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## 8 Examining the educator

### Toward a critical pedagogy of sport for development and peace

*Ruth Jeanes and Ramón Spaaij*

#### Introduction

A consistent feature across sport for development and peace (SDP) programs is the use of education to facilitate and support individual transformation and wider social change. The content of education within SDP programs is broad ranging. It may focus on developing health literacy on issues such as HIV/AIDS or malaria, comprise rights-based education aimed at developing awareness of social issues such as gender inequality, or involve skills-focused education that supports participants to develop skills and competencies such as leadership and negotiation, which can help them navigate challenges they face in their communities more effectively (Nicholls, 2009). The types of educators working across programs are also highly diverse. Educators can range from international volunteers, paid teachers/coaches and NGO staff to peers and community elders. Inevitably, these individuals bring different forms of knowledge, educational and cultural experience to the programs.

This brief description illustrates the diversity that exists within SDP programs seeking to ‘educate through sport’. Education is an integral part of SDP practice but is interpreted and delivered very differently across different programs and contexts. However, while other dimensions of SDP have attracted growing academic attention, critical analysis of education within the SDP sector has been largely absent (Spaij and Jeanes, 2013). Recent research largely focuses on assessing program impacts and outcomes (e.g. Coalter, 2013); yet, the educational *processes* through which these impacts and outcomes may be achieved are still under-explored. Considering the centrality of education in achieving potential SDP outcomes, it is important to address this lacuna. Further, given the complexity of how education occurs, we would argue that there are numerous potential avenues of exploration.

This chapter focuses on one specific aspect of education through sport, namely the role of the educator in SDP programs. Who educates is an important decision in any educational setting; where they come from, their beliefs and values, how they are positioned and position themselves and their relationship with students will greatly influence learning and the potential for social change. Building on theoretical work which advocates using the lens of critical pedagogy

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as developed by the late Brazilian educator Paulo Freire to analyse and enhance educational practice in SDP (Spaaij and Jeanes, 2013), this chapter specifically considers how the educator is positioned within critical pedagogy and how this translates to SDP practice. We not only analyse current practice but also highlight the tensions experienced by educators of turning Freire’s theoretical lens into praxis at a community level. These issues are examined with specific reference to two different SDP contexts where we have conducted intensive field-work: HIV/AIDS education in Zambia and employability education in Brazil (Spaaij 2011, 2012; Jeanes, 2013).

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### The educator in critical pedagogy: a Freirean analysis

Our previous work provides a detailed overview of Freirean critical pedagogy and its relevance to SDP (Spaaij and Jeanes, 2013). This section reviews some of the key elements of Freirean critical pedagogy with a particular focus on the role of the educator.

Freire’s (1972, 1973) pedagogical approach is rooted in a desire to use education as a means for transforming the lives and circumstances of oppressed groups. For Freire, education is political. It can be a tool to challenge mechanisms of repression and exclusion but also a vehicle through which these can be maintained. Freire critiques much of mainstream education as doing the latter and subsequently reproducing knowledge that benefits the prevailing social groups and reinforces structures of domination. He suggests this occurs via ‘banking’ approaches to education, whereby the teacher is considered the knowledgeable authority, depositing information for students to absorb uncritically. The consequences of such approaches to education are to ‘castrate’ people’s curiosity (Freire and Faundez, 1989, p. 35) and reduce individuals’ creative capacity and opportunities to imagine alternative ways of living and knowing.

Freire proposes that, for the oppressed to begin to challenge and change their situation, they, supported by the educator, have to undertake a process of conscientisation ‘whereby people become aware of political, socio-economic and cultural contradictions that interact in a hegemonic way to diminish their lives’ (Ledwith, 2011, p. 66). Freire (1973) suggests this process has three levels. ‘Magical consciousness’ is the level most oppressed individuals start at, where they are passive and unquestioning about the injustice they experience. Life is simply ‘how it is’. The next stage is ‘naïve consciousness’, whereby individuals recognise the problems they are experiencing but do not connect these to inequality caused by broader structures. They instead see themselves at the root of the problem and this is reinforced to them in education. Freire suggests that education should instead be looking to support individuals to develop ‘critical consciousness’ whereby the oppressed understand their position within broader society, recognise how this connects to broader structures of domination and are actively seeking ways to challenge the dominant discourse (Ledwith, 2011). Educators who utilise Freirean pedagogy attempt to support students to move between these different layers of consciousness.





