “I” Statements can help stand up for ourselves in ways that reduce conflict and make us feel good about ourselves” (LSPS, 2008, p. 118).

In order to learn how to communicate properly using 'I statements', participants were guided through practicing in a progression of contexts:

This is a structured format ['I' Statement Formula] and may seem strange at first. It takes time to absorb new skills and begin to use them unconsciously. Adapt the language to suit your situation. Here are some ideas for trying “I” statements out: First try using it in an easy context, with a friend over a small problem. You can begin just by saying “I feel happy when...” and see how that works. Then as you gain practice in using it, try it with a friend in harder situations. You can start to try out “I feel unhappy when...” When you feel OK with that, you could try out “I feel happy when...” with your partner. (LSPS, 2008, p. 114)

This strategy recurred frequently in discussions, role play, games, and activities that were used to give participants practice with new skills to enable them to implement them in their lives. For example, negotiation was listed as an important skill that helped participants “negotiate less risky alternatives” and to “respond to partner resistance against using condoms” (LSPS, 2008, p. 123). Condom use became something that could be negotiated and practiced. In each instance that skills were built in or practiced, the assumption was that individuals were vulnerable because of their deficiencies. The solution was that individuals could practice skills in order to progress to a stage in which they could avoid risk.
Overall, the emphasis placed on the individual was reminiscent of notions of enlightenment, rationalism, and progress that have always underpinned Western notions of development and justifications for colonization (Escobar, 1995; McEwan, 2008; Peet & Hartwick, 2009). Furthermore, constructing a deficient Other in this manner alludes to a Western civilized self that as Said (1978) has argued is foundational to perpetuating colonial power relations.

4.7.2 Critical Pedagogy in the LSPS Manual. There was clear reference to aspects of critical pedagogy. For example, in describing the practice of facilitation it was stated that:

In the traditional model of “teaching,” the teacher deposits knowledge into students’ heads. What the teacher does is most important. Students are expected to accept what the teacher says uncritically. In an interactive approach, the facilitator poses a problem and the participants try to find solutions. The focus is on the learner, not the teacher and many responses are acceptable. (p. ix)

In the way that banking education and problem posing education were directly mentioned, it was clear aspects of Freire's (2000) critical pedagogy have influenced the construction of the LSPS manual. However, as I show throughout this section the form of pedagogy developed was far from Freire's vision. Spaaij and Jeanes (2012) have argued that approaches to pedagogy within SDP did not align with critical pedagogy but my analysis illustrates how aspects of it have already been appropriated in RTP’s curriculum.

4.7.2.1 Banking Education. It was clear that interactive strategies were recommended as opposed to traditional models of education that deposit information into students.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the most effective way people develop new skills is learning by doing – taking part in active, enjoyable learning experiences. To make learning exciting, this course employs many interactive teaching methods, including physical activity, group work and role play. (p. iv)
This strategy was prevalent as each lesson included activities and discussions that were interactive. The most common of which was to have participants form groups and give them time to discuss and define concepts and issues and then reconvene as a larger group for further discussion. For example, in the second lesson of Module 3 (HIV/AIDS Prevention) facilitators were told to “ask the group what 'attitude' means” and then lead the group through a discussion of how attitudes put some at greater risk of contracting HIV. Initially, this would appear to be in line with arguments from decolonial scholars who have advocated that problems and solutions to those problems need to begin with local knowledges. However, it appeared that participant responses were meant to be restricted as the 'correct' answers were already provided to facilitators. Therefore, the pedagogy prescribed was illustrative of postcolonial and decolonial critiques that have argued educational projects are still largely based on neocolonial assumptions regarding the uneducated and ignorant peasant (De Lissivoy, 2007; McEwan, 2008). Additionally, having predefined answers and privileging certain knowledge served to perpetuate the existing hierarchies that are present within development, health promotion, education, and SDP, in which one group has privileged knowledge that is then transferred to marginalized groups (Peet & Hartwick, 2009). This was demonstrated in multiple lessons in which the facilitators were told to conclude the lesson by providing the correct answers. In the example above, after facilitators were told to ask participants to define 'attitude' they were immediately told to: “Explain that attitudes are the way we feel about things. Attitudes are emotions and we connect our emotions to our beliefs...Explain that attitudes are important because they influence our decision to practice safer behaviours or not” (p. 73). Although there was an attempt to open up spaces where participants could read their own world, it was clear that their reality had already been
constructed based on assumptions and ideologies of the curriculum developers (Ellsworth, 1989).