1 Freire argues that educators should seek to utilise a problem-posing approach  
2 that encourages a dialogical engagement between educator, student and other  
3 students. Within a problem-posing approach, educators work with students to  
4 identify problems and issues relevant to them and present them in a way to  
5 encourage dialogue and critical thinking regarding the issues that surround the  
6 problem. Through this process, Freire contends, students not only develop a  
7 deeper understanding of the difficulties they face but are in a more informed  
8 position to begin to take action to address these via working collectively to  
9 identify solutions. Dialogue is vital for increasing levels of critical conscious-  
10 ness, but Freire (1973) is clear that such dialogue must occur horizontally  
11 between educators and students and relies on relationships of trust, humility and  
12 respect among all that participate. As such, the relationship between educator  
13 and student is reshaped with both working collaboratively to deconstruct know-  
14 ledge and develop critical understanding.

15 Critical pedagogy positions the human element as central to the education  
16 process and particularly highlights the importance of cultivating hope among  
17 students (Freire, 2005; Miller *et al.*, 2011). Freire (1992, p. 8) discusses how 'I  
18 am hopeful, not out of mere stubbornness, but out of an existential, concrete  
19 imperative'. He suggests that fostering hope is not an idealist aspiration but  
20 essential to encourage imagination, the possibility of change necessary for indi-  
21 viduals and collectives to be 'moved to action' (Boyd, 2012, p. 771).

22 The above describes the process that educators are required to undertake  
23 when seeking to educate via a critical pedagogy. However, one of the key  
24 aspects of Freire's work is the notion that educators cannot simply run through a  
25 series of predetermined steps with students and assume this will lead to social  
26 action. Freire instead places the educator as emotionally and physically inter-  
27 woven within the process, the broader social context and the students (Miller *et*  
28 *al.*, 2011). Educators working within a Freirean framework have to commit to  
29 particular values and beliefs. For Freire, any effort to challenge and reshape  
30 dominant power relations requires an ongoing commitment from educators.  
31 Meaningful change cannot occur through one-off experiences with the  
32 oppressed, and instead requires 'an ongoing commitment to live and work in  
33 solidarity with those that are oppressed' (Boyd, 2012, p. 773), including an inter-  
34 nalised desire to also facilitate the changes one is hoping to realise via education.  
35 It is not enough to just 'do a job'.

36 The position of the educator within the education context is critical for  
37 engagement and potential transformation. Educators must be prepared to  
38 abandon any pre-conceived views on their role as one where they are the most  
39 knowledgeable and the most powerful. Freire presents a difficult tension for edu-  
40 cators, where they are seeking to have a position of authority and respect among  
41 students but not be authoritarian (Mayo, 2004). They must be prepared to relin-  
42 quish teacher power and instead acknowledge that they and students will  
43 exchange positions of power during the educational process. For Freire, it is  
44 essential that educators have a deep understanding of the students and the  
45 broader contexts of their lives. It is only through this knowledge that they can





pose meaningful problems that are grounded within the everyday struggles experienced by oppressed groups (Darder, 2002). The significance of hope, humility, trust and respect within a Freirean critical pedagogy also has implications for the educator (Freire, 2005). They not only have to display such qualities themselves but also look to engender a climate where students can enact them. In sum, the role of the educator is ‘to provide the context in which shared problems can be critically questioned and analysed. It is a mutual process founded on reciprocity and humility that gets beyond the power imbalance of the traditional teacher-student relationship’ (Ledwith, 2011, p. 102). In the remainder of this paper, we examine how these pedagogical principles translate to SDP practice.