A further example appeared in lesson two of Module 5 (Values and Vulnerability). In the activity “Confronting Violence”, facilitators were instructed to divide participants into groups and define the concept of violence. Following this, the facilitator were to bring everyone together to choose the best definition or create one from participants' answers. Again, this seemed to be in line with Freire's approach, but in the next step reverted to an ask-and-explain approach by instructing facilitators to: “explain that there are many forms of violence: physical, sexual, and emotional” (p. 120). Facilitators were then told to lead a group through a discussion on these types of violence, but were given a list of examples of each that should be included in the discussion that were all interpersonal. Excluded from this lesson was any mention of the violence inherent in colonial encounters (Fanon, 2000), structural violence, which refers to the ways that social institutions or structures perpetuate inequalities and oppression, or cultural violence that refers to how it becomes naturalized through aspects of culture or ideology (Galtung, 1990).

Although traditional forms of 'banking education' were criticized, the strategies employed were essentially didactic. As Freire (2000) stated, “education must begin with the solution of the teacher student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers and students” (p. 72). The solution to this dynamic was not addressed in the LSPS manual. Instead, facilitators were urged to act as mediums through which already established knowledge and belief systems could be transmitted.

It is important to consider Freire's (2000) argument that “No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by
presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors” (p. 54). McEwan (2008) has also discussed a postcolonial framework for pedagogy that was juxtaposed to a framework based on compassion and progress. The compassion/progress framework related to Freire’s notion of false generosity and was an accurate description of the pedagogical strategies adopted by the LSPS manual. The framework was based on addressing poverty, but did so through a focus on deficiencies and empowering individuals. Freire described this as a form of paternalism that represented false generosity on the part of the oppressors.

4.7.2.2 Problem Posing Education. In addition to denouncing banking education, there were allusions in the manual to Freire's (2000) notion of problem-posing education. For Freire (2000), problem-posing education referred to the ways that students, when presented with problems related to the world and their place in the world, would be pushed to forms of social action. For him, this was conscientizacao or critical consciousness, which “refers to learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality” (Friere 1970, p. 35). Contrary to this approach, I found that a problem posing strategy was used, but the type of social action advocated was limited to individuals learning about problems so that they could avoid them by pursuing their own self interests and achieving their own desired outcomes.

This individualism was most evident in the outcome-model of decision-making described in the previous section and used in multiple lessons. This outcome-model, that encouraged participants to ignore the problems they faced and instead focus on what they wanted, seemed to contradict or at least limit the ways in which a problem-posing approach to education could be utilized.
In this regard, it is important to return to Freire’s (2000) generative theme and how De Lissovoy (2008) has taken up the concept within a decolonial framework. For Freire (2009), generative themes referred to the introduction of relevant and contextual information that could facilitate critical reflection and discussion. De Lissovoy (2008) has argued for a global critical conscientización that would involve generative themes related to local, regional, national, and international issues. From my analysis, the level of the generative theme presented was very much focused on the individual. Facilitators engaged in discussions with participants based on the notion that HIV/AIDS was a risk that individuals faced and therefore individuals were encouraged to reflect and act in ways that benefited them individually. Discussions in RTP programs would be drastically different for facilitators, participants, and foreign staff and volunteers if generative themes were used that questioned why international organizations are responsible for providing sport and HIV/AIDS education as opposed to ministries of education or health, who benefits from development and SDP industries, and with regards to HIV/AIDS prevention why did governments from the Global North and international pharmaceutical companies oppose the distribution of cheap generic HIV/AIDS treatment medication in the Global South? In the concluding chapter I will summarize my findings and attempt to answer what SDP would look like if it embraced an approach that engaged with these broader generative themes.
Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this final chapter, I begin by summarizing my findings related to my three research questions and then discuss the limitations to my study. I then offer suggestions for SDP practitioners, particularly with regards to challenging the dominant discourses drawn upon in the development of SDP materials, and for decolonizing SDP curriculum and training materials.

5.1 Life Skills.

From my analysis, it was clear that the concept of life skills was constructed in relation to discourses of risk, individualism, and deficiency. HIV/AIDS in Africa was presented as an invisible and inevitable risk that invades and destroys an individual’s body unless the individual has the knowledge and willingness to construct the proper defenses. The defenses that were presented included the development of life skills such as assertiveness, that placed the focus on individuals gaining knowledge, changing their attitudes, and taking actions to change their behaviour. Essentially, this aligned with Darnell’s (2010) argument that SDP involves the production of neoliberal citizens who can succeed in a global capitalist system. Importantly for girls, these life skills were sexist in the way that they centered on managing the vulnerability of girls’ bodies and restricting their immoral behaviour. Along these lines, the discourses that were drawn upon also constructed identities for RTP participants that were competitive, rational, self-responsible, and outcome-oriented.

Importantly, in being the first analysis of curriculum or training material actually deployed in SDP, this study has built upon research that has investigated the ways discourses are framed by organizations when representing their targeted beneficiaries and creating
policy (Darnell, 2007; Hayhurst, 2009; Tiessen, 2011). Additionally, this study has also recognized and discussed the presence of discourses within the LSPS manual, such as those relating to critical awareness and collective action that have the potential to challenge the dominant discourses of sport and development described in previous research.

5.2 Identities.

Identities of youth were constructed as being vulnerable and at the center of the HIV/AIDS crisis, but were also seen as offering the best chance at halting the spread of HIV/AIDS. Youth, and particularly girls, were represented as being vulnerable through a variety of mechanisms. Social and power relations, as well as structural constraints such as poverty, were recognized as reasons for this vulnerability; however, identities of girls were largely constituted through discourses of deficiency, through which girl's bodies and behaviours were presented as vulnerable, fallible, and in need of management. These discourses simultaneously and contradictorily represented girls as being passive yet holding the potential to be empowered. The process of empowerment focused almost exclusively on girls as individuals needing to learn skills to assert their own self-interests. This study provided a unique contribution in that it has shown how curriculum materials in SDP discursively construct the passive yet empowered girl as masculine, competitive, rational, and self-interested.

5.3 Pedagogical Strategies.

The pedagogical approach was mixed and demonstrated the interdiscursive nature of the LSPS manual. Aspects of the pedagogical approach seemed to reflect some aspects of critical pedagogy that was most evident in pedagogical strategies used in the two modules on values and stigma. The strategies focused on developing critical awareness by engaging in
discussions requiring them to reflect on the values prevalent in their communities and families, to question how these values produce different expectations for boys, girls, men, and women. They also discussed how these expectations may create inequalities that disadvantage certain groups.

Similar pedagogical strategies were used to guide participants through critical reflections regarding the beliefs they held relating to people living with HIV/AIDS. This was designed to help the participants develop empathy because this would motivate the participants to advocate and act on behalf of people who are stigmatized. These two examples presented a more complex process than has been presented in the limited research conducted on pedagogical approaches within SDP. However, the overall approach to teaching life skills was rooted in discourses of deficiency and individualism. The prevalent strategies, therefore, focused on individuals governing their own bodies and behaviours, so that they could be responsible for their health and improve their lives, while neglecting strategies that would engage communities in broader processes of social change.

5.4 Limitations.

The major limitation of this study was that it was not possible to consider the ways that the LSPS manual is understood and interpreted in local settings. Future research on SDP should involve approaches that combine an analysis of discourse and how knowledge and power structures legitimate ways of planning and doing SDP, with ethnographic approaches that consider how these discourses are taken up, adapted, and resisted by SDP participants in various settings. In the fields of education (Robinson-Pant, 2001) and international development (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994), this type of research has critically questioned how 'development' and related concepts like life skills are constructed through discourse and
how they contribute to perpetuating or challenging unequal social relations. I believe this offers the possibility of a decolonizing process in which researchers, practitioners, and community members can engage in critically reflexive discussions about how programs are developed, implemented, promoted, monitored, and evaluated.

5.5 Challenging the Discourses.

For Faircough (1992) and other critical discourse analysts, social change is possible precisely because if discourse plays a role in constructing knowledge and identities that lead to the perpetuation of inequalities, they can also be used to challenge or restructure these same constructions. As noted in the previous section, there are opposing discourses relating to collectivism and critical awareness located in the LSPS manual that represent possibilities for catalyzing critical dialogue about what SDP organizations are attempting to do and how they go about doing it.