### SDP programs in Zambia and Brazil: research context

#### *Zambia*

The Zambian SDP programs discussed in this chapter were overseen and managed by two NGOs that had been running SDP programs since the mid-1990s. The majority of projects that the NGOs were overseeing were funded by external international donor agencies. These included country-specific funding agencies (such as UK Sport) as well as transnational donors (for example UNICEF). All of the data presented in this chapter was collected from SDP programs delivered in compound communities in Lusaka, the capital city. The programs sought to work with young people, using sport as a means of engagement, focus and a platform for education. The educational component focused on HIV/AIDS and life skills education delivered via a peer leader model. Peer leaders were young people from the communities where the projects were based. They were recruited by NGO staff from these communities and provided with training covering both the delivery of sports activities and also information about life skills and in particular HIV/AIDS. Once recruited and trained, peer leaders were responsible for organising sports and education activities in their communities on a regular basis (usually 2–3 times per week). They received ongoing support to do this from NGO staff.

The educational component of the programs was fluid. Sport was seen as a hook to attract young people to a setting where education could take place, but there were also elements of teaching key messages via sport and in particular through traditional indigenous games. Young people were trained to facilitate educational sessions but there was no set curriculum as such, although young people through their training were encouraged to embed principles from broader programs in their own education. The ‘ABC’ initiative of the Zambian government was one example. This is a broader educational campaign that advocates three methods for reducing the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS: abstain from sex, be faithful, and use a condom. Topics for education sessions though generally varied from information regarding HIV/AIDS, e.g. how it is contracted, through to discussions on how to lead others effectively. These more focused education sessions would usually take place before or after sporting activity. Peer leaders

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1 generally had autonomy to decide on the focus and content of education sessions  
2 and were encouraged to match these to local needs. The fluidity of education  
3 through sport reflects the wider delivery of education within Zambia. Depending  
4 on the school sector (community or voluntary schools, government funded or  
5 private sector) approaches to educating vary. Didactic delivery tends to be most  
6 commonplace in the volunteer-run community schools that young people living  
7 in compound communities would usually attend. The peer-led approaches  
8 adopted within SDP programs are therefore not reflective of the educational  
9 experiences of either the leaders or the participants, although they may well have  
10 experienced more collaborative approaches in other community-based programs  
11 and projects.

12 The data drawn upon here was collected over a five-year period. During this  
13 time, one co-author was able to observe ongoing on-the-ground delivery, attend  
14 peer leader training sessions as well as undertake semi-structured interviews and  
15 focus groups with peer leaders, participants and NGO staff. The research con-  
16 ducted was not explicitly focused on exploring the role of education within SDP  
17 programs but was looking more broadly at how programs are operationalised  
18 and the impact this has on peer leaders, participants and the wider community.<sup>1</sup>  
19 Within this overarching focus, the issue of education, how it is delivered and  
20 some of the challenges and limitations of this emerged. It is this data and specifi-  
21 cally the role of the educator in peer-led education that we focus on here.

### ***Brazil***

24 The Brazilian SDP program examined here involved a team sports partnership  
25 model for youth employability in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Rio de  
26 Janeiro. The program was managed and implemented by local NGOs and funded  
27 by international donor agencies such as the Inter-American Development Bank.  
28 The program was largely focused on skills-based education that sought to  
29 support young people to develop professional competencies such as discipline,  
30 teamwork, respect, communication and results orientation, considered critical to  
31 the young people's employability. Yet, the program also offered rights-based  
32 education around issues such as gender inequality and citizenship rights, against  
33 the backdrop of persistent social marginalisation experienced by many young  
34 people in the target communities. In so doing, the program sought to move  
35 beyond the didactic pedagogies that are still the norm in the Brazilian public  
36 education system and to promote a more transformative learning process that can  
37 also be found in some community-based literacy and education initiatives across  
38 the country and in school curriculum aimed at social change (see for example  
39 UNICEF, 2009). The latter can be seen to build on the Brazilian public school  
40 system's key feature of social support to children from poor families (Limonta,  
41 2013).

42 The educational content in the SDP program is delivered by professional staff  
43 such as community development workers, social workers, physical education  
44 teachers, school teachers and psychologists. Some of the program staff were peer  
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educators who had previously been program participants themselves, and who lived in the target communities.

The educational component of the program was structured yet fluid. The program used team sports activities such as football games to create an active learning environment for supporting and delivering educational content. During the first phase of the six-month program, participants played approximately 50 hours on the field and spent around 50 hours in the classroom. In the remainder of the program, staff continued to use sports contexts and provided regular opportunities for games. However, the educational emphasis throughout was on teaching key messages and skills via sport, rather than sport for its own sake. The delivery of educational content via sport occurred within a holistic youth development framework in which the different activities acted in combination with one another in mutually reinforcing ways (Spaaij, 2013).

The data drawn upon here were collected and analysed using a qualitative research approach that combined in-depth interviews and participant observation. A total of 53 interviews were conducted with (former) program participants and a further 36 interviews with program staff and other stakeholders, such as employers and school teachers. Field visits to the program sites provided the opportunity for direct observation, which was used to gain first-hand exploration of the educational activities on offer and participants' engagement therein. Observations were made at sport and classroom activities, teacher meetings, workplaces where (former) participants were employed, and relevant social activities and institutions in the local area. The issue of pedagogy, how it was delivered and attendant challenges and tensions were prominent themes within this rich data set. It is these themes and specifically the role of the educator in the program that we focus on in this chapter.

**The role of the educator in SDP: key themes and tensions**

From the perspective of critical pedagogy, our fieldwork in Zambia and Brazil raises a number of key themes and tensions with regard to the role of the educator in SDP programs. In this section, we analyse three critical issues: first, the tension between didactic and dialogical pedagogies; second, education's embeddedness in everyday lives and realities; and, finally, questions of power and authority.

*From didactic to dialogical education*

Critical pedagogy offers a fundamental critique of mainstream education as reproducing structures of domination by integrating students into the logic of the present system and by bringing about their conformity to it. This critique is also relevant to the SDP programs we examine in this chapter. Despite using different approaches, the programs contained elements of didactic pedagogical practices that may be seen as forms of banking education. As noted, a key component of the Brazilian program was to support participants to develop professional

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1 competencies such as discipline, teamwork, respect, communication and results  
2 orientation. These competencies were at times taught in a relatively technocratic  
3 way, in which teachers would seek to impart their knowledge and expertise to  
4 students. Similarly, as will be seen below, in Zambia the didactic transmission of  
5 health literacy knowledge on to students also elevated factual knowledge and at  
6 times inadvertently positioned the teacher and the student in an expert–novice  
7 relationship rather than the kind of dialogical, non-hierarchical relationship that  
8 critical pedagogy advocates. While we recognise the importance of accurate  
9 factual information in a HIV/AIDS context, a Freirian approach would advocate  
10 that this knowledge be discussed and interpreted at a local level to assist  
11 oppressed groups in making informed choices.

12 Yet, programs in both countries also valued and adopted dialogical methods  
13 within their educational approaches. In Brazil, this is evident in the focus on rela-  
14 tionship building to engage participants in the education process. The program  
15 emphasises the development of meaningful relationships and mutual trust between  
16 educators and participants, where the educator becomes a significant part of parti-  
17 cipants' everyday lives. Program staff noted that 'the most important thing is not  
18 the subject they are going to learn.... Sure that's important too, but you must  
19 create relationships with them' (SDP educator, in twenties). Within this context,  
20 sport was considered an experiential setting where educators could establish  
21 rapport and develop trust without having to force the occurrence of either. Several  
22 staff and participants highlighted how the sports activities 'facilitated negotiation  
23 and established relationships, institutional relationships, personal relationships'  
24 (SDP manager, in forties), and therefore provided valuable teaching and learning  
25 opportunities. Interestingly, some participants observed that the professional com-  
26 petencies that the program sought to develop were critical elements in the dialogi-  
27 cal education process itself as much as valued outcomes of that process. As one  
28 student put it: 'We could realise that the results will only be reached if there is  
29 respect, discipline, team work and all the other abilities' (female, in twenties).