The metaphors of sport and the uses of sport in HIV prevention are also important to consider at this point. Although the LSPS manual rarely refers to sport directly, the discourses of individualism, masculinity, competition, aggressiveness, and individual improvement overlap with what Darnell (2007) has described as the dominant discourse of sport. However, there are alternative discourses of sport that could support a different approach to SDP and HIV/AIDS prevention. Sanders et al. (2008) argued that health promotion in sub-Saharan Africa:

Must have a human rights focus that builds on the central principle of people’s collective rights...It should also build on local cultures, including the concept of ‘Ubuntu’ (which defines people in terms of their several relationships with others). Importantly, it should also challenge the limitations of cultural traditions, such as the hierarchies and male dominance. (p. 515)

As opposed to RTP drawing on sporting discourses of individualism, competition and
individual success, and masculine hierarchies, they could draw on discourses aligned with teamwork and notions of collective and human rights (Kidd & Donnelly, 2000), that promote indigenous frameworks such as Ubuntu that focus on social relations and collectivism (Burnett, 2006), or use sport as a space for challenging masculine hierarchies through discussions and activities focused on gender relations (Brady, 2005; Saavedra, 2009). An approach to SDP that is based on these alternative discourses would be fundamentally different than what is currently being practiced by RTP and would require a decolonization of SDP curriculum.

Additional possibilities lie in adopting frameworks that explicitly attend to how inequalities and oppression are perpetuated through discourse and how discourse materializes in day-to-day social relations. Darnell and Hayhurst (2011, p. 192) have proposed a decolonizing postcolonial feminist framework that addresses this need. They argue that such a framework allows for “the experience and agency of those who are meant to benefit from particular SDP policies and programmes” to drive the development and research process.

5.5 Decolonizing SDP Curriculum. In criticizing the LSPS manual and in proposing suggestions for the development of SDP curriculum, I am not suggesting that teaching individuals about HIV/AIDS or other health related issues is inappropriate. However, the knowledges and representations that underpin and justify who needs to be taught and who has the power to teach is problematic in that it perpetuates hierarchical power relations. I do not intend to propose suggestions for alterations to the LSPS manual, or offer suggestions on how to educate the Other.

An important question to consider in concluding this study is whether sport can be mobilized in ways that affect broader social and political change (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012;
Spaaij & Jeanes, 2012)? I agree with Spaaij and Jeanes (2012) that SDP organizations should adopt critical pedagogical approaches. However, it is important to consider the ways that this is done. From my analysis of the LSPS manual it is clear that concepts from critical pedagogy have already been appropriated by SDP. Therefore, it is not simply enough to suggest problem-posing education, the deconstruction of student-teacher dynamics, and a disavowal of banking education. Instead we need to interrogate how the individualism apparent in the LSPS manual represents a distortion of the radical political project that critical pedagogy advocates. As De Lissovoy (2008) stated this: “co-optation may represent a deep contradiction, but it also shows the originality and fluidity of capital and cautions the tradition of critical education to be vigilant against appropriations that subvert its political commitments” (p. 40).

The fact that critical approaches have already been appropriated and are serving an individualized neoliberal ideology, suggests that critical reflection on the parts of those developing SDP materials is imperative. A decolonization of SDP curriculum would first require those in SDP to develop our own critical consciousness regarding our place within what Sklair (2002) has termed the “transnational capitalist class,” and our role in perpetuating various forms of oppression through our identification with and participation in global neoliberal projects. Thus,

A decolonial approach oriented toward the condition of globality would suggest a profound reordering [of curriculum]. To begin with... a consideration of curriculum has to reach to its very conceptual premises that is, to the epistemological principles that secure the legitimacy of the content of what is taught and learned. (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 286)

Furthermore, I agree with Spaaij and Jeanes (2012) who concluded that SDP programs should avoid the use of pre-packaged curriculum materials that are deployed across multiple
settings. Instead, curriculum would need to take on a more fluid and dynamic form that would allow for the continual creation and deconstruction of content by the subjects of that curriculum.

With regards to SDP, this global project of conscientization would involve the use of sport as a possible space of hybridity where communities, both local and global, are able to mobilize and challenge oppressive local, state, and global forces. The role of curriculum developers and facilitators in this context would be to engage with local communities in discussions around themes relating to local and global forces of oppression. Sport would become a space of mutual sharing and teaching, as opposed to a space where curriculum information is imposed. This would represent a radical shift from dominant conceptions of development and would be in opposition to the production and dissemination of curricula attempting to control people’s daily lives in the service of a neoliberal and neocolonial ideology. Instead, as Darnell (2010, p. 71) has argued: “it is important, rather, to consider counter-hegemonic approaches to and through SDP that would engage directly with the political economy and the relations of dominance that produce the need for development in the first place.”

Until recently, I had a difficult time picturing what this would look like. However, I think that the recent Idle No More movement and particularly the round dance flash mobs can serve as an illustrative example. The movement was initiated by four women in response to recent legislation passed by the Canadian government that impacted environmental assessments and procedures for approving industrial development. The focus of the movement has largely been on indigenous sovereignty and indigenous rights (Idle No More, 2013) and in various cities throughout Canada, and around the world, indigenous peoples
have mobilized in solidarity with Idle No More. It should also be noted that young Aboriginal women have played a prominent role within these mobilizations. Although many tactics have been employed, the round dance flash mob has been identified as one of the most important strategies. They have taken place in major intersections, city centers, and shopping malls and involve indigenous drumming, singing, and dancing. For many working in SDP, the round dance may not seem like a viable strategy, but I my argument is based on the idea that in order for sport to operate in processes of liberation, it must be “reconceptualized as a space of “physical” education that begins with the interests, knowledge, histories, identities, and experiences of marginalized youth and works toward developing their capacity to decode reality” (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, p. 296) Sport is then viewed as space in which participants can critically reflect and act upon their world. As Ryan McMahon (2013), an Idle No More organizer, stated:

> It’s perfect. It makes perfect sense. A Round Dance Revolution. It has reinvigorated and re-inspired our People. It has lifted the spirits of thousands. The act of the “flash mob” can be called “Political/Guerilla Theatre” but it’s not politics in and of itself. It’s a glimpse into who we are. It is perfect. (para. 27)

I would also argue that the round dance provides more than just a glimpse of indigenous culture. They are public displays, often occurring on land from which indigenous peoples have been dispossessed and that encourage indigenous and non-indigenous peoples to come together to engage with issues relating to sovereignty and rights, past and present relationships between indigenous peoples and settlers, and the historical and current colonial context of Canada. The round dances have proven to be an effective strategy. As Krystalline Klaus (2013) described:

> The round dance is both the perfect symbolic tool of friendship among fellow men[sic] but also a practical, peaceful way to encourage participation between different First Nations communities and with Canadian allies. The drums and the
singing seem to smooth over some of the rougher, historical angles that used to cut up both sides...That's when the magic happens, when two strangers reach out their hands and connect to form a giant circle which spins around, made up of hundreds of new relationships of trust -- and then suddenly the group of dancers are now all connected to one another. And I hope that it is this connection between Indigenous Canadians and mainstream Canadians that lasts well beyond this day of action. No justice. No peace. (para. 9-13)

The round dances provide a unique contrast to RTP and the programs they have started to operate in Aboriginal communities in Canada. Although they do not directly include HIV/AIDS education, they still utilize an approach based on individual life skills, behaviour change, and empowerment. RTP's name is derived from Article 31 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, that recognized every child’s right to rest, leisure, and play. Essentially, the notion of human rights is fundamental to the organization, yet RTP has been silent with regards to Idle No More. Instead of engaging with a movement that foregrounds indigenous rights, RTP continues to offer programs that attempt to provide technical fixes to the deficiencies that individuals possess. In a similar way, I also find it telling that RTP operates in countries and alongside governments that actively attempt to criminalize homosexuality, yet remains silent regarding the rights of LGBTQ persons.

My study was originally motivated by the newspaper article I read in Lesotho regarding an HIV positive man raping and infecting a teenage girl, and wondering how the project I was working on and SDP in general could have in any way prevented that from happening. Upon completing my analysis, I cannot say that I have come to a satisfactory resolution. I do feel that the LSPS manual, and I would argue other SDP curriculum and training materials, are largely neglecting the broader social, political, and cultural factors that contribute to people’s oppression. I have briefly in this last section put forward a decolonial approach that could attempt to engage a global critical consciousness as a way forward.
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Appendix 1

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## Appendix 2

Sample of Initial Descriptive and Structural Codes Grouped into Prominent Themes

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<td>HIV_risk (35)</td>
<td>Participants agree that it’s very important to be safe from infection rather than open to danger (p. 71) (Coded HIV_risk)</td>
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