30 In contrast to didactic teaching methods, then, this approach suggests that  
31 effective education can only take place via ongoing, valued contact between edu-  
32 cators and participants. Its focus on mutual trust and respect, dialogue and anti-  
33 authoritarianism clearly resonates with elements of critical pedagogy, and  
34 especially with Freire's (2005) emphasis on the centrality of the human element  
35 in the education process. Like Freire, a psychologist working with the program  
36 highlighted the importance of cultivating hope among learners:

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38 The vision that I have of education is first and foremost try to show the  
39 young people that they do have opportunities; that these opportunities exist.  
40 That they have the qualities within them, and that they only have to work on  
41 discovering which positive qualities they possess.

42 (Female, in forties)

43  
44 In Zambia, dialogical SDP education is delivered through a peer education  
45 model. The emphasis is on the peer educator being perceived as similar/the same





as participants, based on the assumption that this diffuses power relations and develops a trusting educational climate where young people feel comfortable sharing their views and opinions (Hughes-d'Aeth, 2002). Young people are encouraged to share and discuss their collective views on issues affecting their lives and attempt to devise solutions and strategies to navigate these within their everyday lives (Mwaanga, 2010). As such, peer education shares similarities with Freirian pedagogy. The emphasis on collective discussion and development of solutions mirrors the dialogical process leading to critical consciousness. However, peer education is essentially an educational method rather than a theory. While in principle peer education advocates collective dialogue, it is also possible to utilise a peer-led approach that draws on the type of didactic method that critical pedagogy dismisses (Campbell, 2004).

***Situating education within local realities***

A key principle of critical pedagogy is that the curriculum ought to be built around the themes and conditions of people's lives. For Freire, the problem with mainstream education is that it typically fails to take as its starting point the lived experiences and local knowledge of learners. This critique is reflected in a Brazilian SDP educator's view that:

The majority of schools in Brazil are preoccupied with the content of education, the quantity of information. This quantity of information means nothing to the students. . . . I need to know what I can do with the info, how can I use it in daily life. Our schools don't understand that.

(Female, in forties)

The need to situate SDP education within students' everyday lives and realities is also recognised in the Zambian programs, where the recruitment of young people from local communities ensured that peer leaders had a detailed and nuanced understanding of local context, the problems and issues facing the community and specifically the position of young people within these communities. They were already an embedded part of everyday community life and it was relatively easy for them to empathise with and understand young people's experiences. This was illustrated when talking to several peer leaders about HIV/AIDS education, particularly how they covered the issue of prevention and protection. Their discussions illustrated that, as young people experiencing the realities of HIV/AIDS on a daily basis, they have extensive knowledge of what prevention strategies may be difficult to implement. One male peer leader in his teens spoke to this:

When doing the sessions, some of the young men, they say to me that abstinence [part of the 'ABC' method of protection which peer leaders are advised to advocate] will not work. They say that they feel pressured by their friends to have sex and if they do not, they are not a real man. I feel

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Freirean educator is initially seeking to facilitate inward reflection among students to encourage a critical exploration of their own social worlds. In contrast, in some communities how peer leaders behave and live their lives is positioned as an aspirational goal that participants should be striving towards, regardless of how realistic or meaningful this is for participants. This is highlighted in some of the language used by the peer leader in the above quote. The peer leader places emphasis on telling participants that they should not engage in certain behaviours and ensuring this message is reinforced by their actual behaviour. While not as direct as the depositing method of education that Freire critiques, elements of this method are still evident here, including a reliance on participants replicating relatively unquestioningly what the peer educator does. Indeed, several participants talked uncritically about how peer leaders would tell them how to behave and how they should act, which was absorbed unquestionably because of the status the peer leader had within their community. For example, a female participant in her teens suggested: ‘Margaret, I think the youth see her as a hero here. I do, and I want to be like her, when she tells me what I should be doing, I listen’. Encouraging a problem-posing education, where participants are actively encouraged to challenge and disagree with the educator as part of the process of developing critical awareness, becomes stilted and difficult in such conditions. From a Freirean viewpoint, it is unlikely that genuine empowerment of marginalised individuals will occur in these circumstances.

It is possible, however, to observe how role modelling may contribute to aspects of critical pedagogy. A key tenet of critical pedagogy is the emphasis placed on hope, which Freire suggests is an essential component of social change (Freire and Shor, 1987). As illustrated earlier in our discussion of the Brazilian SDP program, where students are lacking hope it is the role of the educator to demonstrate that alternative ways of living are a possibility, in order to encourage the optimism essential for action (Barnett, 2008). Zambian SDP participants repeatedly discussed how peer leaders as role models that were similar to them helped them view their own futures more hopefully. As one participant explained:

I see [peer leader] and she is like me but she is finishing her school and she has been able to travel a lot with sports. I thought I would be stuck here all my life but I see [peer leader] and I think maybe I can do more than this.

(Female, teens)

There is potential, therefore, for peer leaders to present alternative realities to participants even if they are not necessarily achieving this via group dialogue. While it is possible to critique the relationship between peer leaders and students using a Freirean lens, it can potentially still contribute to some of the outcomes that are desired from a more critical approach.

The power shift from educator to student that is essential within critical pedagogy is therefore somewhat complex to operationalise in practice. As we have illustrated, Freire speaks of educators being an authority without being authoritarian. The educator has standing and respect among students but does not use

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1 this position to enforce particular ways of seeing and understanding the world.  
2 As we have illustrated, this may be challenging, particularly with an emphasis  
3 on educators positioning themselves as role models.

4 Furthermore, although peer leader literature (Backett-Milburn and Wilson,  
5 2000) suggests that power is diffused in peer education settings by virtue of  
6 young people working with other young people, our data suggest that this  
7 masks the social hierarchies and power relationships that exist among young  
8 people. These emerge from gendered and socio-economic discourses that tend  
9 to position young men and those from more affluent backgrounds as having  
10 greater access to power and status within their communities. Social hierarchies  
11 also exist within groups of young men and groups of young women (Meekers  
12 and Calvès, 1997). When talking with both male and female participants and  
13 peer leaders, they inevitably pointed to different social groups within their  
14 communities and suggested certain young people and their peers achieve  
15 higher status positions than others due to being able to construct their identi-  
16 ties around particular discourses connected to status and power. As this young  
17 man explained:

18  
19 Yes so for boys, the ones that have the power, they have a physique that is  
20 well developed, they are muscular. They will drink and have girls around  
21 them. They usually have some money ... that gives them a real position  
22 amongst the youth.

23  
24 In contrast, for young people who had volunteered to become peer leaders but  
25 did not have a particular social standing within their community, gaining the  
26 respect of participants and engaging them in the education process was extremely  
27 difficult. This female leader talked of a friend who had encountered such chal-  
28 lenges because of her existing social status:

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30 [Peer leader] is not part of the group who gets attention in our community,  
31 some of the girls think she is strange because she plays a lot of football and  
32 looks like a boy. They will not listen to her. They do not think it is important  
33 to hear what she has to say. It is very hard for her to get them to talk about  
34 issues because they always say to her what do you know? Who are you to  
35 be talking to us about these things?

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37 Without an established position of power amongst her youth network, this young  
38 woman struggled to gain credibility among her peers and subsequently be seen  
39 as someone who could critically educate them.

40 Other studies have similarly pointed to how social dynamics shape the identi-  
41 ties and relationships of young people in Africa (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004),  
42 but the SDP literature typically presents impoverished youth as a homogenous  
43 group (Carney and Chawansky, 2014). The power dynamics inherent within  
44 young people's everyday social relationships will, however, potentially affect  
45 the relationships that peer leaders can facilitate with their students.





**Conclusion**

This chapter has examined how the educator is positioned within critical pedagogy and how this translates – or could translate – to educational practice in SDP programs. Through an analysis of current SDP practices in Zambia and Brazil, we have highlighted some of the key tensions experienced by educators in turning Freire’s theoretical lens into practice at a community level. The issues discussed here can serve as a basis for further discussion, reflection and action aimed at enhancing educational praxis in SDP programs. They also suggest a number of possible directions for future research.

At a general level, our analysis indicates that the role of educators within SDP programs merits more rigorous research attention. Researchers and practitioners alike have tended to place greater thought into what participants learn rather than how they learn it (Spaaij and Jeanes, 2013). It is timely to reverse this Gestalt and examine more critically how education is delivered within SDP programs and how particular pedagogical approaches may be more suitable to facilitate some outcomes than others.

Critical pedagogy further encourages researchers and practitioners to identify alternative ways in which technical aspects of SDP education can be delivered without resorting to banking education. Freire recognises that educators cannot deny the technical aspects of education and have to be competent in their ability to educate learners around skills needed for participation in economic, political and social spheres. Therefore, the kinds of knowledge and skills that the programs discussed in this paper seek to impart to students remain important. However, from a Freirean perspective, SDP education needs to go beyond mere technical training in its quest for the cultivation of critical consciousness and transformative action. Although this chapter has outlined key aspects of the problem-posing approach advocated by Freire, further research is needed to ascertain how and in what conditions such an approach can be effectively fostered in SDP programs.

Another lacuna in existing research in the field of SDP concerns the question of how peer education will reposition young people within their communities and how this affects their capacity to work with their peers. This, we believe, is a pertinent area for future research that directly relates to the questions of power and authority discussed in this chapter. As we have shown, the practical realities of working as a peer educator raise questions about the operationalisation of critical pedagogy within the context of SDP. There is an assumption in peer education that peer leaders will relate to those they are seeking to educate but also be able to assume at least some credibility among peers. As we have illustrated, this is not guaranteed and very much depends on who volunteers and their social status within the community. The experiences of some peer leaders also problematise Freirean notions of the educator. While not disputing that a deep understanding of the local context is paramount in facilitating a bottom-up approach to education, it is essential to acknowledge that those who can arguably achieve this most effectively are interwoven within the dominant social relations of that

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1 community. These existing relationships cannot easily be cast aside when  
2 attempting to foster an educative experience that is seeking to develop altern-  
3 ative and multiple perspectives on the challenges participants face. Such tensions  
4 have not necessarily been considered within Freire's writings and require closer  
5 attention in future SDP research and praxis.  
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### Note

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9 1 This research took place across a range of externally funded and university funded pro-  
10 jects including:

- 11 • Initial exploration of sport for development in Zambia 2006, funded by the Institute  
12 of Youth Sport, Loughborough University. Research team led by Professor Tess Kay  
13 with Dr Iain Lindsey, Dr Shane Collins and Dr Julie Fimusami.
- 14 • Go Sisters Evaluation 2008–2012, funded by UK Sport and Department for Inter-  
15 national Development, led by Professor Tess Kay, Brunel University.
- 16 • International Inspiration Evaluation 2008–2011 funded by UK Sport, The British  
17 Council and UNICEF. Led by Professor Ian Henry, Loughborough University.  
18 Zambia evaluation led by Professor Tess Kay, Brunel University.
- 19 • Exploration of female football in Zambia 2009, funded by the University of Central  
20 Lancashire with Dr Jonathan Magee.
- 21 • Exploring partnerships in Sport for Development in the fight against HIV/AIDS  
22 2007, funded by York St John University and Institute of Youth Sport, Loughbor-  
23 ough University. Project team led by Dr Davies Banda with Professor Tess Kay, Dr  
24 Iain Lindsey.

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